

CLASSIFICATORY PREFIXES OF THE MASSIM CLUSTER¹

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0. INTRODUCTION

The Massim Cluster is the name given to the Austronesian languages of the eastern tip of the Papua New Guinea mainland and the nearby islands of the Milne Bay Province (see map).

This paper deals specifically with the system of verbal derivational prefixes, that is prefixes which, when placed with a root, result in a verb with modified meaning from the original root. Derivational prefixes are subdivided into two classes.

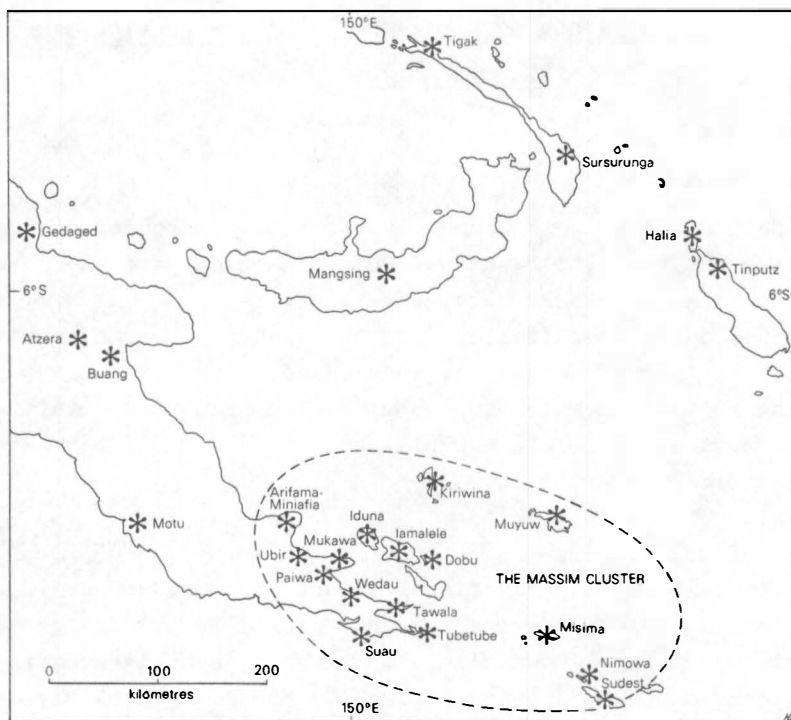
1) Classificatory prefixes

2) Modal prefixes

These are defined in 1.5.

Verbal prefixes of a derivational nature are a widespread feature of Austronesian languages. The number employed from language to language varies greatly. Indonesian, for example, has eight basic prefixes (Macdonald and Dardjowidjojo 1967). Most languages have at least the causative prefix *pa or *paka, though some have no derivational prefixes at all (5.3.). The south-eastern region of Papua New Guinea, formerly south-east Papua, is especially rich in derivational prefixes and has certain features which are unique to the area.

Previous studies (section 1.) have often been based on a cursory knowledge of the languages involved and on inaccurate data which have of necessity skewed the results. The present paper is an attempt to remedy this situation for at least one language. The data presented on the Tawala language² (sections 2.-4.) provide the most detailed examination of derivational prefixes of a Massim language to date, and will hopefully be useful for future comparative work. The documentation of two classes within derivational prefixes is possibly the major



MASSIM CLUSTER LANGUAGES AND OTHER PAPUA NEW GUINEA LANGUAGES REFERRED TO IN THIS ARTICLE

contribution of this paper. This paper also points out for the first time that in Tawala, and probably other languages as well,³ modal and classificatory prefixes are not only semantically different, but are structurally distinct, the modal prefixes having two or even three forms depending on what aspect is being used (4.2.). This insight has reduced the bewildering number of forms first encountered to a controllable level. The Tawala data also reveal that the modal prefixes have a variety of meanings when used with different roots, and not just one single area of meaning.

Finally (section 5.) the geographical extent of classificatory prefixes is discussed and conclusions drawn.

The occurrence of verbal prefixes in Tawala is high, and control of these prefixes is essential for language fluency. My initial interest in the subject was a result of the need to be able to use the correct prefix out of the various possibilities.

1. PREVIOUS STUDIES

Most earlier studies failed to give the meaning of the root before the derivational prefix was added. This practice excluded others from being able to assess the value of each example unless they knew the language in question. All Tawala examples in this paper have the root meaning given.

1.1. COPLAND KING

The earliest list presenting material from the Massim Cluster is found in the Wedau grammar of Copland King (1901). He lists and illustrates some 17 derivational prefixes as 'verbal prefixes'.

1.2. SIDNEY H. RAY

In 1907 *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits* was published. In volume 3, Sidney H. Ray produced a comparative grammar of many of the languages of the area. In Section 24 of his comparative grammars of British New Guinea, Ray deals with "Prefixes to verbs". In this section, Ray seeks to fit the verbal prefixes into the scheme Codrington used in his *The Melanesian Languages* (1885:183).

1. Causative Prefixes - when a verb comes to signify the making to do or be.

2. Reciprocal Prefixes - when a double action, one upon another, or of many on one another is indicated.

3. Condition Prefixes - when a thing is shown to be in or to have arrived at a certain condition.

4. Spontaneity Prefixes - when that condition has come about of itself.

Ray found only the first three of these in the area. I personally find his Tawala examples of 2. and 3. unconvincing. I have found no evidence of a reciprocal prefix at all (cf. 3.1.b.). There is a condition (stative) prefix (3.2.) in Tawala (om- probably related to 'Melanesian' ma-) but Ray used the free-form mei which means 'like'. On the other hand there is something akin to a spontaneity prefix not mentioned by Ray (cf. guna- 2.1.). Thus the Tawala language has causative and stative prefixes, and possibly a spontaneity prefix in common with the island region of the Solomons and New Hebrides (cf. Pawley 1972).

1.3. ARNOLD

Arnold's *A Grammar of the Language of Edugaura* [Dobu] (1931) deserves mention as probably the largest list of verbal prefixes to have been published. Arnold found 24 different forms in the Dobu language, with a total of 31 distinct meanings. However, the shades of meaning are lost on the non-Dobu-speaker as the examples are not accompanied by the meaning of the roots without prefixes.

1.4. WILLIAMS

Williams (c. 1935) is a manuscript of special interest to our present study as his 'Dictionary and Grammar in the Keherara Dialect' is a direct forerunner to my own work, and I found it very useful in my initial language study. In his short grammatical introduction, Williams lists five prefixes which he calls 'verbal particles'. His dictionary, which runs to several thousand words, contains most of the prefixes presented in this paper. However, he failed to recognise the fact that one prefix may have several forms, and thus we find a single word recorded in two or even three places in the dictionary.

1.5. A. CAPELL

Capell (1943:236-53) compared "the prefixes to verbs" of various languages of the Massim Cluster. Capell's work is well documented and made a real contribution to the study of derivational prefixes, in that he distinguished between modal and classificatory prefixes; "a modal prefix shows the particular mode of relationship expressed by

the verb - condition, state, causality, reciprocity, spontaneity, etc." (1943:237). This type of prefix is widespread in Austronesian languages. "A classificatory prefix shows how an action is done - whether by hand, by the foot, by speaking, or in other ways." (1943:237). He separated these two classes on the basis of meaning, but does not seem to have been aware that the distinctions also rest on a structural basis (cf. section 4.), at least for the Tawala language and probably others. Capell thought the classificatory prefixes were a distinct feature of the Massim Cluster. He said they "are peculiar, it would seem, to the languages of SEP [south-eastern Papua], and their chief centre there is in the languages of the north-east coast" (1943:242). Capell then lists the classificatory prefix forms for ten languages, eight of which had not been previously published. His examples for the Tawala language are not accurate.⁴

1.6. WILHELM MILKE

Milke (1965:347) pointed out that "Gedaged and its immediate congeners (Bilibili etc.) make prolific use of classificatory prefixes to verbs". This seems to overstate the case. A detailed study of Mager's dictionary (1952) revealed only five verbal prefixes. Two were modal prefixes (pa- and se-) and three were classificatory (be-, ka- and tuzu-). It is these three that are discussed by Milke, and while they could hardly be called prolific (especially as ka- is quite rare), they do present valuable evidence for classificatory prefixes outside the Massim Cluster.

1.7. JOYCE HUCKETT

The study of Hockett (1974) deserves mention as she has tackled the problem from a different direction, seeking to analyse the way in which word stems are built up and word classes are derived and changed. She gives meanings for Iduna roots and affixes and thus the examples are clear. As she is not seeking to deal with derivational affixes, she does not distinguish between modal and classificatory prefixes (there are very few of the latter cited). Her grammar is concerned with the problem of how verbs change to nouns or adjectives, etc. Thus she does not limit herself to derivational prefixes, but handles reduplication and also inflexional suffixes and compound roots. The resultant system is quite complex having 40 different subdivisions. There are no new insights into derivational prefixes themselves in the paper.

1.8. DAVID LITHGOW

Lithgow (1976) follows Capell's two-way division but labels them "causative and classificatory prefixes". In line with the broad scope of Lithgow's article, his treatment of these prefixes is necessarily impressionistic.

2. CLASSIFICATORY PREFIXES IN TAWALA

In this and the next two sections, the Tawala data are presented. The Tawala language has the two classes of derivational prefix, classificatory and modal. There is a two-fold distinction between these two classes. Firstly, there is a semantic difference (see 1.5. above). Secondly, the two classes have different methods of forming the progressive aspect (see 4. below). Classificatory prefixes indicate the manner in which an action is performed, whether by speaking, by hand or by itself, etc.

2.1. THE INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES

Five of these have been observed and are illustrated by use with the roots *hedali* 'to break' and *loloya* 'to tear'.

hana	biting involved	hana-hedali 'to break with teeth'	hana-loloya 'to tear with teeth'
tu	feet involved	tu-hedali 'to break with feet'	tu-loloya 'to tear with feet'
tupa	sharp knock involved	tupa-hedali 'to break by knocking'	tupa-loloya 'to tear by bumping'
tape	hands involved	tape-hedali 'to break with hands'	tape-loloya 'to tear with hands'
guna ⁵	happens by itself	guna-hedali 'to break by itself'	guna-loloya 'to tear by itself'

2.2. THE DECLARATION PREFIXES

Two prefixes involve the spoken word.

2.2.1. *kawa(i)-* has the idea of proclaiming or declaring something to be a particular quality. The two forms are not phonologically conditioned, and both are sometimes used with the same root. *kawa(i)-* can only occur with adjectives. Thus instead of using the verb roots used in 2.1. (*hedali* and *loloya*) an adjective such as *apapoe* 'bad' is used.

kawai-apapoe	<i>'to proclaim something bad or broken'</i>	(apapoe <i>'bad'</i>)
kawa-moina	<i>'to proclaim something true'</i>	(moina <i>'true'</i>)

2.2.2. pali- A number of common roots take the prefix pali- and all become verbs that involve speaking.

pali-lougo	<i>'to heal (by singing)'</i>	(lougo <i>'to sing'</i>)
pali-gudugudu	<i>'to oppose a proposition'</i>	(gudu <i>'a door'</i>)
pali-wele	<i>'to talk to someone'</i>	(wele <i>'to give'</i>)

2.3. THE MOVEMENT PREFIXES

There are three classificatory prefixes which involve movement.

2.3.1. welu- often involves a change of status from unseen to visible or vice versa (first example).

welu-lui	<i>'to disappear inside'</i>	(lui <i>'to enter'</i>)
welu-bahabaha	<i>'to go along talking'</i>	(baha <i>'to talk'</i>)
welu-waya	<i>'to bring'</i>	(waya <i>'to take'</i>)

2.3.2. tu- involves a small movement or else the cessation of movement. (Note possibly related use of tu- under 2.1. above.)

tu-hopu	<i>'to go down a little'</i>	(hopu <i>'to descend'</i>)
tu-towolo	<i>'to stop'</i>	(towolo <i>'to stand'</i>)

2.3.3. hulu- is used where the action involves a multiple front.

hulu-geletaya	<i>'to spill over'</i> (used of a wave spilling over the edge of a canoe in several places)	(geleta <i>'to arrive'</i>)
hulu-niyeya	<i>'to cast lots'</i> (involves a group of people throwing an object around)	(niyeya <i>'to bring'</i>)

3. MODAL PREFIXES IN TAWALA

Tawala modal prefixes are mainly used to express cause and state. Unlike the classificatory prefixes, the modal prefixes are quite difficult to give a precise area of meaning. The meanings overlap each other, and a given prefix can have opposite meanings with different verbs.

3.1. THE CAUSATIVE PREFIXES

Although examples are given of 'condition' and 'unpredictable meaning', the following prefixes are all primarily causative in meaning. The large number of types is probably an indication that we are here confronted with an area of rapid language change. It is possible that the first four prefixes are developing separate areas of meaning. There are a number of roots which take more than one type. *hilage* 'to be finished' (euphemism for 'to be dead') occurs with four causatives.

wi-hilage	'to kill with poison'
li-hilage	'to kill' (direct participation)
lu-hilage	'to be tired'
wo-hilage	'to die of overwork'

The prefixes are given in the order of frequency of occurrence, commencing with the most common prefix and moving to *hu-* which is fairly rare.

3.1.1. *wi-* has the following functions:⁶

a. causative: these occur with a verb root

wi-am	'to cause someone to eat'	(am 'to eat')
wi-tugula	'to make people sit down'	(tugula 'to sit')
wi-towolo	'to stand something up'	(towolo 'to stand')

b. stative: these usually occur with noun roots. The first example is an exception, in that *gwae* is also a verb.

wi-gwae	'to be in murky state'	(gwae 'to be murky')
wi-bada	'to be grown old (man)'	(bada 'old man')
wi-poya	'to be hot'	(poya 'leaf rubbed on skin to make it hot')
wi-gawiya	'to fight'	(gawiya 'war')

c. unpredictable meaning:

wi-wawine	'to be pregnant'	(wawine 'female')
wi-tona	'to fight'	(tona 'tusk')
wi-lawi	'to hit'	(lawi 'to catch')
wi-bagibagi	'to borrow a tool'	(bagibagi 'to work')

3.1.2. *lu-* verbs with this prefix are usually intransitive.

a. to cause by making or doing:

lu-hewahewali	'to act like unmarried youths'	(hewali 'youth')
lu-bogahu	'to smoke (cigarette)'	(bogahu 'smoke')
lu-haba	'to chew (betelnut)' lit. 'to make redness'	(haba 'red paint')

b. to cause by collection:

lu-emoteya	'to pile'	(emosi 'one')
lu-ginahi	'to make sago'	(ginahi 'sago')
lu-gaga	'to gather mustard'	(gaga 'mustard')
lu-mayau	'to gather firewood'	(mayau 'firewood')

c. unpredictable meaning:

lu-gagi	'to undress'	(gagi 'to undo clothes')
lu-geleta	'to become clear'	(geleta 'to arrive')
lu-damana	'to inherit'	(damana 'across')

3.1.3. li- this prefix usually, but not always, results in a transitive verb stem.

a. with intransitive verbs:

li-hilage	'to kill'	(hilage 'to be finished')
li-peu	'to cause to fall (thing)'	(peu 'to fall')
li-nugohego	'to make peace with'	(nugohego 'to have peace')

b. with adjectives:

li-dumalu	'to straighten'	(dumalu 'straight')
li-hahana	'to make a thing grow'	(hahana 'fat')
li-dao	'to lengthen'	(dao 'long')

c. unpredictable meaning:

li-bolu	'to meet together'	(bolu 'group')
li-hola	'to scatter seed'	(hola 'inside')

3.1.4. wo- is considered as a modal prefix though it sometimes has the meaning 'to cause by hand'. It has a clear causative function with several verbs, and it has a separate form for the progressive aspect. No clear subdivisions of usage have been observed.

wo-hale	'to dismiss a meeting'	(hale 'to throw')
wo-dadani	'to touch'	(ludadani 'to try')
wo-houna	'to stop activity'	(houna 'to put')
wo-geleta	'to be revealed'	(geleta 'to arrive')
wo-towolo	'to stand up (rise)'	(towolo 'to be standing')

3.1.5. hu-

a. causative: to be the cause or means of an activity:

hu-hopu	<i>'to put down'</i>	(hopu <i>'to descend'</i>)
hu-geleta	<i>'to cause to arrive'</i>	(geleta <i>'to arrive'</i>)

b. condition:

hu-lupa	<i>'to be jumping'</i>	(lupa <i>'to jump'</i>)
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3.2. THE STATIVE PREFIX om-

When used with a verb this prefix changes a transitive verb into an intransitive one, or a ditransitive into a transitive verb. om- seems to be the equivalent of the Solomon Islands 'stative derivative' ma-.

a. used with a verb root to form intransitive verbs:

om-hiyawa	<i>'to be able to read'</i>	(hiyawa <i>'to read (it)'</i>)
om-apu	<i>'to bake'</i>	(apu <i>'to bake (it)'</i>)
om-welena	<i>'to hand over'</i>	(wele <i>'to give (it)'</i>)

b. used with a noun acts as a verbaliser:

om-dine	<i>'to comb'</i>	(dine <i>'a comb'</i>)
om-tepo	<i>'to bail out (water)'</i>	(tepo <i>'bailer'</i>)
om-pasi	<i>'to stick (adhere)'</i>	(pasi <i>'glue'</i>)

c. unpredictable meaning:

om-gomu	<i>'to miscarry'</i>	(gomu <i>'to snap off'</i>)
om-talemo	<i>'to enjoy food'</i>	(talemo <i>'to lick finger'</i>)

4. STRUCTURAL DISTINCTIONS IN TAWALA PREFIXES

This section illustrates the structural distinction between classificatory and modal prefixes. Classificatory prefixes form the progressive aspect in the regular manner of most other verbs in the language. Modal prefixes have a separate prefix for the progressive aspect.

4.1. CLASSIFICATORY PREFIXES

The progressive aspect is formed by reduplicating the classificatory prefix. An example of each is given. There is no reduplicated form of tu- with the verbs I have tested.

SIMPLE ASPECT		PROGRESSIVE ASPECT	
hana-haya	'to bite'	hanahana-haya	'to be biting'
tupa-buiya	'to tip it over'	tupatupa-buiya	'to keep tipping it over'
tape-hoeya	'to open it'	tapetape-hoeya	'to be opening it'
guna-lolona	'to be torn'	gunaguna-lolona	'to be being torn'
kawa-moina	'to proclaim true'	kawakawa-moina	'to be proclaiming true'
pali-lougo	'to heal'	palipali-lougo	'to be healing'
welu-bahabaha	'to go, talking'	weluwelu-bahabaha	'to be going along talking'
hulu-geleteya	'to spill over'	huluhulu-geleteya	'to be spilling over'

4.2. MODAL PREFIXES

The continuous aspect is formed by a change of form for each of the prefixes. The following gives an example for each prefix.

SIMPLE ASPECT		PROGRESSIVE ASPECT	
wi- becomes i-			
wi-tona	'to fight'	i-tona	'to be fighting'
lu- becomes lau-			
lu-mayau	'to gather wood'	lau-mayau	'to be gathering wood'
li- becomes lai-			
li-bolu	'to talk together'	lai-bolu	'to be talking together'
wo- becomes woo-			
wo-dadani	'to touch'	woo-dadani	'to be touching'
hu- becomes hau-			
hu-hopu		hau-hopu	

om- is especially difficult because it has three forms, and also in one or two cases does not follow the regular verb pattern for aspects. Thus we include a complete paradigm of a regular verb (wi-tona 'to fight') and the om- forms (om-poya 'to apply leaf magic').

PERSON	SIMPLE ASPECT	PROGRESSIVE ASPECT (present tense)	IMMINENT ASPECT
1sg.	a wi-tona	a i-tona	a wi-tona
2sg.	u wi-tona	*e i-tona	u na wi-tona
3sg.	i wi-tona	*e i-tona	i na wi-tona
1pl.(incl.)	ta wi-tona	ta i-tona	ta wi-tona
1pl.(excl.)	to wi-tona	to i-tona	to wi-tona
2pl.	o wi-tona	o i-tona	o na wi-tona
3pl.	hi wi-tona	*he i-tona	hi na wi-tona
1sg.	am-poya	a yam-poya	a nom-poya
2sg.	um-poya	*e yam-poya	u nom-poya
3sg.	im-poya	*e yam-poya	i nom-poya
1pl.(incl.)	tam-poya	ta yam-poya	ta nom-poya
1pl.(excl.)	tom-poya	to yam-poya	to nom-poya
2pl.	om-poya	o yam-poya	o nom-poya
3pl.	him-poya	*he yam-poya	hi nom-poya

*Present tense is marked only in second person singular, and third person singular and plural.

4.3. SUMMARY

The data presented in sections 2.-4. show the important role derivational prefixes play in the Tawala language. These prefixes are in two separate classes, differing semantically and in the way they form the progressive aspect. The om- prefix has three forms whereas other modal prefixes have two forms. The classificatory prefixes, on the other hand, have a single form which is reduplicated for the progressive aspect.

5. THE GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT OF CLASSIFICATORY PREFIXES

In this section we investigate the geographical extent of classificatory prefixes.

5.1. THE MASSIM CLUSTER

At this stage we need to examine the geographical extent of classificatory prefixes, as far as our present knowledge will permit. The following evidence confirms the widespread nature of classificatory prefixes within the Massim Cluster along with the authority in each case. It appears that all languages within the area have this feature in common.

The data used in preparing this paper vary in quality. The presence of classificatory prefixes has been established in the following languages but comparative work between them and attempts at reconstructions have not been possible.

LANGUAGE	AUTHORITY
Arifama-Miniafia	Wakefield; personal communication ⁷
Ubir	Capell; 1943
Mukawa	Capell; 1943
Paiwa	Capell; 1943
Wedau	Copland King; 1901
Suau	Capell; 1943
Tawala	present paper; sections 2.-4.
Tubetube	Capell; 1943
Dobu	Arnold; 1931
Misima	Capell; 1943
Kiriwina	Capell; 1943
Muyuw	Lithgow; 1973
Iduna	Huckett; 1974
Nimowa	present paper; (Appendix 1)
Sudest	present paper; (Appendix 2)
Iamalele	Beaumont; (Appendix 3)

This represents material from all the major language families of the Massim Cluster and indicates the universal nature of classificatory prefixes within the area.

5.2. THE SURROUNDING LANGUAGES

Most existing grammars (e.g. Lister-Turner and Clark 1930, Pawley 1972 and Beaumont 1974) reveal no trace of classificatory prefixes. The exceptions are dealt with below (5.3. and 5.4.).

In addition to the above data I have examined the following manuscripts and confirmed with the respective authors that the data present the only verbal prefixes known in the respective languages. In each case the prefixes are clearly modal and not classificatory.

Many surrounding Austronesian languages have not been adequately studied and so it is possible that some of these may have classificatory prefixes of the Massim Cluster type.

5.2.1. Mangsing (Combs 1977)

The only derivational prefix in Mangsing is the typical AN causative *pa-*.

pa-rin '*to kill*' (*rin* '*to die*')

5.2.2. Sursurunga (Hutchisson 1975a and 1975b)

There are two prefixes in Sursurunga.

a. causative, which has three separate forms a-, ta- and o-:

a-lal	'to bend'	(lal 'to be bent')
ta-räp	'to tear'	(räp 'to be torn')
o-bop	'to put down'	(bop 'to lie down')

b. reciprocal ar-:

ar-up	'to fight'	(up 'to beat')
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5.2.3. Halia (Allen 1975 and personal communication)

Halia has two forms of the causative prefix, ha- and ni-:

ha-nou	'to cause to eat'	(nou 'to eat')
ni-atei	'to teach'	(atei 'knowledge')

5.2.4. Tinputz (Hostetlers 1977)

Hostetlers record a single causative va-:

va-nö	'to send'	(nö 'to go')
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5.3. THE ATZERA-BUANG LANGUAGES

Milke (1965:347) discusses Atzera prefixes, where "we find a number of recurrent first syllables in verbs (a-, ja- etc.) which may be classificatory prefixes. This we must leave undecided."

Hooley (1970) discusses the parallel situation in Mapos Buang and rules out the possibility of the Buang prefixes being derivational prefixes in the current situation. The historical position of these prefixes waits further investigation. In discussing verb phrases he states,

Many of the initial unstressed syllables of these verbs recur again and again, for examples s-, k-, ma-, p-. It is therefore very probable that these represent old prefixes which have now become fused and inseparable from the roots So far it has not been possible to assign any particular meaning to these units.

The situation is similar for Manga Buang (Healey 1976).

5.4. THE GEDAGED AND RELATED LANGUAGES

As mentioned in the historical section (1.6.) Milke (1965:347) has presented definite evidence for classificatory prefixes in Gedaged and other nearby AN languages. It seems certain that these items are of the same genre as those of the Massim Cluster, especially as they are

all cognate with Massim forms. An examination of the Gedaged data seems to indicate that classificatory prefixes do not play as important a role as they do in the Massim Cluster. The Gedaged *ka-* has a very limited usage, leaving only two regularly used forms.

5.5. CONCLUSION

As borrowing over such distances seems unlikely, it appears that there is a genetic link between Gedaged with its related languages and the Massim Cluster. Whether the Atzera/Buang languages form a historical link in this chain is as yet undecided. The limited usage of classificatory prefixes in Gedaged and the absence of them elsewhere highlights the prominent place that they play in the Massim Cluster, and acts as a unifying feature for this cluster.

APPENDIX 1

Classificatory Prefixes in Nimowa

The following information was elicited from Gregory Kunai from Junnet village. Gregory is 18 years old and a student at the Hagita High School.

All the examples are of instrumental classificatory prefixes used with the roots *tem* and *bebe* both meaning '*to break*'.

<i>saga-</i>	teeth involved
<i>saga-tem</i>	<i>'to break with the teeth'</i>
<i>go-</i>	knife involved
<i>go-tem</i>	<i>'to cut off with a knife'</i>
<i>mwana-</i>	hands involved
<i>mwana-bebe</i>	<i>'to break with the hands'</i>
<i>su-</i>	bump involved
<i>su-bebe</i>	<i>'to bump and break'</i>
<i>pi-</i>	feet involved
<i>pi-bebe</i>	<i>'to stand on and break'</i>
<i>ton-</i>	burning involved
<i>ton-bebe</i>	<i>'to break by burning'</i>
<i>taga-</i>	hit involved
<i>taga-bebe</i>	<i>'to hit and break'</i>

APPENDIX 2

Classificatory Prefixes in Sudest

The following information was elicited from John Ruta of Rehuwo village. John is 18 years old and is a student at the Hagita High School. The material was collected at the same time as the Nimowa material in the first appendix and is really a translation of the Nimowa forms.

All the examples are of instrumental classificatory prefixes used with the roots *ten*, *ngila* and *bebe*, all meaning '*to break*'. The phonetics of Sudest is difficult and the following material is probably not phonetically accurate.

<i>řiř-</i>	teeth involved
<i>řiř-ten</i>	<i>'to break with the teeth'</i>
<i>ki-</i>	knife involved
<i>ki-ten</i>	<i>'to cut off with a knife'</i>
<i>mwana-</i>	hands involved
<i>mwana-ngila</i>	<i>'to break with the hands'</i>
<i>du-</i>	bump involved
<i>du-bebe</i>	<i>'to bump and break'</i>
<i>buři-</i>	feet involved
<i>buři-ngila</i>	<i>'to stand on and break'</i>
<i>řambu-</i>	burning involved
<i>řambu-bebe</i>	<i>'to burn and break'</i>
<i>řiři-</i>	hit involved
<i>řiři-ngila</i>	<i>'to hit and break'</i>

APPENDIX 3

Classificatory Prefixes in Iamalele

The following list of classificatory prefixes was supplied by John Beaumont (S.I.L.) who has been studying the Iamalele language since 1971.

daba	<i>'to cut'</i>
kini-daba	<i>'to cut through'</i>
ʔala-dabai	<i>'to be burned through by fire'</i>
ʔutu-dabau	<i>'to cut with the teeth'</i>
kia-dabau	<i>'to break with the hands'</i>
tu-dabai	<i>'to break with the foot'</i>
ani-dabai	<i>'to break by itself'</i>
si-dabau	<i>'to pull and break'</i>
bi-dabau	<i>'to push and break'</i>
va-baiya	<i>'to stand on and break'</i>
ve-baiya	<i>'to be broken by a fall'</i>
yagi-baiya	<i>'to be broken by wind'</i>
ʔeto-bwekai	<i>'to pierce by throwing an instrument'</i>

N O T E S

1. This paper was prepared under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. It is based on the Diwinai dialect of the Tawala language. I spent almost six months along with my family at Diwinai in 1974, and have continued occasional study of the dialect since then, through the help of my translation colleague, Yailo Robert whose home is at Diwinai. Since leaving Diwinai I have also worked on the closely related Labe dialect. I wish to thank Gary Simons for a number of helpful suggestions he made on the first draft of this paper.

2. The Tawala language is spoken by some 10,000 people around the easternmost tip of Papua New Guinea and on the shores of Milne Bay and adjacent islands. It includes the languages referred to in earlier literature as Basilaki, Bohila'i (Bohira'i), Kehelala (Keherara) and Tavara, but does not include Maiwara as suggested by Dutton (1973), which is a dialect of Taupota, though most Maiwara people speak Tawala as a second language. Tawala is an Austronesian language of the Taupota family, and thus closely related to Wedau (see Ezard 1977, for cognate figures).

3. Iamalele seems to have a structural class distinction similar to Tawala. The modal prefix *ve-* (*ve-bwaika* 'to make big') becomes *ʔive-* in the progressive aspect, whereas the classificatory prefix *ve-* (*ve-baiya* 'to be broken by a falling object') becomes *veve-* in the progressive aspect.

4. Capell lists ten classificatory prefixes for the Tawala language (1943:246f). He was aware of the poverty of his data. "The unsatisfactory nature of this list shows that more study needs to be made in Tavara." The following prefixes suggested by Capell are changed for

the reasons given. It is possible that my analysis is skewed in that I have worked in a different dialect from Capell.

(1) ai- is the first person singular referent (a) plus progressive aspect of wi- (cf. 4.2.)

(2) am- is a modal prefix (cf. 4.2.)

(3) lou- is a dialect variation of lu- and thus a modal prefix (cf. 3.1.2.)

(4) ta- is the first person plural inclusive referent

(5) tai- is a combination of (4) and progressive aspect of wi- (cf. 4.2.)

(6) tara- the verb tala means 'to cut' and thus Capell's example is a compound verb.

(7) wo- is a modal prefix (cf. 3.1.4.)

(8) tawo- is a combination of (4) and (7).

5. guna- seems to be the equivalent of the 'spontaneity prefix' found in the Solomon Islands (cf. 5.3.8.). The comparison is based on meaning, they are not cognates (guna- Tawala, tava- Bugotu, a- Arosi).

6. wi- is also added to cardinal numbers to form ordinal numbers, but these are not included in the paper (e.g. luwaga 'two', wi-luwagana 'second').

7. In his Grammar Notes, Wakefield (1975) only mentions a modal prefix i-.

i-tab	'to cook it'	(tab 'it cooked')
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However, when questioned about classificatory prefixes, he immediately thought of an example was- 'by foot'.

was-tabitabir	'to turn over and over by foot'	(tabitabir 'to turn over and over')
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