THE
KIRIWINAN
CLASSIFIERS
THE KIRIWINAN CLASSIFIERS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics

by

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I hereby certify that this thesis, "The Kiriwinan Classifiers", is my own work, and that all sources used have been acknowledged.

(Ralph S. Lawton.)
31st January, 1980
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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Adj adjective word
adj adjective morpheme
alt alternative morpheme
Cl classifier
Cls classifiers
Deic deictic word
deic deictic morpheme
emph emphatic morpheme
excl exclusive (hearers excluded by pronominal reference)
hn head noun
incl inclusive (hearers included by pronominal reference)
Mal form cited by Malinowski
neg negative word
NP noun phrase
Num number word
num number morpheme
ord ordinal suffix
pl plural reference
S sentence
sg singular
Vb verb word
VP verb phrase

OTHER CONVENTIONS

In writing Kiriwinan text, italics are used throughout. Where necessary, syllable breaks are indicated by periods placed on syllable boundaries, and stress is marked by a single stroke. Thus: 'ka.i "sharp-edged tool". A hyphen placed on the initial and/or final margin of a Kiriwinan form indicates that the form is obligatorily associated on that margin with some other morpheme. Forms marked with an initial asterisk indicate that the form is inadmissable. Square brackets enclose phonetic forms, and oblique strokes phonemic forms, as [ɛ], /e/.
In giving translation of Kiriwinan text, I give first a morpheme-by-morpheme translation, followed by a free translation which does not conform to the shape of the Kiriwinan segments.

As classifiers are frequently cited, each classifier when first cited in a section is identified by the number it bears in the lexicon in the appendix. When a classifier+plus+word combination is cited, the classifier is put in upper case; if I feel that morpheme breaks help to explicate the word, they are indicated in the normal fashion, with hyphens. Thus: Cl 3 kai- ; maKAI-na or ma-KAI-na.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The United Church in Papua New Guinea released me for a year of linguistic study in 1973; then the subsequent award of an A.N.U. scholarship enabled me to undertake a Master's degree course. 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, for by these means I have been enabled to follow this course of study.

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

During the compilation of this thesis I have been deeply indebted to my supervisor, Dr. William A. Foley, and also to Professor R.M.W. Dixon, who have given me discerning and sympathetic guidance whenever I sought it; and I here express my thanks to them.

Finally, a special word of thanks to my daughter, Mrs. Jenny Borck, who has willingly and ably undertaken the typing of this manuscript.
PREFACE

My association with Kiriwina began with a visit in 1961. Then from 1962 to 1973 I with my family were resident at Oyabia, Kiriwina, as missionaries of the Methodist (now the United) Church. Since 1973 we have had continued associations with Kiriwinan friends, especially as colleagues in the work of translation.

My Kiriwinan friends early sensed the interest I had in their language, and over the years they have been eager to teach me. My first teacher of Kiriwinan was Inose Ugwalubu, an old man at the time of my first arrival in Kiriwina, 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, has this year been appointed to the post I originally held as Superintendent Minister on Oyabia mission station. The Kiriwinan 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 Kiriwinan language. To these friends, and to many others of Kiriwina, I acknowledge my indebtedness and express my thanks.
INTRODUCTION

The Kiriwina language is spoken by a population of 16,000 people on the Northern fringe of the Milne Bay Province in Papua New Guinea. The majority of this number live in the Trobriand Islands Group, some 12,000 on the main island, Kiriwina, and 2,500 on other islands of the group. The rest of the Kiriwina-speaking people are mostly resident in the Marshall Bennett Islands, with two small Kiriwina-speaking communities in Yanabwa (the Northern fringe of Egum Atoll) and the Lusancay Islands.

Kiriwinan society is marked by the feature, unique in Papua New Guinea, of an hereditary order of chiefs. The Kiriwinans are subsistence gardeners, the yam being their staple food. Magic holds a strong place in their society. They are artists renowned for the fine quality of their carvings, which adorn ethnological collections all over the world. Their culture features traditional specialities in various areas of technical skills or food procurement.

The mythical origin of the Kiriwinan people is the ground of the island of Kiriwina itself; each dala "family line" being able to identify the geographical point from which their ancestors issued from the earth. Their earliest contacts with other cultures were with Malay and European pearlers and blackbirders in the period 1850 - 70. The Methodist Church first established its workers there in 1894; they were followed by permanent Government staff in 1908, and Roman Catholic missionaries in 1935.

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

The Kiriwinan language is a member of the Oceanic subgroup as delineated by Milke, within Austronesian,¹ having a place within his suggested "New Guinea Cluster".² There are a number of different dialects of Kiriwinan, determined mainly by regional phonological differences. The five dialects spoken on the main island of Kiriwina are Kilivila (North Kiriwina Island, 5,200 speakers); Kuboma (Central Western Kiriwina Island, 1,700 speakers); Luba (Central Eastern Kiriwina Island, 3,100 speakers); Kavataria (Central Kiriwina Island, 1,200 speakers); and Kaibwagina (South Kiriwina Island, 800 speakers).

When the Methodist Church commenced work in the Trobriand Islands, its headquarters was established in the central area where the Kavataria dialect is spoken, and it has thus been this dialect which has been the vehicle of most literature and vernacular education to date. The Kavataria dialect has been the basis for my

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¹ Milke, 1965:330. He notes here that he treats the Austronesian languages of New Guinea as "members of the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian languages."

² Milke, 1965:331
linguistic study, and is thus the language dealt with in this thesis. Although the number of its speakers is small, it has acquired status in Kiriwina as the language which is acceptable to all Kiriwinan-speaking people for any literary work. A recent (1970-72) attempt to change to the numerically and politically dominant Kilivila dialect was strongly opposed by all Kiriwinans.

The phoneme inventory of the Kiriwina language includes nineteen consonants, five vowels and six diphthongs. They are: p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, pw, bw, kw, gw, mw, r, s, v, l, w, y; i, u, e, o, a; ai, au, ei, eu, oi, ou. Stress has phonemic status.

Features of interest include the labialisation of all consonants articulated at the (front and back) extremes of the oral cavity; the dual role of /m/ either as a consonant or as a syllabic nasal; and fluctuation between the three consonants /l/, /r/ and /n/, part of which is free, and part symptomatic of current language change. The syllable pattern is represented by (C)V, where C may be optionally filled by any consonant from the above inventory, and V must be any vowel, diphthong, or the syllabic nasal. Thus there are no consonant clusters, those which apparently occur with /m/ being the syllabic nasal followed by a regular CV syllable, as for example in the classifier Cl 117 m.mo- "conical bundle", or the noun m.seu "smoke".

Within the phonological word, stress placement is generally on the penultimate syllable. Two exceptions may be noted to this. Morphemes in word final position that have three or more syllables have antepenultimate stress provided they conform to the pattern C V C \{\[\text{\(\frac{1}{2}\)}}\} (C) a #; and word final V may bear the stress either where V is realised as a diphthong, or where the word final pattern is (C) V m #.
CHAPTER I

CLASSIFIERS - CURRENT LITERATURE

1.1 COGNITIVE ARRANGEMENTS

1.1.1 Introduction

The major difference between the world of objects in nature and the world of objects modified by man is that the former appear to be scattered about in a random fashion, whereas the latter are arranged, related or associated in some way by the mind of man. Trees in a natural forest stand here and there, spaced in no regular fashion, and with no pattern to the occurrence of species beyond the natural selection of environmental suitability. Where the landscape is modified by man 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 by man thus shows the mind of man at work, in the way different things have been associated, grouped or arranged.

This feature of cognitive arrangement of objects is the stamp which the mind of man puts on his whole world, both in the way he orders his own environment and in the way he signifies his grouping or association of objects by means of speech. In the process of speaking of his world of objects, man classifies entities in a way significant to him. He does this because, as Tyler suggests in "Cognitive Anthropology", 1 life in a world with no discernable pattern would be life without intelligence.

1 Tyler, 1969:7
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 a 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."²

1.1.2 Classifications

The classes of objects which a man identifies are classes which are significant for him, and do not necessarily reflect a reality 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 defines the concept of the semantic domain. "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."³ 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.

² Tyler, 1969:7
³ Tyler, 1969:8
1.1.3 Culture as Cognitive Organisations

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 "culture". In reference to the field of study of the anthropologist, he says, "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 and say in reference to the concept of a "semantic domain" that "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."

1.1.4 The Semantic Domain

The semantic domain and its methods of organisation either from the point of view of 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", 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. A culture may in

4 Tyler, 1969:3
5 Tyler, 1969:11
6 Tyler, 1969:7
7 See for example his discussion of animals and the categories of maturity and sex, on pp 9f.
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 an object in contrast with other objects.

1.1.5 Taxonomy and Paradigm in Frake

Examples of both taxonomic and paradigmatic arrangements of entities are seen, in Frake's "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, and 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 prodromes, 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 Subanun enquirer looks at a set of symptoms, or in some cases more than one set of symptoms, which may be minimally labelled by one of 186 disease names, or may be more extensively described by the sufferer. His description may include a number of features, as "hurts, itches, throbs, burns, hard to

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8 See Frake, 1961:198, where "prodromes" and "terminal diagnostic categories" are arranged taxonomically in Fig 2.
"breathe"; and "the 'real' world of disease presents a continuum of symptomatic variation which does not always fit neatly into conceptual pigeonholes." 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 as measles or as smallpox. The application of these diagnostic criteria enables the Subanun to "define conceptually distinct, mutually exclusive categories at each level of contrast." His identification of "the same linguistic form (appearing) at different levels of contrast" is also of interest here, as several examples of "multiple semantic uses of single linguistic forms" having the similar feature of contrast at different levels are noted in my examination of Kiriwinan data. Frake's use of both taxonomy and paradigm to describe disease categories is clear when he comments in his conclusion that "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."
1.1.6 Language Analysis and Cognitive Arrangements

1.1.6.1 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, a language analyst studies some language, and his analysis reveals cognitive arrangements which he describes 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.

1.1.6.2 In my examination of one particular set of cognitive arrangements in this study 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 is critical of this assertion which he detects in Frake's analysis. He asks, "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 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."

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16 Burling, 1964:427
17 Burling, 1964:426-7
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 the Kiriwinan speaker has indicated by a morphemic label what is the same for him, and thus we are able to view which cognitive categories are "God's truth" or psychologically acceptable for the Kiriwinan speaker.

1.2 WRITERS ON CLASSIFIERS

There is a considerable literature which testifies to the modern linguistic interest in the lexemes 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. What I wish to do instead is to examine briefly three recent writers who report on the classifiers of three distinct languages, and then to consider two articles which make collective studies of a number of classifier languages. I will also consider briefly Malinowski's 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.

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18 Friedrich on Tarascan, Benton on Trukese and Becker on Burmese.
20 Malinowski, 1920.
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 will wish to draw attention at points within my study to the parallels which exist. Also, I will use part 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 study of the various categories of classifiers exhibit a number of close parallels to what I see as the system of Kiriwinan classifiers.

1.3 FRIEDRICH ON "SHAPE IN GRAMMAR"

1.3.1 Friedrich's 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 all three of these as intersecting and interdependent, I wish to comment only on his analysis of the numeral classifiers. Friedrich records the existence of three classifiers which imply classes of things having "longish, flattish or roundish" visual shapes, and have as their "more essential feature" the "saliency or emphasis of one, two or three dimensions." 21 These in turn form part of a larger interconnected system. Friedrich describes this system: "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." 22 The dimensionless set consists of items such as wind, sickness, hunger, which are never classified; the dimensional set consists either of objects of definite dimensions which are regularly classified by the three numeral classifiers, or of mass nouns which are normally identified by their container; and the human set, which may be classified under particular conditions.

21 Friedrich, 1970:381
22 Friedrich, 1970:383
1.3.2 Friedrich notes that the classifiers have an anaphoric function; 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", 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." 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, "obviously depends on individual intelligence and character, and might well serve as an index in studies of personality and bilingualism." Finally, Friedrich 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."

1.4 BENTON ON TRUKESE

1.4.1 Benton's study is of a language of the Austronesian group. His article, "Numeral and attributive classifiers in Trukese", reveals a dual system of classification which "provide a means of ordering the universe, and

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23 Friedrich, 1970:381. See also his comment on grammatical substitution, p 384.
24 Friedrich, 1970:384
25 Friedrich, 1970:385
26 Friedrich, 1970:386
27 Friedrich, 1970:403
10

a method of structuring concepts without multiplying vocabulary."28 It is not relevant to my study to present the system in full here, as the pattern of the two virtually autonomous29 classificatory systems which he describes 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.

1.4.2 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,30 and a number of others. In order to analyse the classifier forms, he cites the system described by Hla Pe for Burmese. Hla Pe "has analysed three distinct types of classificatory elements, which he calls CLASSIFIERS, REPEATERS and QUANTIFIERS. Classifiers (Hla Pe) defines as words 'for an attribute of a specific object, some of which may have more than one.' ... A repeater is diagnosed 'when the 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'."31 Benton finds this insight applicable with some modification for Trukese.

1.4.3 In regard to the repeaters he finds it necessary to distinguish two types: 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,

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28 Benton, 1968:143
29 Benton, 1968:135
30 Benton, 1968:124
31 Benton, 1968:115
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." This category of covert repeater is examined, and examples given, on page 62f below, where its similarity to certain Kiriwinan classifiers is being studied. 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." The distinction between overt and covert repeaters is however necessary, as a "more complex (relationship between noun and classifier)" applies in the case of covert repeaters.

1.4.4 Thus Benton lists 100 classificatory bases, thirteen of which are classifiers, sixty five are repeaters (eighteen overt, 23 covert and 24 questionable), and twenty one are quantifiers. Although the number of true classifiers is in the minority, Benton comments that "the true classifiers ... have as a group a much wider distribution than either the repeaters or the quantifiers." In reference to the syntagmatic function of the classifiers, Benton notes the use of the numeral plus classifiers as "the anaphoric representative of a noun phrase, the remainder of which has been deleted because of prior reference in the conversational context.”

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32 pp 117f. He notes that Hla Pe has a similar distinction between 'explicit' and 'implicit' repeaters in Burmese.
33 Benton, 1968:111
34 Ibid.
35 See Benton 1968:119-123; one form (*/mwek/) is unlabelled.
36 Benton 1968:137
37 Benton 1968:107
1.4.5 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." 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.

1.4.6 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 classifiers may be separated into three semantic domains: shape, nature and generality." A classifier thus specifies a "certain bundle of features" in reference to any Trukese noun, while other classifiers may identify "other potential combinations" 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.

1.4.7 Contextual information is frequently necessary to elucidate meaning; thus Benton suggests that each form has a characteristic or unmarked meaning, which "in another context" may be differently labelled. Benton suggests, for example, that the wider context of a noun phrase such as endon nuu "one-ten coconut" may designate that phrase as either "ten coconuts (fruit)" or "ten coconut palms."
The classifiers may make the "vague general meaning" of a word "specific". Thus he quotes the Trukese example *mwoo nu* "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 ...". 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." Benton uses as an example *suupwa* "tobacco", which unmarked by a numeral classifier will have the general meaning of tobacco; but marked by various numeral classifiers it may have the meaning of a cigarette, or a packet of cigarettes, or a cigarette butt.

1.4.8 Concluding his study of the Trukese classifier system, Benton comments on two features which have some bearing on the Kiriwinan system studied in chapter 4 below: 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 adaptions 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."

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44 Benton, 1968:142
45 Ibid.
46 Benton, 1968:137
47 See this example in Benton, 1968:111
48 See his comments in Benton, 1968:142
49 Benton, 1968:143
1.5 BECKER ON BURMESE

1.5.1 In his study of the Burmese numeral classifier system, Alton Becker reveals, as did Benton for Trukese, two separate classificatory systems at work. However, where Benton found 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." The second system, consisting of the Burmese classifier system (as discussed by Burling and Hla Pe), Becker describes as a "second phenomenological universe."

1.5.2 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 that "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"
the more a 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 he makes between items. It is this explication of the Burmese numerative classifiers as "a paradigm, in which items are located relationally," which is the main burden of Becker's study, and is the reason for its inclusion here.

1.5.3 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." Becker pays particular attention to the semantic specifications of different parts of the Burmese classifier system. He comments that while quantifiers and classifiers, commonly considered discrete entities, may in reality only be "quantity and quality ... polarities in a semantic continuum", yet there is evidence that the classifiers are in some respects semantically different from the quantifiers. While the quantifiers may be precisely translated into English, this is not the case with the classifiers.

56 Becker, 1975:111
57 Becker, 1975:113
58 Becker, 1975:114
The true classifiers have a locative function, being explainable as "a locus on a conceptual map," which is literally a "linguistic map of the world". 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)." This complex locative pattern is to be seen not as "an inductively derived taxonomy but (as) an applied metaphor", 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 one speaker has located them in that one place in relation to himself; another speaker may relocate them, according as the metaphor of location serves his spoken message.

1.5.5 In conclusion Becker comments that "the Burmese classifier system is coherent because it is based upon a single, elementary semantic dimension: deixis." The speaker relates himself to his universe of discourse,

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59 Becker, 1975:115
60 Becker, 1975:118
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
63 Becker, 1975:120
locating himself in relation to other animate beings and locating the things he is speaking about in relation to himself. "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."  

1.6 MALINOWSKI ON KIRIWINAN

Before proceeding to a study of the articles dealing with a number of different classifier systems, I must include at this point a brief summary of Malinowski's work on the Kiriwinan classifiers.

1.6.1 Malinowski's work on classifiers was based on field studies made in 1915-18, when his central interest was ethnological rather than linguistic. When writing his "Classificatory particles in the language of Kiriwina", Malinowski noted that he was not adequately equipped for linguistic observation because of the general lack of a generally accepted theoretical basis to linguistic study. He comments that "there can be no successful observation of facts without the guidance of a sound theory", and thus 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."

Malinowski suggests that the same lack of theory in part explains the deficiencies evident in the only grammar of Kiriwinan, that written by Rev. Samuel B. Fellows. He concludes an examination of the deficiencies

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64 Becker, 1975:121
65 Malinowski, 1920
66 Malinowski, 1920:69
67 Malinowski, 1920:70
in Fellows' "Grammar of the Kiriwina Dialect" 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." 68

1.6.2 Malinowski refers to the Kiriwinan classifiers as classificatory particles. Under this generic description he distinguishes three main functions, which he labels with the terms "classificatory formatives", "naming formatives" (or root-repeating formatives), and formatives which "possess a pronounced nominal character" 69. I now look briefly at each of these terms used by Malinowski.

1.6.2.1 Malinowski uses the term *formative* 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" 70 as certain kinship terms, diminutives, and so on. He does not see this however as entailing "a general principle of classification." 71

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68 P 72. His criticism of Fellows was, however, tempered by Malinowski's "admiration and indebtedness" (p 70) for his work. Some of Malinowski's "corrections" of Fellows' data were however wrong. Thus he says, "It would appear to anyone who reads the Grammar that classifying formatives enter into the formation of numerals only." But Fellows says, "The adjective follows the noun or pronominal particle which it qualifies", (Fellows 1902:173). Fellows also shows the formation of the demonstratives, (Fellows, 1902:174) in spite of Malinowski's claim to the contrary, (Malinowski 1920: footnote to pp 65f), giving paradigms of three forms using classifiers.

69 Malinowski, 1920:59

70 Malinowski, 1920:38

71 Malinowski, 1920:38
1.6.2.2 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." Elsewhere Malinowski refers to the classificatory formatives as "the real classifiers."

1.6.2.3 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". 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 (his italics). 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."

There is no Kiriwinan classifier with such a limited field of reference. He 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, as kadaula "main road" (which is a compound noun, the particle -ula having no independent existence in this sense) or

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72 Malinowski, 1920:38. Malinowski is here quoting Torrend in relation to Bantu classes, as an example of the classifier role in language.

73 Malinowski, 1920:58

74 Malinowski, 1920:58

75 Ibid.
kowalawa "track from the beach"; or it may specify the sort of country to be crossed by someone, as raibwaga "stony country" or pwadidiweta "swamp"; and also metaphorically it is used to specify a way or method of doing anything, as in the phrase maKADAna nanamsa "that-road thought" ie "that way of doing (something)". His second example sis-i- may specify sisila "branch", and in addition a large number of items, as wood, names of trees, etc; and also it may specify a part of a magic spell.

1.6.2.4 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." 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 betel nut", then "sa-tala is the individualised, differentiated thing, whereas buwa is the generic expression ... Thus in this case the grammatical relations between classificatory and naming word seem to be reversed."77

1.6.3 Malinowski enumerated 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." He assembles these into eight groups comprising the nature of things, bunches of fruit, parts of a divided whole, parts of an undivided whole,

76 Malinowski, 1920:59
77 Malinowski, 1920:60
78 P 66. His reservation was that "Most likely a few of the very obsolete ones escaped my attention." (p 44) My own listing totals 147 lexical items.
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." \(^7^9\) 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." \(^8^0\) He notes also 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" \(^8^1\); and also that "this direct classification (within Group I) could stand no logical test." \(^8^2\) 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." \(^8^3\) Within these groups he places those classifiers which he categorises as either naming formatives or as the formatives which are in his view substantival in character.

1.6.4 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." \(^8^4\)

1.6.5 Malinowski sees the Kiriwinan 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

\(^7^9\) Malinowski, 1920:62
\(^8^0\) Malinowski, 1920:46
\(^8^1\) Ibid.
\(^8^2\) Malinowski, 1920:48
\(^8^3\) Ibid.
\(^8^4\) Malinowski, 1920:62
too limited in their reference to be regarded as classifying in a 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 scholars 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" 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. (See above p 15.)

1.7 ADAMS, BECKER AND CONKLIN - SAVORING CLASSIFIERS

Two studies of the classifier, across the boundaries of a number of languages, must now be made as a conclusion to this chapter. I attend first to the monograph of Adams, Becker and Conklin "Savoring the differences among classifiers."

1.7.1 By a study of classifier phenomena in a number of languages, Adams, Becker and Conklin 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 wish to present their arguments in full, being concerned rather with drawing out features which parallel Kiriwinan phenomena.

85 Malinowski, 1920:46
1.7.2 Among the paradigmatic comparisons, of interest are comments on systems of classifiers, semantic domains, repeaters and numeral systems.

1.7.2.1 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". 86

1.7.2.2 Considering the different semantic fields which different languages specify by classifier reference, the authors note 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." 87 There is a tendency for some classes of a general nature, and often a class for items not included in any other class. A frequent phenomenon is for "one noun to have more than one appropriate classifier" 88 so that the selection of a suitable classifier may be a matter of literary taste or personal inventiveness.

86 Adams, Becker and Conklin, 1975:4
87 Ibid.
88 Adams, Becker and Conklin, 1975:5
1.7.2.3 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."\(^8\) 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.

1.7.2.4 In relation to numeral systems, many languages eg 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.

1.7.3 Under the general heading of syntagmatic comparisons, Adams, Becker and Conklin include some consideration on enumeration, substitution, demonstratives and adjectives; nominalisation; textual cohesion, register and style. I make a brief mention of each of these.

1.7.3.1 Enumeration is stated to be the "most central role"\(^9\) 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 studies by the authors except Indonesian. Both Thai and Vietnamese use the classifier in conjunction with demonstratives and adjective constructions.

\(^8\) Adams, Becker and Conklin, 1975:6
\(^9\) Adams, Becker and Conklin, 1975:8
1.7.3.2 The same two languages 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." 91 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, *caū* in Vietnamese, when added to *nam* "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." 92

1.7.3.3 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." 93 Related to this would be the phenomenon, found in all four languages, 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." 94 This flexibility of usage does not however occur in Indonesian.

91 Adams, Becker and Conklin, 1975:13
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid.
94 Adams, Becker and Conklin, 1975:14
1.8 ALLAN'S STUDY "CLASSIFIERS"

1.8.1 As a conclusion to this chapter I outline the categories of classifiers identified by Allan in the latter part of his study "Classifiers". Allan's analysis of classifier language types is of dubious worth, and many of his assertions are open to question. What I have found of value however is his section on the "Categories of Classification" (section 5, pp 297-306), most of which is paralleled by my own categorisation of classifier roles in Kiriwinan. I have found it helpful in my own analysis to adopt some of the terms Allan has used.

1.8.2 Allan names seven categories of classification, which indicate the breadth of the classifier's role in identifying meaning: (i) material, (ii) shape, (iii) consistency, (iv) size, (v) location, (vi) arrangement, and (vii) quanta. He observes 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."\(^{95}\)

1.8.2.1 Within his first category labelled "material", Allan places three subcategories namely animacy, abstract and verbal nouns, and inanimacy. The three subcategories do not appear cohesive, until it is noted that Allan confesses that the label "material" is not an appropriate one, but that "All classifiers which typically refer to the essence of the entities referred to by nouns are instances of this category."\(^{96}\) Thus Allan's "material" category is a category of essence of entities, animate, abstracts, activities, etc.

\(^{95}\) Allan, 1977:297

\(^{96}\) Allan, 1977:299
Allan's use of the term *essence* in relation to this category is perhaps unfortunate, as in general terms his second category of *shape* may also be understood as part of the essence of an item. There is in fact some overlap between this category and the second and third categories, as I have noted below. It would have been better if his first category was defined in terms of the polarities of animacy and inanimacy.  

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" 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."  

1.8.2.2 Allan's second category, shape, "has three dimensional subcategories of long, flat, and round" or "saliently one-dimensional, two-dimensional and three-dimensional." Tarascan, which has been studied above (p 8) has shape as its only classificatory domain. Also included within this category are three subcategories or non-dimensional shape, which we may identify as *exterior curved shape* as in heaps, protuberances, etc; *hollow shape*, as in bottle-like; and *annular shape*, as in entrances, holes, etc.

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97 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.

98 Allan, 1977:300

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.
1.8.2.3  His third category, consistency, has three subcategories labelled flexible, hard or rigid, and non-discrete. Flexibility includes ropelike and fabriclike items. The hard or rigid subcategory may be labelled sticklike or planklike. 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."\(^{101}\)

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."\(^{102}\)

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 of shape and consistency. It may be that Allan in fact feels that such a relationship, approaching a taxonomic dependence, is evident, as he says that "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."\(^{103}\)

1.8.2.4  The fourth category, 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 Allen's system, being confined

\(^{101}\) Allan, 1977:303  
\(^{102}\) Allan, 1977:300  
\(^{103}\) Ibid.
to occurrences in one part of the total classifier 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.\footnote{104}

In summarising the four categories already named, Allan points out that "The first four categories of classification, ie 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."\footnote{105} 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.

1.8.2.5 Allan's fifth category, location, may depend in some cases on the speaker's perception. His category of location 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."\footnote{106}

1.8.2.6 Passing to the last two classifications, arrangement and quanta, Allan sees them as not classifying entities according to inherent characteristics. As Allan considers that "a distinguishing feature of classifying languages is the classification of nouns according to the inherent characteristics to which they refer", the two remaining categories "are therefore not confined to classifier languages."\footnote{107} Thus examples from non-classifier languages such as English are given in this latter section.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{104}{See Allan 1977:300}
\item \footnote{105}{Allan 1977:303}
\item \footnote{106}{Ibid.}
\item \footnote{107}{Allan, 1977:304}
\end{itemize}
Within his sixth category of 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,"\(^{108}\) such as coils, folds, twists. He notes that "the evidence from English, Tzeltal and Kiriwinan is that verbs are a productive source for this subcategory of arrangement classifiers."\(^{109}\) The second subcategory of arrangement consists of "those classifiers which identify an object or set of objects in a specific position,"\(^{110}\) 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'.\(^{111}\)

1.8.2.7 The seventh and 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 as dimension, weight, time, etc.\(^{112}\) 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 a suggestion of some overlap Allan does not suggest such an arrangement.

\(^{108}\) Allan, 1977:304  
\(^{109}\) Allan, 1977:305  
\(^{110}\) Ibid.  
\(^{111}\) Ibid.  
\(^{112}\) Allan, 1977:306
1.8.3 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" and quotes examples from Thai and Kiriwinan. 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 noun phrase.

1.8.4 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." 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." 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.

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113 Allan, 1977:306
114 Allan, 1977:307f
115 Allan, 1977:308
CHAPTER II

THE KIRIWINAN CLASSIFIERS - MORPHOLOGY

2.1 THE NOUN PHRASE

2.1.1 This chapter is concerned with the morphology of the Kiriwinan classifier, which appears only as a constituent of the noun phrase. While the classifier is not an obligatory element in the basic noun phrase (which consists of a noun), yet its presence is obligatory wherever the noun phrase uses deictics, unit value numerals and certain adjectives.

2.1.2 The expanded noun phrase consists of a head noun which may be modified by a deictic, a numeral, and an adjective. It is rare to find a noun phrase with all four of these constituents, although there is no restriction against such a co-occurrence. A suitable structural formula is:

head noun (Deictic) (Number) (Adjective)

2.1.3 When a noun is introduced as a theme in conversation, the speaker is not concerned with emphasis of any component of the noun phrase, but gives a simple statement of the item with its modifiers in the order of the structural formula cited above. In emphatic speech, however, the ordering of the noun phrase constituents is variable, the constituent which is semantically prominent being placed first in order. In the examples given below no attempt is made to order the noun phrase according to this formula; rather I have chosen to offer examples showing the order of constituents as they have occurred in conversation.
2.1.4 Each of the four constituents is presented here in various combinations. No attempt is made to state at this stage the morphological structure of the deictic, number or adjective elements. The classifiers however are capitalised, a device which is employed throughout this study.

1

```
NP
  Deic      hn
       maKADUYOna   waia
"that river"
```

2

```
NP
  hn      Num
       Tomota   TAIluwolima   TAIluwoyu
      Num      Num
"Seventy people"
```

3

```
NP
  hn      adj
       Paisewa  Mwau
  work     heavy
"A difficult task"
```
These examples have shown the head noun of a noun phrase 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 noun phrase, I now consider the morphology of each constituent.
2.2 THE DEICTIC WORD

2.2.1 The deictic word in Kiriwinan is obligatorily affixed to the classifier. As all things referrable in conversation may be introduced by a deictic, the obligatory co-occurrence of deictic-plus-classifier gives the most basic function of the classifier in Kiriwinan. Adams, Becker and Conklin suggest that enumeration is the "most central role" of the classifier in the languages they have studied\(^1\); but as will be seen below the presence of the classifier is optional for the larger numbers above ten, whereas all occurrences of the deictic word in Kiriwinan will ensure that the classifier is used. It thus appears that the deictic environment is the most central one for the Kiriwinan classifier.

2.2.2 I must note here that one locating word, occurring with the obligatory absence of a classifier baisa "this thing here, this item in plain view" may be used to replace the deictic word; with this solitary exception all deixis within the noun phrase is made by means of the deictic-plus-classifier combination.

2.2.3 The deictic word consists of the discontinuous morpheme ma-...-na which may only occur affixed to the classifier morpheme. The first part of this discontinuous 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 one or both of the suffixes -si- "plural" and -we- "alternate reference".

2.2.4 This may be expressed as a formula:

\[
ma + \text{classifier} + (si) + (we) + na
\]

---

2.2.5 Some examples of the noun phrase using the deictic word, are given below. The classifier root morpheme is shown in upper case for clarity, and the two elements of the discontinuous morpheme are connected by a bar.

7

NP
  Deic
     hn
  deic cl
     mi- NA- -na vivila

that-woman woman
"that woman"

8

NP
  Deic
     hn
     deic cl
     ked- ma- KADA- -na

road that-road
"That road"

9

NP
  deic cl
     beku ma- KAVI- -na

axe stone that-tool
"That axe stone"
2.2.6 There are a few irregular forms of the deictic, which are listed here.

2.2.6.1 When the classifiers Cl 2 na₁- "nonhuman" (or Cl 7 na₂- "female human"), and Cl 4 ya- "flexible thin" are used, the deictic words only occur in the form miNAₐ and miYAₐ. 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 of Cl 7 na- "female human" is the noun *ina- "mother", then a process such as *ma-*INA-na > mi-NA-na seems feasible. Examples 7 and 11 above show two such words. Both of these classifiers have a high functional load, being two of the five Basic Property Specifiers.

2.2.6.2 The following five deictic-plus-classifier combinations occur in two forms in free fluctuation:

Cl 1  to- "human": maTOna or mTOna "that-person"
Cl 9  kwela- "pot-like": maKWELAna or mKWELAna "that-pot"
Cl 91 pila- "part-piece, in the allomorph *pa-: maPAna or mPAna "that-piece"
Cl 108 ta- "basket": maTAna or mTAna "that-basketful"
Cl 117 mmo- "conical bundle": maMMOna or mMMOna "that-bundle"

The first three of these 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 have a frequently-occurring role in both of the above forms.

2.2.6.3 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. In the example I list the regular form followed by the irregular:

   singular - maKWAIna or manaKWA "that-thing"
   plural - maKWAIsina or manaKWAIsi "that-thing-pl"

2 See Chapter IV p 85.
2.2.6.4 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 *yam*- "day", which is rarely used, either in its regular form or in the alternate form noted here:

```
singular - *maYAMna* "that-day"
plural - *ma-si-YAM-na* or *ma-YAM-si-na*
            *that-pl-day*       *that-day-pl*
            "those days"
```

With the exception of the irregular forms noted above, all deictics function regularly using *ma-...-na* as set out in the formula for the deictic on p 35.

2.3 THE NUMERAL WORD

2.3.1 The numeral system in Kiriwinan may be described as a mixed quinary-decimal system, which lacks number morphemes for the numbers six to nine. Any number above five and below ten must be indicated in Kiriwinan by a sequence consisting of the word for 'five' plus one other number word. The same principle applies between 50 and 100, 500 and 1,000, and for numbers beyond 5,000 and less than 10,000 which is the upper limit of countable items in Kiriwinan. Thus, the numbers 8, 80, 800 and 8,000 would be represented in Kiriwinan by the number word sequences 5 3, 50 30, 500 300, and 5,000 3,000 respectively. A specific number such as 78 would be represented by a sequence of the four number words for 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; if a Kiriwinan speaker wished to express this he could do so by the sequence of eight number words for 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.

2.3.2 The classifiers occur obligatorily with the number morphemes 1 to 5, and optionally with number morphemes of tens, hundreds and thousands. 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, as he comments that "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 mi-TA-na; 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 "absence of ta-" 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 numeral-plus-classifier words.

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3 Adams, Becker and Conklin (1973:8-9) note that this is a feature of Thai classification.

4 Malinowski, 1920:53
2.3.3 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 solitary exception of the interrogatory word of indefinite number -vila "how many" which obligatorily co-occurs with the classifier. Cardinal numbers are changed to ordinal by addition of the suffix -la.

2.3.4 Some examples of noun phrases incorporating numerals are now given.

12

```
NP
  |--- Num
  |     |--- hn
     |     |--- cl num ord
         |     KABULU- -yuwe -la boda
half two its group
"the team for the second half"
```

13

```
NP
  |--- Num
  |     |--- Num
  |     |     |--- Num
  |     |     |     |--- cl num num num
  |     |     |--- cl num num num
tomota TAI- -luwo- -lima TAI- -luwo- -tolu
People person-ten-five person-ten-three
"eighty people"
```
The last two examples are of indefinite number words, the first of which obligatorily co-occurs with the classifier. The second may only occur with the obligatory absence of the classifier.
2.4 THE ADJECTIVE

2.4.1 The next constituent of the noun phrase is the adjective. Here we find an interesting formal relationship between adjectives and classifiers which makes possible a three-way class division of adjectives.

The class I adjectives, numbering about ten, consist of those adjectives which are obligatorily affixed to the classifiers; some adjectives of this class express a plural form by stem reduplication. The class II adjectives, which form the largest class, numbering about 30, are those which occur with the classifier optionally prefixed. Class III adjectives, some 14 in number, are marked by the obligatory absence of classifiers.

2.4.2 Dixon 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. These five semantic types form a useful indication of the semantic domains of the three classes of adjectives in Kiriwinan.

Figure I on p 44 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. Age is confined to class I adjectives; human propensity (applicable to some animals as noted by Dixon) and dimension to class II; and value to class III adjectives. Physical property adjectives are distributed evenly throughout all three classes.

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5 Dixon, 1977:31
6 Colour is basically a noun, and speed is expressed by verbal constituents.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic types</th>
<th>Class I adjectives</th>
<th>Class II adjectives</th>
<th>Class III adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Property</td>
<td>beautiful - ugly</td>
<td>rough - smooth</td>
<td>hard - soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>male - female</td>
<td>sharp - blunt</td>
<td>(difficult - easy)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spotty</td>
<td>crooked - straight</td>
<td>heavy - light</td>
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<td></td>
<td>shaggy</td>
<td>wet-dry-slippery</td>
<td>(impossible-possible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>weak - strong</td>
<td>sweet-sour-bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>green - mature</td>
<td>hot - cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unripe - ripe</td>
<td>(wanted - rejected)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>crunchy; fat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimension</td>
<td>big - small</td>
<td>long - short</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(important - insignificant)</td>
<td>wide - narrow</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>thick - thin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>new - old</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>good - bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>true - false</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human propensity</td>
<td></td>
<td>generous - stingy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>meek; noisy; fierce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>clumsy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. I  Semantic types of Kiriwinan adjectives. Bracketed words indicate secondary specifications of the forms immediately above.
As may be seen by reference to Figure I, two adjectives, the antonym pair big-small, do not fit into the general pattern I have identified above. By their primary meaning of dimension they should be placed in the class II adjectives, and by their secondary meaning specification of important - insignificant they belong with the value types in class III. However their formal dependence on the classifier places them firmly in class I.

One generalisation may be made in addition. The class I adjectives generally indicate qualities which are permanent states of items, while class II adjectives indicate qualities which are temporary states; the class III adjectives may not be described as either permanent or temporary states, the specifications which they make being subjective evaluations of items.

2.4.3 Some further discussion of the adjectives, particularly in reference to their expression of meaning by means of semantic oppositions, is undertaken on p 190-2 below, Chapter IV.

2.4.4 Examples of each class of adjective are given here:

Class I adjectives:

NA- -minabwaita
woman beautiful
"beautiful (woman)"

NA- -minibwai7ta
woman beautiful (pl)
"beautiful (women)"

KWAI- -vaka- -veka
thing plural big
"big things"

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7 This plural effected by vowel change within the adjective stem.
2.4.5 Apart from these 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 may 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 two and three if they were considered adjectives; but 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 classifiers-plus-adjectives within the noun phrase.
2.5

THE CLASSIFIER IN THE NOUN PHRASE

2.5.1 A number of examples are now given of noun phrases in which the deictic, adjective and numeral constituents are labelled, and in which the general principle of agreement between a noun and its classifier may be observed, the general pattern being one classifier only used with each deictic, adjective and numeral within a single noun phrase. The word order appears to be free, but see note on p 32 above. From this point the subscript bars are omitted from the deictic words.

17

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{hn} \\
\text{Deic} \\
\text{adj} \\
\text{deim} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{KAI} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{KAI} \quad \text{wonaku}.
\end{array}
\]

"that long digging stick"

18

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{Num} \\
\text{hn} \\
\text{Deic} \\
\text{cl} \quad \text{alt} \\
\text{YA} \quad \text{tala} \quad \text{peipu} \quad \text{mi} \quad \text{YA} \quad \text{we} \quad \text{na}.
\end{array}
\]

"that other single piece of paper"
that big thing

whatever is important or beautiful

two important tasks
2.5.2 Examples 17 to 22 above have all shown only one classifier used in reference to each head noun. There are however occasions when two different classifiers may be used within the one noun phrase as different specifications of the one head noun. An example of this is now given:

Example 23 is made possible by the speaker referring to one item in two completely different ways: first he referred to the rounds of timber obtained by transverse cutting, using Cl 73 bubo- "cut across"; and then he referred to the possibility of their becoming wooden bowls and so specified this using Cl 9 kwela- "pot-like", as if it were already an accomplished fact.
2.5.3 It is seldom that all four constituents namely head noun, deictic, numeral and adjective, occur in one noun phrase; but a Kiriwinan speaker will accept any such phrase with no confusion as to meaning. The examples given show common forms which have occurred in text, as noun phrases, showing that phrases including three of the four constituents are common. Examples of a common noun phrase type, the head noun with no other noun phrase constituent co-occurring, have not been given.

The last example showing a more complex noun phrase containing multiple morphological application of different classifiers to one head noun, indicates the syntagmatic rather than the morphological function of the Kiriwinan classifiers. As this subject matter is dealt with in the following chapter, I conclude this chapter at this point.
CHAPTER III

THE KIRIWINAN CLASSIFIER IN RELATION TO THE NOUN

The foregoing chapter has studied the morphological framework in which the Kiriwinan Classifiers function within the noun phrase. In this chapter I discuss how the classifier relates to the noun, and some related syntagmatic functions.

Although this chapter is not primarily concerned with delineating its semantic role, some general observations of the type of semantic arrangement which the Kiriwinan classifiers suggest are my first concern.

3.1 THE CLASSIFIER A FORMAL CONSTITUENT OF THE NOUN PHRASE

3.1.1 First, use of the classifier is not a necessary precondition to the naming of items. The noun, as the head word in the noun phrase, may function in isolation to identify any item, and (as has been seen from the morphology of numerals and adjectives) noun phrases including some modification may occur without a classifier being used.

3.1.2 When however the speaker has to relate items or to contrast them in some way, or to identify them without actually naming them, then the classifiers are used. They occur obligatorily with deictics, some numerals and some adjectives, and optionally with some numerals and some 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 was central in the speaker's mind. Has the classifier been used only because "its presence is required by the structure of the ... numeral"\(^1\), or has the meaning reference of the classifier been the reason for the speaker's introduction of the word? The answer to such a question is inextricably bound up with the nature of the semantic categorisation which the classifier has introduced.\(^2\)

3.2 THE CLASSIFIERS LABEL SEMANTIC DOMAINS

3.2.1 It is convenient to refer to the semantic features identified by the classifier in terms of the familiar concept of the semantic domain. Tyler in his introduction to "Cognitive Anthropology" comments that "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."\(^3\)

3.2.2 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.

\(^{1}\) Benton, 1968:111

\(^{2}\) See also pp 68ff where the role of the classifier at discourse level is studied.

\(^{3}\) Tyler, 1969:7-8
It would be possible, as Kay 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-existed. 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.

3.2.3 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 as "true classifiers", whereas others functioned in such a way "which could not by any stretch of the term be called classification." 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".

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4 Kay, 1966:79
5 Malinowski, 1920:58, see also Chapter I, p 19.
6 Malinowski, 1920:46
3.3 **TAXONOMY**

3.3.1 It is clear from this that Malinowski would have liked to find in the classifiers a taxonomy of reference to the Kiriwinan world, with each item having exclusive membership in one class only and a unique place in the total structure.

3.3.2 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 have identified as the five Basic Property Specifiers do provide an imperfect taxonomy of reference to the world of items in the Kiriwinan world-view. Some of the taxonomic elements, particularly in relation to the classifiers functioning within the domain of human reference, are studied in chapter 4 below. This however gives access to 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, yet items are not for the most part uniquely located within a hierarchical arrangement or taxonomy of semantic reference.

3.3.3 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.

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7 See Cls 1-5, p 85.
8 See comments on this taxonomy, pp 89, 96.
3.4 PARADIGMATIC FUNCTION OF KIRIWINAN CLASSIFIERS

3.4.1 Becker 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 that "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 23 in Chapter II above, has shown the same principle in operation in Kiriwinan where a piece of wood generally classified with other pieces of wood by means of Cl 3 kai-, "rigid/long" has first been spoken of as a piece obtained by the activity of cutting transversely by means of Cl 73 bubo- "cut across" and then spoken of as a dish-like object by being classified by means of Cl 9 kwelä- "pot-like". Thus in that example the paradigms of transversely cut objects and dish-like objects have shown points of intersection for that speaker in relation to those pieces of wood.

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9 Becker, 1975:111
10 Becker, 1975:113
3.4.2 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.

3.4.2.1 For example, in translating the Gospel of St John in the New Testament, I had to consider the use of expressions like "the Word", "the Way", or "the true vine", as metaphors of the person or function of Jesus. In discussing this problem with my Kiriwinan colleagues in translation work I was informed that expressions like Yesu maTAUna biga KWEkamokwita "Jesus that-person word thing-true", Yaegu keda maKADAna "I road that-road", and Yaegu maTAMna wainitoula "I that-sprouting vine-genuine"\(^{11}\), 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, where I was a passive listener, 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".

3.4.2.2 Examples of the metaphorical use of the Kiriwinan classifier are given in Chapter IV\(^ {12}\), where multiple specification of the same item by different classifiers introduces significant meaning change; so that the speaker is able to use the classifier to show the semantic domains in which the item may, for him, conceivably lie. Becker comments in relation to Burmese that the complex locative pattern he reveals is best seen as "an applied metaphor"\(^ {13}\) 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"\(^ {14}\), although those things are not naturally or necessarily associated as the head is to the body. Allan also notes\(^ {15}\) that the flexibility evident in the use of the classifiers may be described as metaphor or as innovation.

3.4.3 Situational context is frequently important in defining the function of the classifier. J.R. Firth concludes his study of Malinowski's linguistic contribution by saying that "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."\(^ {16}\) It was in his study of the classifiers that Malinowski especially invoked the importance of the "context of situation".\(^ {17}\) He exploits fully the context of situation in elucidating meanings of some classifiers. In his conclusion to the paper on "classificatory formatives" Malinowski 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."\(^ {18}\)

\(^ {12}\) See pp 196-8.  
\(^ {13}\) Becker, 1975:118  
\(^ {14}\) Ibid.  
\(^ {15}\) Allan, 1977:296  
\(^ {16}\) Firth, 1957:118  
\(^ {17}\) Malinowski, 1935:35-6; See also 44-5, 51-2.  
\(^ {18}\) Malinowski, 1920:78
Friedrich in relation to Tarascan notes that "patterns of paradigmatic replacement"\(^{19}\) 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"\(^{20}\) has to be taken into account. Other writers also draw attention to the essential character of context for the determination of meaning.\(^{21}\)

3.4.4 The multiple specification which the Kiriwinan classifiers give, and the necessary use of constrastive contextual evidence to determine the extent of a semantic domain, show that the method used for the identifying the meaning of the classifiers is not the locating of items within a taxonomy, but is rather 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."\(^{22}\)

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. Instances of items being specified within a number of different domains for these sorts of different reasons are given below in Chapter IV\(^{23}\).

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19 Friedrich, 1970:384
20 Friedrich, 1970:385
21 See chapter I above in reference to Benton 1968:(12). Becker, 1975:(15) and others. Also Frake 1961, comments that "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."
22 Becker, 1975:113
23 See pp 81-82 below.
3.4.5 Here I must 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 various different groupings it serves as a medium to illustrate the range of specifying powers of the classifiers in dividing, grouping, as in other specifications. The detail of this potential is set out in diagrammatic form on page 60.

3.4.5.1 We may see that three different sorts of specification are set out here, to do with specification of the whole item, then specification of ways in which it is grouped, and finally ways in which it has been divided. First, there are four classifiers listed in the table which specify in some way the whole stick of tobacco:

1. \textit{KAItala tobaki} "one-rigid/long tobacco"  (Cl 3)
2. \textit{maBUBULOna} "that which has been made"  (Cl 35)
3. \textit{maBUKOna} "that-concealed by burying"  (Cl 36)
4. \textit{maPWASAna} "that which is rotten and useless"  (Cl 43)

3.4.5.2 Then there are ten classifiers shown in the table 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. \textit{PILAtala tobaki} "one part stick" - does not refer to the size of the part, but specifies only that it has been divided.  (Cl 91)
6. \textit{BUBOtala} "a part obtained by transverse cutting (eg with a knife)" - the specification is only of the mode of division.  (Cl 73)
7. \textit{VILItala} "one untwisted part of stick (of tobacco)" - again the specification is of the mode of division, ie obtained by untwisting or unravelling one strand from the stick (which is formed like a rope by twisting together of two approximately equal strands of tobacco fibre).  (Cl 74)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>KAI Itala</td>
<td>&quot;one rigid/long&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>maBUBULona</td>
<td>&quot;that-made&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>maBUKona</td>
<td>&quot;that buried&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>maPWASana</td>
<td>&quot;that-rotten&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>PILA Itala</td>
<td>&quot;piece-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>BUBOtala</td>
<td>&quot;cut across-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>VILI Itala</td>
<td>&quot;untwisted-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>KABULota</td>
<td>&quot;half-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>LAPOTala</td>
<td>&quot;third-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>KATUPota</td>
<td>&quot;quarter-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>GUMta</td>
<td>&quot;small piece-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>GIBUtala</td>
<td>&quot;sufficient-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>KUWota</td>
<td>&quot;crumb-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>maUTusuna</td>
<td>&quot;those-scrap&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>GULota</td>
<td>&quot;heap-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>maKAPOna</td>
<td>&quot;that parcel&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>KASAyu</td>
<td>&quot;line-two&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>PULItala</td>
<td>&quot;bunch-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>UWOtala</td>
<td>&quot;two bundle-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>YULAITala</td>
<td>&quot;four bundle-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>IKAtala</td>
<td>&quot;ten of yulai-one&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure II** "How many smokes in a stick of tobacco?"
Seven classifiers specify the size (more or less precisely) of the separated piece of tobacco in relation to the whole stick:

8. *KABU*Lotala tobaki "one half stick of tobacco" (Cl 89)
9. *LAPOU*latala "one third stick of tobacco" - usually; but see next example. (Cl 75)
10. *KATU*Potala May refer to a third or a quarter of a stick. It is usually half of 8 above. (Cl 90)
11. *GUM*latala Half of either 9 or 10 above. (Cl 76)
12. *GIBU*latala Enough for one smoke of tobacco (usually as a cigarette rolled in newspaper. The actual quantity of tobacco in this may be equal to 10 or 11 above, or even made up of a gathering of scraps as specified by 14 below. (Cl 77)
13. *KUWU*latala "tiny speck or crumb, recognisable as tobacco but too small to bother about." (Cl 78)
14. *maUTU*Usina tobaki "those scraps of tobacco" - refers to small pieces still worth keeping, as the last remnants of one's pouch; or on occasions to the scraps thrown away as rubbish. (Cl 79)

3.4.5.3 Finally seven classifiers refer to different groupings of sticks of tobacco.
15. *GULO*latala "one heap of random size" (Cl 101)
16. *maKAPO*ona tobaki "that parcel of sticks of tobacco" (Cl 109)
17. *KASA*yu tobaki "two lines of sticks of tobacco" (Cl 133)
18. *PULI*talal *tobaki "one bundle, about 2 to 6 sticks" (Cl 136)
19. *UWO*talal "a two-stick bundle of tobacco" (Cl 138)
20. *YULAI*talal "a four-stick bundle of tobacco" (Cl 141)
21. *IXA*talal "a bundle of ten of the *yulai*- bundles of sticks of tobacco" (Cl 145)

3.5 REPEATERS

Next, I wish to 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.

3.5.1 In his study of Trukese, Benton has found applicable the insights of Hla Pe's work in Burmese;\textsuperscript{24} of special relevance here is his definition of the repeater role in Trukese, where he states 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."\textsuperscript{25} He specifically excludes from the repeater class those classifiers which "may occur with nouns other than" those which have the same underlying form. His distinction within the group of Trukese repeaters of one subgroup which he labels as \textit{covert repeaters} (ie classifiers which "may always be followed by a noun with the same underlying form, to which a second noun is linked attributively")\textsuperscript{27} provides us with a phenomenon parallel to some Kiriwinan classifiers. He exemplifies the covert repeaters on page 117 of his study\textsuperscript{28}. His examples 20 and 21, viz.,

(20) \textit{e-pwopw pwopwu-n pwuna}  
\textit{'tuber' 'tuber' 'taro'}  
\textit{"one tuber of taro"}

(21) \textit{e-pwopw pwuna}  
\textit{"one tuber (of) taro"}

may be paralleled by such Kiriwinan examples as:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} Chapter I p 10.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Benton, 1968:116
\item \textsuperscript{26} Benton, 1968:117
\item \textsuperscript{27} Benton, 1968:118
\item \textsuperscript{28} Benton, 1968:117
\end{itemize}
24. maPONINAna ponana ... maPONINAna ponane-la waga ...
that-hole hole that-hole hole-its canoe
"that hole" "that holed canoe"
...
maPONINAna waga
that-hole canoe "that holed canoe"

25. maTAMna tam ...
that-sprout sprout .. that-sprout its sprout taitu yam
"that sprout" "that sprout of taitu yam"
...
maTAMna taitu
that-sprout taitu yam "that sprout of taitu yam"

3.5.2 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 the noun and this sort of classifier is, as Benton notes, "more complex" than that between the noun 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", Cl 17 lilou- "journey".

3.5.3 The Activity Specifier classifiers, which are studied in chapter IV are morphologically related to verb forms; and in their function this same complexity may be observed, when the classifier operates in a complex noun phrase having a potential of dual specification, as in examples 24 and 25 above. It should be

29 Benton, 1968:111
30 See pp 136-139.
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 that as the total meaning of a phrase is the meaning of a classifier and its noun, then when a classifier acts as a nominalising representative of a noun and is then followed by a different noun, then this is "a form of compounding rather than classification."\(^{31}\)

3.6 NOUN-FREE CONSTRUCTIONS

I must now make brief reference to those subclassifiers which function, to use Allan's term, as "noun-free"\(^{32}\) constructions.

3.6.1 There are a number of classifiers in Kiriwinan which function most frequently in noun phrases without any noun appearing at all. 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 specified time reference within the domain of kwai- specification, is used as a noun-free classifier with the numeral, as in KALA-yu "day-two", without either yam "day" or kalasia "sun" ever appearing in the phrase. Classifiers such as kala- "passage of day", bugi- "passage of night", siva- "number of times doing something", uva- "span measure", are included.

\(^{31}\) Adams, Becker, Conklin, 1975:13. See also Ch I p 25.

\(^{32}\) Allan, 1977:306
3.6.2 Allan suggests that "since all these noun-free constructions function as adverbials of distance, duration, frequency, etc, and since the functions 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 example of a verb-stem incorporating kala- "passage of day" gives some support to this 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 noun phrase.

3.7 SOME CLASSIFIERS ANALOGOUS TO REPEATERS

3.7.1 Other Kiriwinan classifiers may be seen to function in the majority of their occurrences to specify the nouns of which they are the phonological counterpart. 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 the 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 that a classifier analogous to the repeater, repeating its own form and others as well, is a feature of some classifier languages.

33 Allan, 1977:307
34 See example under kala- in Appendix, p 224.
35 See comment on this in Chapter I p 24.
3.7.2 Example 64 below (p119) must be considered in reference to this classifier operating in a fashion analogous to the repeater. Although makumloona daram "that-oven drum" or makumloona sitovi "that-oven stove" are given as examples of modern specifications of this classifier, such specifications as these are rare; that almost always encountered with the classifier kumlo- is makumloona kumkumla "that-oven oven". In studying the domains of the subclassifiers in chapter IV, several are noted which have extremely limited specification beyond their own phonetic counterparts; Cl 15 tuto- "time" is an example of a very limited domain, seldom specifying anything other than tuta matutona "time that-time"; whereas Cl 7 kwela- "pot" labels a larger domain, specifying its phonetic counterpart in makwelana kulia "that-pot pot" and also nouns such as viga "cup", bolu "coconut-shell saucepan" etc. The difference between those classifiers which function almost exclusively in a fashion analogous to repeaters, merely reiterating their phonetically similar noun, and those classifiers 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.

3.7.3 Allan 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"36. Allan quotes as an example of "unique classifiers" the Kiriwinan example sa- "bunches of betel nut". His information here is however in error, as this classifier does not in fact uniquely specify the entity "bunch of

36 Allan, 1977:295
betel nut. " 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; and in addition it may specify bunches of nuts that look like betel nut but which are inedible, as kimkimta and pulopola. This classifier does however function as the classifier for "bunch of betel nut" more frequently than for any other item.

3.7.4 Allan's suggestion of a reason for such a limited specifying role is however manifestly applicable to the Kiriwinan situation, as he says that the "objects denoted are prized possessions (in the community) . It has been noted above that when a society has a practical interest in precise information for some technical or specialist area of the culture then in that area there will be a proliferation of classifiers; and it is in such areas of precise delineation that the Kiriwinan classifiers with a role analogous to the repeater are found to occur most frequently.

It may be noted in reference to "king yam", the cultural fulcrum of Kiriwinan society, that Malinowski 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, as Cl 11, Cl 12 and Cl 13 in reference to the growing vine; Cl 46 to Cl 50 which generally apply to the yam garden divisions, and many others which specify special groupings, quanta, etc.

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37 Cl 99 in chapter IV. There is not in fact any noun form phonetically identical to the classifier sa-.
38 Allan, 1977:295
40 See Malinowski, 1920:53-4
3.8.1 There are no instances in Kiriwinan 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 repeater, 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 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 have noted above in chapter II that the presence of the Kiriwinan classifier is likewise obligatory if the deictic, some numerals and some adjectives are to have existence as a word, and there are thus many occasions where the classifier element within a word simply echoes the noun. This happens most frequently with those which function like repeaters. Thus:

26. gwadi maGUDina
tutchu TUTOna
child that-child
time that-time
"that child" "that time"

27. NIGUtala nigwa
kova maKOVAna
nest-one nest
fire that-fire
"one nest" "that fire"

3.8.2 There is more than mere repetition here however. The functional value for the Kiriwinan speaker of this highly specific classifier is to be seen in its

41 Benton, 1968:111
syntagmatic functions. For this repeating-type classifier introduces that measure of redundancy into the speaker's message which aids regular deletion processes within the noun phrase, 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 have been associated with a classifier, they may then disappear for the course of several sentences. The conversation of the speaker and his companion continues to make unambiguous reference to the deleted head noun by means of the classifier.

3.8.3 It is important to observe this process of deletion within the noun phrase, 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; and 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 noun phrase. 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 noun phrases.

3.8.4 Examples are now given of deletion in the noun phrase. The examples consist of sequences of noun phrases as they occurred within a conversation, where the subject matter involved a development of information about or specification of one head noun. There are seven sets of examples, with some discussion on the classifiers.

42 This process of deletion is not however an automatic or obligatory process. For example, in the formal telling of a legend the whole noun phrase without head noun deletion is generally used.
in each set. It would be tedious to give the entire context of each example, as some of them cover several lines of typed text. Thus only the relevant phrases are given, and intervening spaces between phrases must be understood to contain one or more sentences.

Sequence 1

28. a) Kuvi taitu KWAIvakaveka
    yam-type yam-type thing-pl.-big
    "Those big kuvi and taitu yams"

    b) Igaugwa kuvi maTAMna
    another-time-! kuvi that-sprout
    "Well, later that shooting kuvi tuber"

    c) maTAMna
    that-sprout (kuvi)
    "that sprouting kuvi" (head noun deleted)

    Here the Basic Property Specifier Cl 5 kwai- "thing", used initially in reference to two different sorts 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.

Sequence 2

29. a) Avai tuta buki bima ...
    what time book it-will-come
    "When the book comes ..."

    b) E maPILAna PILAkekita ima.
    well that-flat flat-little it-came
    "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 examples a) and b), so there is no ambiguity of reference.

Sequence 3

30. a) vai gala baka-koma-si
    stingray not we-will-eat-pl
    "We don't eat stingray"

b) yena minAna ... minAna yena
    fish that-animal/that-animal fish
    "that fish ... that particular fish"

c) 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 na¹-
"nonhuman" has broad reference, but with only one noun introduced there is no ambiguity. In this sequence, which covered seventeen sentences, no other noun within the domain of Cl 2 na¹- was introduced, and so deletion without ambiguity was possible, with na- referring only to "stingray" throughout.

Sequence 4

31. a) si kaiboî
    their firewood
    "their firewood"
b) si kaiboï BOvakaveka
    their firewood cut-across-pl-big
    "their cut pieces of firewood"

c) GULOveka
    heap-big
    "a big heap of firewood" (head noun deleted)

d) kaiboï 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-\(^\text{43}\) to specify thick pieces of timber which had to be cut. The classifier Cl 101 gulo- "heap" would normally specify a random-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 reinstates the head noun (which had been deleted in noun phrase 35 c) and reclassifies it with the Basic Property Specifier as a single item. It is important to note that the reclassification is done with the full noun phrase incorporating the head noun, so there is no ambiguity at any point.

Sequence 5

32. a) valu maKWAIna tomota-la
    village that-thing people-its
    "those villagers"

\(^{43}\) Allomorph of Cl 73 bubo- "cut".
b) Bi-kasa-si KASAyu KASIwonaku sainela
they-will-line 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 noun phrase 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 section b); this is a good example of the more complex relationship, where a classifier is compounding a verb phrase rather than classifying the noun.

Sequence 6
33. a) kai maKAIina
   tree that-rigid
   "that tree"

b) maKAIina ibobu
   that-rigid tree he-cut
   "he cut the tree"

c) ammakala maBUBO-si-na
   what-about that-cut-pl?
   "What about those cut-off pieces of tree?"

d) 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 noun phrase had first to be stated before the regular
deletion took place in 37 b). The classifiers which follow in c) and d) 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.

Sequence 7

34. a) Bi-kopwai-si tomata
   they-will-lift corpse
   "They will lift up the corpse"

   b) Bi-kapolai-si tomata miNAna
      they-will-enshroud corpse that-nonhuman
      "They will wrap the corpse in a shroud"

   c) 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 - "non-human". 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.

3.8.5 The seven sequences of text have illustrated the processes of deletion in the noun phrase as aided by the classifier, and of reclassification sometimes involving continued deletion and sometimes reinstatement of the head noun; and finally the circumstances under which deletion could not take place. The place of the classifier is central in all such noun phrase activity, aiding deletion, promoting the more specific delineation of the speaker's meaning, and correlating all the processes of change within the noun phrase in such a way as to structure the discourse in terms of the semantic domains they label.
3.9 CLASSIFIERS LINGUISTIC CORRELATES TO PERCEPTION

3.9.1 I have endeavoured to list above the general features of the Kiriwinan classifier system; the taxonomic arrangement evident in some parts of the system; the general paradigmatic function leading to multiple specification, reclassification and metaphorical use of the classifiers; the extent to which the classifiers act either as true repeaters or in a fashion analogous to repeaters; the noun-free constructions formed by some classifiers, and their possible adverbial role; the complex semantic reference of some classifiers because of the potential for multiple specification by one classifier within one noun phrase; and the all-important discourse-level function of the classifiers operating through deletion and textual cohesion.

3.9.2 In concluding this chapter, a comment of Allan's is pertinent. Observing the broad similarities between noun classes in many languages, he feels justified in asserting 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."44 Thus also Denny, "One of the most fascinating facts of numeral classification is its dependence on the visual feature of form."45

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44 Allan, 1977:308
45 Denny, 1976:8
CHAPTER IV

THE KIRIWINAN CLASSIFIERS - SEMANTICS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.1.1 The classifier in Kiriwinan is a major formal manifestation of what Friedrich calls the "semantic substructure of language".¹ My concern in this chapter 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.

4.1.2.1 The first chapter considered initially the fact of linguistic ordering of the world by different cultures, and the different viewpoints revealed in taxonomic and paradigmatic arrangements of things; and then set out to give a brief overview of some modern writers' studies of classifier systems in different languages. Some of the similarities between the classifier roles which they described and the role of the Kiriwinan classifiers have been noted in chapters two and three, and further points of comparison and contrast are noted throughout this chapter.

¹ Friedrich, 1970:379
4.1.2.2 Chapter two stated the morphology of the classifier roots, noting the extent of their obligatory and optional functions in connection with deictics, numerals and adjectives, taking into consideration only the syntax of basic noun phrases.

4.1.2.3 The third chapter went beyond the study of purely formal features to consider some of the broad semantic features of classifier function, as the overall paradigmatic patterning of multiple specification, the use of the classifier as a metaphor, the importance of situational context for the elucidation of meaning, the repeater-like function of some classifiers, and the relation between the redundant information these repeater-like classifiers introduce to deletion processes and discourse cohesion.

4.1.3 It is clear from the study of noun phrase 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 or 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\(^2\) 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

\(^2\) See p 43 above.
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.

4.1.4 The class of morphemes called classifiers in Kiriwinan is 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 allophonic forms, constitute the entire range of reference of the Kiriwinan speaker who uses the Kavataria dialect. However, some comment is made below that 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.

4.1.5 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 the writer's 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 fifteen or twenty would stand out as having a functional load of about 95% 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 I hasten to add with Malinowski that "most likely a few of the very obsolete areas escaped my attention."[^3]

[^3]: Malinowski, 1920:44
4.1.6 Malinowski's list of "classificatory formatives" numbers only forty two, 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 interests, precluded his thorough investigation of this morpheme class. However, the possibility of rapid language change must not be ruled out. Dixon notes that "Diller reports that the number of forms used as classifiers in modern Thai 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," The Kiriwinan scene is not however 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)", I believe to be 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 is defective, for the reasons I have stated, and does not arise from a language change situation.

4.1.7 The unit of speech which in this study is referred to as a classifier is similar to that which in descriptions other languages is described as the numeral classifier. While it is in Kiriwinan an obligatory part of most numerals, it functions also as an obligatory

4 Dixon, forthcoming:§ 8.6
5 This was verbally reported to me by a European field-worker in anthropology from UPNG (Kilivila dialect area)
6 Thus Adams, Becker and Conklin; Friedrich; Allan; and others.
part of the deictic and of some adjectives as well. Thus for Kiriwinan the term *numeral classifier* is, as Allan suggests for some other languages "something of a misnomer." Thus I use throughout the simple term *classifier*.

4.1.8 The method used here for the study of this morpheme class 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 will be to identify the component or components of meaning the particular classifier is specifying.

4.2 THE CLASS OF KIRIWINAN CLASSIFIERS

4.2.1 The 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.

4.2.2 The thirty four 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 (ie ungrouped) items. An example of this specification is:

35. *waga KAI-tala*
    canoe rigid-one "one canoe"

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7 Allan, 1977:286
8 See Figure III below.
4.2.3 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.

4.2.3.1 The category specifying activity modification contains nine classifiers termed activity specifiers, as they specify actions which have been applied to, or which have affected, whole items. An example of this specification is:

36. *waga ma-PONINA-na*
   canoe that-holed "that leaking canoe"
4.2.3.2 The second category contains forty eight 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. For example, many non-material wholes are not specifiable in terms of partition. Examples of classifiers specifying partition are:

37. \textit{waga ma-KABULO-na} \\
\hspace{1em} canoe that-nose "that canoe prow"

38. \textit{waga ma - BUBO-na} \\
\hspace{1em} canoe that-cut transversely "That canoe cut apart"

4.2.3.3 The third category has fifty six 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. Examples of this specification are:

39. \textit{waga KASA-tala} \\
\hspace{1em} canoe line-one "a line of canoes"

40. \textit{waga TUPILA-veka} \\
\hspace{1em} canoe fleet-big "a large fleet of canoes"

4.2.4 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 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 will be 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 will be examined in detail as each of the three groups of classifiers is considered.

4.2.5 I now consider the two groups of classifiers. I will 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 will be taken as a sufficient explication for others within that sub-group; otherwise, each classifier will be 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 will be found to function within the domain of another classifier; in this I am following Benton, 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." 9

4.2.6 As the classifiers are first named in this study they will be identified in their order of appearance by the abbreviation "Cl" plus a number; eg "Cl 1 to-human animate". 10

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9 Benton, 1968:136
10 The classifiers are listed in sequence, with their identifying numbers, in the lexicon appended to the thesis. (See pp 206-211)
In discussing meanings it will frequently be necessary to study items within each domain in terms of their particular cultural environment or context; as Friedrich 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."¹¹ Thus, sundry incursions into ethnosemantics will be necessary.

4.3 GROUP I CLASSIFIERS

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Group I classifiers in Figure III on p 81 consist of those which specify whole items and make no specification of the way they have been divided or arranged. Figure IV on p 86 gives in tree form the full scope of this group of classifiers.

We have three categories shown in Figure IV. The first consists of five classifiers which give universal reference to the speakers' world-view of items both material and non-material, and which are labelled "Basic Property Specifiers". The second consists of 27 classifiers which operate within the domains of the five Basic Property Specifiers. The third category is a small residue of two item-specifying classifiers which do not operate within those five domains.

The five 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 will be paying full attention to the five domains into which the cognisable world of the Kiriwinan speaker is divided by means of the specifying function of these five.

¹¹ Friedrich, 1970:379
4.3.2 BASIC PROPERTY SPECIFIERS

The five Basic Property Specifiers comprise a taxonomy of reference to all whole or ungrouped items in the speaker's world-view. They are:

| Cl 1  | to¹-   | "human"  |
| Cl 2  | na¹-   | "nonhuman" |
| Cl 3  | kai-   | "rigid/long" |
| Cl 4  | ya-    | "flexible/thin" |
| Cl 5  | kwai-  | "thing" |

The classifiers to¹- and na¹- together specify the animate world and some related items. The classifiers kai-, ya- and kwai- specify the inanimate world. As each of these is considered below, I will include comment on the subclassifiers which function within each domain.

I discuss first the specification of the animate world and some related items, using the classifiers to¹- "human" and na¹- "nonhuman".

4.3.3 TO- HUMAN SPECIFICATION

4.3.3.1 The classifier Cl 1 to¹- "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 the domain of reference of to¹-. This classifier occurs in three forms, in free variation 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", tau- is from the noun tau "adult male human";
FIGURE IV  CLASSIFIERS WHICH SPECIFY WHOLE OR UNDIVIDED ITEMS

(Identifying numbers of classifiers appear in terminal box "LEXICON")
apart from its classifier use, *tai-* occurs only in compound forms such as the exclusive reference numeral *kasi-tai-yu* "only those-person-two, ie those two people and no-one else" which is used either of men or women.

Some examples follow which are drawn from contexts where the speakers were not concerned to specify the sex of the item of discourse but only its human property. The first example is:

41. *Kaina TAI-tala tomota b-i- kaliga ..*
    maybe person-one person fut.-he-die
    "Perhaps one will die ..."

Here the sex of the person is not specified, the speaker's concern being to speak of some death customs as they applied to everyone. The same speaker went on to say,

42. *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 .. "

where it is clear that the speaker was thinking only of death as the theme of his statement, and used a random example, in this case a woman. In the next sentence which the speaker used on that occasion, he actually coupled both his elder brother and his mother as examples, but still used 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 by:

43. *se-maiasi ma-TAU-si-na*
    friend-our-(ex.pl.) 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 some 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 spirits are so specified, the speaker is identifying that spirit as having the property of humanity, or is behaving in a characteristically human way, which places him in the domain of human specification. This anthropomorphisation 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:

44. Ma-TAU-na 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 of Dokanikani 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".
4.3.3.2 Before beginning to consider the domain of Cl 2 na₁- "nonhuman" we must consider the three sub-classifiers which operate within the domain of the Basic Property Specifier to¹-. By looking at the semantic components specified by these three subclassifiers, which give more precise specification of the properties of some items within the domain of to¹-, 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. Also, some prior consideration of Cl 7 na²- "female human" must be made as a preamble to our consideration of its homophonous form, the Basic Property Specifier Cl 2 na₁- "nonhuman".

The three sub-classifiers are:

Cl 6 to²- "male human"
Cl 7 na²- "female human"
Cl 8 gudi- "immature human (sex unspecified)"

These three form an interlocking hierarchy of reference to human beings, where to²- and na²- specify male or female humans of all ages, thus effecting a division of the domain of to¹- "human"; but gudi- comprises a category which divides the domains of to²- and na²- and contrasts the immaturity of items specified with gudi- with that of other items within the discourse specified by either to²- or na²-. On occasions this feature immature is used on a comparative level, as when an old man may refer to a middle-aged man as ma-GUDI-na "that child" specifying thus the feature of "immature (compared to me)". These three classifiers operating with the domain of to¹- "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 to²- and na²-.
4.3.3.3 I now wish to offer a justification for the setting-up of two homophonous pairs to\textsuperscript{1}-, to\textsuperscript{2}- and na\textsuperscript{1}-, na\textsuperscript{2}-. The existence of homophonous classifier forms is noted by Allan, as he says that "it often turns out that semantically distinct classes have homophonous classifier forms."\textsuperscript{12}

When a Kiriwinan speaker wishes to specify the sex of a person, he uses Cl 6 to\textsuperscript{2}- "male human", and Cl 7 na\textsuperscript{2}- "female human". While these have the same phonetic shape as the Basic Property Specifiers to\textsuperscript{1}- "human and na\textsuperscript{1}- "nonhuman", yet contextual evidence shows that they are homophonous forms, for different semantic domains are involved. An example is relevant here:

45. \textit{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\textsuperscript{2}- "male human" is evident, as the speaker wishes to make an overall reference to three elements he sees within human society. Clearly here to\textsuperscript{2}- is "male adult", in contrast with na\textsuperscript{2}- "female adult" and gudi- "child". If we were to interpret this as Cl 1 to\textsuperscript{1}- "human being (sex unspecified)", this would be an unnatural interpretation which would completely upset the balance of his tripartite reference to his 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 the above example 45 is frequently found in text supplemented with the summary comment,

\textsuperscript{12} Allan, 1977:291
46. *B-i-bodai-dasi* goli.
Fut.-it-suit-us (incl. pl.) indeed
"It will satisfy all of us!"

To make the differences quite clear, example 45 above, which states the specifying force of Cl 6 to²- "male human" and Cl 7 na²- "female human", may be contrasted with example 47 below, which is an example of Cl 1 to¹- "human" and Cl 2 na¹- "nonhuman" in their normal specifying role.

47. ma-TAU-si-na tomota deli mi-NA-si-na mauna
that-human-pl people with that-nonhuman-pl animal
"those people and animals"

There is one further consideration of the use of to²- and na²- 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 to¹-. The specification 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".¹³ 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 to²- and na²- strengthens the case for the independent status of these two forms.

¹³ Related forms are the nouns mwala "husband" and vivila "woman".
Another example demonstrates in a different way the sex-specification of Cl 6 to²- "male human":

child man-one offspring-my  
"this boy is my son."

Here the sex-specification of Cl 6 to²- "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 child sex-unspecified, he would have used the classifier *gudi-*, "immature human" as has been done in this next example:

49. *Litu-sia¹⁴  GUDI-vaka-veka.*  
offspring-their child-pl.-big.  
"Their children are grown-up."

In the above examples, we have seen in 41, 42 and 43 that the sex of the person or persons specified has not been a significant part of the speaker's message, and so to¹- "human" has specified indiscriminately men and women. But in examples 45 and 48 the sex-specification is clear, so that Cl 6 to²- "male human" is established by contrast with the specifications of other classifiers in the context of the utterance. Thus the existence of the forms to¹- and to²- is supported by these examples.

Other examples may be given, and other data offered, to support the existence of both these homophonous pairs of to- and na-. The two problems

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¹⁴ *Litu-* is an allomorph of *latu-* which occurs with all plural suffixial forms.
are interwoven, and we look now at data which has bearing on the status of both forms. The plural deictic form ma-TAU-si-na "that-person-plural" may be used, as in example 43 above, to specify a mixed group of men and women, but it may never be used for a group of people and animals. Thus example 47 (above) occurs, which makes this point clear. On the other hand, the deictic plural form mi-NA-si-na "that-nonhuman-plural" 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. Thus my data include the following examples:

50. Mi-NA-na vivila deli mi-NA-na bolodila
that-female human woman with that-nonhuman wild animal
"the woman and the wild animal"

51. Mi-NA-si-na bulumakau deli bunukwa
that-nonhuman-pl cattle with pig
"those cattle and pigs"

Here it is particularly significant that each part of the group in example 50 has to be specified with a separate deictic, Cl 7 na\(^2\) and Cl 2 na\(^1\) - respectively. But in the case of the mixed group of example 51 there is no difficulty about its specification with a single deictic.

Malinowski in his study of the Kiriwinan classificatory formatives gives the gloss of na- as "persons of female sex; animals",\(^{15}\) and this meaning has usually been adopted by other students of Kiriwinan culture. However the above examples have shown that

\(^{15}\) Malinowski, 1920:45-6. See also p 68, where he cites the male and female distinction between animals.
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", 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".

It may perhaps be better to see the relationship between $to^1$- and $to^2$- 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 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 "prodrome"

16 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.

17 Frake, 1961:195. The italics are his.
level as "skin disease", and at the "terminal diagnostic category" level as "eruption". A similar semantic contrast which closely parallels this may also be seen in English, which may be compared with Kiriwinan.

English:  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{man} \\
(\text{i.e./human}) \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{woman} \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{to}^1- \\
(\text{+ female}) \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{na}^1- \\
(\text{- female}) \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{to}^2- \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{na}^2- \\
(\text{+ female}) \\
\end{array}
\]

Kiriwinan:  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{animate} \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{man} \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{woman} \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{to}^1- \\
\text{(+ human)} \\
\text{(- human)} \\
\text{(- female)} \\
\text{(+ female)} \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{to}^2- \\
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{na}^2- \\
\end{array}
\]

The argument of symmetry within a pattern is also relevant. Symmetry in a pattern is not only a supportive datum for phonemic analysis but must also be seen as having relevance in the consideration of semantic patterns. Thus Tyler's 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 to"human" totally includes that of Cl 6 to"male human" yet the evidence cited which supports the separation of the domain of Cl 7 na"female human" from that of Cl 2 na"non-human" has also supported the separate domain of Cl 6 to"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 forms as two homophonous pairs.

18 Frake, 1961:198  
19 Pike, 1947:116-7  
20 Tyler, 1969:12
Thus I conclude that the weight of evidence supports the separation of the forms $to^2$- "male human" and $na^2$- "female human" as classifiers labelling semantic domains distinct from those of $to^1$- "human" and $na^1$- "nonhuman".

4.3.3.4 This study of the domain of the Basic Property Specifier $to^1$- "human" with more precise specification of areas within its domain by means of $to^2$- "male human", $na^2$- "female human" and $gudi$- "immature human" has shown that the Kiriwinan speaker recognise sameness within his world-view by means of the properties which the classifiers specify; within the superordinate domain he associates items on the basis of their humanity without reference to sex or maturity; or else he gives a more specific (or more limited) reference by associating them within the subordinate domains. The sub-classifiers 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 $to^1$-, a man may be specified by Cl 1 $to^1$- "human" and Cl 6 $to^2$- "male human"; a woman rarely by Cl 1 $to^1$- "human" and regularly by Cl 7 $na^2$- "female human", and a child or an immature adult may be specified as to the component of immaturity by Cl 8 $gudi$- "immature human" or by Cl 1 $to^1$-, Cl 6 $to^2$-, or Cl 7 $na^2$-, 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 $to^1$- "human" to specify all items within its domain, or if he wishes for greater precision he 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.

4.3.4  **NA- NONHUMAN SPECIFICATION**

4.3.4.1 The second Basic Property Specifier is Cl 2 *na*¹-, "nonhuman".²¹ 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 rock and trees);
- a certain type of oven-cooked food baked especially for consumption by spirits;
- all heavenly bodies, - sun, moon, stars, meteors;
  also months.

This classifier alone of the five Basic Property Specifiers has no subclassifier operating within its domain, so that no more precise specification of the whole items it specifies is possible. Some examples follow:

52. *mi*-NA-*si*-na  *mauna*  NA-yoyowa
    that-animal-pl. creature animal-flying
    "those birds"

²¹ In the text examples quoted it is sometimes more helpful to give this classifier a gloss which approximates its meaning in that context, as "animal", "fish" etc.
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, and 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".

4.3.4.2 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 \textit{na}^1- "nonhuman".

The corpse has a powerful association, for the first week after death tending towards actual identity, with the \textit{kosa} "spirit of the newly-dead". For the Kiriwinan speaker a corpse is no longer human but is by no means inanimate, as it has to be given proper reverence before burial, and consulted after burial; and dishonour or lack of due ceremony paid will inevitably bring down the \textit{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 \textit{popula}, \textit{q.v.} 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.

Also, heavenly bodies have a number of connective associations through legend and in some more direct associations which connect their movements with good or ill results for people. As an example of this more direct connection may be cited the identification of the arc of a meteor with the nocturnal movements of the *mlukwauzi* "ghoul-spirit" as it goes to find and ravage a victim.22 Another connection may be identified with the association of the waning moon during *milamala* "month name" (that immediately following harvest and its feasting) with the time of departure of spirits of ancestors from the village for the year.23 This association shows that the Kiriwinan speaker is able to attach the nonhuman property to the heavenly bodies.

*Popula* "food for spirit consumption"24 likewise has a strong association with the spirit world, and although this item seems to the Western mind one that is not a natural or an easy association, is yet one which may be made, as this oven-cooked food made on the last day of the waning moon in *milamala* "month name" 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 *na*- "nonhuman". A similar association may be observed for *tomata* "corpse*. Malinowski refers to the corpse being used for food by the *mlukwauzi* "ghoul-spirit".25 Thus a similar

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22 Malinowski, 1922:241
23 Malinowski, 1922:72
24 Malinowski, 1922:184
25 Malinowski, 1922:242
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".

4.3.4.3 This specification of popula "spirit-food" and tomata "corpse", along with other items as carvings in human form, heavenly bodies, etc, within the "nonhuman" domain of Cl 2 na₁-, may be seen not as the identification of a nonhuman property in them; the relationship is rather 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 Cl 2 na₁- "nonhuman".

4.3.4.4 The examination of items within the domain of Cl 2 na₁- has shown that most are animate beings which share the common property of "nonhuman". A few items however have shown a connective association with those items normally specified by Cl 2 na₁-, so that they receive a similar classification. Thus the semantic domain of this Basic Property Specifier 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 he considers to be held in common by all animal life except human and some beings of the spirit world; and 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.

4.3.5 AN ANIMATE DOMAIN

4.3.5.1 A comment needs to be made about the division between the domains of \(to^1\) "human" and \(na^1\) "nonhuman". Some items normally specifiable in one of these two domains may accept specification by the other Basic Property Specifier. The movement which takes place between the domains of "human" and "nonhuman" 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 fact shows that there is some element in common between the two domains, which justifies the higher common node of "animate" in the tree of Figure IV, yet it also gives indication of the semantic contrast which each classifier is able to specify, so that the boundary between the two domains is sharp.

4.3.5.2 Some examples of this multiple specification will help to clarify this.

One speaker within the context of one speech act classified a corpse in two ways:

55. \(mi-NA-na\) \(tomata\) .. \(ma-TAU-na\) \(tomata\)

that-nonhuman corpse that-human corpse
He was speaking in the first case of a cadaver awaiting burial, and so specifying it as nonhuman. In the second case he was speaking of a recently deceased person, discussing the reasons for death, and so was thinking 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.

A second example of the attaching of a different specification to one and the same item was observed in the telling of a legend where a butterfly was specified once as human, and at all other times as nonhuman.

56. ma-TAU-na beba ... mi-NA-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 third and last example of this 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.

57. mi-NA-na kaukwa .. ma-TAU-na kaukwa
    that-nonhuman dog that-human dog

The context of the re-classification was the speaker's normal world-view, in which dogs were regularly specified by Cl 2 na¹- "nonhuman" coupled with his experience of one particular dog which behaved in many ways in a human
fashion and was so treated by humans, which caused him to specify that dog differently from all others. Thus he specified that dog by attaching to it a classifier indicating the human property which he considered it possessed.

4.3.5.3 These two Basic Property Specifiers together specify the world of beings which the Kiriwinan speaker recognises as animate. The examples 55-57 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. Further discussion of this superordinate domain is found below.\(^{26}\)

4.3.6 **KAI- "RIGID/LONG" SPECIFICATION**

I consider now the third, fourth and fifth Basic Property Specifiers Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long", Cl 4 ya- "flexible/thin" and Cl 5 kwai- "thing". I have suggested above that they specify the inanimate world.\(^{27}\) As with the pair already studied, these three represent a single large though unlabelled domain, because of the amount of multiple specification which takes place by means of these. This is discussed below.\(^{28}\)

4.3.6.1 The Basic Property Specifier kai- identifies the properties "rigid/long" as the major specification of its domain. The identification which Malinowski makes for Cl 3 kai- as having reference to "trees and plants, wooden things, long objects"\(^{29}\) is not very wide of the mark except for his suggestion that a list of

\(^{26}\) See 4.3.10 on pp. 125ff. below.

\(^{27}\) See pp 85 above.

\(^{28}\) See pp 122-5 below.

\(^{29}\) Malinowski, 1920:45
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 will be 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 and flowers; garden produce that is long, as tapioca, cob of corn, whole bunches of bananas; any item made from a single piece of wood, as a bowl, comb, spear, houseboard carving, or from several pieces of wood, as a canoe, gable assembly of house (the whole house is specified by Cl 5 kwai- "thing"), a fire, a flame, a fireplace; long rigid things, as a post (wood, cement, iron), crowbar, digging stick, feather, coconut leaves when lashed into long rigid bundle for a fishing torch, and thus by analogy all lamps, including electric globes; a stick of tobacco, stalactite in cave.

4.3.6.2 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 perhaps be considered open to question. These however are specified by Cl 3 kai- if they hold their rigid shape and do not sag or flop limply. The grasses that are thin and non-rigid are in fact specified by Cl 4 ya-, and only the mature or sticklike grasses are included within the domain of Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long".

30 A "hand" of bananas is specified by Cl 95 kila-, and individual bananas by Cl 5 kwai-.
4.3.6.3 Two related specifications are noteworthy as examples of connective association with items naturally specifiable by Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long". First, a fire and the tongues of flame in a blaze do not have any property of rigidity and would perhaps be the formless and nonspecifiable quality which would associate them with many items specified by Cl 5 kwai- "thing", q.v. 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 example of 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, a battery-operated torch, the globe of the torch and any electric globe whether illuminated or not.

4.3.6.4 Some examples of the use of this Basic Property Specifier will show how some items are included within the domain of Cl 3 kai- because of the basic "rigid" feature being identified in them, with the property "long" also being in evidence.

Long rigid housebeams as in example 21 are typical of the regular specifying domain of kai-:

58. ma-KAI-na pou KAI-wonau
that-rigid housebeam rigid-long
"that long housebeam"

Most yams while rigid are not long, and are usually specified by Cl 5 kwai- "thing". But the type of kuvi yam in example 59 below, besides being rigid is also long, sometimes exceeding three metres in length; and this particular yam is regularly specified by Cl 3 kai-, in reference to its length-plus-rigidity:
It should be added that the long Fiji kuv́i yams were introduced to Kiriwina only about the year 1895, so that the inclusion of the Fiji kuv́i, or "kuv́ipiti", in the specification of the classifiers is comparatively new. Allan 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 this example, and also in example 61 below.

Another example of multiple classification which elucidates further the nature of Cl 3 kai- specification is given here. Fish are regularly specified by Cl 2 na¹- "nonhuman". Certain fish however accept the classificatory label of Cl 3 kai-. When this apparently anomalous specification was questioned, my informant replied it was because "they go through the water like spears", which are classified by kai-. This is a further example of "classification by association" noted above. There are four fish so specified, all long thin fish like garfish or barracuda. The example lists two types, the lova and topusa, the second being a mature form of the first.

"We call a mature lova by the name topusa."

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31 Allan, 1977:290
32 See p 105 above.
It should be noted that in this limited specification of certain fish with the property of rigid/long, the normal na¹- "nonhuman" specification is still present in the adjective, the associative kai- "rigid/long" specification being present only in the deictic.

A final example is given here which shows the property of rigidity being specified in water, which is normally specified by Cl 5 kwai- "thing". This usage was observed when two Kiriwinans visiting Canberra saw for the first time a large vertical jet of water in a public fountain. On first seeing the jet, and later in every reference to it, they both made the specification of:

61. ma - KAI-na sopi
    that-rigid water
    "that water jet"

Friedrich, 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.³³ The examples 58-61 have shown that the differing properties of items do on occasions involve the Kiriwinan speaker in a recategorization in order to specify that different property in relation to other items similarly marked.

4.3.6.5 Before leaving this consideration of the domain of Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long", a short comment must be made on the three subclassifiers which operate

³³ Friedrich, 1970:385
within the domain of *kai*-. Unlike those which formed a fairly rigid taxonomy within, and including most of, the domain of Cl 1 *to*- "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 a very limited domain, so that they operate in a way that is analogous to a repeater.

The three classifiers are:

- Cl 9 *kwela-* "pot-like" (cf *kulia* "cooking pot")
- Cl 10 *kova-* "fire" (cf *kova*, "fire")
- Cl 11 *kabilikova-* "fire, fireplace" (cf the noun phrase *kaba-la kova* "place-its fire, fireplace")

The first of these has a wider domain than the others; *kwela-* may specify any vessel with a wide-open mouth that will hold liquids, as 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 classifiers, *kova-* and *kabilikova-* , are limited to a fire (set and ready for burning; burning; or burnt-out) or else 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

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34 I have not listed the homonymic form *kwavi-* , which is archaic in Kavataria dialect area, though still in use in some other dialects. See comment under *kwela-* in appendix.
between the specification of fire and the general 
specification of any light source has been noted 
above, and are clearly examples of tangential 
association with other items having the property which 
the domain of Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long" specifies.

Thus amongst the items specifiable within 
the domain of kai- there is a very small part only 
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 role 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. 
This has been discussed in Chapter III above.

4.3.7 YA- "FLEXIBLE THIN" SPECIFICATION

4.3.7.1 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 PropertySpecifier ya- classifies 
items mainly in terms of their flexibility, though 
here again 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, as a leaf, frond, single 
piece of paper;
- anything stringlike, as rope, split cane, fishing-
  line, hair, creeper;

See p 105 above.

See pp 68-74 above.
anything flexible, as a canoe sail, garment, cloth, rubberband; anything round which has been hollowed out for a container, as a water-bottle made from a coconut, lime gourd, and also a coconut or gourd at any stage of its development; a number of round fruits which soften when mature, as breadfruit, pawpaw, etc (when immature and hard they are specified by Cl 5 kwai- "thing").

4.3.7.2 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 and they are labelled with Cl 4 ya-. Also small flexible blades of grass are specified by ya-, becoming Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long" specified when they mature into rigid sticks; larger types of grass as bamboo and sugar cane are specified by Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long" at all times.

4.3.7.3 The development of some fruits has been mentioned above; 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 their maturation, although they are flexible ie soft-skinned for only a small 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; as 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.

4.3.7.4 When however a coconut has a large part of the shell removed, and is made into a cup or a bowl, it is then specified by Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long" or Cl 9 kwela- "pot-like"; so it has to be asked whether the roundness of a 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 thinwalled 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.

4.3.7.5 I thus 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, grasses, the feature of thinness is strong, so that the glossing of ya- with "flexible/thin" is fairly accurate. Flexibility is also seen above to include the softness evident in fruit when it is mature and ready for use.

37 See p 108 above.
4.3.7.6 Classifiers giving more precise specification within the domain of Cl 4 ya- "flexible/thin" (as with those noted within the domain of Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long") are only three in number, and are very limited in their domains of specification. They are:

Cl 12 tam- "sprouting" (cf -tam "sprout, shoot");
Cl 13 sobulo- "growing"; and
Cl 14 sega- "branching".

All three have specific reference to the growth of the yam vine, where the 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 may be given here which sets out in full the explication of sega- given 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.

62. Taitu b-i-tam GILI-vasi ta-kigudu yam it-will-sprout tendril-four, we-prune

GILI-tala wala b-i-susina. B-i-susina tendril-one only it-will-grow it-will-grow

o-tapwa-la SIVA-tala baisa SEGA-tala. 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-tendril."
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 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.

4.3.7.7 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 has been seen by contrast with other classifiers. This is further discussed below.

4.3.8 **KWAI- "THING" SPECIFICATION**

4.3.8.1 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, "items 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.

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38 Adams, Becker, Conklin, 1975:4
39 See pp 122-4 below.
I give here a statement on items specified within the semantic domain of Cl 5 *kwai* - "thing". Included are:

items of no clear shape, or round objects with no neck or mouth;
mass-nouns as 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, as house, a *soulava* necklace, a chain, sewn mats;
geographical and topographical features, as island, mountain, swamp;
non-material entities, as time words, personal experiences, abstract nouns, concepts, activities;
anything indefinite, unknown or unknowable;
any unknown item may be initially specified by *kwai*- and then be reclassified when known.

4.3.8.2 To try to isolate areas of common meaning in such complexity would be a difficult exercise. The first four Basic Property Specifiers have been 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, and to say "Properties other than these four".40

40 This is discussed further on pp 125-7 below.
4.3.8.3 It has been observed above 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 no exception 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, and so they may now be specified by Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long", or Cl 4 ya- "flexible/thin". Also the transition from unknown to known involves an item in re-classification. This is a natural working-out of the system of classification in Kiriwina when it is remembered that the speaker using the Basic Property Specifier is not really specifying items at all but the properties he perceives in items.

4.3.8.4 The number of sub-classifiers 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 these eighteen classifiers operating within the domain of kwai- is of a somewhat heterogenous nature. Six have time reference:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Cl 15 } & \text{tuto-} & \text{"time, occasion" (cf tuta "time");} \\
\text{Cl 16 } & \text{siva-} & \text{"number of times doing something, going somewhere";} \\
\text{Cl 17 } & \text{lilou-} & \text{as Cl 16 siva-, also "journeys, walking or travelling on vessel", (cf liloula "a walk");} \\
\text{Cl 18 } & \text{yam}\text{'} & \text{"days, occasions" (cf yam "day");} \\
\text{Cl 19 } & \text{kala-} & \text{"passage of day" (lapse of time) (cf kalasia "sun")} \\
\text{Cl 20 } & \text{bugi-} & \text{"night", either referring to night or to next day (cf bogi "night").}
\end{align*}
\]
Two have reference to speech or the voice:

Cl 21 biga- "word, statement, argument, public speech" (cf biga "word");
Cl 22 kaiga- "voice, also what the voice utters" (cf kaiga "voice").

Four others also have non-material specifications:

Cl 23 ligila- "any corporate action, as wealth exchange, a round of turns at doing something; focus is on the completion of a whole series or block of related acts, as one group of spear-throwing turns, then one of throwing-stick turns, etc.";
Cl 24 mweli¹- "practices; learning a skill (dancing, a song) or a sport"; (cf -mweli "to practise");
Cl 25 migi- "appearance of a thing; its kind or sort, also a face" (cf migi- "face");
Cl 26 wowyo- "any new thing; specification is not really of the thing but of the component of newness" (cf wo (excl.) "Wow!").

Four refer to objects important for various reasons in the village scene:

Cl 27 kumlo- "oven" (cf kumkumla "ground oven");
Cl 28 nigo- "nest or burrow of any wild creature" (cf nigwa "nest");
Cl 29 kavi- "any sharp-edged tool as axe, knife, spoon etc." (cf kavi "stone axe blade");
Cl 30 pwa- "excrement, bowel movement in a heap" (cf pwasi "excrement");

¹¹ The difference between this and Cl 11 Kabilikova- "fireplace" is that in the fireplace the heat comes from sticks (classified by kai-) whereas here the heat source is stones (classified kwai-).
There are two others:

Cl 31 igi- "wind" (cf yagila "wind");  
Cl 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 they may be more precisely stated by one of the eighteen classifiers listed above. The repeater-like element in these limited reference classifiers becomes clearer when the closely cognate forms are examined. Fourteen of the eighteen classifier forms actually reiterate the noun they are most likely to specify, though in every case more than one item may be specified by these classifiers of very limited reference.

Twelve classifiers 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, so that no head noun occurs with them at all. This 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 has commented on this type of phenomenon as a feature of some classifier languages. However, I must note that Allan cites kala- as an example of "noun-free quantifier constructions." Although he starts the phrase *kala tala yam

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42 See p 31 above.  
43 Allan, 1977:306
(sic) "one day", yet I have in fact recorded some occurrences for kala- in the deictic form attached to and specifying the noun yam "day", as:

63. ma-KALA-na yam
that-day day "that whole day"

One other time reference using one of these time-specifying classifiers should be observed 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, ie the day after tomorrow", BUGI-tolu "night-three, ie two days after tomorrow", etc, are regularly used. Malinowski considered this to be a special temporal device only, and that thus bugi- was disqualified from classifier function. Yet I have recorded occurrences of the deictic using Cl 20 bugi-, in reference to "that night", and in adjectives such as BUGI-veka "night-big" ie "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 deictic and numeral forms.

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44 Malinowski, 1920:51. "As this is a very special use of the prefix bogi- (ie referring to coming days), I have not included it in our list." See also Allan's comment on the adverbial function of some noun-free classifier forms, quoted in Ch I p 31. Allan would agree here with Malinowski's decision not to include such a form with the classifiers, as he comments that "since the function of adverbials is to modify verbs" (Allan 1977:307) we are not dealing here with a noun phrase phenomenon at all.

45 Note irregular deictic plural form in Ch II, p 39.
Two of these classifiers specifying non-material items specify in different ways the act of speech; so that Cl 21 biga- specifies "a word, statement", while Cl 22 kaiga- "the voice (which utters the words)" may specify either the voice or the words uttered. The first of these is concerned with words as a cognitive message; the second, with words as a phonic phenomenon.

The four remaining classifiers having non-material specification may be seen as specifiers of actions (Cl 23 ligila- "group action", Cl 24 mweli- "practices") or specifiers of aspects of items (Cl 25 migi- "appearance", Cl 26 wouyo- "newness").

Of the six remaining subclassifiers, 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 taken in the form of an example will show that though of limited specification they are not in fact what Allan refers to as "unique classifiers".46

64. KUMLO-bogwa  pwaipwaia; KUMLO-vau daram.
oven-original earth    oven- new drum
"The first ovens were earth; but ovens today are drums."

This example is commented on in Chapter III where its operation "analogous to a repeater" but not in fact a true repeater is noted.47 The other two sub-classifiers

46 Allan, 1977:295
47 See p 66 above.
left in this section need further comment. One, viz, Cl 32 vil-o- "place" is limited only to use with adjectives. These vil-o- forms are archaic and appear rarely, a fact which Malinowski writing over fifty years ago observed; he notes, "I hardly ever heard the formative vil-o- in use, though in direct answers to questions my informants would insist on its being the correct particle for village."^48

The second of these needing further comment is Cl 29 kavi- "sharp-edged tool". Because of the weakness of the phoneme /v/ when intervocalic between /a/ and /i/, this often occurs as [ka.ị], which is bisyllabic and is not to be confused with the monosyllabic Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long". This sub-classifier has a slightly larger domain, as it may specify any tool or utensil which has a sharp working edge, as an axe, knife, adze, spoon, fork, etc.

The inclusion of "spoon" in this domain of "sharp-edged tools" is satisfactorily explained by the cultural equivalent of a modern spoon being recognised in the sharp-edged shell used for scooping and eating. 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 classifier specifies a larger domain than many of those already observed here, 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

^48 Malinowski, 1920:56
also the modern edged tools of Western origin, as the saw, chisel, screwdriver, plane, etc. The tools of trade of the carpenter or mechanic are generally specifiable by Cl 5 kwai- "thing"; those among them having sharpened edges may be more precisely specified by Cl 29 kavi- "sharp-edged tool".

4.3.8.5 A general comment may be made in reference to the larger 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, while Cl 2 na₁- "nonhuman" admits no such subclassification, the domain of Cl 5 kwai- "thing" has the eighteen subclassifiers which we have just been studying. This fact is itself a clarification of an important difference in the domain of Cl 5 kwai-. The domains of the other four Basic Property Specifiers are fairly precise, their semantic labelling of items as human, nonhuman, rigid/long and flexible/thin being a clear attribution of a property which an item so classified is seen to possess along with other items; this precise label means there is little need for more precise delineation within those four domains by other classifiers having more limited domains.

When however items, which do not accept the specification of the first four Basic Property specifiers to₁-, na₁-, kai- or ya-, are labelled by Cl 5 kwai- "thing", the kwai- 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 enable a speaker to give greater precision to his specification of items within the kwai- domain. It is of interest to note the large number of these which specify nonmaterial entities, and the concern for precise temporal specification. Also, the diversity of specification of the others operating within the domain of kwai-, having reference to cooking, hunting,
working with tools, offensive garbage, sailing and locative reference, also highlight the breadth of the total domain of this Basic PropertySpecifier.

4.3.9 AN INANIMATE DOMAIN

4.3.9.1 Some comment was made above on some shared features of the domains of Cl 1 to1- "human" and Cl 2 na1- "nonhuman", to justify the common superordinate property of "animate" which is suggested for each in the tree diagram of Figure IV. I make here 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; intending thus to offer a justification for the superordinate node of "inanimate" which has been proposed for them in Figure IV.

4.3.9.2 There is no single domain which separates the vegetable world into a classification of its own. Malinowski has suggested that in fact the classifier kai- has this role but this is far from being the case. We have seen above that the domain of Cl 3 kai- "rigid/long" includes all rigid vegetable life forms which are extended or long, as trees, bamboo, bushes, etc. The domain of Cl 4 ya- "flexible/thin" includes all vegetable life which is flexible, either long and thin as vines and tendrils, or thin and extended in two dimensions as leaves. The domain of Cl 5 kwai- also specifies some forms of vegetable life, as seeds, and some mature vegetable produce of the garden. It has been noted that a seed (referrable by the deictic mαkWaiNa) may by entering a growing state be

49 See p 101 above, and diagram on p 86.
50 Malinowski, 1920:47
reclassified as flexible (*miYAna*), and later when the growth has matured may be reclassified as rigid (*maKAIna*). Also, an unknown item may start with *kwai*- specification, and be precisely placed when perceptually identified as to its physical components. I should add to this also the comment that the initial specification of Cl 5 *kwai*- "thing" usually indicates that an initial decision has been made that the item is not in fact an animate one.

4.3.9.3 A third consideration has reference to the property specification of these three classifiers. In the case of Cl 3 *kai*- "rigid/long" and Cl 4 *ya*- "flexible/thin", each has a property of consistency (rigid, flexible) 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 *kai*- and *ya*- need to be applied together. Thus *kai*- and *ya*- are semantically compounds of the two physical properties; however the physical property of consistency, which is first in order, is to be understood as the primary one.

An examination of the items specified by Cl 5 *kwai*-, (which has been glossed as "thing", and also (on p.113) as "properties other than the first four Basic Property Specifiers"), shows that consistency is the basic or primary specification of this Basic PropertySpecifier; 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.

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51 See p 115 above.
52 See p 115 above.
Some comments about the secondary specifications of these three classifiers also reveal the complementary nature of their specification. First, when they specify shape, Cl 3 *kai-* is primarily interested in items extended in one dimension, as the house post, spear, iron pipe, stalactite, concrete fence post, etc. It may also specify things extended in two dimensions, as the flat assembly of a house gable, or a flat wooden platter. Cl 4 *ya-* specifies both one-dimensional and two-dimensional extended items, as rope, wire, creeper tendril, also leaf or bark of tree, (if flexible), woven material, dried mat-making grasses; and it may specify some three-dimensional items as gourds, coconuts, and soft mature fruits that are large and round. Cl 5 *kwai-* generally specifies three-dimensional items, as stones, vegetable produce, the whole of a house; also some one-dimensional items as the shell necklace, or two-dimensional items as mats and rain-capes.

Another secondary specification of these three classifiers may be expressed in terms of their specification of simple or complex items which have been manufactured. Both Cl 3 *kai-* and Cl 4 *ya-* specify simple items; *kai-* specifies rigid/simple manufactured items, as a bowl, comb, canoe, the gable structure of a house, a fishing torch made from coconut leaves. (The element of tangential connection is seen here, as complex things as an ocean liner or a jet plane are also specified by *kai-* because of their connection with a canoe and transport.) *Ya-* specifies flexible/simple manufactured items, as a garment, sheet of paper, rope, gourd, or water bottle. However Cl 5 *kwai-* specifies manufactured items without regard for their rigidity or flexibility, but which are complex, as the *soulava* shell necklace, woven and
sewn mats, an 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 would seem to be a simple vehicle and so its connection with and specification as a canoe (ie by Cl 3 kai-) would be natural.

4.3.9.5 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 consistency specifications, and in their secondary specifications of shape and of 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 is marked by perceptually-determined physical properties of consistency, shape and complexity, which I have labelled "inanimate", and the other which is not marked for consistency, shape or complexity which I have labelled "animate".

4.3.10 A WORLD-VIEW TAXONOMY

4.3.10.1 In his arrangement of classifier categories Allan separates his first four categories of material, shape, consistency and size into a major group which he labels as "the material and configurational categories,(which) all refer to the salient inherent characteristics as perceived in them or imputed to them by the speaker." 53 It is of interest

53 Allan, 1977:303
to note here 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.

4.3.10.2 The relationship between the five Basic Property Specifiers has been presented in tree form in Figure IV, to show their semantic relationship in referring to the world-view of the Kiriwinan speaker. Adams, Becker and Conklin 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" yet their comment may be seen to apply to the Kiriwinan classificatory system. The Kiriwinan speaker's total world-view would seem to be dependent upon a dichotomy of animacy (to\textsuperscript{1} and na\textsuperscript{1}) and inanimacy (kat-, 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 as long, thin, and "other than long or thin". The domain of items labelled "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.

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54 Adams, Becker and Conklin:4
55 Adams, Becker and Conklin:3
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 90% of all classifier usage is made by means of the five Basic Property Specifiers.

4.3.10.3 In the above study, reference has also been made to those other classifiers operating within the domains of the Basic Property Specifiers; in the tree diagram in Figure IV\textsuperscript{56} they have been labelled as "subclassifiers". The function of the subclassifiers is seen in some cases to be simply that of classifiers like the Basic Property Specifiers but operating subordinate to them, with their domains of reference being wholly included within a larger domain.

In the case of one domain, that is, the human domain specified by the Basic Property Specifier Cl 1 \textit{to}^1- "human", a reclassification of almost the whole domain is effected by the three subclassifiers. These subclassifiers, Cl 6 \textit{to}^2- "male human", Cl 7 \textit{na}^2- "female human", and Cl 8 \textit{gudi} - "immature human", while totally included within the larger human domain, are so related by an interlocking hierarchical dependence, that we must see their function within the domain of Cl 1 \textit{to}^1- as approaching a comprehensive taxonomy of the entire superordinate domain. Within that domain the specification of one of the three subclassifiers, Cl 8 \textit{gudi} - "immature human", effects a division across the domains of Cl 6 \textit{to}^2- and Cl 7 \textit{na}^2-, to refer to any immature human regardless of sex, as child, nursing infant, adolescent, etc. Thus the classifier \textit{gudi}- is referring exclusively to the

\textsuperscript{56} See p 86 above.
component of immature human. Even here however the
division does not effect a perfect taxonomy, as the
component "immature human" may be applied con-
trastively to an adult, as when an old man referred
to a middle-aged person as ma-GUDI-na "that-immature
(with respect to me)". On the other hand, the
domains of the other Basic Property Specifiers are
either not subject to more precise specification, as
is the case with Cl 2 na1- "nonhuman", or have only
a small part of their total domain which may be more
precisely delineated by a classifier 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 only, that is, things
actively growing in the garden, accept more precise
specification by means of the three subclassifiers
(Cl 12 tam- "sprouting", Cl 13 sobulo- "growing", and
Cl 14 sega- "branching"), operating within that domain.

4.3.10.4 Some of the subclassifiers function in a
fashion which is identifiable as parallel to the role
of the covert repeaters which Benton identifies for
Trukese,57 so that a more complex semantic relation-
ship exists between these classifiers and their noun.
An example of that more complex relationship is quoted
above for Cl 12 tam- "sprouting".58 Others yet again
reflect the role of the noun-free classifiers dis-
cussed in Chapter III.59

Malinowski's comments in reference to
these subclassifiers which have a role analogous to
repeaters must be mentioned here. He was careful to
distinguish between what he calls the "true classifiers"
and those which he termed "naming formatives", which
did not in his opinion classify.60

57 See p 10f and 63 above. 59 See p 64 above.
58 See example 25, p 63 above. 60 Malinowski, 1920:58
However it is my assertion that their function is still a classifying one, and that they differ only in degree from these classifiers with a wide or general reference which I call Basic Property Specifiers. These latter specify a property, such as "human" or "rigid/long", and the semantic compatibility of a large number of items with each property thus ensures a large domain for each of these. The subclassifiers, instead of specifying a property, specify an item as the type which they specify, as "pot-like", "fire-like", "road-like", etc, and as only a small number of items are semantically compatible with such a specification, so the domain of each is a small one.

4.3.11 RESIDUE

4.3.11.1 We are left with a small residue of two classifiers which specify whole or individual items, but which do not operate within the domains of any of the five Basic Property Specifiers. They are:

Cl 33 iga-  "name (given to person or thing)"
         (cf yaga- "name");
Cl 34 kuno-  "rain (shower, downpour, etc.)"
         (cf kuna "rain").

Like the others within this first group of classifiers, these two classifiers specify items as items, but they have the feature peculiar only to these two of not functioning within the domains of the five Basic Property Specifiers. Instead they form two very small semantic domains separated from the others. In my field investigation of these I felt sure that the non-material specification of Cl 42 iga- "name" should lie within the larger domain of
Cl 5 kwai- "thing", where more precise specification of a similar nature is given by Cl 21 biqa- "word" or Cl 22 kaiga- "voice". However no informant would ever accept the classification of "name" by kwai-, and insisted that iga- was alone acceptable. Likewise, when I would have expected rain, a natural phenomenon, to accept the same kwai- classification as wind, tide and other natural forces, no informant would accept such a specification. Neither of these two can be regarded as an item modified by partition or by arrangement of items. There is no alternative but to see this remnant subgroup of item classifiers 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 speaker into five domains marked by the five Basic Property Specifiers warrants some comment in the nature of an ethnographic justification.

4.3.11.2 The magical significance of a person's name, and the power that possession of someone's name imparts, a belief common to many people in many different ages, is similarly evident in Kiriwinan society. Most Kiriwinans will state their name when asked, but I have not infrequently embarrassed a Kiriwinan from an isolated village by asking him his name. On such occasions, he would not speak his name out loud, as he did not want any ill-intentioned stranger to hear him say his own name and thus gain ability to work magic mischief against him. So he would answer my impolite query by whispering to a comrade who would then pass the name to me. When I learnt better manners, when confronted with a stranger from some remote spot or outlying island, I would casually enquire of his friend standing with him:
65. *Ami yaga-la so-m?*  
What name-his friend-your?  
"What's your friend's name?"

It seemed that the audible rehearsal of a name by someone else did not convey the same aura of menace that the direct pronouncing of one's own name did. 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 42 *iga-*.

4.3.11.3 The second domain, that of Cl 43 *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 or 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 include also the manipulation of the *bogau* "death-bringing spirits", who still claim their victims in Kiriwina. The *Tabalu* chiefs were, and still are, accredited with power over both life and death, movement of the heavenly bodies, onset of seasons, drought, etc. Why one of the *Tabalu's* traditional powers should be distinguished with a separate semantic domain marked by the classifier Cl 43 *kuno-* 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 as it may be for the Western mind. For the Kiriwinan it will mean that the *Tabalu* chiefs and the *bogau* spirits are well-disposed to him or to his village.
Thus in both cases (iga-and kuno-) there is some basis for the separation of two semantic domains; the elements of well-being through the intervention of magic and protection from the spirits are present in each.

4.3.12 CONCLUSION ON GROUP I CLASSIFIERS

4.3.12.1 This concludes my examination of the first major group of classifiers as presented in Figure IV. I have shown that five of the classifiers in that group have a comprehensive reference to almost all items and entities in the speaker's cognitive world-view, insofar as he is referring to whole and individual items. Those five I have labelled 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 sub-classification, 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.

4.3.12.2 The role of property specification is uppermost in this first major group of classifiers. Although only five of them bear the label of Basic PropertySpecifier, these are statistically the ones

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61 See p 86 above.
most frequently used. The domains of the sub-
classifiers are more limited, but the specification
of a property is still the function of these
classifiers having item reference. The difference
between the most general classifier and the most
specific\textsuperscript{62} is one of degree rather than one of kind,
and the phrase "polarities in a semantic continuum"\textsuperscript{63}
may be applied to these extreme points. That prop-
erties 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.

4.3.12.2 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 deletion processes, point
to an area of function of the classifiers on the
higher discourse level, where the classifiers estab-
lish continuity through a pattern of semantic
agreement across sentence boundaries. This has been
discussed in some detail above\textsuperscript{64}. However this
function of the classifiers is more clearly in evi-
dence in the Group II classifiers, which have yet
to be discussed.

\textsuperscript{62} For example C1 5 \textit{kawai-} "thing" and C1 27 \textit{kumlo-} "oven".
\textsuperscript{63} Becker, 1975:114
\textsuperscript{64} See pp 68ff above.
4.3.12.3 The question whether meaning is added to the noun phrase by the classifier is not one with a single reply for all classifiers. In the natural specification of properties discussed above, there is generally no addition of meaning. Rather there is a re-iteration of one feature of meaning, 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, then 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 noun phrase, 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.65

4.4 GROUP II CLASSIFIERS

4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The classifiers of Group II in Figure III, all introduce some modification of the item, in distinction to those of the first group which specify only items which were whole and ungrouped. Of the total of 147 classifiers only 34 have to do with item specification. The remaining 113 classifiers however do not function so frequently in the language,66 as the demands of general conversation ensure the highest statistical occurrence to the five Basic Property Specifiers, and to a lesser degree to the other classifiers operating within their domains.

65 Discussion of these two matters receives full attention below; see pp 202-4.

66 With one or two exceptions. See for example comment on Cl 91 pila-, p 161.
When introducing his last two categories of classifiers, Allan points out that "the last two categories of classification, those of arrangement and quanta, do not classify entities according to their inherent characteristics." Allan's insight is generally borne out by these Group II Kiriwinan 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 relation that specified items have with their 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, food exchange and so on. Thus many of the classifiers in this section would be used only by the specialists in reference to their specialities; the probability is that specialists in other speciality 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 of Kiriwinan, which is the dialect on which this analysis

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67 Allan, 1977:304
is based, 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 other areas. Adams, Becker and Conklin have noted 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 Kavatari speakers discussing with amusement the different classifier specifications made within other dialects.

The 113 classifiers which I have called Group II classifiers are divided, as may be seen in Figure III, into three categories. The first category, which numbers nine, deals with the modification of whole items by means of some activity; the second, numbering 48, deals with partitive specification, and the third category, totalling 56, with specification of various arrangements of items.

4.4.2 ACTIVITY SPECIFIERS

4.4.2.1 The first category has been labelled in Figure III as "activity specifiers". In introducing this small category, I must first point out that activity specification as such is not limited to those classifiers which are included in this group.

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68 Adams, Becker, Conklin, 1975:4
In fact, it may be said in general terms that all three categories within the Group II classifiers 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, 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 which has affected an item other than partition or arrangement.

4.4.2.2 In this 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 classifiers 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.

The nine activity specifiers are given here, with a sampling of the sort of items they may classify:

Cl 35 bubulo- "anything made, manufactured or created". The specification is not so much the object per se but is a specification of something which has been made. (cf verb -bubuli "to make");

Cl 36 buko1- "anything buried". The specification is of a buried item as something concealed by being buried (eg buwa "betel nut", mwali "arm-shell") or buried in order to mature (eg natu "a fruit"). (cf verb -baku "bury");
Cl 37  bulu-  "anything floating half-submerged;
Cl 38  beku-  "anything floating full of water
  (cf verb -beku "founder (wooden canoe which still floats although full of water)");
Cl 39  gabu-  "anything burning or burnt; batches of roasted food; place where fire has burnt body; fireplace" (cf verb -gabu "burn");
Cl 40  no-  "anything used to strike person; the strikes or slaps themselves";
Cl 41  nutu-  "anything kneaded into ball" (cf verb -nutu "knead (putty)");
Cl 42  ponina-  "anything punctured; the hole itself" (cf verb -ponana "to be punctured");
Cl 43  pwasa-  "anything rotten, soft, spoiled through decay or rust" (cf verb -pwasa "to rot").

4.4.2.3 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, or a football (kwai-) impaled on something. Also the puncture itself (ma-PONINA-na 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. The nature of this
greater complexity, together with an interesting parallel phenomenon noted by Benton in Trukese, is studied above.  

4.4.2.4 The double potential in this subgroup of classifiers, of identifying either an item acted on, or identifying the activity itself, is a very interesting feature. An example which shows the direct specification of an activity is given here:


"This chair is of Roman Catholic manufacture, but that one is of United Church manufacture."

(Or,) "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 in example 66, 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 noun phrase, so that activity specification is itself a complex semantic feature.

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69 See Benton's category of "covert repeater" and its Kiriwinan parallel forms, in Chapter III pp 62ff.
4.4.3 PARTITIVE CLASSIFIERS

4.4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The second category of Group II classifiers is my next concern. I have labelled them the "partitive classifiers". This group of classifiers which specify the modification of items by partition, with its lexical membership of 48 morphemes, is set out in full in Figure V below.

The arrangement of material in this category is one of convenience. We have fourteen which identify various non-movable parts of the environment, either parts of the land, sea or sky environment or divisions of gardening land. Then there are fifteen classifiers which identify moveable
or non-material parts within wholes; these classifiers identify parts of trees, structures such as buildings or canoes, parts of the body and parts of non-material wholes. Both of these two subcategories have in common the feature of identifying parts of larger wholes, usually wholes which may not be physically separated to form the separate parts named. Also, some of the classifiers within these two subgroups function metaphorically to specify certain non-material entities, such as the specification of areas of authority or division of tasks.

The third subgroup 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 subgroup of three classifiers having multiple reference, as they may specify topographical partition, parts within wholes, and pieces.

4.4.3.2 PARTITIVES - TOPOGRAPHICAL REFERENCE

The fourteen partitive classifiers which have reference to parts of the land and sea environment are loosely labelled as topographical. It should be noted that Allan 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

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70 Allan, 1977:303-4
separate one, as has been noted above, some arrangement and quanta classifiers being strongly locational in their specification. It would be difficult to separate the locational component from the Kiriwinan partitive classifiers, arrangement classifiers 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 udila- "large tracts of virgin forest, old garden land, areas of swamp or of useless rocky country" (cf lawodila "the bush");

Cl 45 kubila- "plots of land which are owned, identifiable by boundaries etc."

These two classifiers 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

71 See pp 29-30 above.
may be used to specify the one area of land with
different meanings. Cl 44 udila- specifies a tract
having some overall feature (rocky, swampy, 
cultivable, etc); and Cl 45 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 to 10 hectares)" or
the smaller baleku "plot of land (about half-
hectare)".

Size specification is a clear component
of the classifiers which specify different sizes of
division of a garden. The bagula "garden plot", is
specified by the Basic Property Specifier Cl 5 kwai-
"thing"; and the six classifiers specifying garden
divisions may be arranged in a hierarchy of size,
as a proportion of the whole bagula "garden":

Cl 46 kalivisi- "large garden-division (bagula
divided into two or three plots)";
Cl 47 gubo- "garden division (half of the
kalivisi- division)"
Cl 48 vala- "garden division (part of Cl 47
 gubo- division)"
Cl 49 lupo- "garden division (small)"
Cl 50 kadida- "garden division (very small,
the width of a track" (cf keda "track"
Cl 51 pulu- "garden mound where one clump
of things grow".

The first five of these six specifiers of the div-
ision of a garden plot are also used as a metaphor
of the division of a total task into smaller parts
to be shared by several workers.
Three classifiers refer to topographical features in or near a village:

Cl 52 kalipo- "the suburb of a village; any part of the village having a specific purpose, as site selected for meeting, place set aside for dancing, etc."

Cl 53 kailiku- "part of the village" (a similar specification to Cl 89 kabulo-, but seldom used.);

Cl 54 kada- "track".  

The final three classifiers in this list of topographical classifiers specify places in the sea, all in relation to fishing spots:

Cl 55 seuyo- "lagoon area between reef and land; any fishing spot in lagoon";

Cl 56 soulo- "any place in sea where fish live - group of rocks, coral niggerhead, old drum, wreck, etc";

Cl 57 lada- "a very small fishing spot (accessible from clifftop); a 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

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72 Specification of a track by Cl 5 kuxzi- is a regular feature of the Kilivila dialect; but is greeted with amusement within Kavataria dialect area.
other property is disposed of. The apparently anomalous reference in Cl 57 *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.

4.4.3.3 PARTITIVES - PARTS WITHIN WHOLEs

I come now to the second subcategory of partitive classifiers, namely those in Figure V which specify "parts within wholes".\textsuperscript{73} There are 15 classifiers in this subcategory, in contrast to the topographical classifiers, which specify parts of non-geographical wholes. 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. They are listed here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Clarification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cl 58 <em>sisi-</em></td>
<td>&quot;bough, twig, leaf, flower, either attached to or cut from the tree; division of a magic spell&quot; (cf <em>sisila</em> &quot;branch&quot;);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl 59 <em>lila-</em></td>
<td>&quot;part of a tree either attached to or cut from the tree&quot;;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl 60 <em>lilivi-</em></td>
<td>&quot;forked stick, small section of branch&quot;;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl 61 <em>liku-</em></td>
<td>&quot;divisions within canoe; horizontal divisions within foodhouse; divisions or areas of authority in place&quot;;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl 62 <em>lipu-</em></td>
<td>&quot;tiers or stages erecting <em>pwatai</em> &quot;ceremonial display basket&quot;; horizontal divisions within foodhouse; one <em>kaivalapu</em> &quot;gable-board&quot;;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{73} See p 140 above.
Cl 63 **buliga-** "storey or horizontal divisions in house; drawers or shelves in series; horizontal divisions in foodhouse";

Cl 64 **kabisi-** "sections, divisions, or shelves in foodhouse";

Cl 65 **livisi-** "shelves, usually in house; drawers; divisions of a foodhouse, or contents of the division";

Cl 66 **tabudo-** "room, divisions within house" (cf -taboda- "divide using instrument");

Cl 67 **kaduyo-** "entrance to any place where people or animals may 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 pull-over; also any hole in clothing";

Cl 68 **moya-** "limb or digit still attached to body; position in family lineage";

Cl 69 **kwaya-** "limb or digit when severed from human body; may also specify limb attached to (but considered apart from) body, but this specification may only apply to human or animal limbs";

Cl 70 **yam²-** "hand attached to body";

Cl 71 **nina-** "an idea, thought; part of a magic spell or song" (cf **nona**, "idea");

Cl 72 **mavila-** "verse or stanza of song, paragraph in chapter, part of a magic formula; division of a day marked by changing position of sun".
Those classifiers which specify parts of trees (Cl 58 sisi-, Cl 59 lila-, Cl 60 lilivi) 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. Of the three which refer to parts of the body, one in particular (Cl 65 kwaya-) is able to specify human limbs when separated, but generally the specification is the same as for parts of trees, namely the part is specified but the idea of separation is not. Two of these five classifiers also have a non-material specification. Cl 58 sisi- may specify part of a magic spell, and Cl 68 moya- when attached to the names of fingers may specify the position a person holds in a family (first-born etc), or in a genealogy.

The seven classifiers which specify parts of various constructions have some overlap in specialist areas of the culture. Five of the seven specify foodhouse divisions, as may be seen from the above listing. 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 in the foodhouse,74 and a regular extension of that specification to the specification of authority or community status as a result of having yams in store. It is significant that many of those used to specify yamhouse storage only do so as their secondary specification; thus Cl 61 liku-, Cl 62 lipu-, Cl 63 buliga- and Cl 65 livisi- all have a primary specification which is their

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74 The foodhouse is used exclusively for yam storage.
major function, some of which have considerable social importance; and only one, Cl 64 *kabisi-*, has foodhouse divisions as its only specification. Their specification of foodhouse divisions (see Cls 61-65) 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* on p 99 and *kai-* on p 108 above.

Two other classifiers remain in this subgroup. These are used to specify parts of non-material wholes. 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 within a totality of someone's thought or comment. Cl 72 *mavila-* may specify any part of a non-material whole, as a verse of a song, a paragraph in a printed chapter, part of a magic formula, division of a day into time segments.  

Before proceeding to the third subcategory, some reference must be made to a component in the above two subgroups, namely the metaphorical extension of some to refer to areas of authority, divisions of tasks, etc.

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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.
The metaphorical extension of some of these partitive classifiers to areas of authority or status is an interesting part of their general domain; and a comment here on which classifiers the Kiriwinan speaker sees as relevant to such an extension is able to show us something of the Kiriwinan's view of the nature of that authority or status.

The classifier Cl 61 liku- "canoe division" 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; and the liku-specification of these positions is extended to the offices of importance themselves, so that phrases such as ma-LIKU-na to-kabi-kuliga "that position steersman", et al, apply equally to the position within the canoe or 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.

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. 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.

76 Malinowski, 1922:118-21, 204; and Malinowski 1926:20.
77 Perhaps an exception needs to be noted in the case of one of the three 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.
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.

4.4.3.4 PARTITIVES - PIECES

The third subcategory of partitive classifiers consists of those which specify actual partition of items into pieces or fragments. These classifiers 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 carcase, and six specifying serves of food.

Those classifiers which specify the mode of division are similar to the activity specifiers. These are:

- **Cl 73 bubo-** "anything cut across using knife, axe, saw, etc" (cf -bobu "cut (using axe, etc)"");
- **Cl 74 vili-** "a piece obtained by being broken off with twisting motion; untwisted" (cf -vili "unravel").

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78 See Figure V, p 140 above.
Examples of these two classifiers are best displayed in the context of a full sentence. First, Cl 73 bubo-:

67. \textit{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 of this sentence was the cutting of a large diameter log with a chain saw, which had been done by a trader wanting a large piece of wood for an engine base. Thus they are pieces cut transversely using an instrument for the cutting. Conversation over this same incident also provided other examples which I have used above.\footnote{See example 23, p 49, and 33, p 73.} Secondly, an example for Cl 74 \textit{vili-}, which is a phrase plus a sentence:

68. \textit{ma-VILI-si-na yuwoyoula ...} \\
that-twisted-pl rope ...  \\
"those pieces of unravelled rope ..."

\textit{kusakaigu VILI-tala wala} \\
you-give-me twisted-one only  \\
Give me one strand only"

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 as a rope, into two separate strands, or the whole stick may be broken apart by a twisting motion when gripped between the fingertips.

It would be a natural association to see a connection between specification of an activity and verblike functions. This has already been noted with respect to the "activity specifiers". The verbal forms related to the classifiers Cl 73 and Cl 74 above, 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 ponina-. These partitive classifiers, eg Cl 73 bubo-, 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 some comment on instrumental reference. Instrumental noun phrases are extremely rare in Kiriwinan; in examining one group of 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

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80 See p 136 above.
81 See examples on p 138 above.
verb-root prefixes, which indicate the means by which the action of the verb is carried out. 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.

Thus yo- "do violently", va- "do gently", ki- "do with hands" and katu- "do indirectly, (ie with an instrument)" may be attached to other morphemes to form verbs with causative indicators built into the verb action, as:

- **yogagi**  "harm someone" (yo- "do violently", and gaga "bad");
- **vamom**  "give a drink to" (va- "do gently", and -mom "to drink");
- **katumati**  "kill (with instrument)" (katu- "do indirectly", and -mata "die");
- **kimati**  "kill (using hands)" (ki- "do with hands, vigorously", and mata- "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 noun phrase; and as the activity classifiers have verbal antecedents, this gives a consistent pattern to Kiriwinan instrumental reference.
Six classifiers in this subcategory have quantitative force, and some hierarchical arrangement may be discerned between them. Two of the three multiple reference classifiers from the fourth subgroup may be included in this hierarchical arrangement of size specification:

- *kabulo-* "half of anything" (see below, Cl 89);
- Cl 75 *lapou-* "a piece smaller than *kabulo-*; either a third or a quarter of the whole piece";
- *katupo-* "half of *kabulo-*" (see below, Cl 90);
- Cl 76 *gum-* "a smaller piece, frequently half of *lapou-*";
- Cl 77 *gibu-* "a small piece, as *gum-*; but with the additional component of 'enough'; eg a serve of food (which is enough for a meal, or piece of tobacco enough for a smoke, etc)"
- Cl 78 *kuwo-* "crumbs, fragments smaller than any above, but worth keeping (either food or tobacco)"
- Cl 79 *utu-* "scraps or crumbs to be discarded".

Three classifiers specify cuts of meat from a dismembered carcase; there is some size specification:

- Cl 80 *kabila-* "large portion of carcase"
- Cl 81 *kipu-* "piece of carcase, about half of *kabila-*; a mouthful of flesh"
- Cl 82 *sisili-* "small portion of carcase; this may be same size as Cl 81 *kipu-* specification, or smaller; usually cooked" (cf -*sali* "to divide or dismember").
It should be noted here 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. An example given here illustrates this, also justifying the multiple specification of Cl 82 sisili-:

69. Kabila-tala avaka bi-ta-sali sisili-tala
cut - one what will-we-divide small-cut-one
sisili-tala. Sisili-tala kala bobu
small-cut-one. Small-cut-one its division
tuvaila sisili-tala sisili-tala.
too small-cut-one small-cut-one.

"If we cut a large joint of meat in half, we call each piece "sisili-". Then if we cut again the smaller piece we still call each of these smaller cuts "sisili-".

We have a number of classifiers to do with the division of food and drink. Six may be listed, together with one other (Cl 81 kipu-) which has as its primary specification a cut of raw meat, with the secondary specification of a portion of cooked flesh served for eating. In this section, 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 kaya-
"one piece of mature food cut into halves"; Cl 91 pila- may be used in the same way to specify this division into two equal parts;
In addition to these, Cl 76 gum- "small piece", Cl 77 gibu- "enough (vegetable, fish etc)" and Cl 78 kuwo- "crumb, mouthful" may also 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", "enough tobacco for a smoke" to the insulting level of:

70. Ka, ma-KUWO-si-na!
    See, that-crumb-pl.-
    "Just look at those crumbs!"

4.4.3.5 PARTITIVES - MULTIPLE REFERENCE

The last subcategory of classifiers which modify items by partition consists of three having multiple reference. These three classifiers have a universal function of partitive reference in the sense
that each may refer to the three categories of partitive reference identified above — topographical, specification of parts within wholes, and of pieces. The three classifiers are:

Cl 89 kabulo- "suburb/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. I now examine the three semantic domains which each of these classifiers specify. As each follows a consistent pattern of multiple specification, I have listed them first in Figure VI below, with the specification for each position in the paradigm being indicated in broad outline only. The explication of each, in the text which follows, gives the specification in detail.

The topographical function of Cl 89 kabulo- includes specification of part of a village, as a suburb. Some Kirivinan villages are large, with populations approaching a thousand people. Although all the houses are built in close proximity, certain areas or groups of families fall under the authority of one high-ranking person, even though there may be little actual physical boundary line visible. Thus kabulo- may specify one such area or suburb within a village; and the specification may also extend metaphorically to the concept of an area of authority, either in the matter of choices for the collective work programme of the suburb specified, or in other matters, as authority over a team in a game, responsibility for food distribution, etc. This classifier may also specify a cape or point of land jutting into the sea, which is a topographical application from the next paragraph.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Topographical</th>
<th>Part of whole</th>
<th>Pieces - specification of:</th>
<th>size</th>
<th>other (mode, etc.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kabulo-</td>
<td>part of village, suburb, Area of authority.</td>
<td>Protuberance, as knob, handle, nose, Cape of land.</td>
<td>half</td>
<td>fish cutlets (natural division)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katupo-</td>
<td>stages of a journey.</td>
<td>Part of long item as rope, sugarcane (before cutting), temporal divisions</td>
<td>quarter</td>
<td>divide by breaking (functional division)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pila-</td>
<td>area (part of larger area)</td>
<td>side, end of something; a part on one side (which is duplicated on other)</td>
<td>piece</td>
<td>lateral division (equal parts)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig VI  MULTIPLE SPECIFICATION OF THREE PARTITIVE CLASSIFIERS

The specification of "part of a whole" is made by *kabulo-* in reference to any protuberances of an object, as the end of a piece of timber, the corners of a box, or its handles, knobs, etc.; also the nose of a person is so specified. One of the topographical comments above ("cape, peninsula") is clearly a topographical application of this "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" (which has been included above in a 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 example 71 below a Kiriwinan speaker refers to one such kabulo- section of a fish, referring also to the "lengthways division" specification of Cl 91 pila-:

71. 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 Cl 89 kabulo- seems most readily to express the feature of natural physical division. 83

The second classifier in this group of multiple specification partitives, Cl 90 katupo- is likewise seen to specify all three functions. It has the general specification of functional division. 84

The topographical reference of katupo- specifies the stages of a journey, or the division of a track into stages of acceptable length between rests. The following example makes this specification clear.

72. Baisa b-i-la Obwelia KATUPO-vasi katupwaila,
    this will-it-go Obwelia stage-four stage

    paila baisa b-i-la-ga Kakabali - e
    for this will-it-go-emph. Kakabali - well

    Morobwaga, Lumwela, Obwelia.
    Morobwaga, Lumwela, Obwelia.

82 See pp 61 and 154 above.
83 See p 165 below.
84 See p 166 below.
"From here to Obwelia is four stages; because from here to Kakabali is one stage, then Morobwaga, Lumwela and Obwelia."

The names given in this example, apart from the village name (Obwelia) which was the destination, 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, as a length of sugar cane between two nodes before it is cut off, a part of a rope or fishing line, etc.

A non-material application of the "part of the whole" specification of katupo-, is its use to specify temporal divisions within a day. Traditional Kiriwinan 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 Kiriwinan 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* "bruise, crush" indicates the possible origin of this specification of mode of division. Its second specification is the quantity-specific "quarter", also noted above.\(^8^5\)

The last of the three partitive 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.

The topographical reference of Cl 91 *pila-* is in specifying any area of ground as part of a larger area, as part of a village, the whole village as part of a district, 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, as one end of the floor area within the building. *Pila-* may also specify the 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 of *pila-* arises from its "part of the whole" specifying function or from its specification of equal...\(^8^5\) See pp 61 and 154 above.
lateral division referred to below; I am of the opinion that the basic component is that of lateral division, and the component "side of something capable of equal lateral division" is a secondary specification. I have thus included a full comment on this below.

As has been seen for Cl 89 kabulo- and Cl 90 katupo- above, when we consider the specification of pieces by pila-, a dual role may be seen. Pila- may specify either a piece of anything without reference to size, or it may refer to a thing divided equally by lateral division.

The division into pieces without specification of size or proportion is specified of a divided piece of food, or a piece of a stick of tobacco without specification of the proportion of the piece to the whole stick. The component of sharing out something 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 specification of size, there is a second specification of lateral division which is clearly a major feature: pila- may specify anything which has been laterally divided into two equal parts, as a fish divided into two halves down the backbone, a piece of wood split longitudinally, a carcase split down the backbone.

The extension of this last specification of splitting or division lengthways 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, such as timber adzed or planed flat, carved houseboards, planks from a sawmill, any book (although individual leaves are specified by Cl 4 ya- "flexible"), etc.

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 the 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 saw all of its raw materials for building "in the round", and where flatness had to be created by splitting or adzing. As the "flat" component is applied to a number of modern things, as books, planks of timber, etc and to many traditional things where the flatness has to be created, as 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.

A tangential association of the feature of "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 sides of a person (but not the back or front "sides"); also, anything on the one side which is duplicated on the other side is specified by *pila-* such as a hand, eye, ear, etc. The wing of a bird when still attached to the body is so specified. When these items are separated from the body they are then differently specified. When a person has lost one of a pair of bodily members however such as an eye, it is the remaining part of the body which is referred to as *PILA-kesa* "part-remnant", the person himself being described as *to-PILA-kesa* "person-part-remnant" or as *ma-TAU-na PILA-kesa mata-la* "that-person part-remnant eye-his".

The specification of whole items by *pila-* is mainly in certain modern specifications, as have been listed above as arising from the basic partitive specifications - a book, plank of timber, etc. One whole item specification which does not fit in with these is the traditional (ie not modern) specification of a whole song by using *pila-* 86 This may be in accord with the "part of a larger whole" specification of *pila-* (see above); this is however only possible 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 this specification arising from that of the "part of a whole" identified above.

Thus we have seen that the classifier Cl 91 *pila-* is used to specify "part of a whole" in two senses, as well as its use to specify "piece" in two senses. Its "part of whole" may be "part of a larger whole" which appears in its topographical

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86 Cf Cl 71 *nina-* "idea" and Cl 72 *mavila-* "verse".
reference, or "part not separated but which is duplicated on the other side", which we have seen 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 was seen, or "piece divided equally lengthways".

A brief summary comment on these three classifiers will draw together the general features observed. The artificial nature of the division between "part of whole" and topographical categories as suggested on p 142 is seen here in the blurred boundaries between the domains specified for these three classifiers. It is better in fact to consider them as having in general only the two broad categories of "part of whole" and "piece" specification. I state here these features for each classifier in a general fashion.

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 the points 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 pita- 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 evident 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 lengthways" 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 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.
4.4.3.6 CONCLUSION ON PARTITIVE CLASSIFIERS

Some general comments are made here about the partitive classifiers.

First, we may not properly refer to them 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 of partitives specifies not the new entity as an item in isolation; but 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 relation 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 noun phrase the meaning component of partition obligatorily, plus optionally the component of either the activity of division or the size of the piece. Figure II on page 60 pictures amongst other things the possible divisions which may be applied to a stick of tobacco, as an example of the way partitive specification may be applied to whole items.
The multiple role of the activity specifier subgroup has been noted above.⁸⁷ We may note also that a similar sort of dual role is evident in these partitive classifiers which specify quanta (see for example the repeater-like function of Cl 90 katupo- in example 72 above), 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 their partitive reference, particularly in reference to modern or trans-cultural items, they do in some cases function as item specifiers. The broad function of the classifier Cl 91 pila- "part" illustrates this, as has been discussed above.⁸⁸ The classifier pila- has a 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, some reference must be made to the "nounfree" 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 Cl 66 tabudo- "room" in ma-TABUDO-na taboda "that

⁸⁷ See p 138 above.
⁸⁸ See p 164 above.
division, that wall"; but its usual form is simply the noun-free phrase ma-TABUDO-na "that (room of a house)", there being no separate word for "room". Or 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"; or else, in reference to the contents of a shelf it may be used with the name of the contents of the shelf, as ma-LIVISI-na taitu "that-shelf 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 will carry a potential of multiple specification.

In fact many of the classifiers included in the list of "partitive" classifiers will really 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" or 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. 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. Further comment summarising these subgroups is left until completion of discussion on the arrangement classifiers.

4.4.4 ARRANGEMENT CLASSIFIERS

The third subcategory of classifiers which modify items is now considered. They comprise in all 56 classifiers which specify various groupings or arrangements of items. I label them as "arrangement classifiers". This subgroup is set out comprehensively in tree form in Figure VII below.

Every classifier in this third category has as its basic specification the plurality of the items it classifies.

4.4.4.1 INHERENT GROUPING

There are seven classifiers which specify classes of items which are inherently possible only as groups. The rest are not inherently grouped; these function in three ways. First, as distributional arrangements of items or groups of various kinds; 27 classifiers within this section specify various different groupings of items as heaps, bundles, crowds, loads, etc. Then there is a second section of eight

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89 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 Chapter I p 15.
90 See pp 202-3 above.
classifiers which specify a configurational arrangement in coils, rolls or lines. Lastly, fourteen classifiers specify various quantitative arrangements.\textsuperscript{91}

The first section of arrangement classifiers consists of seven classifiers which specify inherent arrangements of items. Three specify social groups, and four specify bunches or clusters of fruit, nuts etc.

The three classifiers which specify social groups are:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Cl 92 \textit{tubo-} "a generation, all the children born at one period; the people of one's own time (a loose indefinite group);"
  \item Cl 93 \textit{kumila-} "a clan group" (cf \textit{kumila-} "clan group");
  \item Cl 94 \textit{dila-} "a family line; one family within the \textit{kumila-} group" (cf \textit{dala} "family line").
\end{itemize}

These three classifiers serve to divide society in two directions. The classification of Cl 92 \textit{tubo-} is a stratification which cuts across all family lines and clans, dividing society into children, adults and old people. The other two, \textit{dila-} and \textit{kumila-}, comprise a division of society across the generation strata into four large groups called \textit{kumila} "clan", with each clan having numerous

\textsuperscript{91} The terminology I have used to label the subcategories of Kiriwinan classifiers in this third category are adapted from Allan's description of his last two categories of classification. See Allan, 1977:304-306.
different *dala* "family line". Both divisions are comprehensive, so that the pattern of horizontal (ie similar age groups) and vertical (ie across age groups) division which could be drawn would be a hierarchical taxonomy of reference similar in structure to that which was seen above in reference to the domain of \( to^1 \).  \(^{92}\)

One example of these may be given:

73. Mina Dobu KUMILA-vila yakidasi-ga
people Dobu clan-many(indef) we-emph.

*KUMILA-vasi.*
clan-four

"Dobu people have a number of clans but we have only four."

\(^{92}\) See p 96 above.
The other four classifiers in this subgroup are:

Cl 95  \textit{kila-}  "hand of bananas";
Cl 96  \textit{buko}^2-  "cluster of fruit on one stem; bunch of yams growing in one clump. May also specify a cluster of egg cowrie shells as used on the chief's house gable ornament (cf \textit{-bukula} "bear (fruit) in clusters");
Cl 97  \textit{biko-}  "bunch of coconuts on one stem";
Cl 98  \textit{sa-}  "bunch of betel nuts or other edible nuts; bunch of nuts similar to betel but inedible."

With the exception of \textit{buko}^2-, which has one non-inherent specification of a manufactured cluster of \textit{buna} "egg cowrie shells", all of these specify naturally-occurring clusters of nuts and fruits.

The multiple specification of \textit{buko-} needs a comment. Three separate specifications have been noted:

1. That which is buried (cf \textit{-baku} "inter, bury", see Cl 34 \textit{buko}^1-).
2. Fruit borne in clusters (cf \textit{-bukula} "bear in clusters").
3. Egg cowrie shells made to form the \textit{kapiwa} "chief's gable ornament" (cf Cl 134 \textit{puli-} "bunch").

The first two of these have caused me to postulate the two homophonous but semantically distinct forms \textit{buko}^1- and \textit{buko}^2-. 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 above for Cl 5 kwai- "thing" and Cl 91 pila "part/piece", is noted by Allan as characteristic of some areas within classifier languages. The "members which SEEM to have been arbitrarily assigned"⁹³ 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."⁹⁴

The other classifiers in this category of arrangement classifiers specify several types of non-inherent groups of items. They have been separated into three subcategories in Figure VII.⁹⁵

4.4.4.2 DISTRIBUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT

The first of the subcategories is the largest. It consists of 27 classifiers which specify distributed arrangements of items. Allan speaks of this type of classifier as "classifiers which identify

⁹³ Allan, 1977:294
⁹⁴ Allan, 1977:295
⁹⁵ See p 172 above.
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 Kiriwina classifiers.

Six of them specify heaps, groups and crowds, with considerable synonymy between some:

Cl 99  

budo-  

"a group or crowd (people, animals, birds, fish)" (cf boda "group"). The domain of this classifier is wholly included within that of Cl 101 gulo-;

Cl 100  

deli-  

"a group on the move" (cf deli conj "with");

Cl 101  

gulo-  

"group of people or animals; heap of random objects; bundle of fibres laid side by side but not tied together". This has a wider reference than Cl 99 budo-;

Cl 102  

gugulo-  

"gathering of people, a meeting (with a purpose); heap of bundles of things" (cf gugula "meet together, assemble");

Cl 103  

yuwo-  

"group (people or animals) either stationary or moving; (cf yau "group, people or animals"). This classification is more readily applicable to large groups;

Cl 104  

tupila-  

"fleet or group of canoes; the group of people travelling by the one fleet" (cf tupila "fleet (of canoes)").

96 Allan, 1977:305
Eight specify bundles or parcels:

Cl 105  *duli-* "a bundle of rolls, any bundle of two to six items; a number of fruit borne on one stem" (cf. *-duli "bear in cluster, (fruit)"); this form may in some specifications be synonymous with Cl 96 *buko*-;

Cl 106  *seluva-* "a bundle in process of being tied up";

Cl 107  *luva-* "anything tied in a bundle, without distinction - sticks, stalks of spinach, sugarcane, flat dishes tied into bundle, etc.";

Cl 108  *ta-,φ-* "baskets, full or empty, contents of basket". Zero form used only with numerals (*ta- also used here, though rarely);³⁷

Cl 109  *kapo-* "bundles rolled up (usually small); parcels; nest of bird"; (cf. *-kapola "to wrap up");

Cl 110  *kapuli-* "a group (or large parcel) of parcels; cargo of goods on one trip; a load of people on one run (canoe or truck)";

Cl 111  *luba-* "large bundle of rolls (matting); parcels of taro pudding";

Cl 112  *mwele*-² "bundle of leaves used as poultice dressing; a poultice application".

³⁷ Malinowski lists only the zero form. He did however note the existence of *ta-*, as he recorded its use within the deictic, (Malinowski, 1920:62.); although he appears to have misunderstood it. Also he wrongly criticised Fellows for identifying *Tayuka* (Mal *TAlua*) by its correct translation of "two baskets".
Four specify loads, contents or layers:

C1 113  *dodiga-* "a load, contents of load; contents of a box or drawer" (cf *dodiga* "load (canoe)");

C1 114  *kaiyuvai-* "layers of things in a load of cargo; people tumbled together in a game; group of things on a shelf; layers of filth on body; strata in earth's crust (three are recognised - earth, stone and rock); rows of items";

C1 115  *pupai-* "layers or strata of filth (body, village area); also other specifications as for *kaiyuvai-*, but less commonly used." (cf *popu* "excreta, filth");

C1 116  *keivala-* "batch of things curing over fire or in sun" (cf *keivala* "batch").

Note that C1 110 *kapuli-* "group of parcels" may also specify the general component of "loads", similar to C1s 113-114.

Five specify bundles or rolls:

C1 117  *mmo-* "bundles tied into conical shape, tops tied together, as is done for bundles of taro, maize, tomato bushes (plus fruit), torch made of dry coconut leaves for night fishing (also specifiable by C1 3 *kai-* "rigid/long); growing clumps of sugar cane tied at top (to promote long canes)" (cf *mwan* "bundle made by tying tops");
Cl 118 sipu- "tangled line; nest" (cf -sipu "tie knot");

Cl 119 wela- "fish strung together, indefinite number, but equal weight or quantity."^98

Cl 120 kudu- "band or rope for skirt-band, fibres laid parallel; roll of split creeper used for lashing" (if wali "cane (used for lashing)" is laid in long straight bundles, unsplit and not coiled, it is specified by Cl 107 luva-; if it is split for lashings and then coiled it is specified by kudu-);

Cl 121 suyo- "anything tied in a bundle or strung together by having string passed through hole, as 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 clearing; tuft of hair left on shaven head";

Cl 123 lukuvu- "groups of things growing together, tied at tops or trellised together; long things (posts, canes) cut down and tied in long bundles; trellises";

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98 The wela- "string of fish" category is probably the only example of weight specification amongst the classifiers. The weight is not specifically declared, there being no units of weight measure; but the wela-strings are approximately three kilos, being a standard trading unit in exchange for a six kilo basket of yams.
Cl 124  poulo-  "grove of trees; group of people; heaps of things gathered into a group";

Cl 125  umila-  "grove of trees all of one sort, 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 lukva-; etc). Some have specifications which could place them either in this group or in another. For example, Cl 120 kudu- specifying rolls, or specifying a configuration of coils which could place it in the configurational subgroup to be studied below. The difficulty of overlap or of multiple specification is a constant one, and at times the placing of a classifier in one place or the other will be seen as merely an arbitrary choice.

4.4.4.3 CONFIGURATIONAL ARRANGEMENT

The second subcategory of classifiers specifying non-inherent arrangement consists of eight classifiers specifying configurational detail. Allan, in speaking of this category, cites "those which identify an object or objects in some specific and non-inherent configuration."\(^99\) He also speaks of a second group of "classifiers which identify an object or set of objects in a specific position, thus intersecting with the category of location."\(^100\) Allan includes either single or multiple items in each of these two categories; the single items which would

\(^{99}\) Allan, 1977:304

\(^{100}\) Allan, 1977:305
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." 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 may see that Allan's general remarks have direct support in these Kiriwinan data.

The eight configurational arrangement classifiers are as follows:

Four classifiers specify coils or coiled things:

Cl 126 *tavi-* "rope loosely coiled in hand (cf -tavi "coil it up");

Cl 127 *kupa-* "line in loose coils; serve of uncooked greens" (cf -kukupa adj 1, "short");

Cl 128 *teni-* "rope in tight coil or hank, elbow and hand used as form";

Cl 129 *katukuni-* "rope or line wound onto reel; a turn in a coil" (cf katu-kuni "roll it up (using a reel)").

Two specify rolls of flat things:

Cl 130 *bili-* "Mat-making or house-wallling material in rolls; anything rolled up (paper, cloth, mat material, house-wall material)

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101 See pp 141-2 above.
102 Allan, 1977:305
103 See Figure VII, p 172.
Cl 131 tabili- "Mat-making or house-wallling material in rolls; a rolled-up mat."\(^{104}\) (cf katubili "roll it up").

Finally, two specify rows or lines of items:

Cl 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";

Cl 133 kasa- "line or row of things - books on shelf, line of song, sentence; things or people in a row; bunch of keys on string (indefinite number)" (cf -kasa "form a line (people)").

There is little to comment on in this subsection except to note that the domains of some of these are broader than the domain suggested in their heading, so that they could conceivably have membership in more than one category. For example, Cl 133 kasa- "line" in this subsection overlaps with Cl 121 suyo- "things strung through hole" in respect of keys on a string.

\(^{104}\) Of these two, Cl 131 seems to be preferred for traditional rolls, and Cl 130 for modern coils, as paper, cloth, steel bands, etc. There is however a large area of synonymy between the two.
4.4.4.4 QUANTITATIVE CLASSIFIERS

We come to the third and last subcategory of noninherent arrangement classifiers, namely those which I have called the "quantitative classifiers". As I have drawn extensive parallels between my groupings and Allan's suggested arrangement of classifier categories, I should note here a difference between what he refers to 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 subsection labelled "quantitative classifiers". 105

There are fourteen classifiers in this subsection. Two specify units of measurement:

Cl 134  uva- "a span measure, about a fathom (outstretched arms); any item measured in spans (circumference of heap of yams, kuvipiti "long yams", fish)". 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 base of heap. 106

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105 See Allan, 1977:306
106 This quantification of a group of items is the justification for placing these two measurement classifications with the arrangement classifiers; but they would probably occur more naturally with the partitive classifiers.
Cl 135 yuma-

"measure of length (from fingertip of one hand to wrist joint of other arm, arms outstretched; about 15 cm shorter than uva-tala "span-one"); also, rarely, a hand or arm" (cf yama- "hand"). It may be that the apparent multiple specification of this classifier 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 allo-morph 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 (two to six items) tied together, or people either tied together or connected by holding hands in games; cluster of egg cowrie shells for chief's gable ornament, or any cluster of shells for a dancing ornament; several fruit borne in a cluster on one stem." The amount of overlap between this form and the classifiers Cl 36 buko²- "fruit cluster" and Cl 105 duli- "bundle, cluster" should be noted.
Cl 137  *katuluwo-*  "large group (people, animals, things) - an indefinite number in the hundreds or thousands" (cf *lakuluwo-* "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* "a crustacean");

Cl 140  *kupo-*  "string of two fish or other marine creatures (eels, octopi, etc)";

Cl 141  *yulai-*  "bundle of four things (food, other objects)".

Some examples of counting using each of these four classifiers are given here. An adequate free translation is difficult, but is attempted in each case:

74. **KALO-tala**  **NA-tana**⁹⁷  *lakum*  
two-bundle-one animal-one crab  
"three crabs"  
"A pair of crabs plus another crab (ie three crabs)"

75. **KUPO-tala**  **kase-la**  *yena*  
two-string-one remnant-its fish  "three fish"  
"A pair of fish plus another one (ie three fish)"

⁹⁷ *Tana* is an allophone of *tala*, regularly used with Cl 2 and Cl 7, *na-*.
76. **YULAI-tala**  **UWO-tala**  **luya**
four-bundle-one two-bundle-one coconut
"six coconuts"
"A four-bundle plus a pair of coconuts
(ie 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:

Cl 142 *kasila-*  "groups of ten wealth items
(mwali "armshells", soulava "necklaces" mmakata "dancing
plumes" etc)";

Cl 143 *buluwo-*  "groups of ten animals, birds,
fish; (cf bolodila "wild
animal", from bunukwa: "pig"
and lawodila "jungle").
Counting people using this classifier is considered a joke.

An example of this last classifier in text is:

77. **Mi-NA-si-na**  **NA-lima**  **bunukwa** ..  
that-animal-pl animal-five pig .. 
"Those five pigs ..

**mi-NA-si-na**  **BULUWO-yu**  **bunukwa**
that-animal-pl ten-group-two pig
those twenty pigs"

Cl 144 *kaulo-*  "ten of wela- strings of fish";
Cl 145 ika-  "tens of things, as kuvi yams, skirts, coconuts, etc; some special specifications of this are:
tens of Cl 98 sa- "bunches of nuts"
tens of Cl 141 yulai- "four-bundles"
tens of Cl 120 kudu- "bundles"
tens of Cl 107 luva- "bundles"

Two similar phrases are an example here:

78. YULAI-luwo-tala luya .. IKA-tala luya
four-b.-ten-one coconut. Ten-yulai-one coconut
"ten of four-bunches of coconuts .. ten-fours of coconuts (ie forty coconuts)"

Cl 146 kaluwo-  "days in groups of ten (cf KALA-luwo-tala "day-ten-one");
also ten-groups of kai- specified items (cf Cl 3 kai- "rigid" and luwo- "ten of").

This form only occurs with numerals. Note that in reference to ten-groups of days, both kaluwo- and the regular KALA-luwo- "day-ten" occur. Note also that Cl 147 kwailuwo- "tens of items" (see below), may also specify days in groups of ten.

Cl 147 kwailuwo-  "ten-groups of items". This is the regular specification of Cl 5 kwai- "thing" plus -luwo- "tens of". However the following special specifications may be made:
Some general comments need to be made about the domains of reference of the fourteen forms in this last subcategory, the quantitative classifiers.

The first two, which specify 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 a more complex specification, so that their use adds a great deal of information to the phrase. Thus Cl 140 kupo-specifies:

1. a group of two items;
2. that the two items are hung on a piece of string;
3. that they are marine items.

Likewise Cl 142 kasila- has a triple specification:

1. the items are ten in number;
2. they must be items culturally accepted as "wealth items";
3. 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:

1. the specification is of plural items;
2. the items specified are fish;
3. they must be strung together;
4. each string of fish contains the same quantity;
5. they are placed together in groups of ten strings.

4.4.4.5 CONCLUSION ON ARRANGEMENT CLASSIFIERS

A brief general comment must be made on this subcategory of "arrangement classifiers".

The complexity of the relationship between these 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 noun phrase 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 is found the additional component of plurality of the item specified. The quantitative complexity of some classifiers has been referred to above,\textsuperscript{108} which poses the question whether in fact the arrangement classifiers take over the role of numbers and in some cases render them redundant. This question must be answered, first in reference to the specification of plurality, and second in reference to the specification of explicit quanta.

\textsuperscript{108} See p 187-8 above.
The specification of plurality is not a monopoly of the number morphemes. Plurality may be specified by the verb either in reference to its subject or object noun phrase; 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 the 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 (Cls 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 any items semantically capable of being isolated as units and enumerated. The quantity-specific classifiers, as may be seen by reference to pp 132-135, 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"\textsuperscript{109} is the environment in which this overlap of specific numbering role occurs. An examination of the domains of reference of the quantity-specific classifiers shows that the cultural environment in which the classifiers

\textsuperscript{109} Malinowski, 1935:37
function to specify certain numbers is in the grouping 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.

4.5 GENERAL COMMENTS

Before arriving at a general conclusion, there are four questions which need to be examined briefly.

4.5.1 CLASSIFIER ROLE AND ADJECTIVE ROLE

I consider first classifiers and adjectives. 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 notes that the only kinds of semantic opposition displayed by adjectives are antonymy and complementarity.110 The majority of Kiriwinan adjectives occur in antonym pairs, so that the modifying role of

110 See Dixon, 1977:31
the adjectives is usually manifested in terms which may be contrasted with some antonymous form. The adjectives in Figure I are mainly collated as antonym pairs.\textsuperscript{111} Examples are \textit{bidubu} "thick", \textit{kakalaia} "thin"; \textit{doudoga} "crooked", \textit{duwosisia} "straight"; \textit{-veka} "big", \textit{-kekita} "small"; \textit{-bogwa} "old", \textit{-vau} "new"; \textit{gagabila} "light", \textit{mwau} "heavy". There are also some sets of adjectives in a relationship of complementarity, as \textit{simokainia} "sweet", \textit{pwayuyu} "sour", \textit{yayana} "salty, bitter"; \textit{manum} "quiet", \textit{minimani} "noisy", \textit{gasist} "fierce"; \textit{-mwala} "male", \textit{-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,\textsuperscript{112} or in the subclassification within the semantic domain of the first Basic Property Specifier Cl 1 to\textsuperscript{113} "human". Complementarity was also noted as a feature of the inanimate Basic Property Specifiers.\textsuperscript{114}

The specification of antonymy however is not made by the classifiers, so that there is a clear contrast of roles here, where the adjective may contrast items by antonymous modification, and the classifier cannot do this.

We may go on from this point to 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

\textsuperscript{111} See p 44 above.
\textsuperscript{112} See Cls 46-51, p 143 above.
\textsuperscript{113} See Cls 6-8, p 89 above.
\textsuperscript{114} See pp 124-5 above.
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 seman-
tically 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
identify that item apart from all other similar items.

Thus Dixon identifies the semantic role
of the adjective: "Semantically, an adjective des-
cribes 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,
as I may rephrase the conclusion of Dixon's sentence
as an apposite comment here, "... 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 Kiriwinan
classifier is to group items by means of their simi-
larities, 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.

---
115 Dixon, 1977:63
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,¹¹⁶ and in a 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 studied above. It has been pointed out in that study that all of these classifiers Cls 35-147 specify actions: general activity, plus the specific actions of division and arranging, and so all have a verb-like role. Among them there are many which are morphologically related to verb forms, as for example Cl 73 *bubo-* "cut across", Cl 74 *vili-* "untwisted", Cl 102 *gugulo-* "gathering", Cl 109 *kapo-* "parcels", Cl 113 *dodiga-* "load", Cl 118 *sipu-* "tangle", Cl 126 *tavi-* "loose coil", *et al.*, which 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 re-iteration 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 noun phrase.

¹¹⁶ See activity specifiers, p 137ff above.
The noun-free constructions, as Allen has pointed out, are filling in many cases an adverbial role;\textsuperscript{117} this is confirmed as a feature of Kiriwinan by such examples as the adverbial role of \textit{GILIvasi} in example 62 above.\textsuperscript{118}

This is also the case with many of those classifiers with a complex role which I have suggested as parallel forms to Benton's category of \textit{covert repeaters}.\textsuperscript{119} Examples 24 and 25 above have shown that such Kiriwinan repeaters may make a primary specification of an activity, plus a secondary specification of the item acted upon; and 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 both to noun-root and verb-root repetition. The classifier may stand in the place either of 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 stronger cohesive force between the sentences of a discourse, being able to specify either nominal or verbal meanings as the anaphor of either deleted form.

\textsuperscript{117} Allan, 1975:306-7. "It is reasonable to suppose that they are in-construction-with verbs ... and not with nouns at all."

\textsuperscript{118} See p 112 above.

\textsuperscript{119} See pp 62-63 above.
4.5.3 CLASSIFICATION BY CONNECTIVE ASSOCIATION

Two areas in which classifiers associate items within domains which could not be said to be "natural" meanings are commented on here. One is the area of connective association, and the other is metaphor.

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 into a domain awkwardly or unnaturally, and 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. Some examples of this connective association are listed in Figure VIII below.

These twelve samples of connective association by the classifiers 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, which is shown by examples 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12. Two of these however may have a functional relationship (5, 8), 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ex. Number</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Connected with</th>
<th>Probable Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>spirit food</td>
<td>spirits</td>
<td>functional necessity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fire, light, burn scar</td>
<td>wood</td>
<td>functional necessity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>long fish</td>
<td>spear</td>
<td>similar appearance (moving through water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>gourd, coconut</td>
<td>round soft fruits</td>
<td>similar shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>fork</td>
<td>spoon</td>
<td>similar shape, or similar function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>star cluster</td>
<td>fishing spot</td>
<td>similar appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>part magic spell</td>
<td>part of tree</td>
<td>functional connection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>yam house divisions</td>
<td>construction divisions</td>
<td>similar function or similar shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>position in lineage</td>
<td>fingers on hand</td>
<td>similar appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>shell ornament cluster</td>
<td>cluster of fruit</td>
<td>similar shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>tuft of hair</td>
<td>grove of trees</td>
<td>similar shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>uncooked greens</td>
<td>coil of rope</td>
<td>similar shape</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE VIII  EXAMPLES OF CONNECTIVE ASSOCIATION**

4.5.4 **CLASSIFIERS AS METAPHORS**

While some of the associations noted above may (rightly) be viewed as metaphors, I draw a distinction between these and the classifiers used metaphorically which are listed below. These classifiers which are listed as examples of connective
association are regularly so classified, and their position within their domains is as regular as those which are naturally included there. Contrariwise, metaphorical use of the classifiers involves an item in an unusual classification, even an unnatural one, for reasons which I state below, and so the classifications I refer to as metaphorical are not regular associations for any items. Some of these metaphorical reclassifications of items I now consider. They are listed in Figure IX below.

None of these classifications may be seen as a regular or natural association. They are instead an indication of the inventiveness of a speaker or the fertility of his imagination in language use, as by means of innovative reclassifications he attaches human properties 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;\(^\text{120}\) to count a crowd as one counts animals borders on insult;\(^\text{121}\) 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 his intelligence in the fresh associations of ideas by means of unusual classifier specification, or his skill as an orator.

\(^\text{120}\) See example 31 above, which was originally a metaphorical allusion to an enthusiastic worker.

\(^\text{121}\) See note attached to Cl 143 on p 185 above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classif.</th>
<th>Normal specification</th>
<th>Metaphorical specification</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 to¹⁻</td>
<td>human</td>
<td>a dog</td>
<td>Credited with human sagacity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to¹⁻</td>
<td>human</td>
<td>a butterfly</td>
<td>A legendary figure acting in a human fashion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 buluwo-</td>
<td>tens of animals</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>Counted thus as a joke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kai-</td>
<td>rigid/long</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>Identified as stack of firewood because she had always been helpful to friends and useful to have around.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kwai-</td>
<td>thing (house)</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>Solidity of building as image of person's character.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 kada-</td>
<td>track</td>
<td>idea</td>
<td>Identified as a way worth following.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 kaduyo-</td>
<td>narrow neck to large container</td>
<td>person's mouth</td>
<td>Person drinking too much identified with a bottle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kapo-</td>
<td>parcel</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>Group of children joined in game.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 gudi-</td>
<td>human child</td>
<td>dinghy</td>
<td>Referred to as small child following an &quot;adult&quot; trawler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 yam²⁻</td>
<td>hand joined to body</td>
<td>person helping</td>
<td>A new helper is praised for &quot;lending a hand&quot;.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE IX METAPHORS**
4.6 CONCLUSION

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 decided that only thirteen of his forty two 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." Malinowski, 1920:58. I however consider that all 147 lexemes which have been studied above 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.

4.6.2 GROUP I AND GROUP II CLASSIFIERS COMPARÉD

I have assembled the classifiers into two groups, Group I being made up of those classifiers which refer to whole items or entities; Group II is

\[122\] Malinowski, 1920:58
made up of the classifiers which modify items by partition, by arrangement, or by some other activity. My arrangement of this material, though clearly inconvenient at points, has nonetheless provided useful information on the classifiers which may now be spoken of in a summary fashion.

The Group I classifiers, which are concerned with whole (undivided) and ungrouped items, 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, which have been called the 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 of human and nonhuman, and inanimacy is identified basically in terms of the property of consistency, with features of shape also playing a secondary though important role. The specifiers of properties do 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 and not tomorrow; but 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 noun phrase. Activity specifiers name the verb-like activity which has been carried out on an item. Partition classifiers obligatorily specify the fact of division and optionally add either the mode of division or the size of the divided piece. 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, in contradistinction to 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.123 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.

4.6.3 THE CLASSIFIERS AND MEANING ADDITION

The addition of meaning to the noun phrase by means of the classifier has been seen to involve what is probably their most important role within the Kiriwinan language. While the Group I classifiers naming properties do not have a prominent role in meaning addition, they do have the important function of re-iteration of meaning, so that their pronominal function leads to a load of redundancy within the noun phrase. Other classifiers, notably those with repeater-like roles and the noun-free classifiers, add meaning and thus add complexity to the noun phrase. This complexity may be in the introduction of instrumental and agentive functions, which usually are 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

123 Both of these insights I owe to Denny: quality/quantity (Denny 1976:122), and inherent/temporary (Denny, 1976:123). The arrangement classifiers which I have grouped in Figure VI on p 158 as "inherent" would of course be exceptions to this latter generalisation.
semantic class. Thus the presence of a classifier from Group II in a noun phrase may represent a "sentence in miniature" within the noun phrase. Because of the aid which this redundancy gives to deletion in the Kiriwinan sentences, the role of the classifier in maintaining discourse cohesion regardless of any deletions is probably the best answer to Denny's question, "What are noun classifiers good for?" 124

Because of the pronominal and proverbial role 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.125 A speaker gives semantic prominence to any sentence constituent by repositioning it at, or nearer to, the beginning of his utterance. He can do this 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 he desires. Thus by means of the classifier the Kiriwinan speaker is able to ensure cohesion and clarity in spite of extensive deletion, and in speaking is able to order his words with power and originality.

125 See comment on this movement, in Chapter II, p 32.
Some of the originality is in his effective use of the classifiers either as metaphors or as a means of associating items. The class of classifier morphemes is a closed class however, and all originality he displays is bounded by the limits of the class. All that appears as innovative classifications by means of connective associations are in reality classifications which are regularly made thus; and while innovative use of the classifiers as metaphor is frequently made, the metaphors may only be drawn from the 147 classifiers which comprise the total class.

4.6.4 CONCLUDING COMMENT

Dixon says, and rightly, that "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."126 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

126 Dixon, 1977:66
of vocabulary indicate objects or phenomena that are focal points of the community's life."\textsuperscript{127} 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.

\textsuperscript{127} Dixon, 1977:66.
APPENDIX

THE LEXICON OF KIRIWINAN CLASSIFIERS

1. A sequential list.

The classifiers are listed here in the order that they are introduced in Chapter IV. Each classifier bears the number by which it is identified in the thesis; these numbers are a convenient means of locating any classifier in its place in the order I have identified. The superscript numbers 1 and 2 identify homophonous classifier forms. Glosses are necessarily reduced in form and must always be taken only as a convenient "label" for each classifier.

This list is then followed in part 2 of the Appendix on p 213 by a comprehensive alphabetically-ordered list of all classifiers and allomorphic forms.

GROUP I CLASSIFIERS - PROPERTY IDENTIFICATION

1. Basic Property Specifiers

Cl 1\textsuperscript{1} to\textsuperscript{1}- human
Cl 2\textsuperscript{1} na\textsuperscript{1}- nonhuman
Cl 3 kaî- rigid/long
Cl 4 ya- flexible/thin
Cl 5 kwai- thing

2. Subclassifiers

Cl 6\textsuperscript{2} to\textsuperscript{2}- male human
Cl 7\textsuperscript{2} na\textsuperscript{2}- female human
Cl 8 gudi- immature human
Cl 9 kwela- pot-like
Cl 10 kova- fire
Cl 11 kabilikova- fireplace
Cl 12 tam- sprouting
Cl 13 sobulo- growing
Cl 14  *sega-*  branching
Cl 15  *tuto-*  time
Cl 16  *siva-*  number of times
Cl 17  *lilou-*  journey
Cl 18  *yam*  day
Cl 19  *kala-*  passage of day
Cl 20  *bugi-*  passage of night
Cl 21  *biga-*  word
Cl 22  *kaiga-*  voice
Cl 23  *ligila-*  group action
Cl 24  *mweli*  practices
Cl 25  *miga-*  appearance
Cl 26  *wouyo-*  newness
Cl 27  *kumlo-*  oven
Cl 28  *nigo-*  nest
Cl 29  *kavi-*  tool
Cl 30  *pwa-*  excrement
Cl 31  *igi-*  wind
Cl 32  *vilo-*  place

3. Residue

Cl 33  *iga-*  name
Cl 34  *kuno-*  rain

**GROUP II CLASSIFIERS - MODIFICATION**

1. By Activity

Cl 35  *bubulo-*  made
Cl 36  *buko*  buried
Cl 37  *bulu-*  half-submerged
Cl 38  *beku-*  floating submerged
Cl 39  *gabu-*  burning
Cl 40  *no-*  blow
Cl 41  *nutu-*  kneaded
Cl 42  *ponina-*  punctured
Cl 43  *pwasa-*  rotten
2. By Partition

a) Topographical
C1 44  udila- land tract
C1 45  kubila- land plot
C1 46  kalivisi-large garden division
C1 47  gubo- garden division
C1 48  vala- small garden division
C1 49  lupo- smaller garden division
C1 50  kadida- very small garden division
C1 51  pulu- garden mound
C1 52  kalipo- site
C1 53  kailiku- suburb
C1 54  kada- track
C1 55  seuyo- lagoon
C1 56  soulo- fishing spot
C1 57  lada- small fishing spot

b) Parts within wholes
C1 58  sisi- bough
C1 59  lila- small bough
C1 60  lilivi- forked stick
C1 61  liku- canoe division
C1 62  lipu- tier
C1 63  buliga- storey
C1 64  kabisi- section
C1 65  livisi- shelf
C1 66  tabudo- room
C1 67  kaduyo- entrance
C1 68  moya- limb
C1 69  kwaya- severed limb
C1 70  yam²- hand
C1 71  nina- idea
C1 72  mavila- verse

c) Pieces
C1 73  bubo- cut across
C1 74  vili- untwisted
C1 75  lapou- a third
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Cl 76 gum- small piece
Cl 77 gibu- sufficient
Cl 78 kuwo- crumb
Cl 79 utu- scrap
Cl 80 kabilia- large cut of meat
Cl 81 kipu- cut of meat
Cl 82 sisili- cut of meat
Cl 83 kaya- half piece of food
Cl 84 givi- serve of fish
Cl 85 kununu- serve of greens
Cl 86 yivi- serve of food pieces
Cl 87 gini- mouthful of food
Cl 88 kapo- mouthful of drink

d) Multiple reference
Cl 89 kabulo- suburb/half
Cl 90 katupo- section/quarter
Cl 91 pila- part/piece

3. By Arrangement

a) Inherent arrangement
Cl 92 tubo- generation
Cl 93 kumila- clan
Cl 94 dila- family-line
Cl 95 kila- hand of bananas
Cl 96 buko²- fruit cluster
Cl 97 biko- coconut bunch
Cl 98 sa- nut bunch

b) Noninherent arrangement
i) Distributional
Cl 99 budo- group, crowd
Cl 100 deli- group moving
Cl 101 gulo- group, heap
Cl 102 gugulo- gathering
Cl 103 yuwo- group
Cl 104 tupila- fleet
Cl 105 duli- bundle, cluster
Cl 106 seluva- bundle being tied
Cl 107 luva- tied bundle
Cl 108 ta-, φ- basket, basketful
Cl 109 kapo- parcel
Cl 110 kapuli- group of parcels
Cl 111 luba- bundle of rolls
Cl 112 mweli²- bundle of leaves
Cl 113 dodiga- load
Cl 114 kaiyuva- layer
Cl 115 pupai- layer of filth
Cl 116 keivala- batch drying
Cl 117 mmo- conical bundle
Cl 118 sipu- tangle
Cl 119 welai- fish (quantity)
Cl 120 kudua- band of fibres
Cl 121 suyo- things strung through hole
Cl 122 kapupu- grove
Cl 123 lukuva- growing bundle
Cl 124 poulo- grove, group
Cl 125 umila- grove (one species)

ii) Configurational
Cl 126 tavi- loose coil
Cl 127 kupa- loose coil
Cl 128 teni- tight coil
Cl 129 katukuni-reel
Cl 130 bili- roll
Cl 131 tabili- roll
Cl 132 gili- row
Cl 133 kasa- line
iii) Quantitative
Cl 134 uva- span measure
Cl 135 yuma- length
Cl 136 puli- bunch (2 - 6)
Cl 137 katuluwo-large group
Cl 138 uwo- two-bundle
Cl 139 kalo- two-bundle (crustacean)
Cl 140 kupo- two-string
Cl 141 yulai- four-bundle
Cl 142 kasila- ten-group (wealth)
Cl 143 buluwo- ten-group (animals)
Cl 144 kaulo- ten-group (strings of fish)
Cl 145 ika- tens of things
Cl 146 kaluwo- ten-days
Cl 147 kwailuwo-tens of things

2. Alphabetical list

Here follows a full list of all Kiriwinan classifiers that I have recorded in the Kavataria dialect, together with all allomorphic forms, arranged alphabetically. Irregularities in phonological occurrence, limitations on syntactic performance, and variations of semantic specification are all stated. Copious illustrations of regular usage and examples which display relationships between classifiers are also given.

For each classifier entry, the order of information given (if available) is as follows:
1. First line gives Classifier, (identifying number, position in system), gloss. The numbers [1] or [2] after a classifier indicate homophonous pairs of a classifier and an allomorphic form of another classifier. Where the form listed in this first line is an allomorph, then that form together with a gloss and reference to the basic classifier are listed, eg bo- "cut across" (see
bubo-). The classifier entry is followed in a second line by a list of allomorphs, plus any forms from other word classes which may be related to that classifier. An example of these first two lines of entry is:

\[ buko^{1-} \quad (36, \text{Group II: activity}) \text{ "buried"} \]
(\text{also buku-;} \text{ cf verb } -buku\text{"bury, inter dead"})

2. Items which that classifier may specify are then given in numbered sequence.

3. Some Kiriwinan nouns follow, as a sample of the Kiriwinan words which may appear with that classifier; introduced by "Used with ..."

4. Examples follow, in this order:
   - Deictic (deic)
   - Numerals (num)
   - Adjectives (adj)
   - Any other more extensive example.

5. Any special notes on that classifier, or contrasting related specifications of other classifiers. Some comments on other dialects are included in this section.

6. If Malinowski has listed that classifier as one of his 42 classificatory formatives, then this fact is noted here introduced by "Mal ..." In this section I follow Malinowski's spelling, and add if relevant any comment he has made about that classifier. Many of his comments which are included here are those which are at variance with my analysis, and are included for contrast.

This lexicon must not however be regarded as complete. Any who do 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")
1. 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 BEKUtala waga "one foundered canoe"
adj BEKUVau "a newly-foundered thing"

biga- (21, Group I: subclassifier) "word" (cf noun biga "word")
1. A word; a statement.
2. 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"
1. 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")
1. Mat-making or house-walling material in rolls.
2. Anything rolled up, as paper, material, etc.
Used with moi, ninuva, kalekwa.
Examples:
deic maBILIna peipu "that roll of paper"
num BILItala wala "only one roll"
adj BILIkekita "a small roll"

bo- "cut across" (See bubo-)

bubo- (73, Group II: partition) "cut across" (also bubwa-, bo-; cf verb -bobu "cut across")
1. Anything cut transversely (log of wood, length of rope, iron bar, etc) with knife, axe.
2. A piece obtained by cutting transversely.
3. Fish cut into sections.
4. Half of something obtained by cutting transversely (rarely; see kabulo-).
Used with kai, tanumnumba, 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 something")

1. Anything manufactured or created. This really refers not to the object but to its making.
   Used for parts of things being made, as framework of a house, top of a carving, rim of a dish; used of whole objects usually in reference to imported things from other cultures.

   Used with name of thing, as buala, waga, doba, etc.

   Examples:
   deic maBUBULOna "that manufactured item"
   num BUBULotala "one manufactured item"
   adj BUBULovau "a newly created thing"
   See also example 66, on p 139

bubwa-  "cut across" (See bubo-)

budo-  (99, Group II: arrangement) "group, crowd"
(cf noun boda "group, crowd")

1. A group or crowd (people, animals, birds, fish)
   Used with tomota, mauna, yena, etc.

   Examples:
   deic maBUDOna yena "that school of fish"
   num BUDotolu "three groups"
   adj BUDoveka "a big group"

bugi-  (20, Group I: subclassifier) "passage of night"
(cf noun bogi"night")

1. Night, either as a completed unit of time, and thus referring to next day; or as a direct reference to one particular night.

   Used with bogi; but generally used with numerals in isolation as a temporal word.

   Examples:
   deic maBUGIna bogi "that night" (rarely thus; usually bogi maKWAIna.)
   num BUGIyu "the 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..."
buko¹- (36, Group II: activity) "buried"
(also buku-; cf verb -baku "bury; inter dead")
1. Anything which is concealed by being buried, or which is buried in order to mature.

Used with name of buried object, as 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"

buko²- (96, Group II: arrangement) "fruit cluster"
(cf verb -bukula "to bear in clusters (fruit)")
1. Bunch or cluster of fruit on same stem (luya, seisuya, weiga, natu, saida, etc.); also when a single clump of taitu yams is lifted at harvest, and the biggest and seed yams (yagogu) are taken off, the remnant is referred to by means of this classifier.

2. Egg cowries (buna) when tied into a specific cluster to be used for the chief's kapiwa "gable ornament". (Note that other items tied in clusters, as lime gourds, are identified by Cl 105 duli-, qv.)

Used with fruit, etc., as given in notes above.

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 (this) in actual use."

buku- "buried" (See buko¹-)

buliga- (63, Group II: partition) "storey"
(cf noun bwala "house")
1. Floor or storey of horizontal divisions in house; drawers or shelves in series; horizontal divisions in the food house.

Used with bwala, bwaima, etc.

Examples:
  deic maBULIGAna kabosisu "that place to sit (underneath the house)"
  num BULIGAtolu bwala "a three-storey house"
  adj BULIGAvau "new shelf"

Where the use of this in Kiriwina 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")
1. 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")
1. Indicates tens of animals, fish, birds, etc.
2. May also specify a large group of animals etc.
Used with name of group, as 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 (ten or more) animals" (lit.
  "big ten-group")

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.

data-  "family line" (See dila-)

deli-  (100, Group II: arrangement) "group moving"
(cf conjunction deli "with", and noun daili"company")
1. Group on the move; 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")
1. One family line eg tabalu, tudava, within the
kumila "clan group"; it may trace its origins
back to the mythical time when its forbears
issued from the cave or hole which is the bwala
"mythical issuing-forth place" of that family
line.

Used with dala and with various family line names
as 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 above
examples, but dila- has the highest frequency of
occurrence.
dodiga-  (113, Group II: arrangement) "load"
  (cf verb -dodiga "load canoe")
  1. Contents of a load carried by canoe, truck or 
     any waga; usually goods, although people may be 
     thus specified.
  2. Contents of a box, basket or drawer.
Used with guguwa, vavagi or with specific name of 
items loaded.
Examples:
  deic Avaka maDODIGAna? "What have you got (eg 
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")
  1. Rolls of mat-making material tied together 
to form a bundle of rolls.
  2. Several fruit borne in cluster on one stem.
  3. Bundle of two to six items of anything (in-
cluding 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-; cf verb -gabu "burn")
  1. Fireplace.
  2. Place where fire or sparks have burned body.
  3. Batch of roasted food.
Used with kova, kai, pwanosi, pwakova, kabwasi, etc.
Examples:
  deic maGABUna kova "that fireplace"
  num GUBUYuwela baisa "the second fire here"
  adj GUBUveka "a large batch (roasted food)."

gibu-  (77, Group II: partition) "sufficient"
  1. Enough (tobacco for a smoke; food for a meal -
humble or respectful comment by host as he passes 
food to guest.)
Used with kaula, yena, tobaki, etc.
Examples:
  deic maGIBUna yena "that piece of cooked fish"
  num GIBUtala bibodi. "One serve is enough."
  adj GIBUveka "a small serve (of food)"
gili- (132, Group II: arrangement) "row"
(Cf verb phrase -giligili matila "eye deceived by great numbers of something")
1. Rows of spondylus shell discs (kaloumwa) sewn onto belt, headband, etc.
2. Bands or turns of woven armbands or waistbands.
3. Numbers of new shoots from growing yam seed.
   (For classif. of shoots see sega-and tam-.)
4. Bands of decoration in painted design, or a band of carving (eg the dodoleta motif or the kudula kaukwa or dog's teeth motif in a carved design; an informant likened these to a stringlike decoration).

Used with duriduri, wakala, saveva, kwasi, etc.

Examples:
    deic maGILina "that band (of woven armlet)"
    num GILItala duriduri "a one-row belt"
    adj GILLwonakuy 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")
1. 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"
1. Small portion of cooked fish (as much as comes away when one takes a handful of cooked fish; only a small amount - large serve is kabila- specification). Half of a fish 30 cm long; a polite handful, ie as much as may be accommodated between thumb and two fingers, about four mouthfuls;
2. Fragments of cooked fish.
3. May be humble reference by host presenting large serve as if only a fragment.

Used with yena, and various names of fish.

Examples:
    deic maGIVIna yena "that fragment of fish"
    num Kumai GIVlyuwela "Give me a second serve"
    adj GIVIkekita wala "only a tiny bit"
gubo- (47, Group II: partition) "garden division"
(also gubu-; cf noun gubu "a plot in garden")
1. A subdivision of garden, as KALIVISItala divided into halves.
2. Place where any food plant is growing.
3. 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 a larger project)

gubu- [1] "garden division" (See gubo- )

gubu- [2] "burning" (See gabu- )

gudi- (8, Group I: subclassifier) "immature human"
(cf noun gwadi "child")
1. A child of either sex.
2. Any person being compared with an older person.
Used with gwadi, tau, latugu, molitomoya, etc.
Examples:
  deic maGUDIsina 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)")
1. A heap of anything; a heap of bundles.
2. Gathering of people, a meeting.
Used with gugula, tomota, kaula, etc.
Examples:
  deic maGUGULOna vivila "that women's meeting"
  num GUGULotala yoku, GUGULotala yaegu. "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 gultininidesi "one group only")
1. Group of people, animals, captured fish.
2. Heap of anything (yams, fish, posts, etc.).
3. Bundle of fibres laid side by side (but not tied together - see kudu-).
Used with tomota, mauna, kaula, kokola, etc.
Examples:
  deic maGULOna yena "that catch of fish"
  num GULOtalala 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 a line of dancers)"; and togum "taciturn or reticent person")

1. Small fragment of tobacco cut off from whole stick; half of lapoutala.
2. Fragment of sugarcane, woody part at node cut off and discarded; one node or short piece of sugarcane cut off for planting.

Used with tobaki, tou, tapiokwa, etc.

Examples:
   deic maugumna tobaki "that fragment of tobacco"
   num gumvila magim? "How many bits do you want?"
   adj gumkekita "only a little bit"

-i- "female human" (See na^2-)

iga- (33, Group I: residue) "name"
(also igi-; cf noun yanga- "name")

1. Name given to person or thing.
Used with yagala, igaula, kavilevi etc.

Examples:
   deic maiga yegila "that name"
   num igatala "one name"
   adj igimigigaga "ugly names"

igi- [1] (31, Group I: subclassifier) "wind"
(cf noun yagila "wind")

1. The wind in general - breeze, gale, etc.
2. Any particular wind, as bolimila et al.

Used with yagila, utuyagila, kwaibwaga, bolimila etc.

Examples:
   deic maigina bolimila "that Southeast 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"

1. Group of ten bundles of things, as kuvi yams, skirts, bunches of betel nut, coconuts, etc.
2. There is a special application to ten yulai-clusters of coconuts, etc., so that YULAIluwotala luya = IKAtala luya = forty coconuts; or ten kudu-bundles of string, or ten luva-bundles.

Used with name of thing bundled, as doba, luya, tou, etc.

Examples:
   deic maikasisina "those groups-of-ten bundles"
   num ikayu doba "twenty skirts"
   adj ikasovau "new ten-bundles"

iwo- "group" (See yuwo-)
**kabila-** (80, Group II: partition) "large cut of meat"

1. Part of butchered carcase, dismembered body; a cut of meat (pig, human, turtle etc);
2. 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 *KABILAvęka"a large serve of meat"

**kabilikova-** (11, Group I: subclassifier) "fireplace"

(cf noun phrase *kabala kova* lit. "its-seat fire")

1. A fireplace, or any place where a fire has been burning.

**kabisi-** (64, Group II: partition) "section"

(cf noun *kabisivisi"foodhouse section")

1. Sections or divisions in foodhouse, or shelves in foodhouse.

Used with *kabisivisi, livisi, kalitutila* etc.

Examples:
- deic *makABISIna kabisivisi"that foodhouse section"
- num *KABISItala kalitutila"one division"
- adj *KABISIveka"a big section (of foodhouse)"

*Mal kabisi "compartments of a yam house"

**kabulo-** (89, Group II: partition) "suburb/half"

(also *kabulu-; cf noun *kabulu-"nose")

1. Sections or suburbs of village under different authorities for food distributions, etc.; each such area bears a different place name as well as being considered within the name borne by village as a whole.
2. General areas of authority, as parts of a boat, teams in game, etc.
3. Protuberances, ends of an object, corners.
4. A cape or peninsula.
5. Half of anything (as stick of tobacco).
6. 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 *KABULUveka"a big suburb"

*See also example 71 on p 159.*

*Mal kabulo "protuberances; ends of an object; all the parts that stick out and detach themselves from a whole forming ends or corners.*

**kabulu-** "suburb/half" (See *kabulo-*)
kada-  (54, Group II: partition) "track"
(cf noun keda "track, road")
1. Any track, either foot or vehicular.
2. Used also of any method or way in which something is done.

Used with keda, and with names of particular types of track, as kadaiya, kadavapwala, kadaula, etc. It must be noted that these are nouns and not adjectives, as the word particles without kada do not have 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 pita- may be used with keda; as in maPILAna keda "that-division track", where a track divides an area.

Mal kada "roads"

kadida-  (50, Group II: partition) "very small garden division"
1. Very small division of garden, the width of a track. (cf keda "track")
2. Division of a 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-)
1. A mouth or entrance to any place where people or animals may go in and out - doorway, entrance, hole in ground or wall, pit, valley reef entrance, hole into burrow or lair.
2. The narrow opening to a large container - mouth of person or animal, neck of bottle or gourd, hole for head in pullover; also hole in clothing.

Used with kabosuvi, yoyu, lulu, lukwava, yaguma, wodila, etc.

Examples:
- deic maKADUYOna 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")

1. Any growing tree, shrub or plant, including flowers, fungi and larger grasses (smaller grasses specified by ya- or tam-, qv);
2. Some items of garden produce, in particular those which produce their crop by rhizome or thickening of stem, as uri, tapiokwa, bisia, leiya; also, long kuvipiti yams (others specified by kwai-), sugar cane, whole bunch of bananas (cf specification of hand and single bananas by kila- and kwai- respectively), a shelled nut, cob of corn, stalk of spinach (unonu).
3. Any item made from single piece of wood, as a bowl, digging stick, comb, spear, post, carvings which do not represent a living creature (but see note below) etc.
4. Some things made from several pieces of wood, as canoe, gable assembly of house (whole house is specified by kwai-).
5. Long rigid things, as iron spear, concrete post, crowbar (koroba); also feather, bundles of dry coconut leaf for fishing torch, (and also all lamps, electric globes, etc), stick of tobacco, stalactite in cave.
6. Fire, fireplace (see also kova-).

Used with examples given, and many others; a very wide domain.

Examples:
- deic maKAIina kai "that tree"
- num kokola KAIlwotala KAIlima 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 also note on kasa-.

Some modern items are in this domain; thus tekodo maKAIina "that tape-recorder" because it has perceptual similarity to a box; also KAIitala ki, KWAItala lokī "rigid-one key, thing-one lock", which reflect the respective complexity of a key and a lock.

Mal kay "trees and plants, wooden things; long objects."

kaiga- (22, Group I: subclassifier) "voice" (also kaigi-; cf noun kaiga- "voice")

1. Sound of a 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) "suburb"
 1. Part of the village. A similar specification to kabulo- but seldom used.

kailiku- [2] "canoe division" (See liku-)

kaiyuvai- (114, Group II: arrangement) "layer"
(also yuvai-)
 1. Layers of things, as bundles or bunches of goods lying together (as a canoe will have several heterogeneous strata of goods, to be unloaded layer by layer); people tumbled together in layers in soccer game.
 2. Groups of things lying on shelf or in drawer, one on top of another.
 3. Layers of filth on body; one wash takes off first layer, etc.
 4. Strata in earth. There are considered to be three - soil, stones and solid rock
 5. Rows of things.

Used with guguwa, peipu, gatu, etc.

Examples:
 deic maYUVAIina luya "that layer of coconuts"
 num YUVAIywela dakuna "a second stratum of stones"
 adj KAIYUVAIvau "another layer"

kala- (19, Group I: subclassifier) "passage of day"
(cf noun kalasia "sun")
 1. Refers to passing of time or to a number of days in a block or period; really only functions as a time word.

Used as a time word in noun-freee constructions, and does not attach to a noun, except when in deictic attached to and specifying yam and some similar time expressions.

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-came
"I was ten days in the village before coming here."

Mal kala "days"

kaliku- "canoe divisions" (See liku-)
kalipo-  (52, Group II: partition) "site"

1. Part of some particular place as sections or suburbs of a village. Whole of village is specified by kwai--; it may however be specified as makALIPOna in reference to its being part of a larger whole.

2. Part selected for some purpose, as a place to meet, site of proposed building etc.

Used with tumila, valu, baleku, katuposula, etc.

Examples:
- deic makALIPOna katuposula "that meeting place"
- num KALIPOvila "a number of (sites)"
- adj KALIPOveka "a large suburb"

kalivisi-  (46, Group II: partition) "large garden division" (also kaluvisi-)

1. 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 "longshaped garden divisions"

kalo-  (139, Group II: arrangement) "two-bundle (crustacean)"

1. Bundle of two marine crustacea, as crabs, crayfish, etc.

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 (ie three crabs)"
- adj KALObogwa "the first bundle (crabs etc)"

Note: KALOyu is the same number of items as YULAIItala; former would be used in preference to describe two of two-bundles, but 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")

1. Days in groups of ten (from Cl 19 kala- + -luwo)
2. Ten-groups of kai- items (from Cl 3 kai-+ -luwo)
Examples:

deic Does not occur - see kala-.
num KALUWOvasi "forty days"
adj Does not occur.

Note: KALUWOvasi and KALALUWOvasi are both found; in reference to days in groups of ten, kwai-+luwo- also occurs.

kapo- [1] (109, Group II: arrangement) "parcel"
(cf noun kapola "parcel")
1. Bundles rolled up, wrapped (in leaves, paper, etc.; usually small); packets.
2. Nest of bird.
Used with name of items wrapped, as 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")
1. Mouthful of drink, sip (often to be tasted then spat out)
Used with sopi, lubwau, bwaibwai, duwoyala, giu, etc.
Examples:
deic maKAPUna momom "that mouthful of drink"
num KAPUtala imom."He took a sip."
adj KAPUyayana "bitter mouthful"

Note: kapo- used only with numerals.

kapuli- (110, Group II: arrangement) "group of parcels"
(cf noun kapola "parcel")
1. Group of parcels.
2. Cargo of goods taken in one trip; a 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")

1. Grove of standing trees; patch of scrub left after garden clearing.
2. 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)"

1. Line or row of things, as books on shelf, things planted in row, people in line; also line of song, a written sentence.
2. Bunch of keys on a string (indefinite number).
Used with wosi, tomota, kai, etc.

Examples:
- deic maKASAna wosi "a line of that song"
- num KASAAtala KASAAtala "each row" 
- adj KASAwanau "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 either as "that line of hooks" or as "those hooks", because of confusion with maKAIwina bani which may be rendered in Kilivila dialect as maKAsana bani; -sa- being a dialect variation of the plural marker -si-.

Mal kasa 'tows (people in dance, houses in village, trees in plantation)."

kasila-  (142, Group II: arrangement) "ten-group(wealth)"

1. Groups of ten wealth items.

Used with mwali, bekwa, soulava, doqa, 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")

1. Rope or string rolled onto any reel or form.
2. One turn in a roll of anything.

Used with im, wotunu, yuwoyoula, etc.

Examples:
- deic maKATUKUNIIna "that reel of rope" 
- num KATUKUNIItala "one turn of string on a spool" 
- adj KATUKUNIveka wotunu "a big spool of thread"
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Note: When wound onto a reel or form the coil may be specified by Cl 5 kwai-; but this a specification of the complex combination of reel plus rope, rather than a specification of the coil itself.

katulowo-  (137, Group II: arrangement) "large group"
(cf number lakatulowo- "thousands of")
1. Group (things, animals, people) made up of very great number. This is not associated with definite numbers where the number words lakatu- "hundreds of" or lakatulowo- "thousands of" occur.

Examples:
  deic MaKATULUWOna GULOvau i-kalisau GULObogwa. "The new crowd is bigger than the earlier one."
  num KATULUWOvila "such a very large group"
  adj Does not occur, Cl 101 gulo- being used instead; see example of this under "deic" above.

katupo-  (90, Group II: partition) "section/quarter"
(cf noun katupwaila "section of anything")
1. Length of short walk or short track; distance between two resting places on a journey (see example 72 on p 159).
2. Short length of rope or string; length of sugar-cane between two nodes; hank of twine (for fishing line).
3. Broken-off piece of tobacco, approx. quarter of stick.
4. Any part obtained by breaking it from the whole; emphasis here is on mode of division.

Used with katupwaila, keda, tobaki, tou, etc.

Examples:
  deic maKATUPOna tobaki "that short portion of tob."
  num KATUPOtala keda "one stage"
  adj KATUPOkekita "a short piece"

kauilo-  (144, Group II: arrangement)"ten-group (strings of fish)"
1. Ten of wela- strings of fish.

Used with fish name.

kavi-  (29, Group I: subclassifier) "tool"
1. Any cutting or sharp-edged tool, as axe, knife, adze, spoon; also fork, skewer.

Used with bekwa, kema, ligisa, kaeki, ligogu etc.

Examples:
  deic maKAVIina kema "that axe"
  num KAVItolu ligogu "three adzes"
  adj KAVIdoudoga "a crooked (axe stone)"

Mal kavi "stone blades; now by extension, steel blades."
kawo- "crumb" (See kuwo-)

kaya- (83, Group II: partition) "half piece of food"

1. A piece of KWAGeyata "mature food" cooked and cut in half.

Used with name of food cut.

Examples:
- deic maKAYAna kagu "my piece of mature food"
- num KAYAyu "two pieces of mature food"
- adj KAYAgeyata "the half-piece of mature food"

Note: Cl 91 pila- is used in the same sense for anything divided into two approx. equal parts.

keivala- (116, Group II: arrangement) "batch drying" (cf noun keivala "a batch")

1. A batch of fish, tray of copra, group of yams, drying or smoking over fire, for storage.

Used with yena, luya, kwita, bunukwa, gweigoi, etc.

Examples:
- deic maKEIVALAna keivala "that batch"
- num KEIVALAyu desí."Two batches will do!"
- adj KEIVALAkekita kwita "a small tray of octopi"

kila- (95, Group II: arrangement) "hand of bananas" (also kili-)

1. Hand of bananas.

Used with usi, and with names of different species of bananas, as siaina, kabulukusa, etc.

Examples:
- deic maKILAna usi "that hand of bananas"
- num Kumai KILAyu kabulukusa. "Bring me two hands of kabulukusa bananas."
- adj KILImonogu "a hand of ripe bananas"

Note: A single banana is specified by Cl 5 kwai-; a whole bunch of bananas is specified by Cl 3 kai-; ten hands of bananas are specified by Cl 147kwailwó-.

Mal kila "clusters (hands) of bananas"

kili- "hand of bananas (See kila-)

kipu- (81, Group II: partition) "cut of meat"

1. Piece of carcase, about half of piece specified by kabila- "cut of meat".

2. A mouthful of flesh.
kov- (10, Group I: subclassifier) "fire"
(cf noun kova "fire")
1. Fire burning or heap of hot coals.
2. 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 form kovi-, together with kwavi-, used to
be specifically Kavatari dialect, ['kwa.i] being
used in Kavatari dialect. Today however while
these three forms may be used, they are being
supplanted by kwela- which is now the most frequent­
ly used in all dialects. (See also note under
kwai- [2] below.)

kubila- (45, Group II: partition) "land plot"
(cf noun kwabila "tract of land (c. 10 hectares)")
1. A land measure, of a plot of owned land with
known boundaries.
2. General reference to a tract of country.
3. May be used synonymously with pila- in reference
to village areas.
Used with kwabila, baleku, and also with words
which indicate topography, as raibwaga, pasa, etc.
Examples:
deic maKUBILAna kwabila "that large land plot"
num KUBILAvila "indef. number, large land units"
adj KUBILaveka "very large land unit (30+ baleku)
Mal kubila "large land plots (ownership divisions)"

kudu- (120, Group II: arrangement) "band of fibres"
1. Band or rope of fibres made for top of skirt.
2. Roll of wayugwa or other lashing creeper.
Used with skirt names, as doba, seipwana, tagili-
kesa, etc., and names of creepers as ita, wayugwa,
wali, kaluma, etc.
Examples:
deic maKUDUNa doba "that skirt waist-band"
num KUDUtala "one waist-band"
adj KUDUKukupi wa'a "only a short waist-band"
Note: If wali"lashing creeper" is laid in a straight
bundle "in the round", and not coiled, it is specif­
ied by luva-; but if split and then coiled it is
specified by kudu-.
Mal kudu "bundles of lashing creeper (wayugwa)."
kumila- (93, Group II: arrangement) "clan"
(cf noun kumila "clan")
1. Clan groups; also (Kavatarias only) village groups.
Used with kumila, and with the four clan names.
Examples:
   deic maKUMILAna Malasi "the Malasi clan"
   num Mina Dobu KUMILAvila yakidast-ga KUMILAvasi.
   People Dobu clan—many we-emphatic clan—four
   "Dobu people have many clans but we have four."
   adj KUMILAvau Lukolobuta. "The Lukolobuta clan is
   a new one."

kumlo- (27, Group I: subclassifier) "oven"
(cf noun kumkumla "ground oven")
1. Ground oven (hole scooped in earth, lined with
hot stones).
Used with kumkumla, and generally as a noun-free
construction; but see also example 64 on p 119.
Examples:
   deic maKUMLOna kumkumla "that oven"
   num KUMLOywela "a second oven"
   adj KUMLObogwa "the oven first-built"

kuno- (34, Group I: residue) "rain"
(cf verb -kuna "to rain")
1. Rain — squall, shower, steady downpour.
Used with kuna, bisibasi, sibosibula etc.
Examples:
   deic maKUNOna kuna "that rain"
   num KUNOywela "the second (shower)"
   adj KUNOveka "heavy rain"

kununu- (85, Group II: partition) "serve of greens"
1. Serve of cooked greens
2. 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")
1. Line rolled in loose bundles.
2. 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"

1. String of two fish or other marine creatures, as 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 Kai-bwagina dialect this classifier is "string of four".

kupu- "loose coil" (See kupa-)

kuwo- "78, Group II: partition) "crumb"
(also kawo-)

1. A mouthful or scrap of food; a morsel.
2. Plateful, serve of food for a meal (a respectful reference by guest).
3. 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"

1. Any object composed of a number of different parts, as house, soulava necklace, box, chain, table, sewn mats, etc. (See note under Cl 3 kai-, detailing the differing complexity of a key and a lock, the complex item being specified by kwai-.
2. Objects of no clear shape, or round objects with no neck or mouth; or mass nouns as stone, ball, lewa "pig's bladder"(used for football), water, sand, rice, etc.
3. Seeds of rice, maize, etc.; pearls; all nuts and small fruits, yams, etc, as saida, weiwa, natu, seisuya, pinati, simsimwai, taitu, kuvu, etc.
4. Some fruits are identified by kwai- if small, and ya- if large, viz., momyeipu, pamkwena, meloni, lemoni, kum; while two are identified solely
by *ya-*-, viz., *luya*, *yaguma*. The latter two may hold their rigid classification by *ya*- because of their use as lime pots, water-bottles etc., i.e. thin-walled vessels; or else the soft inner flesh rather than the shell is the reason for *ya*- specification.

5. Abstract nouns; time and location words; geographical and topographical features; forces of nature; personal experiences and other words naming activities; anything indefinite or unknown.

Examples:
- deic *maKWAIna vavagi* "that thing"
- num *KWAIluwoyu tebeli* "twenty tables"
- adj *bwala KWAIvakaveka* "big houses"

Note: A very large domain. Difficult to establish any simple statement of the reference of this classifier. It does however classify either single items when they are ungrouped, undivided, passive and undescribed; or else the abstract and unknown.

Kaibola village, within the Kilivila dialect area, specifies the shark by *kwai-* . As their speciality as a village 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-* , i.e. both are regarding shark or yam as the staple food.

The deictic has two plural forms - the regular *maKWAIsina* and *maKWAIsita*.

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. Malinowski 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*-) 

This classifier, an allomorph of *kwela-* , is a sequence of two syllables, ['kwa.i']; is to be distinguished from the monosyllabic Cl 5 *kwai-* "thing". The two forms are best distinguished in the deictic forms, which, having penultimate stress, have the forms:
- ma.'KWAI.na dakuna "that stone"
- ma. *KWA. 'I.na kulita "that cooking pot"
kwailuwo-  (147, Group II: arrangement) "tens of things"  
(cf Cl 5 kwai- and number -luwo- "tens of")
   1. Ten kupo- specified strings of fish.
   2. Ten yulai- specified strings of anything.
   3. 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 however special classifications applied to some ten-groups.
For ten wela- specified strings of fish, see Cl 144 kaulo-.

kwavi - "pot-like" (See kwela-)

kwaya-  (69, Group II: partition) "severed limb" 
(also kweya-; cf noun kwai "foot, leg")
   1. Limb (arm, leg, part of same) when severed from body; or when specified separately from rest of body.

   Used with names of appendages severed.

Examples:
   deic maKWAYAsina kwai "that foot"
   maKWAYAsina kaikegu "both my feet"
   num KWEYAyu mieikwaikwem "two of your fingers"
   adj yamagu KWEYAakata "my right hand"

Note: When referring to limb attached to body, this classifier may specify either human or animal limbs; but 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")
   1. Any vessel with wide open mouth that will hold liquids, as cup, bucket, pot, ladle etc.
   2. Mirror (as it seems to have a wide open mouth and to 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"
1. Very small fishing spot, accessible from cliff.
2. Cluster of stars in sky; this reference is a
perceptual connection made with the small fishing
spot, which being generally overshadowed
by a rock formation reveals the presence of
fish by the flashing of points of phosphor-
escence in the fish-agitated water.

lapou-  (75, Group II: partition) "a third of"
1. Portion of something - one third or one quar-
ter, eg stick of tobacco - half of KABULOtala
or one third of KAITala "whole stick"
Used with kai, tobaki, bagula, tou, etc.
Examples:
deic maLAPOUna tou "that piece of sugar-cane"
num LAPOUtala yaegu "a piece for me"
adj LAPOUmwaidona "the whole piece"

ligila-  (23, Group I: subclassifier) "group action"
(also ligili-)
1. A group doing and completing some transaction
   as kula, wasi, pwapoula, mwasa wa.
2. A round of turns at one activity, as spear-
   throwing engaged in by group. Focus is on the
   completion of one whole group of acts, and
   not on the act of going to do something.
Used with lewa, kaiyala, vaiguwa, etc.
Examples:
deic maLIGILAna vaiguwa "that transaction of
   wealth exchange"
um LIGILItala "one turn (eg at spear throwing)"
adj LIGILAveka "an important transaction"

ligili- "group action" (See ligila-)

liku-  (61, Group II: partition) "canoe division"
(also luku-, kaliku-, kaliku-, kaluku-; cf noun
liku "transverse timbers in canoe outrigger
platform")
1. Divisions within a canoe.
2. Divisions or areas of authority within a
territory.
3. Horizontal divisions within the bwaima "yam
foodhouse", ie 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"
um LUKUtala liu "one canoe division"
adj LIKUkekita "a small canoe division"
Note: There is free fluctuation between the various allomorphic forms here.

Mal niku "compartments of a canoe"

**lila-** (59, Group II: partition) "small bough"
(cf noun lala "flower")

1. Branch of tree, either as part of the whole tree or cut off (here equals maSISIna).
2. Leaf of a tree (here equals miYana).

Used with kai- and also with name of tree, as 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"

1. 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")

1. Journey, trip, which involves walking or travelling on vessel etc.
2. Number of times going somewhere.
3. Number of times doing something.

Used with loula, kewa, titavina, etc, and with various activity names.

Examples:
- deic maLILOUuna "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 a pair)"

1. Tiers or stages in erecting pwatai "ceremonial display basket". First lot of upright sticks are collectively LIPUTala. Extension LIPUYuwa.
2. Horizontal divisions in yam foodhouse, ie the number of tiers of logs used in its construction (this use rare - see liku-).
3. One kaivalapu gable board (ie one of pair)
Used with bwaima, kaivalapu, pwatai, etc.

Examples:
- deic malIPUna kaivalapu "that single gable board"
- num LIPUywuela gelu "the second set of upper rights (on pwatai)"
- adj bwaima LIPUbobawa "a many-tiered foodhouse"

livisi- (65, Group II: partition) "shelf"
1. Shelves, drawers, usually around house.
2. Divisions in foodhouse; 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"
1. Large bundles or rolls of anything, as mats rolled up together.
2. 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"
1. Groups of things growing, bundled together at top or trellised together on stick.
2. Bundles of long things (sugarcane, sticks for fence, etc) cut and tied.
3. Trellises.

Used with tou, kavatam, kailuguvasi etc, and names of things growing on trellises.

Examples:
- deic malUKUVAna tou "that cluster of sugarcane tied together"
- num LUKUVAatala "one trellised plant, bundle"
- adj LUKUVAwonaku "a long trellis"

lupo- (49, Group II: partition) "smaller garden division"
1. Very small garden division.

Used with bagula, etc.
luva-  (107, Group II: arrangement) "tied bundle"

1. Anything tied up into a bundle, eg straight items laid side by side and fastened with string; flat dishes tied together, etc.

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 luva "wooden dishes". (Note: Malinowski's specification is wrong here, as individually they are specified by kai-, and only when they are 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")

1. Part of a nonmaterial whole, as verse or stanza of a song, paragraph in chapter, part of magic formula, division of day as marked by sun changing position.

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 archaic.
The numeral form is used in modern Kiriwina to specify hours of 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")

1. Appearance of a thing; its kind, sort or type.
2. Face of a person.

Used with migila, gigisa, etc.

Examples:
  deic maMIGAna "that face"
  num Abani yena kasi gigisa MIGAtala wala. I-caught fish their appearance face-one only
    "I caught only one sort of fish"
  adj MIGAwelu "different appearance"

Note: This is a very limited word, which in its use as a specifier is only used with the words MIGAtala, maMIGAna, MIGAwelu, MIGAtola and MIGI-talei.

migi- "appearance" (See miga-)
mmo- (117, Group II: arrangement) "conical bundle" (cf noun mwam "bundle made by tying tops only")

1. Bundles of taro, maize; also tomatoes if a bunch of plants plus fruit tied at top.
2. Torch of dry coconut leaves; this may also be specified by kai-.
3. Sugarcane still growing but with tops tied together to promote long canes.

Used with uri, maisi, tou, kaitapa, etc.

Examples:
   deic maMMOna uri "that bundle of taro"
   num MMOtalalwa mwam "one bundle"
   adj MMOv镶ka "a big bundle"

Note: Two deictic forms occur in singular, but only one in plural: sg maMMOna and mMMOna; pl maMMosasina.

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)

1. 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.

mweli1- (24, Group I: subclassifier) "Practices" (cf verb -mweli "practise anything")

1. Number of times practising a dance or song.

Used with mweli, wosi, kaiwosi, etc.

mweli2- (112, Group II: arrangement) "bundle of leaves" (cf noun mweli "poultice")

1. Bundle of leaves heated and used as poultice, usually with magic spell; also any poultice.
2. Number of poultice applications.

Used as noun-free construction; but may be used with mweli and with name of type of leaf.

Examples:
   deic maMWELIna "that poultice application"
   num MWELIyuwela "the second poultice"
   adj MWELIbogwa bwaina taga MWELIvau kaliwa poultice-first good but poultice-new death
   "He was alright at the first poultice application, but at the second he died."
mweya- "limb" (See moya-)

na¹- (2, Group I: Basic Property Specifier) "nonhuman"

1. All animate beings except human (cf na²- "female human").
3. A human corpse.
4. Any carving in human likeness.
5. Some spirits - dwellers in rocks and trees.
6. Bundles of oven-cooked food of a special sort, called popula "spirit food".

Used with a 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 species of fish, viz., lova, kumidu, mwala, kwaduva, may be specified by na¹- (adjectives and numerals) and kai- (deictics); reason was stated that they "go through the water like spears". See example 60, p 106.

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")

1. Female human (adult or child).

Used with vivila, vilakapugula, and names and titles borne by women.

Examples:

deic miNAna gwadi "that female child"
num NAvasi vivila "four women"
adj NAkukupi miNAna "that short woman"

Note: -vi- and -i- 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 used only in deictics as substitute for kwai-. It occurs as follows:

sg makWAina  pl makWAIsina
    maNAKWA       maNAKWAIsi

nigo- (28, Group I: subclassifier) "nest" (also nigu-; cf noun nigwa "nest")

1. Bird's nest, or nest made by small rodent.
Used with nigwa etc.

Examples:

deic maNIGOna nigwa "that nest
num NIGUvati "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")
1. Part of a song or magic spell.
2. An idea, thought.

Used with nanamsa, wosi, meguva, etc.

Examples:

deic maNINAna wosi "that part of a song"
num NINA\text{atala} "one verse"
adj NINA\text{avau} "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"

1. Strikes or slaps, or any blow used to punish, torment, etc anyone.
2. Anything used with which to strike someone; a person as agent of punishment.

Used with lewa, waiya, kaitukwa, puluta, etc.

Examples:

deic maNO\text{na} agu lewa "that rod for striking me"
num NO\text{vila} kam lewa "many blows for you"
adj Novakaveka "strong blows"

nutu- (41, Group II: activity) "kneaded"
(cf verb -nutu "knead")

1. Anything rubbed or kneaded into ball.

Used with yekwesi, lala, mona, kaibasi, etc.

Examples:

deic maNU\text{Tuna} kaibasi "that putty (kneaded ready for use)"
num NUTU\text{yuwela} "a second kneaded batch"
adj NUTU\text{vau} "recently-kneaded"

Mal nutu "corners of a garden" (This may be a dialect variation either of nutu- orluku-; however I have no explanation on this form.)

-pa- "part/piece" (See pila-)
pila- (91, Group II: partition) "part/piece" (also -pa-, pili-)

1. An area of ground which is specified as being part of a larger area; suburb as part of village, village as part of district; part of sports field, etc.

2. The side or end of a house; part of the floor area within a house, esp. one end set aside for some purpose.

3. One side of something which is capable of equilateral division, as the flank or (left or right) side of animal or person. Any body part on one side of a person which is duplicated on opposite side - eye, ear, hand; the wing of a bird (pinipane-la "wing-its", which may be morphologically related to this classifier). These body parts are especially so identified when the opposite member is lost, and thus a bird with only one wing, or a person who has lost one member may be so identified by this classifier - see note on this below.

4. A piece of something; a general reference without size specification as piece of fruit, nut, tobacco; also something which has been shared out between many people. Thus pila- may refer generally to parts obtained by transverse cutting (bubo-), twisting off (vili-), breaking (katupo-) etc.

5. Anything which has been divided equally by lateral division into two symmetrical parts, as whole fish divided down backbone, a carcass divided similarly, a log split down the centre (to make two paddles, two gunwale boards for canoe, two kaivalapu gable boards, etc.).

6. Thick flat things; primarily those obtained by splitting or separating as in 5 above; but in modern times generally applied to thick flat things, as flat planks, thick sections of flat steel bar or plate, books (individual leaves specified by ya-), carved boards used to decorate house or canoe.

7. The whole of a song. Probably the "part" specification is in distinguishing one song apart from a series, as a single song is never sung in isolation.

Used with a great number of items as indicated above; 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, as a one-eyed man would be specified as PILakesa matala "One-eyed person".
Both pili- and pila- are used with adjectives. The form -pa- is used only in deictics; it is of common occurrence, eg mPAna valu "that village"
An example of direction specification:
PILIyavata PILIbomatu PILIkwaiwa
part-north part-east part-west

"Northwards, eastwards, westwards" these were uttered in a strong chanting voice; probably synonymous with English expression "North, South, East, West", ie 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")

1. A hole in anything.
2. An object with a hole in it.

Used with ponana, kabosuvu, 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"

1. Grove or group of trees.
2. Group of people, indefinite number.
3. 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)"

1. Bunch or bundle of anything (coconuts, beans, tomatoes, people - in fun, tied together or joined by hand, two to six per bundle).
2. Cluster of buna "egg cowries" tied together for dancing ornament or for the chief's kapiwa "gable ornament".
3. Several fruit in a cluster on one stem.

Used with luya, buna, etc.

Examples:
deic maPULINA weiva "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"

1. Mound of earth in garden where one clump of vegetables (yam, sweet potato etc) is 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")
1. Layers, strata of filth (on body, in house, village).
2. Also used synonymously with kaiyuvai-, qv
Used with gatu, wawa, pwanosi etc
Examples:
deic maPUPAIna 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 heap")
1. 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")
1. Anything rotten, soft, spoilt through decay or rust.
Used with name of item that has deteriorated.
Examples:
deic maPWASAna weiwa "that rotten mango"
num PWASAYuwela kuligaiwa. "Throw away the second rotten one."
adj PWASAwokuwa "completely rotten"

Note: While this usually specifies fruit that has spoilt, yet its specification of "soft" is not of spoiling, as a banana specified as maPWASAna is for that fruit "ripe", and not spoilt until it is PWASAwokuwa.

sa- (98, Group II: arrangement) "nut-bunch"
1. Bunches of betel nut or nuts like the same, which may be now eaten.
2. Bunches of fruit similar to betel nut which are inedible.
Used with edible nuts, as *bokaiyala*, *boveka*, *buwa*, *botutu*, and with inedible nuts as *kikimta*, *pulopola*.

Examples:
- **deic maSAña 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: subclassifiers) "branching"

1. A cluster of *sobulo-* specified shoots; a shoot of yam vine that has been allowed to grow up the *kavatam* "stake" and develop a head of leaves.
2. A tree with only a few leaves (through poor soil, or dying).
3. Tree with tiers or strata of leaf clumps (of a large tree).

Used with *taitu*, *kuvi*, and names of trees etc.

Examples:
- **deic maSEGAña taitu** "that leafy yam shoot"
- **num SEGAtala wala bibodi.** "One shoot is enough."
- **adj SEGAwonaku** "a long shoot"

See also example 62, p 112.

**seluva-** (106, Group II: arrangement) "bundle being tied"

1. Bundle in process of being tied up.

Used with names of items being bundled.

Examples:
- **deic maSELVUAna** "that group of things being bundled"
- **num SELUVAtala** "one bundle"
- **adj SELUVAwonaku** "a long bundle"

**seuyo-** (55, Group II: partition) "lagoon"

1. Lagoon area between reef and land, fairly close to village.
2. Fishing spot in lagoon.

Mal *sîwa* "sea portions (ownership divisions with reference to fishing rights)"
si- (See note below on Malinowski's usage.)

Mal si - "small bits". Malinowski includes this in his list of "classificatory formatives", including such forms as Sitana, SIywela, SITolula. The last two of these are not in fact connected with the first, as my informants would not admit them, suggesting they had been confused with SIVIywela, SIVItolula. These could easily be confused, as the phoneme /v/ is very weak or lenis, especially when followed by /i/; so that the above sequence of three words may be understood as sitana, SIVIywela, SIVItolula "a bit, a second time (ie more please), a third time (ie yet another bit). The other forms Malinowski quotes in support of this, which he suggested indicated an inflecting of sitana, ie sitagu, sitami, were suggested as being in their turn 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)"")

1. A tangled line, rope, string, net.
Used with im, wotunu, yuwoyoula etc.

Examples:
deic maSIPUna "that tangle"
num SIPUtala "one knot in the total tangle"
adj SIPUkekita "a tightly-tangled rope"

sisi- (58, Group II: partition) "bough"
(cf noun sisila "branch of tree")

1. Branch, bough, either still on tree or cut off.
2. A cut-off part of tree - bough, twig, leaf, flower.
3. Division of a magical spell.
Used with kai, meguva, and names of trees.

Examples:
deic maSISIna kai "that branch"
num SISItala "one bough"
adj SISIkekita "a twig"

Mal sisi "boughs"

sisili- (82, Group II: partition) "cut of meat"
(cf verb -sali "divide, dismember")

1. Pieces of butchered animal, cuts of meat (a large or small piece, usually cooked).
Used with name of dismembered animal, and with names of various cuts of meat (some 30 different cuts for a pig).
Examples:

deic maSISILI na bunukwa "that cut of pig-flesh"
num SISILItala SISILItala "each cut of meat"
adj SISILI pwa sa "a rotten cut of meat"

Note: Example 69 on p 155 shows that sisili-cuts are of any size below the major kabila-cuts.

siva- (16, Group I: subclassifier) "number of times" (also sivi)
1. Number of times doing something, going somewhere, etc.
Used with the name of activity as kamkwam, loula, bigubagula etc

Examples:

dec maSIVA na loula "the occasion of that journey"
num SIVA yu "twice"
adj SIVA bobawa "often"

Note: The form sivi- is only seen in the words SIVIbidubadu "very often" and SIVIbobawa "a great number of times"; the form siva- is also found with both of these.

Mal siva "times"

sivi- "number of times" (See siva-)

siva- (See seu y o- note on Malinowski's usage.)

siyo- "things strung through hole" (See suyo-)

sobulo- (13, Group I: subclassifier) "growing"
1. Single growing shoot.
Used with name of growing thing.

soul o- (56, Group II: partition) "fishing spot"
1. Any place in sea where fish live - niggerhead, reef, group of rocks, also sunken wreck, old drum etc.
Used with vatu, lagula, lada, seu ya etc.

Examples:

dec maSOUL O na vatu "that reef (good fishing)"
num SOUL Otolu "three fishing places"
adj SOUL Obau "a new spot"

Note: The form kwai- is an acceptable specification of generally acceptable fishing areas; but soul o- specifies one spot only.
A distant fishing spot (more than twenty kilometers 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-)

1. Anything tied in a bundle or strung together by having a string passed through a hole - fish (indefinite number, two to six, but suyo-strings are of 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 as indicated above.

Examples:
   deic maSUYOna moi "that bundle of rolls of matmaking material"
   num SIYOTala "one bundle"
   adj SUYOkekita "a small bundle"

ta-  (108, Group II: arrangement) "basket, basketful"
      (also $)

1. Basket (whether full or empty).
2. The contents of a basket.

Used with various basket names as kauya, peta, pwatai, vataga etc, and various names of things put in baskets.

Examples:
   deic maTAna buwa, miTAna buwa "that basketful of betel nut"
   num TAYuwela baisa "the second basket here"
   yuwa peta "two baskets either full or empty"
   adj TAwokuwa wala "only an empty basket"

Note: The zero form only used with numerals; its use is with nouns and basket names as above. The number without any specifier is only used for the counting of (full or empty) 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. Note however that ta- may be used also in counting.

Note the particular forms "ten full baskets" may be specified either by 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")
1. Mat rolled-up.
2. Mat-making or house-walling material rolled or coiled.

Used with moi, ninuva etc.

Examples:
   deic maTABILIina moi "that rolled-up mat"
   num TABILIyu ninuva "two rolls of house-walling material"
   adj TABILIVakaveka "big coils of"

tabudo-  (66, Group II: partition) "room"
(cf verb -taboda "divide using something")
1. Room or divisions within a 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 "to sprout")
1. New shoot (any tree). Runner for any creeper or vine, as yam, sweet potato.
2. Small grasses, creepers.
3. A yam with a growing shoot.
4. A bunch or cluster of yams plus growing tops, as produced from one yam seed, now dug up and tied together.
5. The number of times a tree may sprout new growth in any one season (not the number of shoots it has).

Used with the 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-; of verb -tavi "coil it up")
1. A rope loosely looped into coils held in the 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 (of rope; coil is long, not rope)"

teni-  (128, Group II: arrangement) "tight coil"
1. Rope rolled into tight coil when elbow and hand have been used to make the coil.
Used with wotunu, im, yuwoyoula etc.
Examples:
  deic maTENIIna wotunu "that line"
  num TENItala "one loop of the teni-type roll"
  adj TENIveka "large coil; roll of many coils"

to1-  (l, Group I: Basic Property Specifier) "human"
(also tai-, tau-; cf nouns tomota "person";
tau "male adult")
1. A human being (any age or sex); a person, people.
Used with tomota, tau, gwadi and all titles and terms appertaining to human roles.
Examples:
  deic mTOna tomota; maTAUna tomota "that person"
  num TAIluwotala TAIyu tawau "twelve men"
  adj gugwadi TOvakaveka "big children"
Note: The form tai- [1] used only with numerals; the forms to- and tau- both used with deictics; the form to- used with adjectives.
Note also another form of the deictic - maTOna, with emphatic form maTOnenalá.
Mal: tau - "human beings; males"

to2-  (6, Group I: subclassifier) "male human"
1. Male human (child or adult)

tubo-  (92, Group II: arrangement) "generation"
(also tubu-; cf noun tubwa "generation")
1. All children born at one period. The people of my time (a loose indefinite grouping).
Used with tubwa, tomota, gugwadi etc.
Examples:

dec tubwa maTUBOna "that generation"
num TUBUlwotala TUBUtalala "eleven generations"
adj TUBOvau "new generation"

Further example:
Latugu minAna ikaloubusi, baisa TUBUtalala;
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")
1. Fleet of canoes or any vessels.
2. The people of a village conveyed on one fleet
of canoes.

Used with names of various canoes, as kewou,
nagega, masawa etc.

Examples:

dec maTUPILAna kewou "that group of fishing
canoes"
num TUPILAyuwela "a second fleet"
adj TUPILAvau "very many canoes"

tuto- (15, Group I: subclassifier) "time"
(cf noun tuta "time")
1. Times, occasions: number of times a thing done
or attempted.

Used with tuta, kweluva etc.

Examples:

dec tuta maTUTOna "that time"
num - not used, except TUTOvila "how often?"
adj tuta TUTOvau "a new time" (rare)

udi- "land tract" (See udila-)

udila- (44, Group II: partition) "land tract"
(also udi-; cf lawodila "virgin country, jungle")
1. Large tract of virgin forest or old garden land.
Used with udila, raibwaga, dumia, etc.
Examples:

diec maUDILAna udila; maUDIna udila
"that tract of country"
num UDILA\text{tala} "one tract"
adj UDIPitupitu "a rough (area)"

Note: udi- and udila- are generally interchangeable.

umila- (125, Group II: arrangement) "grove (one species)"
(cf noun umila "grove")
1. Grove of trees of one sort (planted or self-sown).

Used with umila, buwa, luya etc.

Examples:

diec maUMILAna weiwa "that grove of mango trees"
num UMILA\text{yuwela} meku "the second plantation of meku trees"
adj UMILAveka buwa "a large grove of betel nut palms"

utu- (79, Group II: partition) "scrap"
1. Small pieces, fragments (dirt, scraps, food etc)

Used with kaula, pwaipwaya, kai etc.

Examples:

diec maUTUna yena "that crumb of fish"
num UTUtana wala "only one piece"
adj UTUveka "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"
1. A span measure (fingertip to fingertip of outstretched arms, about a fathom).
2. Measure applied to a heap of yams by measuring the circumference at base of heap;
the length of the \text{liba} "encircling fence" placed at base of such a heap.
3. Any items measured in spans.

Used with name of thing measured, as kuvi, waga.

Examples:

diec MaUVAna tokukupi maUVAna towonaku.
that-span man-short that-sp. man-tall.
"This is a short man's span measure, that is a tall man's."
num UVAtolu \text{liba} "a three-span heap"
adj UVAtuka\text{kupi} "a short span"
Note: No classifiers refer specifically to shorter or longer units of measurement between $\text{UVAtala}$ and $\text{UVAYu}$; these are indicated by name of object plus the requisite length-word, as $\text{makAIna lipou}$ "That thing measuring lipou"

Mal $\text{uwa}$ "lengths, the span of two extended arms from tip to tip".

$\text{uwo-}$ (138, Group II: arrangement) "two-bundle"
(cf number $\text{-yuwa}$ "two")

1. Bundle of two coconuts, pawpaws etc tied together.

Used with names of things bundled.

Examples:
- $\text{deic maUWOsina luya}$ "those two-bundles of coconuts"
- $\text{num UWOyu}$ "two two-bundles" (this equals one $\text{yulai-}$ specified bundle)
- $\text{adj UWOvau}$ "a new two-bundle"

$\text{vala-}$ (48, Group II: partition) "small garden division"
(cf verb $\text{-vili}$ "share; divide it out")

1. Small garden division (smaller than $\text{gubu-}$; cf $\text{kadida-}$)
2. A division of a task between many helpers.

Used with $\text{lapoi}$, $\text{paisewa}$ etc.

Examples:
- $\text{deic maVALAna lapoi}$ "that garden division"
- $\text{num VALAtala}$ "one division"
- $\text{adj VALAtala VALAkekita tadoki KADIDAtala}$.
  "We call a small $\text{vala-}$ division a $\text{kadida-}$ division."

$\text{-vi-}$ "female human" (See $\text{na}^2$-)

$\text{vili-}$ (74, Group II: partition) "untwisted"
(also $\text{vivili}$; cf $\text{-vili}$ "unravel")

1. A piece obtained by untwisting or unravelling it from the whole, as part of a stick of tobacco, strand of rope. One piece obtained thus from stick of tobacco is usually half of $\text{GUMtala}$, but $\text{VILItala}$ may just as well be half of $\text{KABULOtala}$. With part of a rope, $\text{VILItala}$ may be any length.

Used with $\text{tobaki}$, $\text{wotunu}$, $\text{yuwoyoula}$ etc.
Examples:

- *deic maVILIisina yuwoyoula* "those untwisted pieces of rope"
- *num VILLItala tobaki* "one scrap of tobacco"
- *adj VIVILIlkekita* "a tiny untwisted piece"

Mal *vili* "parts twisted off (with fingers)".

### vilo-

(32, Group I: subclassifier) "place"

1. 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 *vilo* "villages". "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."

### vivili-

"untwisted" (See *vili-*)

### wela-

(119, Group II: arrangement) "fish (quantity)"

1. Fish strung together (indefinite number, but approximately equal quantity - 3 kilos).

Used with names of fish.

Examples:

- *deic maWELAna yena* "that string of fish"
- *num WELAyu* "two strings (of fish)"
- *adj WELAvika 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 5lb in weight.)"

### wouyo-

(26, Group I: subclassifier) "newness"

(cf exclamation *wo* "wow!")

1. Any new thing. Newness as a property of some item.

### ya-

(4, Group I: Basic Property Specifier)

"flexible/thin"

1. Anything thin or leaflike, as leaf, garment, paper etc.
2. Anything stringlike, as string, rope, twine, tendril of creeper, hair, etc.
3. Anything either hollowed out to form a thinwalled vessel or capable of being so treated, as water-bottle made from coconut or the whole coconut (both young and mature); lime gourd, also whole gourd before being hollowed out, and thus any gourd-like plant, as pumpkin.
Used with a large group of words, as indicated above.

Examples:
- **deic miYAna luya** "that coconut"
- **num YAtuwotala yaguma** "ten gourds"
- **adj kalekwa YAkakalaia** "thin material"

Note: A football, or any ball, is not specified by ya-; see under kwai-. Kuboma dialect speakers specify coconut by na-.

Mal *ya* "leaves, fibres; objects made of leaf or fibre; flat and thin objects."

**yam**- (18, Group I: subclassifier) "day"
(cf noun *yam* "day")

1. A day; number of days.
Used only in noun-free constructions; very limited and rare; seldom appears other than by itself as a query or comment.

Examples:
- **deic maYAMna** "that day" (Note pl. *masiYAMna*)
- **num YAMyu** "two days"
- **adj - does not occur."

**yam**- (70, Group II: partition) "hand"
(cf noun *yamila* "a hand")

1. A hand still attached to body.
2. Metaphorically - an assistant, one who "lends a hand". (In this sense, used as *yuma* -; see adj example)

**yivi**- (86, Group II: partition) "serve of food pieces"

1. A serve of small chunks of consumables, as potato chips, shrimps, etc.

**yulai**- (141, Group II: arrangement) "four-bundle"

1. Bundle of four things - coconut, betel nut, yams, shells, etc.
Used with names of things grouped.

Examples:
- **deic maYULAIina taitu** "that four-bundle of yams"
- **num YULAIItala UWOTala luya** "six coconuts"
  (lit. a four-bundle and a two-bundle)
- **adj YULAIibogwa** "the first four-bundle"

Note: Ten of *YULAIItala* 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")
          1. Measure of length - fingertips of one hand
to wrist of another hand (about 14 cm
shorter than uvatala).
          2. A 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 any other number than 'one')
            adj YUMAvau "a new hand" (in reference to a
new helper) (cf yam²-, example 2)
          Note: Unusual plural use of deictic maYUMAsina
          yamagu "these are my two hands". Use of this in
reference to hand or arm is rare, and its
similarity to moya (qv) prompts the 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)")
          1. Group of people, animals, fish. A crowd,
flock, herd, school of fish on the move.
          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 twenty or more of
maBULUWOsina."

φ- (zero form) "basket, basketful" (See ta-)
A number of books were consulted during the preparation of this thesis. I list here those which were helpful to me. In some cases the help was of a general or ethnological nature. In others the subject matter and methodology enabled me to compare and contrast similar phenomena in my own linguistic area of interest. Where any reference is made to these sources, I cite the author's surname and the year of publication. I add here a general "thank you" to these scholars for the insights and contrasts I have gained by their help.


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