The making of the Kiriwina to English dictionary

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submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University

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I hereby certify that this thesis
"The making of the Kiriwina to English dictionary"
is my own work, and that all sources used
have been acknowledged.

.....

(Ralph S. Lawton)
18 July, 2012

Abstract

This thesis describes the making of the Kiriwina to English dictionary and its structure and content. The dictionary, which presently exists as a computer file containing some 20,000 entries, was compiled over several decades and is the most comprehensive for Kiriwina yet written.

There are seven chapters. In the first chapter, after introducing the Kiriwina people's land, language and culture, I give an account of past research into their language. Chapter 2 sketches Kiriwina phonology, and sets out the orthography. Chapter 3 provides a fairly detailed grammar sketch, including an account of the various grammatical categories which appear in dictionary entries and which are integral to the organisation of entries and subentries.

The balance of the thesis treats theoretical and especially practical problems encountered in the making of the dictionary. Chapter 4 outlines the history of the project, including my personal history and place in the Kiriwina community in the work of Bible translation. Particular attention is paid to the selection of the Kavataria dialect of Kiriwina as the language documented in the dictionary, and to the level of indigenous participation in this dialect choice. Expected main users of the dictionary are identified. The methods of fieldwork and data collection employed in compilation are detailed, together with the reasons for excluding certain classes of words, such as most proper nouns. Various technical problems encountered in making the dictionary are noted; many of these are elaborated on in later chapters.

The remaining three chapters deal with the actual content and organisation of the dictionary. Chapter 5 describes the various types of entries and the ordering of data within entries. The concept of a family of lexemes, related by virtue of sharing one particular lexeme as a primary constituent, is an important feature of the organisation of this dictionary. Chapter 6 defines the key notion of 'lexical unit' or 'sense unit' as opposed to 'lexeme' (a headword which may consist of many sense units) and outlines the

criteria used to identify lexicalised multi-morphemic words and multiword expressions. Finally, chapter 7 treats semantic relations between lexical units such as synonymy, antonymy, and inclusion, and the ways these relations are recorded in dictionary entries.

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I had thought that being aged 74 I was 'too old' to enrol for PhD guided research, until I read in a 2002 newspaper report of Vice-Chancellor Ian Chubb's intention to "go chasing for new senior students with generous scholarships". Frank Hambly supported my renewed interest, and then when Harold Koch told me it was "never too late", I enrolled in the Linguistics Department, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University, to do a doctoral thesis. The original plan, suggested by my chief supervisor, Professor Andrew Pawley, was that the thesis be on selected topics in Kiriwina lexicography, examining issues encountered and resolved in the course of compiling a Kiriwina to English dictionary. By and large I stuck to that plan. However, the final choice of which issues to focus on and how to organise the material into a sequence of chapters, evolved largely by a process of trial and error. During this process Professor Andrew Pawley has been a tireless overseer and a relentless reshaper of poorly-expressed ideas. Professor Malcolm Ross, my second supervisor, critically read later drafts and opened my eyes to the important place that the Kiriwina language holds in Oceanic comparative historical linguistics. I benefitted from daily association with other members of the Department, including Darrell Tryon, John Bowden, Wayan Arka, Bethwyn Evans, and Meredith Osmond, who accepted me as a colleague in research and looked to me for Kiriwina data, which greatly encouraged me.

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List of symbols and abbreviations

=	separates clitics
–	separates morphemes
.	separates words in multiword glosses and divisions in morphemes
/	separates meanings in semantically complex groups
~	placed between alternate meanings
+	mark the junction of two bound forms
±	marks optional form
(..)	marks optional form in a series
φ	zero phoneme in a form
1	first person pronoun
2	second person pronoun
3	third person pronoun
á	primary stress
à	secondary stress
adj 1	class 1 adjective (~ **adj 2, adj 3**)
adv 1	mode adverbial suffix
adv 2	free form adverb
alt	alternate infix
asp	verb aspect-mood markers (**ir, rl, hb**)
bps	basic property specifier
cl.(domain)	classifier plus semantic domain
cl	classifier (in other uses)
com.p	comitative phrase
conj	conjunction
d.vb	dynamic verb (see s.vb)
deic	deictic pronoun
deg	degree adverbial
dir	directional locative
dl	dual pronoun
em	emphatic enclitic (cf **emp**)
emp	emphatic suffix (cf **em**)
ex	exclusive pronoun affix
F1	pure idioms
F2	figurative idioms

g.poss general possession clitic (cf **i.poss**)
hb habitual aspect prefix (cf **ir, rl**)
i.sent interrogative sentence
in inclusive pronoun affix
i.poss intimate possession clitic (cf **g.poss**)
intrans intransitive (cf trans)
ipr interrogative pronoun subject
iqn interrogative particle
ir irrealis mood prefix (cf **rl, hb**)
j morphophonemic junction formative
kpl. plural kin
lit. literal text gloss
loc locative prefix
loc.p locative phrase
m.adv manner adverbials suffixed to verb
Mal Malinowski
mode modal verb
mood verbal mood marker (cf **ir, rl, hb**)
NP noun phrase
n 1 class 1 noun (~ **n 2, n 3**)
neg negator
nac nominal adjunct component/compound
num numeral
O the object noun phrase (sentence component, cf **S, V**)
o.pron verb object pronoun suffix
ord ordinal suffix
phr phrase
pl plural
place.p locative place phrase
POc Proto Oceanic
poss possession pronoun affix
prep.p prepositional phrase
prohib verb phrase prohibition
pron personal pronoun
purp purposive suffix
qn question (exclamation, clitic or prefix)

recip	reciprocal
redup	reduplication
rl	realis mood prefix (cf **ir, hb**)
S	the subject noun phrase (sentence component, cf **V, O**)
SVC	serial verb construction
s.o	someone
s.pron	verb subject pronoun prefix
s.sent	stative verbal sentence
s.vb	stative verb (cf **d.vb**)
sent	sentence
sg	singular (cf **dl. pl**)
sthg	something
syn	synonym
temp.p	temporal phrase
time	precise time reference
trans	transitive (cf intrans)
V	the verb phrase (sentence component, cf **S, O**)
vac	verb adjunct component/compound
VP	verb phrase
vb 1	class 1 verb (~ **vb 2, vb 3, vb 4**)
xm	exclamation. interjection

Quotations from the Bible are from the text of Kiriwina translation *Buki Pilabumaboma* (2011) to show word choices made by the Kiriwina translators of the English Good News Bible; the Bible book names are in English.

1 Introduction

1.1 The aims and organisation of the thesis

Kiriwina is an Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea, and is used in several dialect forms throughout the Trobriand Islands, and in some adjacent island groups.

During my fifty years of work as a linguist and translator with the people of the Trobriand Islands, associating with them in their daily life and working with them to translate the Bible into their language, I have compiled a Kiriwina to English dictionary (Lawton 2010). An account of the genesis and making of that dictionary can be found in chapter 4. The dictionary contains over 12,000 main entries (exclusive of some 8,000 cross-referencing entries), and describes the Kavataria dialect, which is centrally placed within the dialects used in Kiriwina and in nearby islands. The other dialects of Kiriwina differ from the Kavataria dialect mainly in a few phonological features, so that this one central dialect is understood and used in all other dialect areas, and so is suitable to be used as the basis for description of the Kiriwina language.

The dictionary was begun as a by-product of, and as an aid to my own translation work, but subsequently I recognised that it would be useful for other researchers who studied the language and culture of the Kiriwina people.

This thesis has been written to show the practical problems encountered in the writing of the Kiriwina to English dictionary, and specifically to discuss the methodology employed in forming and setting out entries and definitions of words and showing the relationships the words have with one another. The thesis comprises seven chapters. The first chapter provides an introduction to the Kiriwina people and language, and also sketches past research into their language**.** The second chapter describes the phonology of Kiriwina, and the third gives an outline of Kiriwina grammar.

The balance of the thesis treats theoretical and especially practical problems encountered in the making of the dictionary. Chapter 4 outlines the history of the project, including my personal history and place in the Kiriwina

community in the work of Bible translation. Particular attention is paid to the selection of the Kavataria dialect of Kiriwina as the language documented in the dictionary, and to the level of indigenous participation in this dialect choice. Expected main users of the dictionary are identified. The methods of fieldwork and data collection employed in compilation are detailed, together with the reasons for excluding certain classes of words, such as most proper nouns. Various technical problems encountered in making the dictionary are noted; many of these are elaborated on in later chapters.

The remaining three chapters deal with the actual content and organisation of the dictionary. Chapter 5 describes the various types of entries and the ordering of data within entries. The concept of a family of lexemes, related by virtue of sharing one particular lexeme as a primary constituent, is an important feature of the organisation of this dictionary. Chapter 6 defines the key notion of 'lexical unit' or 'sense unit' as opposed to 'lexeme' (a headword which may consist of many sense units) and outlines the criteria used to identify lexicalised multi-morphemic words and multiword expressions. Finally, chapter 7 treats semantic relations between lexical units such as synonymy, antonymy, and inclusion, and the ways these relations are recorded in dictionary entries.

1.2 Kiriwina – land, language and culture

1.2.1 Kiriwina Island

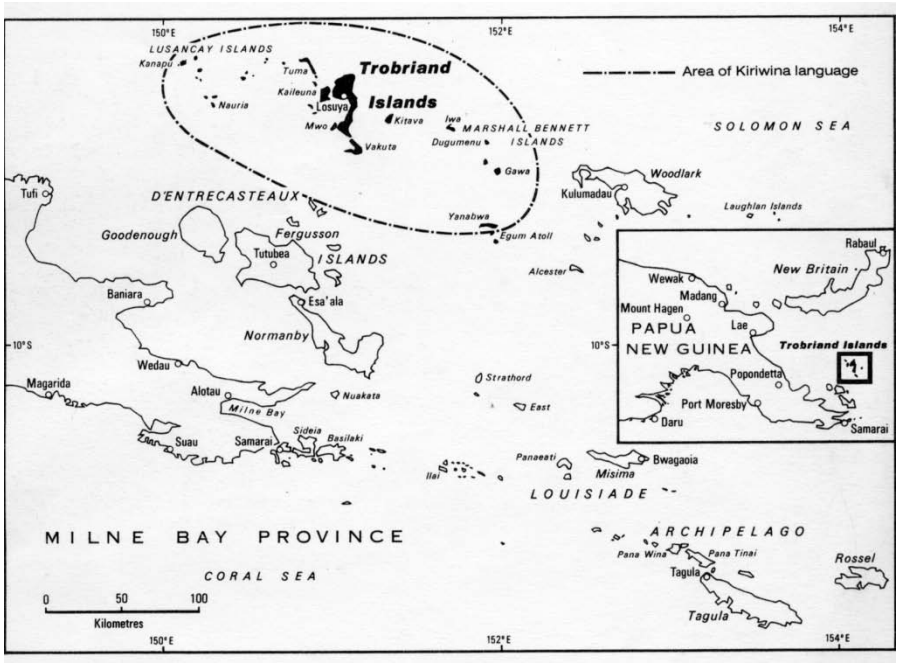
Kiriwina is the largest island of the group known as the Trobriand Islands, on the northern fringe of the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea, as shown in Map 1 below. It is the home of about 20,000 people who are part of a larger population of about 35,000[1] spread over the Trobriand Islands and adjacent islands (Lusancay Islands to the west, and the Marshall Bennett Islands to the east), all of whom speak dialects of the Kiriwina language. They are called the Kiriwina people or the Trobrianders by the world at large.

[1] Kiriwinan communities who live in urban centres of PNG are not included within this number.

1.2.2 Kiriwina language and the Austronesian family

The name given to Kiriwina Island by its inhabitants before the advent of white men was Boyowa, and they referred to their language as **Biga Boyowa**[2], the speech of Boyowa. But this old name has become obsolete, and they now refer to their island home as Kiriwina[3] and their speech as **Biga Kiriwina**, the speech of Kiriwina (sometimes Kilivila[4]). 'Kiriwina' is also used as an ethnonym for themselves by all the people speaking that language who live in the Trobriand Islands and adjacent islands.

Map 1: Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea



The Kiriwina language belongs to the large Oceanic branch of the Austronesian family, and is part of the Papuan Tip subgroup of Western Oceanic. Dempwolff (1934-1938) identified a sizeable set of phonological innovations shared by many Austronesian languages of Melanesia and Micronesia with those of Polynesia as marks of a subgroup of Austronesian which is now termed Oceanic. Kiriwina has undergone these innovations.

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2 In the Luba dialect Bwaiyowa. See titles used by Bellamy (1916) and Baldwin (1967).

3 Kiriwina people today frequently prefer to use names from printed maps in preference to old names in legends for locations surrounding Trobriand Islands.

4 Kiriwina people use the word **Kilivila** as an occasional variant for **Kiriwina**; or to refer specifically to the northern region of Kiriwina Island where the paramount chief lives. In his published grammar and dictionary (Senft 1986) Gunter Senft notes the use of Kiriwina and Boyowa, but favours Kilivila (1986: 6), and names the people Trobriand Islanders.

Pawley (2007a, also 2008a: 67), basing his conclusions on both linguistic and archaeological evidence, suggests that "perhaps around 2500 BP, Western Oceanic[5] speakers began to settle islands and coastal pockets along the north coast of New Guinea and the Papuan Tip region".

Ross (1988) showed that all the Oceanic languages of Oro and Milne Bay Province in Southeast Papua, and the Central Province of Papua, share a number of phonological and lexical innovations forming a closed subgroup which he named the Papuan Tip cluster. Ross has recently revised his internal subgrouping of the Papuan Tip cluster and states (pers. comm.) that "the fact that the Kilivila dialects (including Muyuw) and Misima [in the Louisiade Archipelago] share the same pattern of loss of some final Proto [Papuan Tip] consonants but not others indicates that Proto Kilivila-Misima was a single language".[6]

1.2.3 The dialects of Kiriwina

Eleven **kaigila** 'dialects' of the Kiriwina language[7] are identified by the Kiriwina people, by the names of the regions where they are used. Kiriwina speakers refer to any dialect difference as **butula** 'its tune'. In the introduction to the recently-completed translation of the Bible into Kiriwina (Lawton 2011), a Kiriwina leader said,

Biga	**Kiriwina**	**kaigila**	**butu-si**	**ituwoli**	**ituwoli,**
language	Kiriwina	dialect	tune-their	it-different	it-different,

makawala	**kaigi Kaileula,**	**kaigi Kavataria,**	**kaigi Kilivila ...**
like	dialect Kaileula,	dialect Kavataria,	dialect Kilivila ...

Dialects of the Kiriwina language sound different, as in Kaileula dialect, Kavataria dialect, Kilivila dialect ... (and naming four others).

---

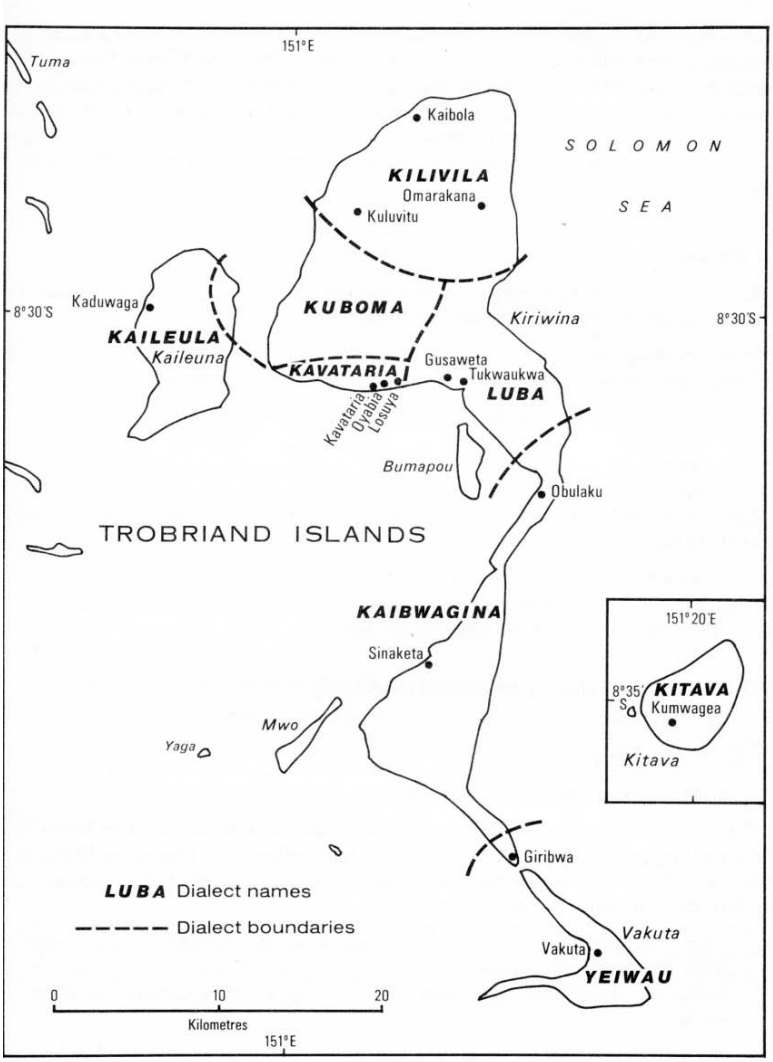
5 Ross (1988) defines *Western Oceanic* as the collection of languages descended from the dialect network centred on the Bismarck Archipelago that remained after the departure of speakers of dialects ancestral to Admiralties and Eastern Oceanic.

6 Muyuw is spoken on Woodlark Island, and Budibud on the Laughlan Islands east of Woodlark Is.

7 Kiriwina people use **biga** 'words' for a people's language. Different dialect groups within a language they call **kaigila**, attaching the classifier **kaigi** to such a group. as **kaigi Sinaketa** 'the Sinaketa dialect'. **Butula** 'its tune', is used to describe the different sound of a dialect, and is also used for musical tunes.

Senft (1986: 6) gives four names for all dialects on Kiriwina Island, such as **Biga galagoki** for Kavataria dialect. I do not know if these dialect names are emically used, as I have never heard them mentioned by a Kiriwina speaker. Rather, Kiriwina speakers use the names of localities or districts in Kiriwina or the names of islands adjacent, as shown in the example. **Kaigi Kaileula** 'dialect of Kaileula' names the island where it is used; **kaigi Kavataria** names the main village where this dialect is spoken; **kaigi Kilivila** refers to a large district made up of the northern half of Kiriwina Island, where that dialect is spoken in many villages.[8]

Map 2: Kiriwina dialects



[8] The name Kilivila is used either as a synonym for Kiriwina, or to designate the politically dominant northern half of Kiriwina Island.

Dialect differences are mainly phonological, with a small number of variant word forms. Eight of the dialects may be regarded as central, being spoken by the inhabitants of the Trobriand Islands group, with three fringe dialects in islands adjacent to the Trobriands.[9] The accompanying map (Map 2) shows the geographical spread of the eight central dialects.

Dialect variations are seen mainly in two phonological domains, one in consonants and the other in vowels of some words.

In chapter 2 on phonology I note variation in the Kavataria dialect between **/l/** and **/n/**, and **/l/** and **/r/**, in a small number of words (see 2.2.5). Similar variations are found in other dialects, with the important difference that a variant form favoured in the region of another dialect is rarely or never found in the Kavataria region. These variant forms do not occur in free variation in all occurrences of a sound, but only as a feature of some words. For example, Kavataria **deli** 'with' has no variant form in that dialect, but in Kitava it occurs as **deni** and sometimes **deri**. Kavataria **uula** 'root, reason' has no variant form, but in the Yeiwau dialect area it is consistently **uuna**. Similar variation may be noted with the **/l/** and **/r/** pair. Within the Kavataria dialect area the variation between **/l/** and **/n/** is fairly common, but variation between **/l/** and **/r/** is rarely found. But in Yeiwau dialect area **/r/** is clearly favoured and occurs in some words as the only choice, as in **-nukwari** 'to know sthg' (Kavataria only **nikoli**). In Kavataria no words show variation between **/n/** and **/r/**, but Kitava alternants **deni** or **deri** 'with' occur. The Kitava words **vivina** or **vivira** 'woman' also show this variation, but the cognate in Kavataria is consistently **vivila.**

The area of vocalic variation is mainly in the correspondence between Kavataria **Cai** and other dialects **Cei** or **Ce**, and between Kavataria **Co** and other dialects **Cwa.** (C here = a consonant). The following differences are frequent:

Kavataria form	*Other dialects*
baisa 'this'	Kitava **beisa,** Kaileula **besa**
bwaina 'good'	Kitava **bweina**, Kilivila and Kaileula **bwena**

[9] One dialect Simsimla is used in the Lusancay Islands to the west, and two dialects Iwa and Gawa, are spoken in the Marshall Bennett Islands to the east of the Trobriands. It should be noted that Ross (1988: 195) places these last two as dialects of the Muyuw language, but this must be questioned.

bwaima	'yam-house'	Kilivila and Kaileula **bwema**
koli	'burden'	Kilivila **kwali**
bogau	'sorcery'	Kilivila and Kitava **bwagau**
bodala	'brother'	Kilivila **bwadala**

Further discussion on phonological variations among dialects is to be found in 2.2.4 and 2.2.5.

The Kavataria dialect is the one represented in the Kiriwina to English dictionary. Its geographically central position, together with its exclusive use in early vernacular education (referred to in 4.5) make it an acceptable choice as a medium for literary work for Kiriwina speakers. However differences in these central dialects are not great. Because of the similarity of style and applicability of material, I have often made use of texts from other dialect areas to illustrate dictionary entries, only referring to its dialect source when this information aids a definition.

1.2.4 The Kiriwina community

The Kiriwina people live in villages which range from about a hundred to more than a thousand inhabitants. The smaller villages are frequently an outer circle of dwellings and an inner circle of **bwaima** yam-houses. The larger villages are grouped into three or four suburbs bearing different place names, which are sometimes arranged as part of a circle, but the circular arrangement is not followed by the whole village, as traditional ownership of building sites within a village seems to ignore this circular theme. The area in the centre of the village is called the **bikubaku**, a communally shared area for village activities where mortuary food distribution, harvest displays of heaps of yams, and traditional dancing are carried out. The only houses in the village that may be painted with traditional designs in red, black and white paint are those that belong to members of chiefly families. If the village is ruled by a high-ranking chief, the decorated chief's house (**lisiga**) is built in the **bikubaku**, together with his **bwaima**, which is higher than other **bwaima** and more decorated with chiefly symbols.[10]

[10] A chief's yam storehouse is also called **liku**, a term used for divisions within a **bwaima** and for **taitu** yams placed in a display construction.

Kiriwina society is divided into four matrilineal clans **(kumila),** the names of which are Malasi, Lukuba, Lukosisiga, and Lukulobuta. Each clan is made up of people who claim descent from a common male ancestor who emerged from the ground, at a point the clan identifies as its **bwala** 'house' or point of origin. The female siblings of that ancestor are each the mother in whom a subclan originated. These subclans are termed **dala** (generally glossed as 'family line'), and ranking within each **dala** is determined by the genealogies of the women from whom they came.[11] Legends state the birth order within each ancestral family. Every Kiriwina person is a member of one of these four clans, and their **dala** status is established by the **dala** of each person's true mother. Each clan is divided into a number of **dala**. Marriage is exogamous, and from distant past up to about World War II the marriage of two people within one **kumila** was considered incestuous. Subsequent to that time such marriages occasionally take place with no community opposition.[12] The whole of Kiriwina society may be seen as divided vertically into four groups by clan membership, and horizontally by sub-clan or family line membership. This is set out in Table 1.1, which shows the vertical clan division and the horizontal division of family line membership; the order of chiefly names shows the order of rank between chiefs in each clan.

Table 1.1 Clans and subclans of Kiriwina

Kumila → (clan)	**MALASI**	**LUKUBA**	**LUKOSISIGA**	**LUKULOBUTA**
Gweguya dala ↓ (chiefly families)	Tabalu Osusupa Bwaitaitu	Mlobwaima Mwauli Tudava	Kwainama Sakapu Wabali (toliwaga) Kailai Kulutula	Kaitotu Kabata
Tokai dala (commoner families)	Many (10 plus)	Many	Many	Many

[11] It is difficult to state an outline of beginnings, as legendary accounts clash; some **dala** also identify their **bwala** which differs from that for the **kumila**. See Malinowski 1932: 418f.
[12] This transition was not occasioned by any happening, but was a gradual alteration of attitude to the old custom.

Each **kumila** has two or three chiefly **dala**, collectively termed **gweguya** **'**chiefs'. Members of other **dala** in that **kumila** are collectively termed **tokai** 'commoners'. Each of the chiefly **dala** has its own internal ranking determined by an individual's place within the family line. The highest-ranking chiefly **dala** of the **Malasi** clan, the **Tabalu**, were credited in the past with magic powers which gave them control over weather and gardening, and they had also a traditional right to polygamous marriage[13]; these two things gave them immense political status. Even though these attributes of the **dala** are not today given the same level of credence, yet the **Tabalu dala** is still recognised as the highest ranking **dala**. The highest-ranking male member of the **Tabalu dala** is the paramount chief, although he does not exercise control over other **Tabalu** chiefs, his superior rank being seen as one of social pre-eminence only. The **Tabalu** chiefly status and ranking within the **dala** are authenticated by ancient legends[14] which tell of the society's beginnings. **Tabalu** chiefs serve as village heads in about seven village communities. Other chiefly **dala** rule in other villages; each village is traditionally ruled by one particular chiefly family,[15] although some small villages do not have a chiefly head. The chiefly **dala** in order of rank are shown in 7.5.4.2.

The Kiriwina people are gardeners and fishermen. Central to their gardening is the production of an annual crop of yams, which are stored and used through the year, supplemented by other garden produce. The yams are grown in a garden area owned by the village community and divided into individual plots, and the whole garden is fenced to protect against wild pigs. The fence is a community project organised by the chief. The main variety of yam is the **taitu** (*Dioscorea esculenta*), which will store well. Another variety, the **kuvi** (*Dioscorea alata*), does not last in storage but is valued for ceremonial reasons. One **kuvi** yam variety in particular, the **kuvipiti**, earns its grower great personal prestige; especially those which exceed four metres in length. The annual harvest of **taitu** yams may be made in about July or August; this harvest (after a period when it is displayed in large heaps in the village **bikubaku**) is stored in the **bwaima** 'yam-house', and may last for up to six or

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13 Unlimited polygamy was allowed only for the **Tabalu,** a few other chiefly families having limited rights to marry two or three wives.

14 Malinowski 1932: 84f.

15 However **Tabalu** chiefs see themselves as the only true chiefs, and other 'chiefly' family heads as merely **tokaraiwaga** 'men with authority' (personal comment from Paramount Chief Vanoi in 1968.)

seven months. The word **kaula** 'food' is sometimes given to any meal, but is usually applied to meals of **taitu** yams, so that **kaula** and **taitu** may be applied synonymously to a meal of **taitu** yams. When the harvested store of **taitu** is exhausted, there comes **molusaula** 'a time of hunger' when in fact there is usually plenty to eat[16], but no **taitu** yams. Food consumed in this time is called **kalaga**, a term generally applied to sweet potato, tapioca, pumpkin, banana, etc.[17] These other foods are grown in small subsidiary gardens separate from the community garden, on land owned by the individual gardener; these "kitchen gardens" are the source of all other food cooked for the daily meal, which is consumed by small family groups.

Coastal villages have traditional fishing rights which vary in extent and/or nature. The two villages adjacent to my residence have different traditional rights. The Mlosaida village community of about 300 people catches fish in the shallows, and also gathers edible seaweed and other marine life exposed at low tide. The other village, Kavataria, a community of more than 1,200, has traditional rights to fishing in deeper waters, and often goes out as a fleet of canoes to fish as a communal group. The Kavataria people have skills in laying long communally-owned nets and in surrounding schools of fish and scooping them up with hand-nets, and generally return with their canoes laden with fish. Sometimes an inland village will come to this village community to **wasi** their entire catch; **wasi** is an advance payment made by the inland group with their own garden produce. When this **wasi** payment is made, the fleet of Kavataria village canoes will go out on the first favourable day, and their entire catch from that day is taken by the inland community, who come to collect and transport this response to their **wasi.**

The patterns of exercising traditional rights, such as **wasi** payments to initiate exchange, obligation and counter-obligation seen in these activities extend into all community life, in customs relating to birth, marriage and death, and into relationships with other cultures through the **kula** trade cycle.

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16 Although the hunger may be real, if the previous year's harvest was poor; at such times ancient knowledge comes to the fore, when poisonous bush food is gathered, cleansed of its toxicity and then cooked and eaten.

17 In a letter, a Kiriwina student told me that for an entire year when he went to a boarding school he had "no food, only sweet potato and tapioca, and was very hungry."

1.3 Research on Kiriwina culture

This section briefly recounts the history of research on Kiriwina, in two parts. The first outlines ethnographic research and the second, linguistic, including lexicographical research.

1.3.1 Ethnographic research

The first Christian missionary, who was appointed to Kiriwina by the Australian Methodist Church, was the Rev Samuel Fellows, who lived there from 1894 to 1901. He was the first outsider to study the Kiriwina language and culture closely.

Fellows lived, with his wife and family, on land which Chief Pulitala of Mlosaida village had granted the mission, and a friendship had sprung up between the chief and the missionary. His friendship with the chief enabled Fellows to gain an understanding of the basis of chiefly rank and power through the exercise of sorcery, and to comprehend the structure of society under him, which was controlled by fear of sorcery. In sharing the daily lives and work of the village community, he was able to record customs and beliefs. Fellows' diary (which has not been published) records his daily encounters. A visiting New Guinea Resident Magistrate, Charles C.W. Monckton, has cited occasions when he had been able to aid Fellows, whom he described as "a splendid man ... preaching to the natives a gospel of work and clean living" (Monckton 1921: 43). Fellows' report on Kiriwina battles with the following customs of appeasement was published in the Annual Report for British New Guinea for 1899–1900. Fellows' linguistic work is referred to in 1.3.2.2.

In 1898 the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits visited New Guinea, and a member of this group of scholars, Charles G. Seligmann, spent some time during that year in Kiriwina studying its social order; he subsequently learned through Fellows (Fellows 1899–1900) of the ceremonies of appeasement in 1900 which had taken place following battles in 1899. Later, Seligmann wrote of these things (Seligmann 1910: 666-668), and this became one of the factors which led the social anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski to begin fieldwork in Kiriwina.

Sir William Macgregor in his annual reports added details of Kiriwina culture. In the report of 1899-1900 he quoted extensively from Fellows' account of a peace-making offering made by Tabalu chief Touluwa to the Toliwaga chief Moliasi (Fellows 1899: 2). Then in the report of 1904-05 Macgregor added a report written by Matthew Gilmour (Fellows' successor) on the **kula** expeditions.

When Seligmann (1910) published his book *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, in writing of the Northern Massim he included these accounts given in the annual reports. Seligmann's book was in Malinowski's hands in the year of its publication, and Kiriwina began to lure him. Ultimately "the siren call of Kiriwina was irresistible to a curious ethnographer" (Young 2004: 380), and Malinowski began fieldwork there in 1915. The place of Macgregor's interest in Kiriwina, Seligmann's inclusion of these facts, and Malinowski's first selection of Kiriwina as a field of research, are three related facts in this survey of linguistic and lexicographic work on Kiriwina.

When in 1915 Malinowski first visited Kiriwina he met Dr Rayner Bellamy, a medical doctor who had from 1905 been the Government's Resident Magistrate there, and they became friends. "Malinowski suggested that Bellamy should be a joint author with him in a book on the sociology of the Trobriand people" (Black 1957). But Bellamy had already decided to enlist for service in the World War, and he declined Malinowski's proposal.[18]

Malinowski then lived in Kiriwina for two years spread over the period 1915–18 and recorded the complexities of family life, gardening and **kula** activity, showing the place of reputed magic powers, spirit beliefs and community obligations. The books in which Malinowski (1922a, 1932, 1935) later recorded his researches remain today "the most famous, if not the most copious and exhaustive, ethnography in the anthropological literature" (Young 1979: 1).

From that time on, many others have supplemented Malinowski's work, studying various aspects of Kiriwina society. The principle set down by Malinowski that it was essential for such ethnographic study to be based on careful linguistic study plus data accumulated in the indigenous language has

[18] In a letter to his sister, Bellamy referred to this offer, commenting, "I suppose I know more about them than any other living white man but compared with the war, sociology seems very small 'beer' and I'm turning the offer down." (Black 1957: 18)

been adhered to by most of those who have done research on Kiriwina culture in subsequent years.

It is difficult to name only some from within a crowded field; but I may mention the work of Alex C. Rentoul (1931) on Kiriwinan paternity, Leo Austen (1945) on culture change, Edmund Leach (1958) on clans and kinship, Harry Powell (1960) on Trobriand politics, Jerry Leach (1976) on Kiriwina legends, Annette Weiner (1977) on wealth exchange in the hands of both women and men, Mark Mosko (1995) on Kiriwina chieftainship, and Shirley Campbell (1979, 2002) on **kula** and **kula** art. Currently graduate students at the Australian National University are pursuing Kiriwina themes in research programs. [19]

Some Kiriwina people have also written about their own culture. Amongst these have been John Kasaipwalova (1973, 1978) on Kiriwina political structures and communal organisation of trade and tourism, and Geoffrey Mosuwadoga (1979) on Kiriwina carving and associated magic.

Particular mention must be made of the work of Michael Young of the Australian National University as a biographer of Malinowski. His numerous works include an account of Malinowski's ethnography (1979), a chronicling of his fieldwork and photography (1998), and a comprehensive biography of Malinowski up to and including his fieldwork in Kiriwina (2004).

1.3.2 Linguistic research

I turn now to a brief account of the research which has led to the compilation of linguistic data on Kiriwina. First, I outline the research of Government officials and academics, many of whom spent only brief times there for research purposes. Secondly, I deal with the work of those missionary staff who lived with the Kiriwina people and also made lexicographic research their concern.

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[19] Such as Andrew Connelly and Katherine Lepani, both of Australian National University.

1.3.2.1 Research by officials and academics

Sir William Macgregor in 1892 compiled a 600 word vocabulary of the language of Kiriwina, which was published in 1893 as an appendix to the official Report for British New Guinea of 1892–93.

Dr Rayner Bellamy, the first Resident Magistrate appointed to Kiriwina from 1905–1916, found early in his career that "he must learn the Trobriand language to be successful in his hospital work" (Black 1957: 18). Just before he left the Trobriand Islands to enlist for war service, Bellamy prepared in 1916 a 180 word vocabulary of the language of the Trobriand Islanders. This was in conformity with a series of vocabularies which were being compiled throughout Papua along lines suggested by Professor J.G. Frazer (Bellamy 1916: 19).

Malinowski began fieldwork in Kiriwina in 1915. His ethnographic work placed great emphasis on linguistic analysis. His method of conducting research through the medium of the indigenous language was basic to his work there, and the most striking practical result of this must be seen in his work *Coral Gardens and their Magic* (Malinowski 1935), which is as much a linguistic text as it is an ethnographic one. Other notable works in which Malinowski included substantial lexical data include *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (Malinowski 1922a) in which he gave "an account of native enterprise" in **kula** trade exchanges, and *The sexual life of savages* (Malinowski 1932), which gave "an ethnographic account of courtship, marriage and family life" in the Kiriwina community. Malinowski's ethnographic works are our sole source of his linguistic data. After his death, Malinowski's papers included a large number of word lists, but no dictionary was ever published by him.

The ethnography of Malinowski showed his insights into Kiriwina lexical semantics. In all his works 'he emphasised the importance of the cultural context of Kiriwina terms. This context of culture, which he also called the 'context of situation', he further developed in his paper "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages" (Malinowski 1923).

Comparative historical linguists also made contributions to linguistic research in Kiriwina. The comparative linguist Sidney Ray (1938) is credited by David Lithgow as one who "laid the groundwork for systematic linguistic

analysis in the Milne Bay District" (Lithgow 1976: 160). Ray's published works over the period 1893 to 1938 included Kiriwina language word lists. Ray's notes listed shared language characteristics found in many of the languages of this area, including Kiriwina. Ray's work was continued by Arthur Capell (1943), who wrote on the languages of this part of Papua in a number of published works from the 1930s to 1969. Capell (1969: 60-62) described Kiriwina's "complex system of noun classifiers".

Amongst the many anthropologists who have followed Malinowski, Jerry W. Leach contributed significantly to Kiriwina lexicography in the 1970s, adding to his ethnographic research a quantity of lexicographical data, such as his listing of fish and other marine life, the most extensive available. He also collected tape recordings of about 300 legends and stories (Leach 1976). Leach has compiled also a dictionary of about 800 Kiriwina borrowings (Leach 1972), and recorded the linguistic components of Kiriwina cricket (Leach 1975, 1988).

Gunter Senft began his work as a linguist in the Trobriand Islands in 1982. His first major publication was *Kilivila: The language of the Trobriand Islanders* (Senft 1986). Included amongst other books which followed this publication are the works *Classificatory particles in Kilivila* (1996), which examines in detail this major class of lexemes; *Systems of nominal classification* (2000) which has also appeared in a second edition (2008); *Deixis and demonstratives in Oceanic languages* (2004), *Serial verb constructions in Austronesian and Papuan languages* (2008, which includes papers by several contributors, and was edited by Senft), *Ritual communication* (2009) and *The Trobriand Islanders' ways of speaking* (2010), which examines various registers of Kilivila speech, noting "their functions and relevance for researching the role of language, culture and cognition in social interaction" (2010: 274); plus other books and papers too numerous to be listed here.

Senft's Kilivila to English dictionary, which is part of his work, *Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders* (Senft 1986), contains about 4,500 entries and an English to Kilivila finder list. It is studied in greater detail in 1.3.3.5 below.

1.3.2.2 Research by mission staff

Research by mission staff on Kiriwina lexicography was appropriately begun by the first Methodist missionary, Rev Samuel B. Fellows, who in a previous appointment had written *Grammar of the Pannieti dialect* (Fellows 1894), which described the Misima or Panaete language. After appointment to Kiriwina in 1894 Fellows wrote the *Grammar of the Kiriwina Dialect (together with a vocabulary)* (Fellows 1900), the vocabulary containing about 3,500 entries. Rev Matthew K. Gilmour, who followed Fellows in 1901-07, continued his work, supplying an article on **kula** trading voyages which was published in the Annual Report of British New Guinea for 1904-5 (Gilmour 1904), wrote a Kiriwina primer which was used in vernacular education (Gilmour 1908a) and completed the translation of the Gospel of Mark (Gilmour 1908b).

Ethel Prisk, who worked there as a missionary teacher 1911–16, was responsible for the translation of the Acts of the Apostles (Prisk 1932). Her papers, held by the South Australia Museum, include a grammar and a dictionary (1917) containing 1,500 entries.[20] Notable in her lexicon was the inclusion of new vocabulary on the work of Kiriwina women in the manufacture of the distinctive Kiriwina banana-leaf skirts and other women's attire.

Rev Hedley Shotton (1933–39, 1946–49) added to his mission duties the work of a translator. His work was interrupted by the Second World War, but he returned to Kiriwina in 1946, and published a short portion of the Old Testament (Shotton 1948a), a life of John Wesley (Shotton 1948b), and the three remaining Gospels, Matthew, Luke and John (Shotton and Ugwalubu 1949). Finally Shotton compiled a larger English to Kiriwina dictionary (Shotton 1949) containing 5,500 entries, which aided my early learning of the Kiriwina language. A valuable feature of Shotton's dictionary is the appended material wherein he lists a number of taxonomies and semantic fields.

The Roman Catholic mission commenced in Kiriwina in 1935, staffed by Sacred Heart missionaries from Australia. An early appointment was Fr Bernard Baldwin, a linguist who compiled 'Vocabulary of Biga Boyowa, the language of the Trobriand Islands 1936–37' (Baldwin 1967). After his

[20] Malinowski asked Prisk to help him in 1915, asking her to translate some English text into Kiriwina, hoping that 'there was nothing obscene in them.' (Young 2004: 388)

retirement to a monastery in Kensington, New South Wales, Baldwin continued working on this lexicon, amending the title to read '1936–67' to include this later work. This is the most extensive dictionary of all produced yet (excepting only my own), containing about 8,000 entries, including many text examples of word usage. It is held on microfilm at the National Library of Australia, Canberra, but is not otherwise available except as a defective copy on the Internet.

A second Sacred Heart missionary, Fr Kevin Twomey, stationed in Kiriwina in 1965-71, compiled a typescript dictionary of about 4,000 entries based on an English word list (Twomey 1970), adding a supplementary 220 page manuscript volume of text examples, paradigms, taxonomies etc[21]. Twomey and I collaborated for some years in Bible translation work.

My own contributions to Kiriwina lexicography include a thesis on Kiriwina classifiers (Lawton 1980) and the Kiriwina to English dictionary, which exists only as a computer file (Lawton 2010). The M.A. thesis, accepted by the Australian National University in 1980, listed the classifiers comprehensively and examined their semantic role in the noun phrase. This work was later published in an edited form, along with other research data predominately on Kiriwina verbs, in the Pacific Linguistics series (Lawton 1993).

My dictionary (Lawton 2010)[22], compiled from 1962 to the present, is described in detail in chapter 4, and is only briefly outlined here. Entries that are fully defined number about 12,000. Another 8,000 entries consist of variant forms and derivations which occur within entries and are added to the text as cross-references. All headwords and subheadwords, together with their variant forms, are listed in strict alphabetical order, and cross-referenced to the entry where each is defined. This arrangement is made necessary because of the large number of derivations and compound forms where the headword occurs as second or third component in a lexical form. Where a lexical form occurs in this way as part of a derived form or a component of a compound form, these become subheadwords within the main entry for that lexeme, and this set of related lexemes displaying all uses of the one form I

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21 Twomey did not have access to Baldwin's earlier work, and his word list is a product of his own linguistic research.

22 This work is constantly being adjusted. The date 2010 marks the latest revision of the computer file.

refer to as a lexeme family. These lexeme families are a major feature of my dictionary. Other larger lexical units are included within the entries, including phrases where one word from the phrase has been chosen as headword of the phrase.

Table 1.2 Dictionaries cited in text

Author	**Year**	**No. of entries**	**Content**
Macgregor	1892	600	Word list only
Fellows*	1900	3,500	English phrases, grammar and paradigms added
Bellamy	1916	180	Word list only
Prisk	1917	1,500	English – Kiriwina only
Shotton*	1949	5,500	Appended taxonomic lists English – Kiriwina only
Baldwin*	1967	8,000	Sentence glosses, text examples, grammar notes in text
Twomey*	1970	4,000	English – Kiriwina only, + manuscript vol of taxonomies, text examples
Leach J.W.	1972	800	Borrowings only
Senft*	1986	4,500	With English finder list, grammar added
Lawton	2010	12,000	With English finder list and grammar; work in progress

Some material is added as appendices to the dictionary. This is chiefly material which relates to many entries, and which it would be uneconomical to specify separately for each entry. These appended items perform other functions, such as setting out groups of paradigms, or larger taxonomies represented diagrammatically, showing the whole class of classifiers, listing verb adjunct components and other components of compound verbs. When extensive encyclopaedic detail is needed for an entry's definition, this is also appended as a series of articles cross-referenced to particular entries. This makes it possible to minimise the size of main entries in the dictionary text.

1.3.3 A survey of existing dictionaries of Kiriwina

The ten dictionaries or word lists shown above in Table 1.2 have been itemised in 1.3.2. They are listed there in chronological order. Most of them are unpublished word lists which were circulated within small groups. Only the grammars and dictionaries of Fellows and Senft have been published. Fellows' work is hard to get, and only the recent work of Senft is obtainable. Four of the dictionaries (Fellows, Prisk, Shotton and Twomey) are formed from English word lists with Kiriwina glosses. Four of the listed dictionaries are word lists only, or with a single word gloss; these are seldom adequate aids for a statement of meaning, and give no clues to relationships between lexemes. I have marked with an asterisk in Table 1.2 the five which I have found helpful. I now give a more detailed statement on these five, the dictionaries of Fellows, Shotton, Baldwin, Twomey and Senft.

1.3.3.1 Fellows' dictionary, 1900

Fellows' dictionary *Grammar of the Kiriwina dialect (together with a vocabulary)*, was published as an appendix to the Annual Report for British New Guinea for 1900-01 (Fellows 1900). Most of the entries in Fellows' dictionary are limited to an English word and its Kiriwina equivalent, although frequently he sets out his English list as a series of phrases, such as

water, running	**i waia sopi**
water, muddy	**i migamega sopi**
water, clear	**i migileu sopi**
	i kanawotu sopi
water boils	**i giguabula sopi**
water, a large quantity	**budubadu sopi**
water-spout	**vivilua**
mourning (weeping)	**valam**
village mourning for the dead	**i bola valu**
mourning paint for the body	**kaola**
mourning paint – put on your	**ku kom kaola**
mourning, a man in	**tokwakao**
mourning, a woman in	**nakwakao**

mourning customs for males **bwaigila**
mourning customs for females **nunu**

Fellows usually judged isolated words as not a proper medium for expressing meaning, as a possible context frequently modified the choice of words to be used in a statement. In his lists he included paradigms, giving no word for 'father' but giving a list of some possessive forms, as 'his father, my father, my fathers, my true father'.

1.3.3.2 Shotton's dictionary, 1949

Shotton's 'English to Kiriwina dictionary' was a bound typescript which was not published, but circulated for the use of Methodist mission staff. Although Shotton usually glossed Kiriwina with English words, he also gave a wide variety of choices when English words had homonymous forms or had different senses, as when the word 'hand' may relate to a body part, or may be labelled left- or right-hand, or refer to a task done by hand, or to hand something over, or to adopt a pose with hands on hips, all of which are included in his entry for 'hand'. I also found his appended lists of taxonomies and semantic fields useful.

In some entries Shotton seems to ignore the common words, but lists more unusual phrases which use the common word. Thus for the English word 'head' he does not list the Kiriwina word **daba-la** 'his head', but includes the following in a run-on list:

> head (head-ache) **visavisila dabila**; (head-dress) **dagula**; (head-land) **kabula**; (long head) **topataka**; (headstrong) **nanola sena peula**; (head-wind) **katuyumali**; (for names see Appendix IX)

Then following the Appendix IX reference in Shotton's dictionary, we find a very detailed partonymy of the head, in which the first word **daba-gu** 'my head' is followed with 40 words or phrases specifying the parts of head, eye, ear, nose and mouth.

Shotton's dictionary aided my earliest use of Kiriwina. When later my work in translation increased, and I was able to add Twomey's list and finally the splendid Kiriwina to English dictionary by Baldwin, I valued these three

dictionaries, as the slightly different viewpoints of each gave me an indication of the breadth of possible senses of words, or the better identification of words I had considered doubtful or poorly glossed.

1.3.3.3 Baldwin's dictionary, 1967

The dictionary produced by Bernard Baldwin, 'Vocabulary of Biga Boyowa, the language of the Trobriand Islands' (Baldwin 1967), is the only one among early dictionaries that is Kiriwina to English. One consequence of this is that most entries (except cross-references) are detailed, and text citations are frequent, although he seldom gives a translation of any citation. He does not include a part of speech designation for an entry's headword, although some grammatical comment on a variant form may be made within an entry. The text of his dictionary clearly presupposes a working knowledge of the language if a reader is to make good use of an entry's detail. This may be seen in an example of Baldwin's shorter style of entry, which is given here:[23]

Kipusagi (Ki-Pusagi) bring blood *I kipusagi yamala, i buyai*

For longer entries Baldwin goes into greater and sometimes bewildering detail, as for example the entry for **gugula** 'heap', which has nine lines of text detailing different senses or related compound forms, with examples. In a more complex entry, that for **-la** 'to go' has four paragraphs, a total of twenty lines of typescript text, liberally furnished with text citations and different parts of speech

I have found Baldwin's dictionary the one which helps my own researches more than any other I have listed; it may be that his assumption of a knowledge of Kiriwina in the reader is the reason for this helpful quality. Unfortunately there is no English finder list. Grammatical notes frequently occur within entries so that the lack of a separate grammar is not a serious lack for this dictionary. Variant forms are listed as headwords, and cross-referenced to the entry where they are included and defined. This dictionary is hard to obtain, and where it appears on the internet the entries there seem sometimes to have been restructured by someone who does not know the Kiriwina language at all.

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[23] The bold type and italics in examples here are mine, Baldwin's text is typescript + hand-written.

1.3.3.4 Twomey's dictionary, 1970

Kevin Twomey's 'Kiriwina vocabulary and grammar' (Twomey 1970) is an unpublished wordlist which was circulated for use within the Roman Catholic mission staff. It is composed largely of single English words with Kiriwina glosses, a number of Kiriwina senses being added, apparently when found by the linguist. As an example, I give Twomey's entry for 'feel'. The dialect used here is Kilivila:

feel **i kabikwani** – by hand
kwabikwani – you feel it
i lumkwali sena mayuyu – feel pain
a lumkwali mwasila – feel shame
kam lukola bwena – feel well
i lumkwali mayuyu – [no English gloss here]

The English glosses given to these Kiriwina phrases in Twomey's list do not gloss the entire phrase, but give enough to convey the meaning of the particular phrase. In an accompanying volume of hand-written text Twomey has paradigms, lists of some word classes, and text citations; it does not have a clear order of arrangement, but provides a fund of examples. Twomey's dictionary is clearly a compilation of data for his own use, and he is not thinking of other users.

1.3.3.5 Senft's dictionary, 1986

Gunter Senft's work, *Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders'* (1986) consists of a grammar (173pp), and a Kilivila to English dictionary (280pp); this is followed by an English to Kiriwina section (140pp) which, as Senft says, "is intended to serve more as an index than as a dictionary proper" (Senft 1986: 177). It is the first published dictionary of Kilivila[24], and has been one of my essential reference books ever since its advent in 1986, when Gunter kindly sent me a copy.

Senft's dictionary entries are frequently single Kiriwina headwords, followed by a part of speech designation and a single English word gloss,

[24] Excepting only that by Fellows, which was only published as an appendix to the Annual report for British New Guinea for 1900-01, and was not available separately.

though he does on many occasions give more information as in the following example:

-CP-**bweyani** V
to blush
e.g.:
Etobweyani tau
The man blushes
Enabweyani vivila
The girl blushes
see: **kulubweyani**

with the cross-reference **kulubweyani** glossed with "1. to blush 2. to become bright red (with subject-prefixes of 3. Ps. only)" Elsewhere, in the entry for the adjective '**komwedona** Adj, Adv', there is good detail, as Senft not only gives three senses but adds eight examples as text.

Throughout the entries in this dictionary there is an emphasis on brevity, but this makes many entries small and sparse on detail. Senft does not detail classes of verbs or nouns, and seldom details a range of senses for a word. Multiword lexemes do not have a place as headwords in this dictionary, but these are found as text citations. He does not include paradigms in the text of the dictionary, although they are plentiful in the grammar which is part of the same volume. I found Senft's dictionary especially useful as a check list when I encountered words new to me and wished to have confirmation for that word's use beyond the bounds of the Kavataria dialect.

2 *Phonology and orthography*

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a sketch of Kiriwina phonology, including the orthography I have used, with attention to the morphophonemic juncture processes.

I first describe the consonants and vowels of Kiriwina, showing the point and manner of articulation of each phoneme, adding allophonic variants and the conditions under which these variants occur. Areas of unpredictable fluctuation are also noted. My purpose in pointing out these variants is to show how the written forms of words are on occasions varied, and how these variant forms are treated in the dictionary.

I also show how phonotactic and epenthetic phenomena modify the written forms, and how and why stress placement needs sometimes to be shown in the written form, and where a pronunciation guide is needed to show syllable margins within vowel clusters.

In various domains of Kiriwina phonology alternative analyses to those presented here are possible. While I discuss these alternatives briefly, the main purpose of this chapter is not to evaluate the full range of competing analyses; it is simply to introduce the reader to the phonological analysis and orthography followed in the dictionary and to comment on certain features of the Kiriwina phonology, such as morphophonemic processes, that present problems for the dictionary maker.

2.2 The phoneme inventory of Kiriwina

2.2.1 The phonemes

The inventory of phonemes is set down in the order they appear in the three tables below. There are nineteen consonants: **p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, pw, bw, kw, gw, mw, r, s, v, l, w, y**; five vowels: **i, u, e, o, a;** and six diphthongs:

ei, eu, ou, oi, ai, au. Stress placement has phonemic status under conditions stated below.

The point and manner of articulation of these phonemes are as specified in Tables 2.1 – 2.3 below.

2.2.2 Phonetic attributes of the phonemes

The following is a phonetic description of Kiriwina phonemes.

Consonants

p [p] unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop
b [b] voiced bilabial stop
t [t] unaspirated voiceless alveolar stop
d [d] voiced alveolar stop
k unaspirated voiceless velar stop occurring as:
[ḳ] backed preceding /a/
[k] nonbacked elsewhere
g [g] voiced velar stop
m voiced bilabial nasal occurring as:
[m̩] syllabic nasal, occupying syllable nucleus;
[m] consonantal nasal elsewhere

Table 2.1 Consonants

	bilabial	*alveolar*	*velar*
stops – voiceless –voiced	p b	t d	k g
rounded stops – voiceless – voiced	 pw bw	 	 kw gw
Nasals rounded nasal	m mw	n 	
Flap		r	
fricatives – voiceless – voiced	 v	s 	
Lateral		l	
Semivowels	w		y

n [n] voiced alveolar nasal

pw [pw] unaspirated voiceless bilabial rounded stop

bw [bw] voiced bilabial rounded stop

kw unaspirated voiceless velar rounded stop occurring as:

[ḳw] backed preceding **/a/**

[kw] nonbacked elsewhere

gw [gw] voiced velar rounded stop

mw [mw] voiced bilabial rounded nasal

r [r] voiced alveolar flap

s [s] voiceless alveolar grooved fricative

v [β] voiced bilabial fricative, has a weak or lenis quality causing it to figure in a sandhi reduction across syllable or word boundaries

l [l] voiced alveolar lateral

w [u] voiced high close back rounded semivowel, tense high

y [i] voiced high close front unrounded semivowel, tense high

Vowels

i [i] high front unrounded vocoid

u [u] high back rounded vocoid

e mid-front unrounded vocoid occurring as

[e] mid-close unrounded vocoid in {ei} diphthong

[ɛ] mid-open unrounded vocoid elsewhere

o mid-back rounded vocoid occurring as

[o] mid-close rounded vocoid in {ou} diphthong

[ɔ] mid-open rounded vocoid elsewhere

a [a] low central vocoid

Table 2.2 Vowels

	Front	*central*	*back*
high	i		u
mid-close	e		o
mid-open	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	

Diphthongs

In a structural analysis (as opposed to a merely phonetic description), there is more than one way of analysing sequences of vowels such as **ai, au**, etc., which may be treated as vowel clusters or as diphthongs. In my work I have analysed some phonetically falling[1] vowel clusters as having phonemic status and treat them as diphthongs, each functioning as a syllable nucleus.

These Kiriwina diphthongs are **ai, au, ei, eu, oi, ou.** Their position in Table 2.3 is determined by the initial points of their articulation. They are all closing diphthongs[2], gliding vowels that move from different initial points towards the high close vowels **/i/** and **/u/**.

Their phonetic description follows:

ai [ai] glides from point of articulation of /a/ to /i/

au [au] glides from point of articulation of /a/ to /u/

ei [ei] glides from point of articulation of the mid-close front unrounded vowel [e] (not a separate pure vowel phoneme) to /i/

eu [ɛu] glides from point of articulation of the mid-open front unrounded vowel [ɛ] to /u/

oi [ɔi] glides from point of articulation of the mid-open back rounded vowel [ɔ] to /i/

ou [ou] glides from point of articulation of the mid-close back rounded vowel [o] (not a separate pure vowel phoneme) to /u/

Table 2.3 Diphthongs

	Front	*central*	*Back*
high			
mid-close	ei		ou
mid-open	ɛu		ɔi
low		ai au	

These six are the only diphthongs. A number of other vowel clusters occur, such as **ua, ea, ia, oa,** and these are treated consistently as vowel sequences of two syllables, each vowel being potentially the nucleus of a

[1] The term "falling" is applied to diphthongs "of which the first part or element is the more prominent: eg [ɔi] in boy. Tonally this may be described as "rising", as the pitch rises "from relative low to relatively high". (Both quotes from Matthews 1997.)

[2] This is also described as a falling diphthong.

syllable and capable of bearing stress in a word. A practical orthography is used in which such clusters are generally separated by semivowels (**uwa. eya, iya, owa**; see 2.7.5.3). There is no meaning contrast between pairs such as **ua** and **uwa**, etc, but the practical purpose of clarifying the syllabic status of vowels in a cluster is aided by this method.[3]

This is clearly evident in two words which have the **/ua/** sequence, and which bear regular penultimate stress, shown in:

túwa	species of mollusc
tuwá-la	his elder brother

There are some vowel clusters in which a diphthong occurs in a cluster with other vowels. Here the syllabic status either of a vowel or a diphthong in the cluster is seen, by the placing of word stress on a particular syllable nucleus in the penultimate position. This is seen in words like:

maiína	(CV.**V**.CV)	odour
-keiíta	(CV.**V**.CV)	to return
-kaliáia	(CV.CV.**V**.V)	to build
keiúna	(CV.**V**.CV)	snake
vitouúla	(CV.CV.**V**.CV)	a beginning

where words with regular penultimate stress show either a vowel or a diphthong within a cluster bearing word stress.

The problems of diphthongs and vowel clusters are further examined in 2.3.3 below. Also features of the practical orthography used for Kiriwina are stated in 2.7.5.

A phonemic glottal stop?

Senft (1986: 12) includes the glottal stop in his phoneme inventory. It may be, as he suggests, a dialect feature of the Kaileula dialect, but I do not think so; I have listened to extensive Kaileula dialect texts but have not noted it there , nor anywhere else in Kiriwina or adjacent islands. As I am fluent in Dobu where the glottal stop is phonemic I would certainly have noted it. In my dictionary however I note a report that Okupukopu people on Kiriwina

[3] See footnote 26 in chapter 3. Kiriwina people have been literate for one hundred years, and have followed this practice. Following the emic choice has been the most practical solution.

Island sometimes pronounce **yakamaisi** as **ya'amaisi**, and **ammakawala** as **amma'awala**, noting that it may be an idiolectical feature. Kiriwina people are amused by Dobu speech, and refer to glottal stops as **-mota** 'to hiccup', as in the following sentence:

Tole-la	**Dobu**	**i-lilivala**	**deli**	**i-mota**
person-its	Dobu	3sg to.be.speaking	with	3sg-to.hiccup

A Dobu person speaks with hiccups

See also the concluding sentence from 2.7.3 below: "Glottals may occur here phonetically, but they do not have phonemic status."

2.2.3 Four allophones

First, the allophone of **/k/** is determined by its phonetic environment. When **/k/** is followed by **/a/** its point of articulation moves to a back velar position.[4] Two phenomena associated with the speaker's adaption to this point of articulation are noted in 2.4.5 below. The second allophone is that associated with the nasal consonant **/m/**, which as an allophone occurs as a syllabic nasal **[m̩]** functioning in this form as an entire syllable. A consequence of its syllabic status is that it is the only consonant which will cluster with other consonants. This is examined when syllable types and phonotactic detail are discussed in 2.3.3 and 2.4 below. Thirdly, the mid-front vocoid **/e/** occurs either as a mid-close front vowel **[e]** in diphthongs clustering with other vowels, or as syllable nucleus mid-open vowel **[ɛ]**; these two allophones of **[e]** also occur as points of initiation of the two diphthongs **[ei]** and **[ɛu]**. Fourthly, the mid-back rounded vocoid **/o/** similarly occurs either as a mid-close back rounded vowel **[o]** in diphthongs clustering with other vowels,[5] or as syllable nucleus mid-open back vowel **[ɔ]**; these two allophones also occur as points of initiation of the two diphthongs **[ou]**, or **[ɔi]**.

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[4] **/k/** as a voiceless velar fricative also occurred some time in the past as an idiolectical variant form of **[k]** (see Lawton 1993: 17). But no speaker of the dialect discussed here uses it today, although Senft notes it as a feature of the Kaileula dialect.

[5] See 2.7.3 where examples are given and discussed.

2.2.4 Vocalic variations across dialect boundaries

The vowels often show variation and occasionally loss through prosodic influences, whereas the consonants rarely change. This is seen if the various dialects of Kiriwina are considered, as dialect differences are mainly vocalic. Many allophones of vowels and diphthongs occur between dialects, as a major feature of dialect differences is in contrastive vocalic syllable nuclei that each dialect employs. Thus, Kavataria dialect **/ai/** occurs in other Kiriwina dialects as **[ei]** or **[e]**. It should be noted that even within Kavataria dialect some variation is found similar to Kilivila dialect forms, but these may be associated with features of stress placement, or with pragmatic factors. Thus in Kavataria the usual form **budagwa** 'my brothers' is changed to Kilivila **bwadagwa** 'Oh my brothers!' when used as an exclamation of exhaustion or surprise. Where a form common to another dialect is borrowed, the dictionary always notes its dialect source.

The map of dialects (in 1.2.3) shows the approximate spread of major dialects of Kiriwina.

2.2.5 Consonantal fluctuation: /l/ and /n/, /l/ and /r/

Some words are found showing free variation between **/l/** and **/n/**, for example:

na-tala	**na-tana**	one (woman)
-kali.távila	**-kali.távina**	to look about
bulukwa	**bunukwa**	pig
koli	**koni**	burden
uluulu	**unuunu**	body hair
luya	**nuya**	coconut (tree or fruit)

No phonological pattern is evident, as closely-related forms (such as ***tai-tana** 'one (man)' or ***Nuya** (as an alternate name proposed for **Luya** a village name) are rejected; these listed forms must be accepted as variant forms for some words.

A similar group of forms exists, showing variation between **/l/** and **/r/**, for example:

uligova	**urigova**	crocodile
duliduli	**duriduri**	type of woven belt
kapali	**kapari**	spider, web
uli	**uri**	taro
doli	**dori**	an insect
loloni	**roroni**	whistle (traditional form)
lekolekwa	**rekorekwa**	domestic fowl

A predominance of one phonetic environment is seen in most of these, where the fluctuating consonant is at the onset of a **Ci** syllable, but free fluctuation does not occur in this environment, and no other phonological pattern is found in other occurrences. The role of the dictionary is to record all such variant forms that show this fluctuation. In some instances the reason for this fluctuation is dialect difference. Thus, the Yeiwau dialect does show high frequency of the use of **/r/** in words where Kavataria dialect consistently uses **/l/**.

2.3 The Syllable

2.3.1 Two types of syllables

The syllable is a phonological unit which must contain a nucleus, able to bear stress, which is a single vowel, a diphthong or a syllabic consonant. There are two types, which may be represented as **(C)V(m)**, or as **m**. In the first of these, the optional onset **C** may be filled by any consonant in the phoneme inventory; the nucleus by any vowel or diphthong, subject to the phonotactic conditions set out below, and the optional coda by only the consonant **/m/**. The second syllable type consists only of the syllabic nasal **[m̩]**.

2.3.2 The syllable (C)V(m)

This syllable occurs most frequently as **CV**, less frequently as **V,** and rarely as **Vm** or **CVm**. where **C** is any consonant, **V** any vowel or diphthong, and **m** is the bilabial nasal consonant.

The predominant syllable form in texts is the open syllable **CV**, seen in such words as

magila (CV.CV.CV) his desire
bukuliloula (CV.CV.CV.CV.CV) you will be walking

In a sample of text containing over 1,300 syllables, 95% were **CV**, and nearly 5% were **V** pattern syllables. The other syllable patterns (**Vm, CVm**), statistically less than 1%, are to be seen in such sequences as:

Am bukula? (Vm CV.CV.CV) Where are you going?
Ikamkwamsi. (V.CVm.CVm.CV) They are eating.

2.3.3 The diphthong examined

My analysis of a type of syllable as (C)v(m) includes the statement that one possible syllable nucleus is a diphthong. Two analyses of the diphthong offer themselves: a single syllabic nucleus with diphthong, or a sequence of two syllabic nuclei each with a vowel of its own.

If the second analysis is valid, my syllable analysis of a diphthong as syllable nucleus would be wrong, as a sequence like **-saim** 'put (something)' would need to be analysed as at least two syllables **CV.Vm**.

2.3.3.1 Surface and underlying diphthongs in Hawaiian

In his study of Hawaiian diphthongs Rehg (2004: 126) says that "It seems, to me at least, that the evidence comes down quite clearly in favour of treating the so-called 'diphthongs' of Hawaiian as being underlying vowel sequences rather than true diphthongs – that is, they are not unit phonemes." His "most important" evidence in support of this **VV** analysis (as opposed to **V^{V}**) "comes from structural facts about Hawaiian ... If Hawaiian had true diphthongs, then ... it should not be possible to split unit phonemes into two parts in reduplication" (p 127). Rehg had listed patterns in Hawaiian

where reduplication of syllables having diphthong nuclei was effected by a repetition of only one part (usually the first) of the diphthong.[6]

2.3.3.2 Reduplicative patterns in Kiriwina

Reduplication supports the analysis of certain vowel sequences as diphthongs. Either a reduplication is of the whole diphthong, or the reduplicated syllable contains no parts of the diphthong, replacing it with some other vowel as its nucleus. Examples following first show full diphthongs in reduplications:

diphthong	*example*	*reduplications*
ai	**-vai** 'to marry'	**vai.vai** 'marriage' (also **veivai**)
	kai 'timber'	**kai.kaila** 'garden stakes'
		pwaipwaia 'earth, soil'
	-kai 'to worry'	**-kai.kai** 'to be worrying'
eu	**-leusa** 'to jump'	**-leu.leusa** 'to be jumping'
		seuseu 'variety of tree'
au	**tau** 'man'	**tau.wau** 'men'
		kaukwau 'morning'
ou	**-dou** 'to call'	**-dou.dou** 'calling (intrans)'
		-poupou 'thick, fat'
oi	**-doi** 'to sail'	**-doi.doi** 'sailing'
		moimoi 'variety of tree'

These examples show the whole diphthong reproduced in reduplication; by Rehg's argument this affirms that the underlying form of the diphthong in Kiriwina is the full diphthong.

The other form of reduplication is where the reduplicated syllable has a nucleus usually different from the diphthong, showing that the reduplication is a form of syllabic repetition which reproduces the diphthong by some other nucleus, as a few examples may show:

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[6] All of these patterns "involve CV reduplication – that is, reduplication of the first mora of the base" (Rehg 2004: 127).

diphthong	*example*	*reduplicated form*
ai	**-mai** 'bring'	**-me.mai** 'bringing'
eu	**-peula** 'be strong'	**-pa.peula** 'being strong'
au	**-kau** 'take'	**-ki.kau** 'taking'
ou	**-dou** 'call'	**-di.dou** 'calling s.o (trans)'
oi	**-woi** 'go to'	**-u.woi** 'going to (place)'

In these reduplicative patterns we see a syllable with a vowel nucleus which is the reduplication of a syllable with a diphthong nucleus. The vowel of the first syllable does not relate phonetically to the diphthong in the second syllable, but is determined by other phonological influences.[7] This pattern affirms the status of diphthongs as being the single mora nucleus of a CV syllable and cannot be analysed as CV.V. The formants of these vocalic glides may be examined in Lawton 1980: 55.

2.3.3.3 Additional data on diphthongs

Other data added here strengthen my position on diphthong analysis.

i) Word stress and syllable length

The definition for a diphthong offered in the Random House Webster's College Dictionary (Webster 1995) as an "unsegmentable gliding speech sound varying continuously in phonetic quality" is appropriate here. Any attempt to introduce a boundary at some point in the articulation of these glides would be arbitrary, as the formants of diphthongs confirm the aural impression of "a vowel that changes its quality within the same single syllable" (Chalker and Weiner 1994: 116).

. Stress placement was examined in an instrumental study of Kiriwina text which contained vocalic glides as nuclei of syllables, and the patterns of formants for each diphthong showed single phonemes produced by a single articulatory movement. In this instrumental study, the nature of word stress placement was examined, and the components of stress were seen to be a combination of lengthening, loudness and pitch. The possibility of any syllable with a diphthong nucleus being lengthened to the extent of two morae

[7] Vowel harmony, referred to in 2.7.2, is a factor here, as alternative forms are sometimes found, such as **i-ki.kau** 'he is taking', **a-ka.kau** 'I am taking' **ku-ku.kwau** 'you(sg) are taking'.

was nowhere evident, as any lengthening, whether of a pure vowel or a diphthong, was seen to be attributable to the influence of word stress. Several instances were even seen when syllables with a pure vowel nucleus were longer than those with a diphthong nucleus.

ii) Morpheme boundaries and syllable boundaries

Schütz (2010: 414–415) has noted this in relation to Samoan loanwords, when he comments that accent "serves the hearer as a guide to morphology ... only 42% of measure[8] boundaries matched those of morphemes ... in most cases the hearer can use measure peaks as guides to morpheme peaks." Rehg (2004: 128) echoes the importance of recognising morpheme boundaries in sequences, saying, "Within a morpheme, two vowels conforming to the constraints above [of four if/then statements] are clearly within the same domain of syllabification. Across morpheme boundaries, however, this is not necessarily true." It should be noted here that the same feature is an obligatory condition of my Stress Rule 2 (2.5.1.2 below) where the existence of a morpheme boundary within the environment of the rule negates the rule and causes the word to revert to standard penultimate stress placement.

One example of this factor, showing the **/au/** sequence, should suffice:

-váula	**-va-úla**
'to sow (seed)'	do (using feet)-come close to walk close to s.o

The first is a two-syllable verb stem, and no morpheme boundary is present. The second is a three-syllable compound verb stem, and awareness of a morpheme boundary in the compound influences the syllabification of this form. Another datum which affirms the syllabification of the first word as two syllables is seen in its pattern of reduplication, where the two syllables of the stem are reduplicated:

-vaula 'to sow (seed)'
-vilu.vaula 'to be sowing'

[8] Schütz uses the term measure for a syllable bearing accent.

Here the first syllable **/vau/** is shown in reduplicated form as **/vi/**. This is additional evidence for the phonological status of the phoneme **/au/**, reduplicating here as **/i/**. This is consistent with the reduplicative patterns noted in 2.3.3.2 above, where for example a reduplicated form of **-kau** was noted as **-ki.kau.** Where reduplication does not repeat the diphthong, the form of syllable nucleus in other reduplicated forms is conditioned by other phonological factors, specifically by the syllabic status of the diphthong, not by the shape of the diphthong itself.

The evidence of Kiriwina phonology favours the interpretation of its diphthongs as vowel phonemes which not only conform on the surface with the description of "a vowel whose quality changes perceptibly in one direction within a single syllable" (Matthews 1997: 99), but which also originate in an underlying form of a true diphthong. No diphthong occurs as two vowels across a morpheme boundary, and, as seen in 2.3.3.3 part ii) above, there is a phonetic contrast between a diphthong and a sequence of two vowels across a morpheme boundary.

2.3.4 The syllabic nasal [m̩]

The second syllable type is where the entire syllable consists of the syllabic nasal **[m̩]**. This syllabic form occurs most frequently in the proclitic form for 2nd p sg possession, and for the verb object suffix for 2nd p sg., as in:

m=waga	your(sg) canoe
m=bwala	your(sg) house
o-m=valu	in your(sg) village
bi-yebwaili-m	he will love you(sg)

It also occurs as a syllable in such words as:

to-mdu.mwadu	naked man
mna	er (thoughtful hiatus)
m<pa>na	that (thick rigid item) e.g. that book
mnumonu	grass
msomsa	rubbish
i-kana-m	it lies there

It also is clearly present in the sentence:

Ku-m **bi-ta-m.**
2sg-move Ir-1indl-move
Come on, we two will depart.

Wherever the syllabic **[m̩]** or consonantal **/m/** occurs as part of a consonant cluster it only occurs as the first consonant in the cluster.

mbwaili-la	(his) loved item
mlukwausa	witch
mkiuta	species of fish
numla	light breeze
numta	moss
gimgwam	type of tree

This syllable type may be seen as a reflex of the diachronic form **/*mu/**. This possibility is addressed in sections 2.4.3 and 2.4.4 below.

2.4 Phonotactics

Some general remarks must be made about acceptable phoneme sequences within syllables and between syllable boundaries

2.4.1 Phonetic restrictions on syllable structure

Within the syllable, any consonant may occupy the onset position. However the following restrictions apply on acceptable vowels of the syllable nucleus:

* The consonant **/m/** is never followed by **/u/**.
* The semivowels **/w, y/** are never followed by the vowels they represent **(*yi. *wu)**.
* The consonant **/v/** and all rounded consonants **Cw** are never followed by **/o, u, oi, ou/**.

2.4.2 Dominant /m/ and lenis /v/

The interaction of **/m/** (either as a consonant or a syllabic) and **/v/** is next examined. These two phonemes are considered together because of their similar point of articulation.

When the bilabial **/m/** is followed by the bilabial fricative **/v/**, the nasal feature is often extended to **/v/**, converting it to **/m/**. Thus the sequence **-kam + -vagasi** 'to eat a large meal' is articulated **-kammagasi.** Likewise when **valu** 'village' is preceded by the syllabic 2nd p sg possessive proclitic **m** 'your', the phrase is articulated as **m=malu**.

The bilabial fricative **/v/** is optionally lost in some intervocalic environments. Thus the following variant forms are frequently found:

-tavi	(or)	**-ta.i**	to cut sthg (both disyllabic)
-lavi	(or)	**-la.i**	to throw sthg (both disyllabic)
kovi-	(or)	**kwa.i**-	cl.pot-like (both disyllabic)
-dau.láguva	(or)	**-dau.laga**	to cross over by sail

2.4.3 Consonantal and syllabic /m/

The difference between the consonant **/m/** and the syllabic **[m̩]** is next addressed.

It has been noted above that the consonant **/m/** occurs as the first in a cluster of consonants. In such clusters **/m/** may not be functioning as a consonant but as a syllabic, and morpheme patterns show that it is the synchronic vestige of the diachronic sequence ***/mu/**[9]. The synchronic form is clearly shown in the phonological patterns of reduplication, when compared with reduplicative patterns elsewhere, as in:

---

9 It has been noted in 2.4.1 above that the sequence ***mu** does not occur synchronically. However I have recently discovered a solitary exception, in the word **kumum** 'shadow of a cloud', which may be explainable as a syllable sequence **CVm.Vm**. Senft has noted some other occurrences of this rare sequence, but his examples are spelt differently in my data. Eg. Senft **mumyeipu**, Lawton **momyeipu**. However, as Senft suggests, **/yi/** sequences are occasionally found. In a borrowing from English "yippee!" the Kiriwina form **yipi** is used.

mnumonu	grass	(cf **-buku.boku**	coughing)
-mtu.mtu	rubbing	(cf **-butu.butu**	scattering
		-sulu.sulu	cooking)
-m.mosila	shaming	(cf **-bu.bolasi**	swearing)

The point of juncture between **/m/** and a following consonant is the point of juncture of two syllables.

As the sequence ***/mu/** does not occur synchronically, and reduplicative patterns show **/m/** in many other phonological environments, the syllabic form reflects earlier ***/mu/**.

2.4.4 Two syllable final /m/ forms

There is a difference seen in some verb word plural forms which suggests that some verbs may have had two different final **/m/** phoneme forms in synchronic use but with distinct historical origins.

The Kiriwina closed syllable coda may be occupied only by **/m/**. But a special note must be made for the bilabial rounded nasal form **/mw/**. In the Kavataria dialect the phoneme **/mw/** does not appear as the syllable coda, but other dialects of Kiriwina show allomorphs of the single syllable **CVm** word occurring as a two-syllable word with the second syllable occurring as **/mwa/**[10]. Thus:

Kavataria dialect	**-tom**	stand still	Other dialects	**-tomwa**	stand still
	-**sim**	sit still		**-simwa**	sit still

However the plurals of some verbs which terminate in **/m/** in Kavataria dialect show two different forms, apparently showing two different junction phones, suggesting that in diachronic forms some verb stems terminated with **/m/**, some with **/mw/**.

The following examples show these as two separate lists.[11]

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[10] This was first brought to my attention by David Lithgow, who had found a similar form in **Muyuw,** the language of Woodlark Island, a language which Kiriwina people call **Myuwa.**

[11] See Lawton 1993:25-28 for a comprehensive statement.

	vb stem	*plural*	
List 1	**-kabitam**	**i-kabitam-si**	they are wise
	-kam	**i-kam-si**	they eat
	-va.silam	**i-va.silam-si**	they walk quietly
List 2	**-ligaim**	**i-ligaim-wai-si**	they abandon it
	-ulaim	**i-ulaim-wai-si**	they open it
	-sim	**i-sim-wai-si**	they sit still

In the dictionary entries for these verbs a note is given where relevant, stating that there was a probable earlier form of some verb stems ending in ***/mwa/**, which is still found in other dialects, but in Kavataria dialect the word final ***/mwa/** has been reduced to **/m/** and has generated the plural form **/mwaisi/** in these verbs. In many cases the word final **/mw/** marks transitivity, but this is not consistently so.

2.4.5 The /ka/ syllable and epenthesis

Phonotactic phenomena associated with the syllable **/ka/** are now examined. The phoneme **/k/** is articulated as a backed velar stop when followed by **/a/**, but in all other environments it is a velar stop. Two consequences of this are noted.

When the syllable **/ka/** is preceded (either within a word or across word boundaries) by **/u/** or **/m/**, an epenthetic **[w]** occurs as the speaker assimilates to the point of articulation of the backed velar stop. This first consequence gives us the phonetic rule

$$\textbf{ka} > \textbf{kwa} \;/\; \left\{ \begin{matrix} \textbf{u} \\ \textbf{m} \end{matrix} \right\} —$$

and has a high frequency of occurrence. It is regularly found in verbs marked with 2nd p subject, or nouns marked with the proclitic syllabic **/m/** for 2nd p sg possession (class 3). Two examples are given showing the rule operating across word boundaries for a proclitic and within a word for a prefix:

la=karaiwaga	**m=kwaraiwaga**
his ruling	your ruling

b-a-kam	**bu-ku-kwam**
I will eat	You(sg) will eat

Variant forms of this change are sometimes found in syllables commencing with **-ga, -pa** and **-ba** when they are preceded with similar phonetic sequences; this results in an optional extension of this rule, which has the form:

$$\textbf{Ca} > \textbf{Cwa} \;/\; \left\{ \begin{matrix} \textbf{u} \\ \textbf{m} \end{matrix} \right\} —$$

1. C is a bilabial or velar stop **[p]**, **[b**], or [**g**].
2. The rule in this form is optional.

A second consequence of the articulation of **/k/** as a backed velar stop is found when the adjective **-veka** 'big' occurs. As the speaker moves from **/ve/** to **/ka/** he assimilates to the point of articulation of the backed velar stop, and an epenthetic **[a]** occurs. The foreigner hears **[ve(a)ka]**, but the Kiriwina speaker hears only **/-veka/**. A consequence has been that other linguists have spelt this two-syllable form either as **/-veaka/** (Fellows (1900), Baldwin *et al*) or as **/-viyaka/** (Seligmann, Malinowski *et al*),[12] but I quickly learnt that these 'foreign' spellings annoyed the Kiriwina people, as they told me carefully and with baby-speak enunciation that there were only two sounds, **/ve/** and **/ka/**. Consequently I use only their preferred spelling, as it reflects the speaker's phonological reality:

-veka (adj., pl **-vaka.veka**, must occur prefixed by a classifier)
*Kai makaisina saina kaivaka**veka**.* Those trees are very big.

2.5 The phonological word, and its boundaries

A word is here considered not as a form-meaning unit but as a phonological unit having certain phonological features. A major feature is the phonetic quality of stress, and some other phenomena associated with word boundaries. My first concern is word stress.

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[12] This interpretation causes it to become a three-syllable lexeme.

2.5.1 Word stress rules

The phonological word, usually composed of up to four syllables, is characterised by primary stress which is given to one syllable of the word; this point of prominence may be increased loudness, higher tone, greater length, or a combination of such features. Longer words of five or more syllables occasionally show a lighter or secondary stress on other syllables, but seldom on more than one other. Primary stress is here shown as a major feature of the phonological word.

In Kiriwina primary stress is regularly laid on the penultimate syllable of a word. This regular pattern of word stress is stated in Stress Rule 3. The three rules of stress are set out here, with examples added for each rule. They must be applied in order, commencing with rule 1, which applies to less than 1% of syllables in Kiriwina speech. The first stress rule states when a word bears stress on its final syllable:

2.5.1.1 Stress Rule 1 for word final stress

The first stress rule states when a word bears stress on its final syllable:

$$\mathbf{V} > \begin{matrix}\mathbf{V} \\ \mathbf{+stress}\end{matrix} \Big/ \left\{ \begin{matrix}\mathbf{C—m\#} \\ \mathbf{— \#}\end{matrix} \right\}$$

Condition:
Where V is word final it must be a diphthong.

Phonological words which conform to this pattern are not frequently found, and in a syllable count they were less than 1% of total syllable patterns. Examples are:

b-a-kám
ir-1sg-eat
I will eat

bi-tá-m
ir-1indl-move
You and I will move (to some other place)

i-va.bodaním
3sg-go to end of walking line
He moved to the end of the group (walking in single file)

Tau.wáu!
man-plural
Hey, men! (vocative form)

i-sáim
3sg-put sthg
he put it down

A different analysis of the components of these word final syllables could make them conform to the majority Stress Rule 3. If diphthongs were disyllabic, or the syllabic **/m/** was analysed according to diachronic evidence, then each of the quoted examples could be stated as regular penultimate stress, if the syllable margins were declared to be ***-ká.mu**, ***-tá.mu**, ***-ní.mu**, and ***-wá.u**, the vowel **/u/** being underlyingly present, with the final example under such re-analysis showing antepenultimate stress as ***-sá.i.mu**.

But these possibilities have been addressed above, as the diphthong has been shown to be monosyllabic, functioning as a single vowel in a syllable nucleus. Also, to restate either the syllable final **m** or the syllabic **m** as ***mu**, although acknowledged as having a firm historical basis, does not accord with the phonological reality of its use in Kavataria dialect. It must however be acknowledged that where syllabic **m** occurs as a word final component, it would be possible to regard such words (e.g. **ta-m**) as showing penultimate stress. But even in this borderline case it is better to acknowledge that such a final syllable is phonologically a single syllable unit, and the application of this first stress rule to such syllables reflects the phonological reality of Kiriwina speech.

Other data may be quoted to show that in some circumstances, such as the forms **baisé** and **baisó** (2.5.5.2 below), a final syllable which is a pure vowel may bear stress.

2.5.1.2 Stress Rule 2 for antepenultimate stress

The second stress rule states the conditions of antepenultimate stress.

$$\mathbf{V_1} \quad > \quad \begin{matrix} \mathbf{V} \\ \mathbf{+\ stress} \end{matrix} \Big/ \quad \mathbf{C — C\ V_2\ (C)\ a\#}$$

Conditions:

1. No morpheme boundary occurs within the environment of the rule.

2. If $\mathbf{V_2 = a}$, then the shape of the rule must be

$$\mathbf{C\ V\ k\ a} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \mathbf{l} \\ \mathbf{n} \end{matrix} \right\} \mathbf{a}$$

otherwise $\mathbf{V_2}$ = **i** or **u**.

The conditions which apply to antepenultimate stress are more complex, and examples are needed to show the rule in operation. It is applied to the last three syllables of a word, and it is important that no point of morpheme juncture should occur within those three syllables, as evidence shows that with identical phonetic structures the presence of a morpheme boundary causes stress to revert to normal penultimate stress placement. The influence of morpheme boundaries on stress placement has been noted by Schütz in stress placements occurring in Hawaiian (Schütz 2010: 414); also Rehg (2004: 231) in his study of Pohnpeian possessive paradigms notes that "the rule is anchored by the presence of a morpheme boundary," the same influence being seen in other Pohnpeian phonological rules.

It seems that this factor of stress placement influenced by the presence of morpheme boundaries may be widely experienced in Oceanic. For Kiriwina, the stated phonetic conditions are rigid, and I have not met with any exceptions.[13]

Examples of the rule in its first form, when $\mathbf{V_2}$ is **/a/**, are given first, shown with identical or similar phonetic sequences which include a morpheme boundary:

[13] Except in angry speech, see 2.5.5.1

antepenultimate	*penultimate + morpheme juncture*
marákana	**makawá-la**
red (colour)	like-3sg
a red clay	like its (appearance)
to-bákana	**i-va.kána**
person-bald	3sg-go-approach
a bald person	he goes close
-pákala	**paká-la**
dry (throat)	feast-his
to be thirsty	his party
-yákala	**daká-la**
to judge	dryness-its
make a judgment	parched (land)
-yousókana	**kiyoká-la**
to mock	lair-its
to make a joke	(animal's) burrow
Omarákana	**la-ká-ma**
village name	rl-1exdu-come
Omarakana	we both came

The second form of this rule applies for words in which $\mathbf{V_2}$ is **i** or **u**. Examples show that a number of phonetic forms are admissable, only providing that the two final syllable nuclei are **i-a** or **u-a**. Contrasts with words showing morpheme juncture are again shown:

Kavatária	**buda-mía**
village name	younger.brother- 2pl.poss
Kavataria	your younger brothers
katitáikina	**aikí-ga**
nearly	yes-indeed
almost	Yes!!

méguva	**me-gúla**
magic	3hab-do (customary)
a magic spell	he has always done this

-búkula	**bu-kú-la**
-bear.cluster	ir-2sg-go
to bear fruit	you will go
in a bunch	

Antepenultimate stress is predictable only if the morpheme structure is known to the reader, and if the word itself conforms to the patterns given in the rule. Because this is not a practical option for the dictionary user, antepenultimate stress is marked on headwords in the dictionary, but stress is not marked in text, as contextual information generally makes meaning clear.

2.5.1.3 Stress Rule 3 for regular penultimate stress

The final stress rule covers regular penultimate stress.

$$V_1 \rightarrow \overset{V}{\underset{+\text{ stress}}{\ }} \; / \; (C) — (C)\ V_2\#$$

Regular stress according to Stress Rule 3 is given to about 95% of Kiriwina syllables. Approximately 5% of syllables have antepenultimate stress, and a very small number show word final stress placement according to Stress Rule 1. Emphatic speech, or speech with a register of anger or high emotion is sometimes found to move stress placement in a word, moving it back one syllable for those under Stress Rule 1, or one syllable forward for the other words.

2.5.2 Secondary stress

Any word with two or more syllables before the syllable bearing primary stress is marked with at least one other point of secondary stress. The placement of secondary stress is influenced by the phonetic components of a word (shown as grave-accented syllable nucleus). Sometimes a word with two-syllable reduplication emphasises any reduplicative patterns, as in

mìta.ìlu.yélu 'look about (eyes only moving)' or **kwe-vàka.véka** 'big (objects)'. If vowels are devoiced, stress is placed elsewhere, as in the village name **Òkupukópu.** Where the word form permits, a preferred position is the third syllable back from the point of primary stress, as with **kusùnupulói** 'you push (it) out'.

2.5.3 When is stress placement shown?

Stress placement is sometimes necessary to show a contrast between otherwise homophonous morphemes. The proclitic **kala** 'his (class 3 possession)' as a noun phrase component, contrasted with the class 2 noun **kála** '(his) meal" is an example. These words are used as follows:

a) when used as a proclitic in a noun phrase to show possession, no stress mark is shown:

kala=waga
3sg.poss=canoe
his (designated) canoe (i.e. the canoe chosen for him to ride in)

b) when used as headword (as a class 2 noun, marked with a class 1 possessive suffix), stress is shown:

ká-la
meal-3sg.poss
his meal, the food he is eating

Ka,	*baisa*	***ká-m***	*goli!*
see	this	meal-2sg	indeed

See, here is your meal at last!

As the headword **kála** is the canonical form entered in the dictionary, the other two-syllable forms of the paradigm will also need to be shown in cross-reference entries. The full paradigm is **kágu**, **kám**, **kála**, **káma**, **kamasi**, **káda**, **kadasi**,[14] **kámi**, **kási**. This convention of placing a stress mark on the headword form of **kála** is used consistently in text and in the dictionary.

[14] The three-syllable forms do not need to bear stress marking as they do not contrast with other forms. The comparable proclitic possessive forms are circumfixes, as **kada# ...-si.**

Other minimal pairs show a similar need of contrasting homophonous morphemes by means of marking one of a pair for stress. Two examples from paradigms of kin terms are given as examples:

tuwa-la	**tuwá-la**
elder.brother-3sg.poss	elder.brothers-3sg.poss
his elder brother	his elder brothers

tama-la	**tamá-la**
father-3sg.poss	fathers-3sg.poss
his father	his fathers

While both the words in each pair have regular penultimate stress, the plural forms have a more marked stress which is characterised by greater length being given to the syllable. The same quality of increased length occurs in **kála.**

2.5.4 Vocalic changes further from primary stress

Vocalic change may occur in a syllable nucleus when the syllable occurs further away from primary stress. This is frequently seen when the position of the syllable nucleus **/ai/** is altered by a morphological component placed between it and the stressed syllable, undergoing a vowel shift towards schwa.

For example, the classifiers **kai-** and **kwai-** usually hold their diphthong vowel form when occurring one or two syllables from the point of primary word stress; but placed in a different position, they may be found with a single vowel nucleus as **/ke/** or **/kwe/,** as in:

kai-básí
item-to.plug
putty

ke-bisi.básí
cl.long/rigid-sewing (using cane thread)
thatching (in long rigid strips sewn over batten)

kwai-tólu
cl.complex-three
three (complex) items

kwe-luwo-tólu
cl.complex-ten.groups-three
thirty (complex) items

kwe-làkatu-tólu
cl.complex-hundred.groups-three
three hundred (complex) items

In the words in this example which have three or more syllables followed by the word's stressed syllable, secondary stress occurs on the third syllable back from primary stress position.

2.5.5 Paralinguistic components and stress

Two variations of stress placement occur in words marked with paralinguistic components of emphatic or emotional stress, which causes stress movement contrary to conventional 'rules', and some paralinguistic features of **baisa** 'this item'. The phenomenon of emotional speech is first examined.

2.5.5.1 Anger and word stress

On one occasion an angry woman came to me to report her husband's infidelity. In her anger she moved the position of word stress back a syllable, saying:

komwáidona vilesi valu (usually **komwaidóna**)
All !! the village women!

giving antepenultimate stress in her fury to a word which does not normally bear this stress pattern. She gave similar treatment to several other words, such as:

ikáibiga	(usually **ikaibíga**)	he said!
ulo válam	(usually **ulo valám**)	my weeping
gala ibodi nánola	(usually **nanóla**)	it didn't suit his mind

eager to eject the words and show her anger and distress in their enunciation. The effect of anger on word stress was noted above in my concluding statement on stress (2.5.1.3).

2.5.5.2 The word *baisa* with paralinguistic components

Three forms of **baisa** 'this (item) here' occur, which are differentiated by word final forms and stress placement, together with paralinguistic components for two of them. The following definitions for these three forms are shown in the dictionary, the first as the entry's headword, with regular penultimate stress, and the second and third forms as subheadwords in that entry, which have irregular stress. The usual dictionary depiction of the headword in upper case, with subheadwords indented in lower case, is shown in the example.

BAISA (deic, loc)

1. this item. Used as a general deictic which does not have a classifier, and so is used in reference to any item or situation. Syn **ma<kwai>na**
*Avaka **baisa**?* 'What is this?'

2. here (by me) here (placing anything close to speaker),
*Kusaili **baisa.*** 'Put it here.'

baisé (loc) 'here (the place I am pointing to)'.

The word bears stress on the final syllable, accompanied by a pointing act either with lips or with head to indicate where something should be placed, in a position in sight of the speaker.

Ku-saili	***baisé.***
2sg-put(trans)	here (plus pointing act)

Put it over there (where I am indicating to you).

baisó (loc) 'there (a place out of sight)'

The word bears stress on the final syllable, and the final vowel **/o/** is pronounced falsetto or very high tone; sometimes lengthened to produce a high tone long note. In this way the speaker is indicating that the item referred to is somewhere not visible to the hearers, e.g. in the next room, or in another country.

E	*baisa*	*tuta*	*i-sisu*	***baisó***.
well	this	time	3sg-stay	there (plus falsetto)

And right now it is far away (e.g. in another village; context indicates location.)

2.5.5.3 Word stress and clitic relations

A standard definition of a clitic is that it is a syntactic word which behaves phonologically as if it were part of an adjacent word (its host). If a group of two (syntactic) words has only one stressed syllable then it is a single phonological word, and the first word of the two words is a proclitic attached to the second word. When, on the other hand, both words in a group clearly bear a stressed syllable, this marks them as separate phonological words and the group is described as a phrase. A clitic relationship is shown in text examples using the regular symbol /=/. The clitic relationship is not marked however in regular text. In the examples below, regular word stress is shown.

	Form used in example text	*translation*
proclitic	**wa=wága**	in the canoe
proclitic	**la=wága**	his canoe
proclitic	**kala=táitu**	his meal of **táitu** yam
phrase	**ávai wága**	which canoe
phrase	**ám bukúla?**	where are you going?
phrase	**ámi yagám?**	what is your name?
phrase	**báisa matáuna**	towards him

2.6 On morphophonemics

The phonological features found at points of junction of morphemes within words are here briefly summarised. The full data of such juncture phenomena are set out in the grammar statement 3.4.2.2. Most morphophonemic processes operate in the verb, when the verb stem is augmented with grammatical function morphemes, or the stem itself undergoes some change. I will describe four areas in which morphophonemic change take place:

1. Changes to the verb stem that occur with the transitivising suffix **-i.** and the processes of verb stem reduplication (see 2.6.1).

2. Two verb suffixes, the plural marker **-si** and changes effected by the verb stem suffix **-ki** (see 2.6.2).

3. The rules relating to the verbal mood prefixes, and those that operate for the verbal object suffix; this is the most frequent area of morphophonemic change (see 2.6.3).

4. My last area is concerned with junction processes which occur in the noun phrase, with the purposive suffix **-la** (and its plural form **-si**), the ordinal suffix **-la**, and the classifier. Some other junction features of the noun phrase are noted in conclusion (see 2.6.4).

2.6.1 Changes within the verb stem

Two processes take place within the verb stem itself, where morphophonemic junction features are found.

2.6.1.1 The derived transitive stem

In class 3 verbs a transitive stem is derived from the base intransitive form by the substitution of the stem final vowel (usually **/a/**) with **/i/** (see 3.3.1.3). This has been identified as a derivational transitiviser from POc ***-i**, found in a number of Oceanic languages, and in Kiriwina it occurs as a regular feature of this class of verb stem. The phonological changes which

this change effects are described in detail in Lawton 1993: 99-105 as morphophonemic rules 4 – 16. However these rules are too complex to serve as a practical guide for dictionary users, so every derived transitive stem is noted in the dictionary as a variant form of the basic intransitive stem, and is listed as a subheadword in a main entry. Some examples of the pairs of stems are given.

intransitive	*transitive*	*gloss*
-kokola	**-kukoli**	to fear
-masisi	**-misii**	to sleep, sleep with
-lumkola	**-lumkoli**	to feel
-dódiga	**-didagi**	to load (vessel)
-taimámila	**-temmali**	to respect
-motátina	**-mtitani**	to shake
-sonúkula	**-senikuli**	to count
-yosésila	**-yosali**	to hold up
-sewa	**-sau**	to learn
-kugwa	**-kugwai**	to be first

2.6.1.2 Verb stem reduplication

Verb stems of all classes occur in a reduplicated form to express either continuity of action or sometimes repetitive action. Two forms are found, duplication of the first syllable, or duplication of the first two syllables, of the verb stem. Examples of these are shown in 3.4.6.2. Morphophonemic patterns are not consistent, so every verb stem for which data are available includes reduplicated forms as variants. A note is given here of those stems which commence with vowels, semivowels, or the bilabial **/v/**, where syllable reduplication is usually a V syllable with a nucleus of the vowel close to the semivowel initiating the stem:

-vagi	to do	**-u.vagi**	doing
-wosi	to sing	**-usi.wosi**	singing
-uwa	to blow	**-uwo.uwa**	blowing

The two verb stems of class 3 verbs each have a reduplicated form. The intransitive verb stem generally shows a pattern of two-syllable reduplication, and the transitive stem has single syllable reduplication.

-lega	(intrans)	to listen	**-liga.lega**	listening
-lagi	(trans)	to hear	**-li.lagi**	hearing sthg
-iku	(intrans)	to shake	**-iku.iku**	shaking
-iku	(trans)	to shake	**-i.iku**	shaking sthg.
-yega	(intrans)	to quiver	**-iga.yega**	quivering
-yagi	(trans)	to quiver	**-i.yagi**	to make sthg quiver

2.6.2 Two verb stem suffixes

The two verb stem suffixes which involve morphophonemic change are now noted, the /**-si/** plural marker which attaches to all verb stems, and the **/-ki/** verb suffix.

2.6.2.1 The plural marker /-si/

The verbal plural morpheme /**-si/** may mark either the plural forms of the intransitive verb, or (as a second order suffix) may mark the transitive verb which bears a 1st or 2nd p pronominal object suffix. In these uses /**-si/** is suffixed usually with no alteration. This is seen in paradigms shown in Table 3.1 in 3.4.2.1, and Table 3.2 in 3.4.2.2. An exception must be noted however for intransitive verbs with stems terminating in **/m/.**

Where /**-si/** is attached to mark 3p plural subject of transitive verbs, the morphophonemic rules 2 – 5 shown in 3.4.2.2 correctly state the juncture conditions that apply. However the first rule must be restated for affixation of /**-si/**, as set out in 3.4.2.1.

When the verb stem terminates in **/m/**, the junction of **-si** is conditioned by the underlying form of the stem terminal **/m/** (see phonology 2.4.4). If the stem final **/m/** originates in an underlying **/m/**, the **-si** is suffixed with no additional syllable. But if it originates in an underlying **/mw/**, the junction syllable /**-wai-/** is inserted.

The greater number of underlying **/m/** forms are found as intransitive forms, so that the different plural constructions is a frequent (but not consistent) guide to the grammatical form of the verb. Some other examples are given:

-kasilam	**>**	**lo-ku-kwasilam-si**
to whisper		rl-2-whisper-pl
		you (pl) have whispered (intransitive and transitive)
-saim	**>**	**i-saim-wai-si**
to put down		3 put.down-j-pl
		they put (their loads) down (transitive only)

The Kilivila dialect plural form **-sa** is sometimes used by Kavataria speakers as a variant form of **-si.**

2.6.2.2 The verbal suffix -ki

The suffix **-ki** is added to verb stems with a variety of effects, shown in 3.3.3.1 to 3.3.3.3, some of which are noted here:

1. Some intransitive forms are transitivised:

-busi 'to drip'	+ **-ki** > **-bwiki** or **-bubwiki** 'to drip onto (s.o)'
-totu "to stand'	+ **-ki** > **-titoki** 'to stand on (place)'
-sisu 'to stay'	+ **-ki** > **-siki** 'to settle in (place)'
-kayau 'to yawn'	+ **-ki** > **-kayoki** 'to blow on sthg'

2. Some transitive forms become ditransitive: (All ditransitive forms have the **-ki** suffix)

-vagi 'to make'	**+ -ki > -vigaki** 'to make s.o sthg.'
-nagi 'to choose'	**+ -ki > -nigaki** 'to choose s.o for some task'
-dou 'to call'	**+ -ki > -doki** 'to consider s.o sthg.'

3. Some verbs of motion are marked with a locative function:

-ma 'to come'	**+ -ki > -miaki** or **-makaia** 'to come to s.o'
-mai 'to bring'	**+ -ki > -mioki** or **-mokaia** 'to bring to s.o'
-la 'to go'	**+ -ki > -loki** or **–lokaia** 'to go to (place)'

4. Other verbs are given slight emphasis or have no meaning change:

-bodi 'to suit'	**+ -ki > -budoki** 'to suit well'
-sibwaila 'to sit well'	**+ -ki > -sebuliki** 'to sit on sthg'
-taguli 'to mix'	+ **-ki > -taguliki** 'to mix (ingredients)'

The following comments relate to dictionary entries of verbs marked with the **-ki** suffix and the point of morphophonemic junction:

1. There is a clear morphological relationship between each basic form and the morphemes marked with **-ki**, so that verbs with **-ki** suffixes are entered in the dictionary as subheadwords of their basic form, except for those which do not occur in a synchronic form lacking the **-ki** termination.

2. Affixing **-ki** almost always effects stem changes, as is seen in above examples. Thus all these forms must appear as variant forms in dictionary entries.

3. The following junction phenomena are found:

a) the forms shown in dictionary entries with the **-ki** suffix are all for 3p sg object which is regularly followed by a periphrastic NP object.
b) junction of 1st and 2nd p object, and the 3rd p pl marker **-si**, are in accord with rule 5 (see 2.6.3.2 below) for **Ci** terminations, where the final vowel is replaced by **/ai/**.
c) some verbs of motion marked with **-ki** have alternative forms in which the final vocoid **/i/** is replaced with **/aia/**.

2.6.3 The verb stem with mood marker or pronominal object

Here I address the morphophonemic changes that occur when the verb is prefixed with mood markers or suffixed with pronominal object. These two are the most frequent areas in which morphophonemic change occurs.

2.6.3.1 Mood/aspect markers

The mood/aspect markers occur as a second order prefix to the verb, and their full function is set out in 3.4.3. Two mood markers are **bV** 'irreal', and **lV** 'real' (with its allomorph '**absence of l + V**'), and an aspect marker **mV** 'habitual'; where **V** represents the appropriate vowel when the marker is followed by a consonant. The following rules must be applied for the use of the mood/aspect markers:

i) When followed by **ku, bV > bu, lV > lo, mV > mo**.
ii) When followed by **ta, bV > bi, lV > lei, mV > mei**.
iii) When followed by **i, bV** assimilates to **bi, lV** to **lei, mV** to **me**.
iv) When followed by **k, V > a**.
v) When followed by **a, V** is lost.

2.6.3.2 Personal pronoun object

The paradigm of the personal pronoun object suffixed to transitive verb stems is shown in 3.4.2.2. There is no morpheme junction for 3p (sg or pl) object, as this part of speech is consistently filled with a periphrastic construction, a NP being used instead of an object suffix. The morphophonemic juncture rules show the phonological conditions for attaching verbal suffixes of 1st and 2nd person, which are set out here, as a series of five phonological rules dependent on the termination of the verb stem.[15] These are set out with examples in 3.4.2.2, and are summarised here:

1. **When verb stem terminates with /m/,** the junction with object suffix is marked with the junction syllable /**-wai-**/.

2. **When the verb stem terminates in a diphthong,** the junction syllable **/ai/** is inserted.[16] The diphthong clusters which result are divided by the appropriate semivowels, which produce junction syllables of **/-wai-/** or **/-yai-/**.

3. **When the verb stem terminates in /Cu/**
   i) when **C** is an alveolar form, the junction syllable **-/ai-/** replaces the final vowel.
   ii) for all other consonants, the junction syllable **/-wai-/** replaces the final vowel.

4. **When the verb stem terminates in /-aiki/**
   i) the junction syllable **/ai/** replaces the final vowel.

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[15] These same rules also apply to 3rd p pl forms of verbs that do not accept personal pronoun object - see under rules for plural suffix **-si.**.
[16] In Kilivila dialect this is **/ei/**, in Kaileuna dialect **/e/**.

ii) the penultimate syllable becomes **/a/**, accommodating to the new back velar articulation of **/k/** (see 2.2.2 phonetic attribute of **/ka/**).

5. **When verb stem terminates in Ca or Ci**, the junction syllable **/ai/** replaces the final vowel. The majority of verb stems are found in this last category.

Some variant forms occur which do not conform to these rules; these are noted as information within relevant dictionary entries.

2.6.4 Morphophonemics in the noun phrase

Three areas of morphophonemic junction are noted here, and some other nominal features are added.

2.6.4.1 The purposive suffix

The purposive suffix **/-la/**, pl form **/-si/**, attaches to class 3 nouns as described in 3.6.2.3, when a particular purpose or intention is specified for that item. Two types of junction are found.

i) The junction of this morpheme with words terminating in **/a/** is either by replacing the final **/a/** with the junction syllable **/e/**, or by unmarked junction.

A small group of three-syllable words with antepenultimate stress have a consistent pattern **CaCuCa > CiCuC-e-la**. Examples are:

bágula 'garden' > **bigul-e-la** 'its garden (a garden for a purpose)'
dágula 'feather' > **digul-e-la** 'the feather for some purpose'
dákuna 'stone' > **dikun-e-la** 'its stone (e.g. a memorial)'

Some other similar words (**pákula, túmila, búkula** et al) follow this pattern but with variations of syllable nuclei, and the only consistent feature is the replacement of the final **/a/** with **/e/**. Dictionary entries for these forms include all variants that occur.

Some other words have their final vowel **/a/** replaced by the junction syllable **/e/**, but in all cases words with analogous phonological features show junction without any additional syllable. Thus:

waga 'canoe' > **wag-e-la** 'the canoe for a particular use'
cf **paka** 'feast' > **paka-la** 'a feast for some occasion'
mauna 'animal' > **maun-e-la** 'its animal (for some use)'
cf **tauya** 'conch' > **tauya-la** (or) **tauy-e-la** 'its conch (signal)'
kula 'transaction' > **kul-e-la** 'its transaction (for some wealth item)'
cf **lula** 'payment' > **lula-la** (or) **lul-e-la** 'its payment (for an obligation)'

For these forms terminating in **/a/**, where there is little consistency in the pattern, it is best that the dictionary record such forms as variants when the purposive suffix is added.

ii) All words terminating in **/i/, /u/** or **/m/** show the purposive suffix without any additional syllable at point of junction.

bweyani 'red colour' > **bweyani-la** 'its redness'
bolu 'bowl' > **bolu-la** 'its bowl (for particular task)'
kabitam 'wisdom' > **kabitam-la** 'its wisdom (for a craft)'

2.6.4.2 The ordinal suffix

The rules stated above for the purposive suffix also apply to the junction of the ordinal suffix **-la** (see 3.7.4.2) to number words. This suffix attaches only to the last word in a number phrase, as in:

taitu	**kwe-luwo-tála**	**kwai-tolú-la**
year	cl.complex-ten.group-one	cl.complex-three-ord

the thirteenth year

2.6.4.3 The classifiers

Most classifiers are prefixed without morphophonemic change to a following morpheme (a number word or adjective). The following variants however do occur:

i) When the single syllable classifiers **kwai** or **kai** are prefixed to a word which bears word stress on a nearby syllable, the classifiers are unchanged. But when another morpheme is interposed between the classifier and that

accented syllable, the classifier's diphthong is replaced by **/e/**. See also 2.5.4 above on this.

kwai- 'complex item'

kwai-tála	**kwe-luwo-tála**
cl.complex-one	cl.complex-ten.group-one
one item	ten items

kai- 'long/rigid item'

kai-véka	**ke-vaka.véka**
cl.long/rigid-big	cl.long/rigid-pl-big
a big item	big items

ii) About 20 classifiers terminate with **/iCa/**, and these also join to a morpheme without change; but when some morpheme change places these classifiers further from the syllable bearing word stress, the classifier's final syllable **/a/** is changed to **/i/**.

pila- 'thick/flat item'

pila-tala	**buki**	(or)	**pili-yu-we-la**	**buki**
cl.thick/flat-one	book		cl/thick/flat-two-j-ord	book
one book			a second book	

A similar change occurs with the classifier **kaiga-**, as in example:

kaiga- 'voice-like item'

kaiga-tála	**kaigi-tinidési**
cl.voicelike-one	cl.voicelike-only.one
one solitary voice	

iii) All other classifiers join to a morpheme without change; where some occur as variant forms, these are noted in the dictionary.

2.6.4.4 Other morphophonemic junctions in the noun phrase

Some other places in the noun phrase may be identified where the effect of morphophonemic junction is seen. As they do not form large groups, they

are noted in the grammar statement, where all variant forms are identified, and dictionary entries record them wherever possible. Included here are:

* the emphatic suffix **-ga** and its variant forms (3.2.4.4)
* variations in derived forms and combining forms (3.3.3.1, 3.3.3.3)
* kin plural terminology and the possessive affix (3.6.3.1)
* compound nouns and adjectives (3.6.4.3, 3.7.4.3)
* plurals of human terms shown in reduplications (3.8.1.2)

2.7 Concerns of Kiriwina orthography

Some word-level features associated with vocalic changes remain to be examined, which show where phonological factors in words have influenced the orthography of Kiriwina. These include processes of syllable devoicing, vowel harmony, vowel clusters, and some other phonetic features.

2.7.1 Syllable devoicing

One occurrence of phonetic change at word level is seen in a process of vocalic devoicing which sometimes leads to the total loss of an unstressed syllable.

Vocalic devoicing may take place when a vowel is placed between two voiceless consonants, so that the vowel is devoiced and the syllable is whispered. This happens when the village name **Òkupukópu** is pronounced with the -**kupu-** segment whispered, and a voiced quality is most prominent on the secondary stressed syllable **/O/** and the primary stressed syllable **/o/**. This is cited in my brief analysis of secondary stress in 2.5.2.

Similar devoicing is seen elsewhere, as when words terminating in final syllables **sisi** (**i-masísi** 'he is asleep', and its pl form **–masisí-si**); **manusísi** 'matches (borrowed form)', where the regular penultimate primary stress ensures that the vowel /**i**/ is voiced, but the /**i**/ of the final syllable is usually voiceless.

An optional change occurs when some verb stems with initial **-ka** are preceded by the subject prefix **ku-** 'you (sg or pl)'. Here the first syllable

(where **u** is between two **/k/**s) is sometimes lost, but rounding of the second **/k/** remains (in accordance with the phonetic rule stated in 2.4.5) turning the verb root initial to **/kw/**. The resulting verb word becomes a subheadword within an entry. These verbs are manifestations of an imperative speech register, when an abrupt command or question is made. In the flow of general conversation however the initial syllable of these phonological words is not lost. Some examples of this are:

kwatupoi (vb word imperative) Ask (him)
kwatuli (query exclam) What do you(sg) think? (pl form **kwalaisi**)
kwapatu (vb word imperative) Shut up! (pl form **kwapatusi**)

The first form **kwatupoi** is abbreviated from the phonological word **ku-kwatupoi** 'you (sg) ask (s.o)'. But in imperative register the first syllable of the word is totally lost, although the rounded form **/kw/** is retained as an epenthetic remnant in the verb root. When this reduction, influenced by a particular speech register, leads to syllable loss, the resultant optional forms acquire the status of variant forms and are found as headwords in cross-reference entries in the dictionary, with a note of explanation placed in the relevant entries.

2.7.2 Vowel harmony

The variant forms of some prefixes are often generated by a process which harmonises the final vowel of the prefix with the first vowel of the stem. This is seen in the prefixes **mola-** 'male maturity' and **vila-** 'female maturity', both of which have the variant forms **moli-** or **vili-** and **molu** or **vilu-**, and choose that form which harmonises with the first vowel in the stem, as is seen in:

mola-gwadi youngest male in group	(**vila-gwadi** female)
moli-tomoya oldest male in group	(**vili-tomoya** female)
molu-luwala the middle male in group	(**vilu-luwala** female)

However the prefix **-mita-** 'do by seeing' which occurs in compound forms (variants **-miti-, -mitu-**) shows changing patterns which only sometimes harmonise in the same way. The examples shown suggest that vowel harmony may take place, but only as an alternative, apparently chosen by the speaker:

-mita.bilibili	also **–miti.bilibili**	to look around furtively
-mita.gibugibu	also **–miti.gibugibu**	to turn away in anger
-miti.guguwa	also **–mitu.guguwa**	to see and desire sthg
-miti.kuvivia	also **–mitu.kuvivia**	to long for absent friends
-miti.nunupula	also **–mitu.nunupula**	to be very drowsy

Other occurrences of **mita-** show that vowel changes employed are sometimes due to other environmental influences. When the larger environment is considered, it is seen that the form **mita- + stem** changes to harmonise in the other direction, the last vowel of the prefix **mita-** harmonising with the last vowel of the subject prefix. This aspect of vowel harmony makes it clear that this process should be examined at the level of the full phonological word. A speaker chooses to let the process of harmonising be influenced by a preceding vowel or with a following vowel in the phonological word. This phenomenon is better studied as a feature of rhetorical register, which is often evident in public orations. The form **mitawasi** (variants **mitiwasi**, **mituwasi**) owes its variants in part to the varying subject prefixes as:

baka-mitawasi	we will see indistinctly
bi-mitiwasi	he will see indistinctly
buku-mituwasi	you sg will see indistinctly.

2.7.3 Vowel clusters and syllable boundaries

Some comment on features of vowel clustering remains. When diphthongs cluster, as for example under the morphophonemic rule 2 in 2.6.3.2 above, this is shown orthographically as a sequence of four vowel letters. In the interests of a practical and teachable orthography which has been in use for the last hundred years, the practice has been followed of dividing the two diphthongs with the appropriate semivowels **w** or **y.** The examples show how the clusters of **ai+ai, oi+ai** and **au+ai** have been broken clearly into two syllables. The junction syllable is glossed as [j].

b-i-katu-luluwai-yai-gu
ir-3sg-cause-remember-j-1sg
it will make me remember

i-katupoi-yai-dasi
3-ask-j-1inpl
they asked us all[17]

e-i-lau-wai-mi
rl-3sg-take-j-2pl
he has taken you (pl) away

This convention of inserting a semivowel between diphthong clusters is followed both in the dictionary and in text. See also footnote 26 in Chapter 3. Further, an anonymous examiner points out "speakers these days do insert semivowels between diphthong clusters".

Other clusters of vowel letters may be either a diphthong plus a vowel, or a cluster of two or more vowels. It is sometimes helpful to show where the syllable boundaries occur, in order to highlight which is a diphthong and which a monophthong within the cluster, or whether the cluster is two vowels or a single diphthong.

Vowel clusters in the orthography may be compared which show the two vowel letters forming a diphthongal glide and a similar sequence where the two vowels are two syllables. In the following examples the syllable margins are shown. In this first example, an **/ai/** diphthong is contrasted with a sequence of **/a.i/**:

ta-wái	**ta-íku**
1indl.go (away)	1indl-shake
we both leave	we both shake (it)

The diphthong **/au/** is here contrasted with a vowel sequence **/a.u/**, the latter showing a morpheme boundary; both words with regular penultimate stress:

máu.na	**ma-u.ú.la**
animal	with-reason
	and consequently
-váu.la	**-va-ú.la**
to.plant (seeds)	vac-to.do.by.feet – be.close.to (s.o)
	to walk around (him)

[17] This could equally be "He asked us all." as in Table 3.4 on page 138.

Other examples show vowels clustering with diphthongs. In the following pair, the diphthong **/ei/** is contrasted with a sequence of the diphthong plus an accented vowel:

i-kéi.ta	**i-kei.í.ta**
3sg-to.copulate	3sg-to.return
it copulated (an animal)	he came back (person)

Clusters of like vowels also occur, and sometimes an appreciation of the forms of reduplication make it clear that separate syllables are being shown.

to-o.ko.ó.ko
cl.person-gibberish.sequence
a trader (lit. an okooko person, s.o who speaks unintelligibly)

u.lu.ú.lu
body.hair (contrasted with **ku.lu.ku.lu** 'head hair'
hair on any part of body (apart from head)

u.ú.la
root, base
base of tree, stern of canoe, reason for action

Sometimes the semivowel **/w/** occurs in a sequence of **/oo/** vowels, showing a division between similar vowels which have been clearly articulated separately.

-ko.wo.ló.va
to rebel (intrans)

ko.wo.ló.ku.va
a separate plot in garden

Syllable boundaries within clusters are shown in this fashion as diacritics only in the dictionary's pronunciation guide, not in the usage of words in text, as context is relied on to provide needed information on meaning differences. Malinowski (1935: 120) resorted to the practice of showing syllable junctions when he considered a cluster was not a diphthong by inserting an apostrophe in text, eg *iga'u ... i-miga'ise* 'when ... they (work) magic', but as this diacritic was used in other nearby languages as a symbol for a glottal stop, some readers assumed that glottals were part of Kiriwina's

phoneme inventory. Glottals may occur here phonetically but they do not have phonemic status.

2.7.4 Other phonetic features

Some phonetic features which modify meaning within a "context of situation", may belong here; they include the use of phonetic overlays such as falsetto, laryngealisation, and some other features, as seen in examples below.

2.7.4.1 Falsetto

This phenomenon has a syllable marked with a high register tone, It may be seen as a special feature of stress for that word, as pitch has already been noted as a component of word stress. The example of **baisó** has been quoted in 2.5.5.2 above. Another example is an allomorph of **baisó** which is listed in the dictionary, when the final syllable is isolated and uttered in a lengthened form as **/óo/**, with the same reference to 'this item out of sight'.

2.7.4.2 Laryngealisation or creaky voice

This is a feature of speech where the stressed syllable is phonetically overlaid with a rasping or laryngealised quality (a rolled voiced velar), usually accompanied by the syllable gliding tonally from mid to low, usually indicating anger. This is sometimes specified as "creaky voice", and is mainly a feature of exclamations which do not occur within text sequences. Examples here show the laryngealised syllables with stress diacritics.

igáu	'Later on' or 'already done' (determined by context)
mitága[2]	'Yes, of course!' (also found as **tága**)
bogwó	'Already done!'
aiséki	'Whoever could say?'
wo!	Anger in some situation

2.7.4.3 Breathiness, and other things

Here a breathy quality is laid over an accented syllable, generally indicative of incredulity when a piece of news or gossip is shared. It also manifests when an adult responds to a little child's conversation.

Other phonetic elements may also occur. These frequently include phones which are not included in the language's phonemic inventory, but which have positive communication value. These included ingressive clicks articulated at the alveolar ridge, indicating personal regret or distress, or as bilabials (a "kissing" sound) to attract animals; gasps and cries such as those used in **giríkiti** "cricket" to confuse or distract a batsman, cries uttered in weeping or lamenting which follow a consistent pattern, the way a child cries when hurt. or the way a chief coughs or clears his throat, compared with the way a commoner may do it. For most of these phonetic elements used in communication, descriptive terminology exists in the language.

2.7.4.4 A dictionary appendix for special phonetic features

Lexemes accompanied by special phonetic features are included in a dictionary appendix devoted to words accompanied by other semiotic features, such as the paralinguistic components described. Body language terminology is included; the features are part of communication, and so part of dictionary entries, but their association with other units using this feature would emphasise the importance of variants which may be phonetic or accompanied by gesture or other signs.

2.7.5 A practical orthography

The dictionary reader may find helpful an introduction into the orthography this lexicographer has used for Kiriwina. I must outline briefly the orthography in use when I first came to Kiriwina, and the decisions I took to make some changes, with my reasons.

An orthography which accords where possible with existing emic practice is termed here a practical orthography. The Kavataria dialect had been from 1894 the medium of vernacular education, a program which by

1930 had made basic literacy a fact in Kiriwina society. However there were certain areas in which there was inconsistency in spelling, and I wished to set patterns of usage in those problem areas, for the guidance of Kiriwina children learning to record their own speech, and to enable spelling solutions in printed Kiriwina text which were consistent.

The main changes were in three areas, conjunctive/disjunctive writing of some phonological words, the consonant /m/, and vowel clusters.

When I arrived in Kiriwina in 1961 I found an orthography used by previous missionary staff and government officials, who had made use of normal English orthography without any adaption for particular Kiriwina needs. While largely acceptable, problem areas in the phonology were handled differently by different people, resulting in a wide diversity of spelling solutions for some words.

Crowley (1998: x) noted a similar situation in his introduction to his 'Erromangan (Sye) dictionary', where one particular phoneme, which manifested differently in different environments, was being spelt in eleven different ways, and he details his solution, describing how he used the grapheme for a similar phoneme in an adjacent language. It is noteworthy that the suggestion for this writing convention came to him from the Erromangan people themselves. I have found that emic input into orthography is important, as I have been helped in the same way.

2.7.5.1 Conjunctive and disjunctive writing

My first concern was with the Kiriwina verb, which is the most complex morphological unit in Kiriwina (see 3.4). The verb stem may be marked by two orders of prefix and three orders of suffix, while the verb stem itself may undergo a number of changes. Kiriwina texts spelt the verb affixation inconsistently. The prefixes were being written either disjunctively, as

ku	**gisa**	**buku**	**gisi**
2sg	to.see (intrans)	Ir-2sg	to see (trans)
look!		you can see (something)	

(although the two prefixes (aspect + subject) were always conjoined), or conjunctively, even though in either form each group was a single phonological word with penultimate stress. The suffixes were always conjoined, as the point of junction was marked by morphophonemic change, and so was difficult to separate.

So I looked for Kiriwina preferences, as I had a quantity of Kiriwina text emically generated, either in written correspondence or in written answers in tests, and I soon found that there was a 70% preference for conjunctive writing of the verbs. I therefore chose to spell verbs in text consistently with affixes conjoined, and one consequence of this is that all verb stems appear in the dictionary with a hyphen on the initial margin, marking the fact that no verb may appear in text without its subject prefix, and any appearance of a verb stem without a hyphen marks it as a derived nominalised form of the verb. In both long and short words one consistent spelling pattern is used, so that these words may occur:

B-i-m.	**B-i-katu.sunupuloi-yai-m.**
Ir-3sg-move	Ir-3sg-cause.eject(trans)-j-2sg
He will move.	He will expel you.

We then found there was a need to write class 3 nouns marked for possession disjunctively, to avoid confusion. If a conjunctive pattern was used for both verbs and nouns-plus-possession, the word **lakaibiga** could be read either as a verb 'I have spoken' or as a noun phrase 'his speech'. But writing the noun phrase disjunctively as **la kaibiga** 'his speech' and the verb conjunctively as **lakaibiga** 'I have spoken' removed the dilemma. Thus in Kiriwina verbs are consistently conjunctive and class 3 nouns are marked for possession with proclitic possessives. It should be noted that the choice was not an arbitrary one, but was made because most Kiriwina people (who are literate and write well) prefer this pattern.

2.7.5.2 The syllabic /m/

The second difficulty was in the writing of the syllabic **/m/**. As this phoneme was the only one used either in clusters with other consonants, or as the coda of a syllable, there was some confusion as many mission staff had

experience of other languages where (C)V was the usual syllable type. Another difficulty was that diachronic evidence indicated a protoform **/mu/**, and a related language showed a variant word final form **/mw/**. A consequence of this was that this syllabic nasal was spelt in old text in a variety of ways, appearing in the phrase **m=waga** 'your canoe' (with the added confusion of conjunctive or disjunctive patterns) as **um waga, mu waga, om waga, umu waga** and **m waga**, or all five of these written conjunctively. The variant word final form **/mw/** created further confusion.

The consistent spelling of the syllabic **/m/** in its synchronic form, plus recognition of the syllable pattern **(C)V(m)** as a valid Kiriwina syllable, was quickly accepted, and is used in this form today without difficulty. The word final variant form **/mw/** has also been recognised as synchronically a dialect difference, as is the diachronically based explanation for **/mw/** as a variant form of transitive plural in the Kavataria dialect (see 2.4.4) which has a parallel in the related Muyuw language of Woodlark Island.

2.7.5.3 Vowel clusters and the semivowel

The clustering of vowels, including diphthongs, has caused confusion, and to younger readers in particular many of the clusters have sometimes been difficult for them to handle. As youthful readers (and others) were encouraged in services of Christian worship to stand and read from printed text, one of the purposes of a practical orthography was to assist neo-literate readers. For this reason many years ago the practice was initiated of placing the appropriate epenthetic semivowel in such clusters (as was noted in 2.4.5 above). In examples below the clusters exemplified are italicised. This decision producing spelling changes such as:

ipais*auai*si > **ipais*auwai*si** 'they are working at (sthg)'
lakam*aiai*si > **lakam*aiyai*si** 'we have brought (them)'

With vowel clusters of three or less vowel letters I have been guided by the preferred spelling patterns of literate Kiriwina writers. The predominating pattern is that clusters initiated with a high front vowel (as in **-lok*aia*** 'to go to s.o', **pwaipw*aia*** 'earth', **duwosis*ia*** 'straight', **-k*eii*ta** 'to return', **-kal*iaia*** 'to build') are written with no intervening semivowel **/y/**. (Old texts showed

spellings such as **lok*aiya*** or **-lok*aya*, pwaipw*aiya*** or **pwaipw*aya*,** while the form **-kal*iaia*** 'to build' was found as **-kal*iyaia*, -kal*iaiya*, -kal*iaya*** and even **-kal*iyeiya***!) Sequences initiated with a mid-front vowel, in words such as **b*eya*wa** 'basket', **gege*ya*** 'species of fish', **k*eiyu*na** 'snake', **-m*eya*m*eya*** 'garbled speech' are consistently written with the **/y/** intervocalic. Also those clusters initiated with a high back vowel (as **gug*uwa*** 'goods', **veig*uwa*** 'wealth item', **d*uwo*sísia** 'straight', **-kabik*uwo*li** 'obey s.o') are usually written with the bilabial semivowel **/w/**. Wishing to conform with a pre-existent pattern of spelling I have followed this method, and the recently published Kiriwina Bible uses one spelling for each of these words.

Other difficulties relating to vowel clusters when morpheme boundaries occur within a cluster have been discussed in 2.7.3 above.

2.7.5.4 Some other decisions

The Kiriwina orthography has been affected in a few other decisions.

i) the syllabic /m/ influencing sequences

When the bilabial syllabic **/m/** is followed by a syllable with the onset bilabial fricative **/v/**, the fricative is pronounced as a bilabial nasal **/m/**. This is sometimes shown in the orthography:

a) When the change is within a phonological word, as **-kam-vagasi**, 'to eat a big meal' the new pronunciation is shown in the orthography as **-kam-magasi**.

b) When the change occurs across the boundaries of phonological words, as in the proclitic relationship **m=valu** (pronounced **[m=malu]** 'your village', the spelling **valu** is not altered to match pronunciation.

These were noted in 2.4.2 above.

ii) The back velar pronunciation of /k/

Two changes were noted in 2.4.5 in relation to the back velar pronunciation of **/k/** when followed by **/a/**.

a) When the syllable **/-ka/** is preceded by **/u/** or **/m/**, the epenthetic **/w/** consistently occurs and **/ka/** > **/kwa** (see 2.4.5). This is a consistent

feature of Kiriwina speech, occurring in verbs commencing with /**ka**/ when prefixed by 2p subject marker **/ku-/**. As no Kiriwina speaker will pronounce these without sounding the epenthetic form, it could well have been ignored in written text, but because its written form was so firmly entrenched, I decided not to alter it, and it is consistently shown in text.

b) However the appearance of another epenthetic phone **/a/** in pronouncing **-veka** as **[-veaka]** 'big' clearly annoyed Kiriwina speakers, as was noted in 2.4.5 above, and inclusion of this phone in written text affected regular reduplicative patterns. For these reasons, and in spite of the differing practice of other linguists, I have followed emic preference, writing **/e.ka/** sequences without the epenthetic **/a/**.

iii) The personal pronoun *yaegu* 'I'

The 1st p free form personal pronoun was always written in old text and in correspondence as **yaegu**, in spite of the fact that no other word uses the sequence **/ae/** either as a diphthong or as a bisyllabic cluster. Further in correspondence Kiriwina writers spelt it as **yaegu, yaigu, yeigu** and **yegu**. After much discussion with my colleagues, I suggested we should use only **yeigu**, and this is now the most frequent form found, although the old form **yaegu** is sometimes used.

iv) Stress diacritics

A stress diacritic is used in text in three ways.

a) When the form **kála** 'his meal' is used as a class 2 noun, a stress diacritic is used to distinguish it from the proclitic form **kala**, a 3rd p possessive marker. This is stated in 2.5.3 above.

b) Words which show stress placement on a final pure vowel, as **baisé** and **baisó** 'this item', are marked in text for stress, as shown in 2.5.5.2 above. This marking shows a paralinguistic component.

c) Other uses of the stress diacritic are found only as a pronunciation guide in the Kiriwina to English dictionary, to mark words with antepenultimate stress, or in vowel clusters to mark morpheme boundaries within a cluster. In text the diacritic is not needed, as contextual reference is considered a sufficient indication of meaning differences.

3 Grammar

3.1 Introduction

A dictionary should be accompanied by a grammar sketch. The chief purpose of this sketch is to help the reader better understand the information given in dictionary entries, much of which appears in abbreviated or highly compressed form. At this point two questions arise with respect to the Kiriwina-English dictionary: (1) What kinds of grammatical information are given in main entries in the dictionary? (2) What kinds of information should be given in the accompanying grammar sketch?

The first question is addressed in some detail in chapter 5. Main entries in the Kiriwina dictionary typically give the following kinds of grammatical information about the headwords and subheadwords: part of speech or word class labels, along with information about variant forms, about contextual constraints, e.g. on what can occur as subject or direct object of a verb, about classifier selection, about derived words, about compounds and phrases, and when these linguistic units function as idioms and restricted collocations.

With respect to the second question, it is reasonable to expect that the grammar sketch should at the very least give a clear account of all the categories of grammatical information cited in dictionary entries and should describe rules of word formation that are too general or too complex to be described in individual dictionary entries. But in addition, many entries contain illustrative examples showing how particular lexical units are used in sentences. Ideally, the grammar sketch, together with the full range of dictionary entries, should provide sufficient information about all the major grammatical constructions for the curious reader to be able to parse and comprehend the illustrative examples.

Although it undoubtedly falls short in various respects, particularly with respect to the last desideratum, this chapter offers a sketch of the grammar of Kiriwina which tries to give these kinds of information. It also provides commentary on how particular kinds of grammatical information are represented in dictionary entries.

3.1.1 The parts of speech

The part(s) of speech form the first datum given for every lemma. Each dictionary entry, commencing with the lexeme in capitals, is followed by its part of speech as an abbreviation in brackets, for each headword and subheadword in the dictionary.

In the following pages I follow a top-down procedure, stating first the function of sentences as the minimal units of communication, with the various conjunctions, which state or introduce the communicative purpose of clauses within the sentence. This is followed by a study of the verbal parts of speech, giving the verb classes and those components of the verb phrase which modify or extend verbal processes, together with the various grammatical elements of the verb which enable it to function according to the grammatical conventions of the language; finally a statement of the types of verb phrases is given. Then the parts of speech associated with the noun are stated, including the place of classifiers in nominal modifiers, the noun, and adjective classes, with classes of possession shown in the noun phrase. The structure of noun phrases and the classifier's role denoting semantic domains in the language is carefully studied. Successively the smaller elements within these categories are identified, including bound morphemes, and grammatical elements which function with little meaning beyond showing grammatical processes at work or in forming derivations. Finally, the words associated with the components of other nominal phrase types are given, and the constituents associated with the re-ordering of these components for the foregrounding of items in the sentence.

In each dictionary entry the lexeme which is the headword for that entry is labelled with its part or parts of speech. The dictionary entry first aims to show how the structural rules of the language's grammar influence the shape of the lexeme, and how these conventions influence the lexeme's near environment. The second part of the entry aims to state the meaning of the lexeme. At times it is helpful to show how pragmatic features function as part of the meaning of a lexeme. In these two parts of an entry, the role of grammar predominates in the first; in the second, semantics is the major concern, with grammar rules having the subsidiary role of defining acceptable environments in which a lexeme may function.

3.2 Sentences

The largest grammatical unit is the sentence, a construction which may stand alone as a complete utterance. Sentence types may vary considerably in complexity.

It is not my purpose here to explore the outer boundaries of a possible single largest sentence, or to discuss in what sense the smallest emotional interjection such as **Mwa** 'hey!' (a call for attention addressed only to a male person) is to be understood as a complete grammatical stand-alone unit. I am viewing a sentence as a unit capable of reduction in its simplest form to a clause consisting either of a verb with its subject marker, or a succession of two noun phrases. Each such simple sentence is able to be expanded in various ways, as by multiclausal additions. I examine here sentences which may be simple, compound or complex, with the grammatical forms which enable other components to be included in a sentence.

Interjections and exclamations stand apart syntactically from simple sentences, as they are marked by their own intonation contour, and a perceptible pause occurs between them and a following sentence. Some may be imperatives, which would be marked with an exclamation mark; or a query, marked with a question mark. These words are able to stand alone as complete utterances, for example:

Mwa 'hey' (addressed only to male person)
Ve 'hey' (addressed only to a female person)
Ka 'Look!' (usually accompanied by a pointing gesture)
Ki 'Is that so?' (with allomorph **ke)**
Mna 'Er' (pause before answering query)
Wa amazement
Wii disgust
Wei offensive
Wo anger
Desi 'Stop!'

3.2.1 Simple sentences

The simple Kiriwina sentence is a single stand-alone clause. It may have either a dynamic meaning, implying action or change, or be stative in meaning, expressing a state or condition. The simple clause may be verbal or nominal.

3.2.1.1 Dynamic verbal clauses

The simplest dynamic verbal clause is a single verb phrase (VP) consisting of a dynamic verb marked with subject pronominal prefix, as in two complete utterances formed by the intransitive verbs shown in two examples:

I-sili.
3sg-sit
He sat.

Bi-ta-m.
ir-1indl-move
You and I will move.

In the first of these, the utterance may be stative or dynamic, depending on the sense attached to **-sili** 'sit': stative if it has the sense "He was sitting", dynamic if it describes the performance of an act "He sat (down)".

The possible content of a Kiriwina dynamic verbal clause could be shown as:

Dynamic clause >± time ± subject NP +Vb ± object NP ± locative NP

The following components are included:

i) an optional time expression (which may occur either at the commencement or at the conclusion of the clause)
ii) an optional subject NP (which agrees with the number and person of the verb root's subject prefix)
iii) the verb, which is obligatorily marked with a subject pronominal prefix and if transitive with a pronominal verb suffix
iv) an object NP (if there is no verb object suffix)
v) a locative noun phrase

An example of such a simple clause, using a transitive verb which is followed by an object noun phrase and a locative noun phrase, is:

subjectNP	Vb	objectNP	locativeNP
To-kabilia	**i-lokaia-si**	**si=tilaula**	**wa=koya.**
cl.person-battle	3-go.to-pl	3pl.poss=enemy	loc=hill

The warriors went towards their enemy on the hill.

3.2.1.2 Stative verbal clauses

The stative verbal clause expresses a state of being or situation of the subject; it may be expressed in this formula:

Stative verbal clause > stative vb ± subject NP (ordered VS)

The two components of this clause are:

i) stative verb root, with a subject pronominal prefix
ii) subject NP, which agrees in person with the verb's subject prefix

Stative verbs may stand alone to form a complete utterance (as dynamic verbs do; as shown in 3.2.1.1 above). When the verb stem's subject marker must have a complement, this is expressed as a noun phrase which follows the verb. This form (verb + noun phrase) is obligatory whenever the subject marker is 3rd person with inanimate reference, and is seen in the use of stative verbs as emotive idioms referred to in section a) below. The rigidity of this VS ordering is referred to in 3.3.1.1. The examples given below show i) the stative verb as a complete utterance, and ii) examples of the **VS** (verb + subject) order:

i) Stative verb plus subject marker

Lo-ku-masisi-si.
rl-2-to.sleep-pl
You were (all) asleep.

Ta-peulok-ai-si	**wala.**
1plin-to.be.patient-j-pl	only

We are just waiting patiently.

ii) Stative verb plus complement subject NP

I-sim	**Tabalu**	**kasi=karaiwaga.**
3sg-stay	Tabalu	3pl.poss=authority

lit. It stays Tabalu their authority

The Tabalu's chiefly authority is there.

E-i-migileu	**buyagu.**
rl-3sg-be.clean	garden.plot

lit. It is clean the garden

The ground is cleared of rubbish (in preparation for planting).

a) Stative verbal clauses as emotive idioms

A number of simple stative verbal clauses occur as idioms where a body part sensation is referred to as an emotive state. The literal statement of the sensation experienced in the body part named is used as an idiomatic reference to a person's emotion. The subject NP when used as an emotive idiom is consistently a body part term which can only occur as a bound form with its suffix stating the components of person and number (as shown in 3.6.2.2). For each of the examples below a literal reading of the sentence is given (as well as morpheme-by-morpheme glosses) followed by a free translation:

I-nigonigwa	**mita-si.**
3sg-be.tangled	eye-3pl.poss

It is tangled their eyes

They are dazzled (as by display of great wealth).

I-yuviyavi	**nano-gu.**
3sg-be.hot	mind-1sg.poss

It is hot my mind

I desire sthg very much.

I-mata	**lupo-dasi.**
3sg-be.dead	belly-1inpl.poss

It is dead our bellies

We are deprived of sthg desired (as food, sex).

The following conditions apply to these idioms:

1. The order of constituents is consistently verb + subject NP.
2. The verb carries only 3rd p sg subject prefix. (It may bear aspect/mood markers.)
3. The subject is a body part class 2 noun (a bound form), so that person and number of the subject must be carried in the noun suffix.[1]

I have identified about four hundred of these idioms where not only actual body parts but also terms relating to sentient beings such as spirit, desire and thoughts are also used as nominal predicates in these clauses.

3.2.1.3 Nominal sentences

The second major sentence type is the nominal clause, consisting of a succession of two NPs. Where this succession describes a process or an action the clause is dynamic, and where the succession of two NPs describes a state of being it is stative. By far the largest number of nominal clauses are stative, but dynamic nominal clauses do occur. Nominal clauses may show topicalisation usually of the subject, which occurs as the initial element of the clause. Or they may have an equative function, where the deictic **baisa** 'this item' has a copular function, linking the two items and denoting that the first-named thing is equal to the other, or that it is the same as the other.

The distinction between stative and dynamic sentences is based on the semantic content of the headword. At times the same verb may support either a stative or a dynamic meaning, as when

Keda	**ma<kada>na**	**keda**	**bwaina**
path	that<cl.road	path	good
This way is good			

is understood statively as a judgement of the quality of that way[2], or dynamically as the pathway that is chosen as the way best suited for the performance of today's journey. It must be admitted however that this distinction is borderline; engendering a suggestion that it may exemplify a

[1] Occasionally a class 1 body part noun is used, in which case neither person nor number can occur.

[2] If a stative its order would be different, **'Bibwaina keda makadana.'**

distinction between permanent and temporary stativity. Some other examples of this difficulty are given in 3.3.1.2 below.

i) Dynamic nominal clauses

The nominal clause with a dynamic meaning is frequently found when one of its NPs has as its head a noun which has been derived from an active or dynamic verb. Examples follow below:

Ma<kwai>na	**vawotu**	**si=mwasawa.**
that-cl.concept	gift.bearing	3pl.poss=happiness

Gift-giving thus makes them happy. (brings their joy)

(*Note* **-vawotu** (vb) 'to bring gifts' is nominalised.)

If the order of these constituents is reversed the clause becomes more like an example of a stative clause, 'Their joy is giving gifts.'

Guguya	**baisa**	**kasi=peula**	**gu.gwadi.**
instruction	this	3pl.iposs=strength	children

Moral instruction brings children strength.

(*Note* – in this example two verbs have been nominalised:

-guguya (vb intrans) to lecture, preach, nominalised as 'instruction'.
-peula (vb intrans) to strengthen, nominalised as 'strength'.)

Pieigala	**baisa**	**sula**
prejudice	this	error

An attitude of prejudice results in error.

(*Note* - the vb **-pieigala 'to** join in a fight to support someone' is nominalised, and is a translation equivalent for prejudice.)

Magi-la	**taitu.**
desire-3sg.poss	yam

He wants yams (to eat).

In these examples the assigning of 'dynamic' may however be sometimes dubious, and it may be better to recognise that nominal clauses are typically stative.

ii) Stative nominal clauses

The nominal clause with a stative meaning consists of a subject and a predicate, or a topic followed by a comment, showing that both parts are referring to the same entity. This may consist of two noun phrases which equate both parts, saying that the subject and predicate are the same, or that both are members of the same class of thing. The two noun phrases may be joined by a copula linking subject and object, as seen in some examples below. Or the clause may consist of a noun phrase and an adjectival phrase and be descriptive, where the comment is a description of all or part of the topic. In this type of stative clause many sentences are sayings or wise advice. Some examples follow:

Two examples show the topic as a member of the comment's class of things. Here **baisa** functions as a copula.

Veva	**baisa**	**yuwoyoula**	**wotunu.**
sail.rope	this	rigging	rope

The veva is a rigging rope (in the canoe).

Kabitam	**baisa**	**vavagi**	**bwaina.**
wisdom	this	thing	good

Wisdom is good to have.

Other examples show the comment as descriptive of the topic:

Bwala	**tumile-la**	**dukutotu.**
house	foundation-3sg.poss	stone

The building's foundation is stone.

Ma<kwai>na	**kamkwam**	**saina bwaina.**
that<cl.complex	eating	very good

That meal was excellent.

Matila	**makawala**	**woula**	**kala=kaitapa.**
eye	like	body	3sg.poss=lamp

The eyes are like a lamp for the body. (Matthew 6.22)

In this last example **makawala** functions as a quasi-copula.

3.2.1.4 Interrogative clauses

A simple clause may be made into a question either by adding an interrogative particle, or by adding an interrogative pronoun placed usually in clause initial position.

When the whole statement is being questioned, the interrogative particles are used, inviting assent or denial of the statement. However, when one part of an utterance is being questioned, the placement of the interrogative pronoun before that part is used to mark which part of the clause is being questioned.

i) Interrogative particles

The interrogative particles stand either at the beginning or end of a clause, as tags or external elements. Their function is to question the veracity or correctness of the assertion made in the clause. Three such particles are used:

ki Introduces a question, placed at beginning of clause.

ke Usually at the end of a clause; is an allomorph of **ki**.

kadai Concludes the clause. This third form differs from the first two, in that it invites or expects assent, whereas **ki** (or its allomorph **ke**) invites either assent or denial.

In addition, a speaker may use **kadai** as a tag at the conclusion of a sentence which is not a query, where the speaker has assumed that there is no doubt in his mind that his assertion is correct, and would be glossed as 'that's so, isn't it!'. It invites agreement, but does not necessarily turn the tagged clause into a question; this usage may be better described as a rhetorical device assuming agreement to an assertion.

These interrogative particles stand outside of the intonation employed by the clause, carrying their own separate intonation contour. The intonation boundary is generally shown by a comma (as in examples) as there is a perceptible pause between the tag and the accompanying sentence.

Ki (or its allomorph **ke**) also functions in isolation as an interjection, uttered with a high-to-low intonation glide, with meanings like:

ki? ~ ke? Is that so? ~ Do you really mean that? Did he? etc.

Two examples of clauses with interrogative tags follow:

Ki,	**ku-dokai-si**	**baisa**	**vavagi**	**pikekita?**
iqn	2-think-pl	this	thing	small

Do you consider this a small matter? (Numbers 16.9)

Litu-sia		**deli**	**litu-maiasi**
offspring-3pl.poss		with	offspring-1expl.poss
makawala	**wala,**	**kadai?**	
alike	only	iqn	

Aren't our children just as good as theirs? (Nehemiah 5.5)

ii) Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used to ask a question about an item or an action. They are a clause component, occuring in clause[3] initial position.

If the item being questioned is a person or thing, the interrogative pronoun **availa** 'who' or **avaka** 'what' is used as the beginning of the question:

availa	who?	**Availa**	**b-i-mai-si?**
		who	ir-3-to.come-pl
		Who (pl) will come?	
avaka	what?	**Avaka**	**lo-ku-kitumou?**
		what	rl-2sg-to.lose
		What have you lost	

The form **avaka** 'what' is used as the first component in some interrogative phrases:

Avaka paila	(lit. what for)	why?
Avaka uula	(lit. what base)	for what reason?
avaka tuvaila	(lit. what also)	what else?
Avaka avaka	(lit. what what)	whatever (pl form)

The interrogative particle **avai** 'which' is used as the first component in interrogative phrases. It is never used as a free form, except only within

[3] For the use of these forms as relative pronouns see 3.2.3.5 part i).

phrases such as **avai + noun** 'which item', to query which person, animal or item is being questioned, or what time or occasion is being asked about.

These phrases include:

avai tau/vivila	which man/woman?
avai mauna	which animal?
avai vavagi	what thing?
avai waga	which boat?
avai tuta	what time?

The interrogative **am-** also occurs as the first component in interrogative phrases to query location, glossing as 'question + X' (where X is the second component)**'**; the second component may be a deictic pronoun or a few conjunctive forms. The following compounds only are found:

with any deictic pronoun:

am-baisa	(lit. question-this) where?
am-ma<kai>na	(lit. question-that-tree) which tree?

other forms:

am-metoya	(lit. question-from) where from?,
am-makawa(la)	(lit. question-like) what about? (this form inflects)

There are also a few occurrences of **am** occurring as the first part of a phrase, limited to those listed here:

am bukula	(lit. question-you will go) where will you go?
am mauula	(lit. question-with-reason) why? for what reason?
am mokutoya	(lit. question-you-have-returned) when did you return?
am toule(la)	(lit. question-true.place-his) where does he come from?
ami yaga(la)[4]	(lit. question-name-his) what is (his) name?

Two other interrogative terms are found, which also occur as the first part of a question; in spite of apparent similarities in spelling they are not morphologically complex:

[4] This is the only occurrence of **ami** I know of, an allomorph of **am**, or else an epenthetic **/i/**.

nasigávila when (in the last few days)?
-vila (classifier **+ vila**) how many

The first of these is context restricted; being used only for an event in the recent past. The second interrogative **-vila** 'how many?' is used as the initial component in an interrogative whenever a questioner seeks to know how many items; and may only occur suffixed to a classifier; the classifier used points to what types of items are being asked about, as in examples shown. This morpheme **-vila** is that which Malinowski (1922b: 53) referred to as occurring suffixed to the zero classifier **φ-** (an allomorph of **ta-**) for counting basketsful of yams:

Vila **peta** **lo-ku-mai-yai-si?**
how.many? basketsful rl-2-bring-j-pl
How many basketsful (of yams) did you (pl) bring?

Siva-vila **lo-ku-lavi?**
cl.turns-how.many? rl-2sg-throw
How many turns (of throwing) have you (sg) had? (in a game)

The following are examples of clauses containing interrogative pronominal forms:

Am-baisa **ma<tau>na?**
qn-here that-cl.person
Where is he?

Am-makawala **baisa?**
qn-thus this (item in view)
What about this thing?

Am-metoya **b-i-ma?**
qn-from ir-3sg-come
Where will he come from?

Am **bu-ku-sisu?**
qn ir- 2sg-stay
Where will you stay?

Avaka	**bu-ku-lu-ki**	**gu.gwadi?**
what	ir-2sg-say-to	pl.child

What will you tell the children?

Avaka	**magi-m?**
what	desire-2sg.poss

What do you want?

Avai tau	**ma<tau>na?**
What man	that-cl.person

Who is that?

Availa	**le-i-ma?**
who	rl-3sg-come

Who has come?

Kai-vila	**waga**	**b-i-mai-si?**
cl.long/rigid-how.many?	canoe	ir-3-come-pl

How many canoes are coming?

Vila	**peta**	**lo-ku-miak-ai-si?**
How.many?	basketsful(yams)	rl-2-bring-j- `pl

How many basketsful (of yams) did you bring?

Many of these questioning terms also function as exclamatory questions in isolation; **am-** and **ava-** do not occur as free forms, but the morphologically complex words in which they occur as formatives are often found as stand-alone questions, for example:

Am-makawala?	What about this?
Am-baisa?	Where? (Where is it; where did you go? etc)
Am-metoya?	Where from?
Avaka?	What? (What did you say? What was that noise? etc.)
Availa?	Who? (Who did you say? etc)

3.2.2 Compound sentences

3.2.2.1 Coordinate sequences

A coordinate sentence consists of two or more simple clauses strung together in an equal or coordinate relationship. The coordinate sequences may be joined by a coordinating conjunction. The conjunctions joining clauses show that additional information is being added to a statement. Clauses are introduced or joined with conjunctions such as:

e	and, and also
deli	with
toyo	also, plus
tuvaila	also, in addition (often terminates a second clause)

Two clauses with a coordinating conjunction are shown here:

L-a-ma	**baisa**	**e**	**b-a-livala**	**baisa[5]**	**yoku.**
rl-1sg-come	here	and	ir-1sg-speak	to	2sg

I have come here and I will speak with you.

Such coordinating sequences may also be shown by a string of verbs which occur without any conjunctions but with separate intonation contours for each clause. These are discussed in 3.3.2 below, where serial verb constructions are considered.

3.2.2.2 Explanatory sentences

Some conjunctions placed between clauses show that supplementary explanatory information is being added; these may function to join clauses in a compound sentence, or sometimes show the subsidiary relationship that occurs in a complex sentence. These explanatory conjunctions include:

[5] This second use of baisa is a homonym of the first. **Baisa[1]** is a deictic and **baisa[2]** is a preposition stating motion towards a person, as shown in 3.8.4.3 below.

paila	for
mapaila	and so, therefore
uula	for this reason, thus
mauula	and consequently
ilagoli	however, even though

An example explanatory compound sentence shows this sequence.

I-vigakai-gu-si	**kabo-yousókana**	**ilagoli**	**yeigu to-bwaila.**
3-to.make-1sg-pl	item-scorn	even.though	1sg cl.person-good

They mocked me even though I was a good man. (Job 12.4)

3.2.2.3 Alternate sentences

Other conjunctions give alternate choices, or state adversative consequences. These sometimes are found as the first word of a clause, showing an understood linguistic or cultural context:

kaina	maybe, perhaps
kaina ... kainaga	either (this) or indeed (that)
mitaga	but, perhaps instead
kalubikoya	in spite of

Ku-yo.mwasalai-gu	**kalubikoya**	**yeigu**	**gala**
2sg-make.happy-1sg	in spite of	1sg	not

m=na-wotetila.
2sg.gposs=cl.woman-servant
You made me feel better even though I was not your servant. (Ruth 2.13)

The order of these two clauses may be reversed without meaning change, placing the alternative conjunction as the first component in order of constituents, as shown here:

Kalubikoya	**yeigu**	**gala**	**m=na-wotetila**
in spite of	1sg	not	2sg.poss=cl.woman-servant

ku-yo.mwasalai-gu	**wala.**
2sg-make.happy-1sg	only

Even though I was not your servant you made me feel better.

3.2.2.4 Embedded nominal clauses as subjects of stative verbs

When a stative verb is used as the main clause to describe an act which is considered fitting or socially acceptable, the clause denoting that act is embedded as the verb's subject. As the components of the sentence using a stative verb are in VS order (as described in 3.2.1.2 above). the subject is thus an embedded clause following the stative verb.

Two modal verbs are regularly used for this designation of the fitness of any action:

-bodi (vb 1) to be fitting, socially acceptable
-kwani (vb 1) to be fitting, to be proper (behaviour)

The synonymy of these two modal verbs is examined in 7.3.3; the word **-bodi** has a higher frequency of use.

As with most stative verbs, the subject of the head verb's prefix is found only as 3sg, and the free form subject, here a full clause, follows the verb. This order is seen in two examples.

I-bodi	**bu-ku-dubumi**	**ma<tau>na.**
3sg-be.fitting	ir-2sg-to.believe	that-cl.person

It is fitting (that) you should trust him.

I-bodi	**bu-ku-yubwaila**	**metoya**	**vavagi**	**bwaina.**
3sg-be.fitting	ir-2sg-find.fortune	from	thing	good

It is fitting (that) you will profit from good things.

Sometimes the subject of the embedded clause is separated and placed before the modal verb, for example:

To-tubu-nagowa	**i-bodi**	**wala**
cl.person-generation-foolish	3sg-be.fitting	only

b-i-boda-si	**mipuki.**
ir-3-to.encounter-pl	punishment

It is only fitting (that) a foolish generation should encounter punishment.

To-sisasopa	**i-bodi**	**wala**	**b-i-katupipai-si.**
cl.person-saying.untruth	3sg-be.fitting	only	ir-3-imprison-pl

It is only fitting (that) liars will be imprisoned.

Further comment on these modal verbs will be found in 3.5.2.3 section 1).

3.2.2.5 Adversative clauses

The adversative clauses contrast two situations, such as a present contrasted with a hoped future, or a bad past and a present good outcome. The conjunctions that introduce the subsidiary clause include:

mitaga but, however (with elided form **taga**)
kalubikoya even though (used to contrast present good with bad past)
kileta[2] almost, but... (used to contrast a bad thing that nearly happened with the good thing that did happen) (See discussion of **kileta** in 5.2.2.5)

The conjunction **kileta** 'almost', contrasting two successive situations which terminate in the actual happening, is illustrated here:

Kileta	**b-a-kapusi**	**taga**	**bogwa**	**l-a-bwaina.**
almost	ir-1sg-fall	but	already	rl-1sg-safe

I nearly fell, but I'm okay now.

This initial adversative clause is often elided as shown below in two examples, with the conjunction **kileta** alone standing for the initial clause, as in

Kileta	**taga**	**bogwa**	**l-a-bwaina.**
almost	but	already	rl-1sg-safe

Almost! – but I'm okay now.

Kileta	**gala**	**a-kapusi.**
almost	not	1sg-fall

Whoops – I nearly fell.

3.2.3 Complex sentences

Complex sentences show a hypotactic relationship between a main clause and its subordinate clause(s). Subordinate clauses include adverbial (suppositional, resultative, desiderative and purposive) and adjectival (relative) clauses. These various types are examined below.

3.2.3.1 Suppositional clauses

Suppositional clauses may either precede or follow the main clause. The subordinating conjunctions which introduce them stand in a clause initial position. The following conjunctions are broadly subsumed under the label 'suppositional':

kidamwa[1] if, supposing (questioning one item)
kaina perhaps, maybe
kalubikoya if (contrasting present with possible different future)
awom in spite of (contrasting sthg bad with a possible good outcome)

Kidamwa	**to-kwau**	**b-i-va.kadi**	**to-kwau,**
if	cl.person-blind	ir-3sg-lead	cl.person-blind
	kasi-tai-yu	**b-i-kapusi-si.**	
	3pl.pron-cl.person-two	ir-3-fall-pl	

If one blind man leads another, both will fall. (Matthew 15.14)

The main clause in a sentence containing suppositional clauses has its verb marked with the irrealis mood **b-**.

Other subordinate clauses generally follow the main clause. The conjunctions for resultative and adversative clauses are shown in the next two sections.

3.2.3.2 Resultative clauses

Clauses expressing results of the main sentence are introduced by conjunctions such as:

mapaila	and so
paila	for, because
e	and then
mauula	with the result that
oluvi	and afterwards
kileta[1]	because of

Examples of resultative clauses are:

Lo-ku-vagi duwosisia mapaila b-a-pilas-ai-m.
rl-2sg-to.do straight and.so ir-1sg-to.help-j-2sg
You have done well and so I will help you.

Ku-mokaia mi<na>na
2sg–to.rape that<cl..woman

mauula	**gala**	**gagabila**	**bu-ku-la**	**o-la=valu.**
with,result	not	possible	ir-2sg-to-go	to-her=place

You raped her and so you can't go to her village.

The level of dependency in the resultative clauses may be low; frequently they mark a relationship more like the coordinate relationship of a compound sentence.

3.2.3.3 Desiderative clauses

Two types of clauses are here described, which are grouped as desiderative. Both are introduced by the conjunction **mwada**. First, a speaker may introduce his hopes or desires which may or may not accord with facts. The clause may state a fiction or fairy story, or it may introduce a falsehood by which the speaker intends to deceive his hearer. This hypothetical clause is introduced by:

mwada	as if (desire or hope) introduces hypothetical clause

An example of the desiderative clause follows, where Abraham attempts to initiate a false story, to deceive his enemy:

Kawa-la	**la=kwava**	**Sera**	**mwada**
word-3sg.poss1	3sg.gposs=wife	Serah	as if
mi<na>na	**lu<le>ta.**		
that-cl.woman	sister-3sg.poss		

He said that his wife Sarah was his sister. (Genesis 20.2)

The second type expresses the speaker's hope or desire, also introduced by the conjunction **mwada** 'as if (shows speaker's desire or hope)' (it glosses awkwardly). These dissimilar uses of **mwada** both introduce a hypothetical clause; but where in the first case the speaker is using the hypothesis to deceive his hearer, in this second type **mwada** is used to introduce the speaker's real hope or desire. This may appear as an initial subordinate clause marked for irrealis mood, followed by the main clause describing the event, which may be either the non-accomplishment or the actual fulfilment of a hoped-for outcome. Alternatively a main clause may be followed by the subordinate clause (similarly marked), stating intention or purpose. In both types, **mwada** introduces a clause which is, at the time of speaking, counter-factual.

Two examples illustrating these patterns follow.

Mwada	**bu-ku-kwatu.mat-ai-gu**	**mitaga**	**l-a-kwala**	**wala**.
as if (hope)	ir-2sg-kill-j-1sg	but	rl-1sg-to.be.safe	only

You intended to kill me but I found safety.

I-yebwaili-mi		**deli**	**litu-mia**
3sg-love-2pl		with	offspring-2pl.poss
e	**mwada**	**deli**	**bu-ku-si.gaga-si.**
and	as if (hope)	with	ir-2-to.abide-pl

He loves you all and hopes to stay with you forever. (Deut 15.16)

3.2.3.4 Intent or purpose clauses

A purpose clause following the main clause may be found using the conjunction **kidamwa²** 'so that' (see **kidamwa¹** 'if' in 3.2.3.1). When **kidamwa** is used in this sense it is a synonym for **mwada,** where the conjunction is suggesting a hoped-for or expected outcome, sometimes stating a direct result of the main clause. In this sense the use of **kidamwa²** and **mwada**

synonymously may be seen as originating in the desire the speaker has for one outcome. The use of the homonymous form **kidamwa²** 'so that' is stating an expected outcome, whereas **mwada** is used for a less likely outcome.

kidamwa² 'so that, in order that'

A-dubumai-m	**wala**	**kidamwa**	**gala**	**b-a-silagi.**
1sg-to.trust-2sg	only	so.that	not	ir-1sg-to.meet.tragedy

I trust you only so that I may not meet tragedy. (Psalm 16.1)

A second statement of purpose is by a sequence of two verbs where the first verb may be marked either for irrealis mood (for an unfulfilled action) or realis (for a completed action), and the second verb of the string is the simple form, i.e. with no mood marker; such a verb string states an act followed by its purpose. This is described in full under serial verb constructions (see 3.3.2).

3.2.3.5 Restrictive relative clauses

A restrictive relative clause is a subordinate clause which attaches to a main clause to restrict its range of reference. Two types of restrictive relative clause occur: headed relative clauses, and headless relative clauses.

i) Headed relative clauses

Headed relative clauses occur with a relative pronoun or a deictic which links the relative clause to the head noun in the main clause.

These relative pronouns or deictics were earlier seen as interrogative pronouns which occurred in questions, in a sentence initial position (3.2.1.4 section ii) above). Here the same pronouns occur, also placed in initial position in the relative clause. The pronouns which link the headed relative clause to the main clause may be divided into three groups:

a) Those with human personal reference:

availa who

availa availa (pl form) whoever.

avai + human noun, as **avai gwadi** which child

avai tau which man

Deictic marked with human classifiers as:

ma<tau>na that person or that man

Note ambiguity with **tau:**

tau (n) pl form **tau.wau** adult male human

tau[1] (cl) specifies person (non-specific as to sex or age)

tau[2] (cl) specifies man (adult human male)

b) Those which refer to other sentient beings:

avai + plus noun (sentient being), as **avai kaukwa** which dog

avai yena which fish

Deictic pronoun marked with the classifier specific to sentient beings:

mi<na>na that (animal, bird, fish, etc).

c) Those which refer to non-sentient items:

avaka what (with plural phrase **avaka avaka** whatever).

avai + nominal reference, as **avai vavagi** what thing

am + locative reference, as **am-baisa** where

am-metoya where from

Deictic pronoun marked with appropriate classifier, as

ma<kai>na specifying 'that long/rigid thing'

ma<pila>na specifying 'that location'

In the following examples the headed relative clauses are shown in italics.

Human personal reference:

Bu-ku-nigada-si	**paila**	**ma<tau-si>na**
ir-2-pray-pl	for	that-cl.person-pl

availa availa	***i-yo.gagai-mi.***
who who	3pl-do.evil.to-2pl

Pray for them *that persecute you.* (Matthew 5.44)

Other sentient beings:

Bu-ku-kwam-si	**avai yena**
ir-2-eat-pl	any fish

mi<na>na	***i-sim***	***siyola***	***deli***	***silisilila.***
that-cl.animal	3sg-to.have	fin	with	scale

You may eat any fish *that has fins and scales.* (Deut 14.9)

Gala	**bu-ku-se.makav-ai-si**	**avai**	**mauna**
not	ir-2-offer-j-pl	which	animal

mi<na>na	***na-kau.***
that-cl.animal	cl.animal-blind

Do not offer an animal *that is blind.* (Leviticus 22.22)

Non-sentient items:

Gagabila	**b-i-gisai-si**	**kaula**	**ma<kwai>na**
possible	ir-3-to.see-pl	food	that-cl.produce

avaka	***Guyau***	***i-sakai-dasi.***
which	Lord	3sg-to.give-1inpl

So they can see the food *which the Lord gave us.* (Exodus 16.32)

ii) Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses have no head noun in the main clause to modify, but begin with a relative pronoun representing an open class of referents. These are also termed nominal or free relative clauses, as the relative clause itself contains the antecedent which does not occur in the main clause. In some occurrences the relative clause may itself become the subject or object of the main clause.

The headless relative clauses are italicised in the following examples.

I-luki	**ma-tau-si-na**	***avaka***	***e-i-kaloubusi.***
3sg-to.tell	that-cl.person-pl	what	rl-3sg-to.happen

He told them *what had happened.*

Bogwa=lo-ku-gis-ai-si	***am-makawala***	***le-i-kol-ai-mi.***
already=rl-2-to.see-j-pl	iqn-thus	ir-3sg-to.rescue-j-2pl

You have seen *how he has rescued you.* (Deuteronomy 1.31)

I-bodi	**wala**	**b-i-mapu**	***avaka***	***e-i-veilau.***
3sg-to.be fitting	only	ir-3sg-to.pay	what	rl-3sg-to.steal

He must pay for *what he stole*. (Exodus 22.2)

Availa	***b-i-vagi***	***makawala***	**b-i-bodi**	**m.mayuyu.**
who	ir-3sg-to.do	thus	ir-3sg-find	redup.pain

Whoever does this will suffer. (Proverbs 6.29)

A contrastive use of the deictic as a relative pronoun is found when the infix **-we-** 'that other one' is included in a deictic, as shown in the following italicised example:

Adam goli	**makawala**	***ma<tau-we>na***
Adam indeed	be.like	that-cl.person-alt

igau	**b-i-ma**	**baisa**.
another.time	ir-3sg-come	here

Adam was a figure of the one who was to come. (Romans 5.14)

3.2.4 Sentence level components

Four sentence level components function to modify either the whole sentence or separate parts of a sentence. These are the negator, degree markers, prepositional phrases, and the emphatic clitic. Their modifying function in sentences is now discussed. The first three are also shown grouped together as components within the declarative verb phrase in 3.5.1.

3.2.4.1 The negator

The word **gala** 'no, not' has two functions, as a prohibitive (negative imperative) marker and as a negator. Its function as a prohibitive marker in the prohibitive verb phrase is described in 3.5.3 below. Here its function as a negator of words, phrases and clauses is detailed.

Gala 'no, not' is placed before any word in a sentence; it may function to negate that word, or else to negate the whole proposition of which that word is a part. When the negator is placed as the first word in a clause, or when it

is the first word in a verb phrase, it is usually negating the whole of the following segment.

Gala	**ba-ka-m.mosila-si**	**paila**	**baisa.**
not	ir-1ex-redup-to.be.ashamed-pl	for	this

We will not be suffering shame over this (matter).

Gala	**i-bodi**	**nano-la.**
not	3sg-be.fitting	mind-3sg

It did not befit his mind (opinion).
(or) He felt this was unfitting.

The negator also occurs as a sentence final component, with the same function of negating the entire sentence, but this is unusual.

Paila	**valu**	**taboda-la**	**gala.**
for	village	fence-3rd.sg	not

For the village does not have a fence.

Other occurrences of sentences terminating with **gala** are found, but they are occasions when a clause commencing with **gala** has been elided, leaving only the initial word **gala**, for example:

Mimili-si	**wala**	**magi-si**	**Towosi,**	**komwaido-si**
some-3pl	only	desire-3.poss	Towosi (magic)	all-3.poss

gala.
no

A few people want to use Towosi garden magic, but most don't.

(Here the final clause **komwaidosi gala magisi Towosi** has been reduced, leaving only **komwaidosi gala**.)

When in the verb phrase the negator occurs before a verb which is marked with 2nd person subject plus the irrealis mood marker **bV**, only context can determine whether it is functioning as a prohibitive marker or merely as a negator. In the following example either reading is possible:

Gala	**bu-ku-nina-yuwa.**
no/not	ir-2sg-mind-two

(a) Do not doubt. (or b) You will not be in doubt.

Other sentences where the negated verb is not marked with irrealis are unambiguous, as in:

Gala	**wala**	**i-nina-yuwa-si**
not	only	3-mind-two-pl

They are not in doubt.

Where the negator occurs before a noun, either the whole noun phrase, or the modifier only, may be negated. Largely contextual reference is needed to determine the extent of the negator's reference. When a speaker wishes to limit the reference of the negator to one item only then he may qualify that item adverbially, for example:

Gala	**kaula**	**wala**	**b-i-mova-si**	**tomota.**
not	food	only	ir-3-to.live-pl	people

People shall not live on bread alone.

Si=kelepa	**gala**	**makawala**	**dimdim.**
3pl=cricket.bat	not	like	Europeans

Their cricket bats are not like European bats.

When the negator is followed by a modifier in the verb phrase or noun phrase, it generally negates that modifier only:

I-bodi	**na-tana**	**bunukwa**	**gala**	**na-veka.**
3sg-to.find	cl.animal-one	pig	not	cl.animal-big

He found one medium-sized pig.

E	**m<to>na-ga**	**gala**	**tomoya**	**i-kaliga.**
and	cl.person-em	not	old.man	3sg-to.die

And that very person, although not elderly, died.

In some environments **gala** may be used to create synonyms or antonyms. Thus the antonym of **bwaina** 'good' may be either **gaga '**bad'; and **gala bwaina** 'not good'; while **gala tombwailila** 'not a handsome man', while not a synonym for **saina tomigaga** 'an extremely ugly man', has produced a degree of contrast, perhaps better described here as euphemism.

3.2.4.2 Degree adverbials

Any word with a gradable meaning may be modified by an adverb of degree. In some parts of the sentence the degree markers may be associated with a phrase rather than with individual words; this is especially encountered in the verb phrase where mode adverbials rather than the verb itself are generally marked for degree. Degree marker adverbs in the verb phrase may modify either the verb itself or those adverbial constituents which modify the verb.

The following degree adverbials occur:

saina very (preceding the word it qualifies)
sainela very much (following the word it qualifies, a higher degree)
saina ... sainela very much indeed (both words occurring in a sequence before and after the qualified word, to give a yet higher degree)

Adverbs of reduced degree are added below, at the conclusion of this section.

Other combinations of degree adverbs are used to indicate yet higher degrees of contrast. The degree word **saina** 'very' is further qualified by adjectives of greatness or smallness. In the following phrases examples of this degree qualification are given; they generally follow the word being marked for degree, although here it is the adjective rather than the verb itself that is being qualified. The suffixes **-gaga**[3] 'extremely' and **-bwabogwa** 'utterly, totally' do not attach as degree markers to the verb itself.[6], although they may be seen as verb phrase components.

Examples of these phrases which use degrees of contrast of the adjective 'great' as superlative degree markers, are:

saina kwai-veka	very greatly
saina kwai-veka.gaga	tremendously
saina kwaita-bwa.bogwa	absolutely hugely great.

[6] However **-gaga** and **-bogwa** do occur as verb root adverbs as noted in 3.4.5.1 below, and also in the verb adjunct compounds referred to in 6.3.3.1 in compounds like **-si.gaga** 'to stay a long time' and **-si.bogwa** 'to stay first (before anyone else)'.

Examples of these degree expressions in phrases modifying the verb **yebwaili** 'to love', (which may also be seen as degree modification of the adverb enclitic to the verb) are given here:

Saina ` **i-yebwaili.**
very 3sg-love.someone
He loves someone greatly.

I-yebwaili **sainela.**
3sg-love.someone very.much
He loves (someone) very much.

Saina **i-yebwaili** **sainela.**
very 3sg-love.someone very.much
He loves someone very much indeed.

I-yebwaili **saina** **kwai-veka.**
3sg-love very cl.concept-big
He loves someone very greatly.

I-yebwaili **saina** **kwai-veka.gaga.**
3sg-love very cl.concept-big-enduring
He loves someone with a very enduring love.

I-yebwaili **saina** **kwaita-bwa.bogwa.**
3sg-love very great-pl-utterly
He loves someone with a love too great to describe.

Adverbs of reduced degree give faint praise, often damning the praised item in the process. The diminutive **sitana** 'a little bit' and its variant form **sitá** are used as shown in examples below, attached to the descriptive adjective. **Sitana** may either precede or follow an item, but **sitá** is only found preceding the modified part; **sitá** also introduces a request, and has the effect of down-sizing the request, making it seem less that it really is, and in this role it is often analogous to the English word "please", for example:

Sitana bwaina a little bit good, rather good; okay I guess
Sitá migileu a little bit clean (actually rather dirty!)
Sitá tobaki a little tobacco (just enough for a smoke)

Sitá	**bu-ku-tagwala**	**b-a-mom**	**sopi.**
A.little	ir-2sg-permit	ir-1sg-drink	water

Please let me have a drink.

3.2.4.3 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases occur as sentence level components which may be placed wherever the speaker wishes, as supplementary data within any utterance. These sentence components are outlined and exemplified in 3.8.3, and the particular features of each type of phrase are described in 3.8.4 for locative phrases, 3.8.5 for temporal phrases, and 3.8.6 for comitative phrases.

3.2.4.4 The emphatic clitic

The emphatic clitic is a sentence level particle which may attach to any word in the sentence to give it emphasis. It occurs always as the final syllable of a word, which affects stress placement in the emphasised word. As stress placement is regularly penultimate, the single syllable emphatic suffix repositions the stress placement for the word so marked, giving this word greater prominence in speech, so that it is frequently used as a rhetorical device. The emphatic clitic usually manifests as **-ga** but sometimes the onset consonant of the emphatic syllable is affected by the final consonant of the emphasised word, and it becomes **-gwa** or **-la**. A variant free form **goli** is also used enclitic to the emphasised item.

Examples of the operation of these forms, contrasted with unemphasised forms, are given. The contrasting word stress is shown.

Unemphasised form	Emphasised form
báisa this	**baisá-ga** this indeed
	báisa góli this indeed
i-lukwái-gu he told me	**i-lukwai-gú-ga** he <u>told</u> me!
le-i-wókuva it's finished	**le-i-wokuvá-ga** It is indeed finished.
ígau b-a-mapu I'll pay later	**igáu-gwa b-a-mapu** I'll pay <u>later on</u>!
yéigu b-a-vagi I'll do it	**yeigú-la b-a-vagi** Me! I'll do it!

3.3 Verbs

The verb is the core or nucleus of the verb phrase.

3.3.1 The four verb classes

There are four major classes of verbs. Classes 1 and 2 are always intransitive. Classes 3 and 4 verbs can be either intransitive or transitive.

3.3.1.1 Class 1 verbs

Class 1 verbs are stative, describing the state or condition of the subject, and are only used intransitively.

When the verb's subject is sentient, the subject marker of a stative verb carries all components of number and person of the subject. But when the subject is non-sentient, two conventions apply: i) the verb's subject marker is limited to 3rd person singular only, and ii) the subject's person and number are included in the separate noun phrase which always follows the verb.[7]

This VS ordering is rigidly maintained, although on some occasions where sentence components are re-ordered for emphasis or to focus greater attention on some component it may be relaxed. As some verbs may be used either statively or dynamically (see discussion of class 2 verbs in 3.3.1.2), this semantic possibility in interpreting the verb's meaning may sometimes effect a weakening of the stative verb's VS ordering convention. This is exemplified in the examples shown for stative verbs used in emotive idioms given below.

Also, when a stative verb is transitivised, the class of nominals that can be subject of the stative becomes the class that can be its direct object. This is shown in 3.3.4 below when changes effected by derivation are examined and exemplified. Some stative verbs are:

-sisu to stay only, be there
-dadaimi to be rotten

[7] Some inconsistency of this feature is sometimes found in texts.

-pwapwasa	to be soft
-kusa	to be short
-mama	to be weak
-migileu	to be clean
-nigonigwa	to be mixed
-bwaina	to be good
-gaga	to be bad

Some examples of sentences with stative verbs are given here.

E-i-migileu **bagula**.
rl-3sg-clean garden
The garden is readied (for planting).

I-gaga **nina-mi.**
3sg-bad mind-2pl.poss
lit. It is bad your(pl) minds
Your minds are bad. (or) Your thoughts are evil.

I-pwapwasa **ma<kwai>na** **taitu**.
rl-to.be.soft that-cl.produce taitu (yam)
That taitu yam is useless.

B-i-bwaina **kokola** **ma<kai-si>na.**
ir-3sg-to.be.good post that-cl.long/rigid-pl
Those posts will be good.

Bogwa wala **l-a-mama** **metoya** **agu=mwau.**
already only rl-1sg-to.be.weak from 1sg.iposs=heaviness
I am weak from my sufferings. (Psalm 31.10)

O-ku-sisu **o-milaveta.**
rl-2sg-to stay on-ocean
You were out on the ocean. (Proverbs 23.34)

Stative verbs in emotive idioms

Some stative verbs occur with body part terms as their subjects to form idioms expressing emotive states. These idioms are described in more detail in 6.4.2.5. As the body part terms used are class 2 nouns (3.6.2.2 below) which

are bound forms, the reference of person and number for the subject is carried in the noun's possessive suffix describing inalienable possession.

Examples below give a literal gloss followed by the idiomatic translation:

I-pwapwasa **mata-la.**
3sg-easy eye-3sg.poss
lit. It is easy his eye.
He sees what needs to be done.

I-pwapwasa **taiga-si.**
3sg-easy ear-3pl.poss
lit. It is easy their ears.
They are ready to obey.

I-mwau **nina-daisi.**
3sg-be.heavy mind-1inpl.poss
lit. It is heavy our minds.
We are very sad.

I-vinuvinu **kabulu-la.**
3sg-be.wrinkled nose-3sg.poss
lit. It is wrinkled (twitching) his nose.
He is about to lose his temper.

3.3.1.2 Class 2 verbs

Class 2 verbs are dynamic intransitive, and include the components of the subject's person and number affixed to the verb. If the subject is sentient, the full class of person reference will be shown in the verb's subject prefix; other subjects use only 3rd person pronominal reference. Semantically they are dynamic, having a meaning that implies action or change. The ordering of sentence components with class 2 verbs is generally SV, although re-ordering for the foregrounding of one component may occur.

Examples are:

-boku	to cough
-bola	to mourn (show respect for dead)
-bubu	to be desolate
-búkula	to bear in clusters (fruit)
-busi	to descend, disembark
-butu²	to scatter, disperse
-bwau	to drift, eddy about (smoke, fog)
-gala	to emigrate
-ka.bubwaluwa	to dribble
-kenu	to lie down
-**kium**	to be secretive
-**leusa**	to jump, start (with surprise)
-mova	to live; also to reside (in a place)
-sili	to sit
-totu	to stand

It must be remembered however that some verb stems may function either as class 1 statives or class 2 dynamic verbs, according to the meaning intended by the speaker. This was noted with an example in 3.2.1.3. However the distinction shown there may sometimes be in a different degree of stativity, where a distinction like temporary and permanent stativity has been noted. The same distinction may be seen in the different senses of **-mova** given below:

verb stem	**-mova** 'to live'			
a) temporary stativity or stative?	**I-mova**	**ma<gudi.na**		**pwapwawa.**
	3sg-to.live	that-cl.child		baby
	The baby is alive.			
b) permanent stativity or dynamic?	**Yeigu**	**b-a-mova**	**baisa**	**o-gu=bwala.**
	I	ir-1sg-to.live	deic	loc-1sg.poss=house
	I'll live there in my house.			

A clearer distinction between stative and dynamic use however is seen in the following example:

verb stem	**-mama** 'to be weak'			
a) stative	**B-i-mama**	**ma<kai>na**		**waga.**
	ir-3sg-be.weak	that cl.long/rigid		canoe
	That canoe is fragile (too weak for regular use).			
b) dynamic	**Ka-mama-si**	**wala paila**	**gala**	**ka-masi!**
	1ex-be.weak-pl	only for	not	food.1expl.poss
	We're weak from fasting!			

3.3.1.3 Class 3 verbs

Class 3 is the largest verb class. Each class 3 verb has two stems; the bare verb root is intransitive, and a second transitive form is derived from this.

When a speaker uses the class 3 verb in its basic form he is speaking about the verb's action, and the sentence components cannot include a direct object; other sentence components may occur, as locatives or comitatives, excepting only a direct object, which cannot occur following the intransitive verb stem. The second stem form is used when the speaker is talking about the direct object of the verbal action.

A transitive stem typically differs formally from its intransitive partner in one or more segments. In most cases it is clear that in the derived stem the final vowel of the basic stem has been replaced or modified by **-i**, a reflex of the POc transitivising suffix ***-i,** identified as an Oceanic feature by Pawley (1973: 114). In all cases in Kiriwina the derived stem shows a number of formal variations which are phonologically conditioned, so that in the dictionary each derived form is recorded as a variant of the basic form. As this derived form is not easily predictable, in each dictionary entry for a class 3 verb the intransitive form is the primary headword and the derived transitive stem is listed as a subheadword.

Some examples of these pairs of stems given below show the morphological differences between them:

intransitive stem		*transitive stem (with 3sg obj)*	
-kokola	be afraid	**-kukoli**	fear sthg
-tagwala	give consent	**-tugwali**	agree to sthg
-kowolova	to hate	**-koulovi**	to hate s.o or sthg
-lokaia	to go	**-lokowoi**	to go to (place or person)
-masisi	to sleep	**-misii**	to sleep with s.o
-bi.yágila	to pull back	**-bi.igili**	to jerk sthg back
-taimámila	to show respect	**-temmali**	to respect s.o
-sakaula	to run	**-sakawoli**	to take sthg by running
-naga	to make a choice	**-nagi**	to choose sthg
-nina.lova	to reject	**-nini.lavi**	to reject s.o
-nina.tótila	to be zealous	**-nini.tuli**	to promise sthg
-tokaia	to stand up	**-tokowoi**	to stand sthg up
-valulu	to give birth	**-vilulu**	to bear (child)
-yoba	to expel	-**yabi**	to expel s.o

There is one group of class 3 verbs with identical stems for both intransitive and transitive, but which shows the difference between intransitive and transitive forms only in the contrasting reduplicated forms of the verb stem. Some examples of these forms are listed in the section on stem reduplication (3.4.6.2).

i) A note on morphophonemics

It has been noted above that the transitive forms listed are those used for the canonical 3sg object. The morphophonemics for other object suffixes are described in fuller detail in 3.4.2.2 below; but the rule most needed (stated there as rule 5) is restated here, as it applies for the addition of **–si** (the plural marker) which is frequently found in text examples quoted. The rule is:

> When stems terminate in **Ca**, the plural suffix **-si** attaches without any stem change; but when the stem is a transitive ending in **Ci** then the junction syllable **/-ai-/** replaces the final vowel, as a junction point for the plural suffix **-si** or for any object other than 3sg.

Most class 3 verbs show normal transitive use. A few, however, function in the same way as the class 4 double object verbs (3.3.2); these irregular forms are each noted in their dictionary entries. The dictionary entry

for the class 3 verb **-naga** 'to choose' is given, as an example of a dictionary entry for an irregular class 3 verb of this type.

> **-NAGA** (*vb 3 intrans, redupl* **-niganaga;** *see trans* **-nagi**)
> to choose, make a choice
> **-NAGI** (vb 3 trans; redupl **-ninagi**)
> (Note - may function as double obj form, where the indirect object is a personal pronoun following the verb.)
> to choose or select s.o for sthg.
> *Bi**nag**aisi taitala taitala la koni.* They will decide on each man's burden. (Numbers 4.19)

In the dictionary entry **-naga** and **-nagi** are headword and subheadword, and the reduplicative forms **-niganaga** and **-ninagi** are listed as variants, and become headwords in cross-reference entries.

ii) Focus in the class 3 verb

The speaker's use of the class 3 verb stems shows his intention to focus either on the verb's action (intransitive reference) or on whatever that action is directed towards (transitive reference). This is part of a process of foregrounding frequently employed, and the part played in this way by class 3 verbs is outlined at the end of this chapter (3.9.3).

Some class 3 verbs which have been derived from the basic intransitive forms also bear a second transitivising suffix **-ki**[8], effecting a ditransitive reference. These are listed in the examination of class 4 verbs in 3.3.1.4ii) section b).

3.3.1.4 Class 4 verbs

Most class 4 verbs use the same stem form for intransitive and transitive reference. Some however modify the verb stem with a transitivising suffix (discussed in section ii) below), producing an alternate stem for transitive reference.

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[8] A possible source of this is found in POc - 'Both the internal and external evidence ... support the reconstruction of two POc verbal suffixes, ***-i** and ***-aki** ... marking two contrasting sets of semantic relationships between verb and object' (Pawley 1973: 125). See also Evans (2003: 22 and 304-5).

i) The unmodified class 4 verbs

Unmodified class 4 verbs use the same verb stem for both intransitive and transitive reference, for example:

s*tem*	*intransitive*	*transitive*
-bani[1]	to search	to find sthg
-butu	to compose	to compose (music)
-dou[2]	to call out, shout	to call s.o.
-iku	to shake	to shake sthg
-katupoi	to question	to ask s.o, sthg
-ulaim	to open	to open (sthg)
-veilau	to steal	to steal (items)
-yomsoki	to untidy	to make items untidy
-ma	to come	to arrive at (place)
-la	to go away	to go to (nearby place)
-wa	to go	to go to (distant place)

Examples of class 4 verbs in text follow:

E mapaila i-katupoi.
and so 3sg-question
And so he questioned.

Ma<tau>na i-katupoi so-la.
that-cl.person 3sg-ask companion-3sg.poss
He asked his friend.

B-a-dou baisa yoku.
ir-1sg-call.out to you (sg)
I will call out to you.

Ma<tau>na i-dou yaga-si.
that-cl.person 3sg-call name-3pl.poss
He called their names.

ii) Verbs of motion with derived transitive stems

While derived forms are examined separately (3.3.3 below) it is necessary to examine transitivising modifications of the class 4 verbs here, as

was done in studying class 3 verbs, in order to recognise the two forms of the verb stem.

Three class 4 verbs of motion (**-ma ‘**come’, **-la** ‘go from here’, and **-wa** ‘go elsewhere’) show two transitive derivations, the first being a transitive suffix marker, (see a) below) and the second a suffix **-ki** (see b) below) which attach either to the unmodified stem or to the new transitive stem. The use of these forms and their variants is shown below, where it is seen that speakers use both the verbs and their variants with transitive reference. Each of these is briefly described.

a) Verbs of motion and the transitive suffix marker *-i*

The use of the unmodified verb stem of the verbs **-ma, -wa** and **-la** for intransitive and transitive reference is first shown, in the following example:

B-a-la.
ir-1sg-go
I will leave.

B-a-la	**valu**	**ma<kwai>na.**
ir-1sg-go	village	that -cl.complex

I will go to that village.

However, transitive forms of two of these verbs, **-ma** and **–wa**, are further derived by the addition of a final vowel **–i.** This same process has already been seen operating in class 3 transitive verbs in 3.3.1.3, where **-i** reflects the POc transitive suffix ***-i.**[9]

-ma	to come	**-mai**[10]	to bring (+ obj item brought)
-wa	to go (away)	**-wai**[11]	to take (+ obj item conveyed)

The third verb of motion, **-la**, employs the suffix -**u** where the other verbs have used **-i,** yielding the same result seen in the other two verbs of motion.

-la	to go (from here)	**-lau**	to take (+ obj item conveyed)

-lai ‘to take sthg’, synonymous with **-lau**, also occurs, although rarely.

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9 “Two suffixes can be reconstructed with a high degree of confidence: ***-i**, and ***-aki**.” (Pawley 1973: 114).
10 The form **-mai** also occurs as **-mioi** or **–moi.**
11 The form **-wai** also occurs as **-wioi** or **–woi.**

While there is a morphological similarity in this process between the transitive stems of class 3 and class 4 verbs, the semantics in each class are not the same, as is noted in the next paragraph, and it may be better to treat the **-mai, -lai** and **-wai** verbs as variant class 4 forms, especially as some other extensions of meaning are to be seen in the following section dealing with further derivational forms and variants.

b) Verbs of motion and the transitivising suffix -ki

The **-ki** suffix, attached either to the basic verb stem of a verb of motion or to the derived stem, adds to the verb a directive component which emphasises motion towards a stated goal or object. These new derivations have become class 4 verbs with a ditransitive function. These bring about changes of meaning in the new verb stems, as are shown here.

The unmodified forms **-ma + -ki** and **-wa + -ki** are first shown:

-ma to come

-ma + -ki > -maiki[12] or **-makaia** to come to, arrive at (this place)

-wa to go

-wa + -ki > -waiki or **-wokaia** to go to, arrive at (that place)

In both of these derivations an epenthetic vowel **-i-** occurs between verb and suffix. Contextual restrictions on the two final forms listed are that the first form (**-maiki** or **-waiki**) can only occur with the indirect object in third person; with the second form (**-makaia** or **-wokaia**) being used with all forms of the indirect object, including the 3rd person.

The derived forms resulting from **-mai + -ki** and **-wai + ki** are:

-mai[13] to bring

-mai + -ki > -miaki[14] **(or mioki) to** bring s.o something

-wai[15] to take

-wai + -ki > -wioki (or -woki) to take s.o something

These class 4 verbs have been further changed by the **-ki** suffix into double object verbs or ditransitives. (The form **-wioki** however is rarely found.) The double object verbs and the issue of two transitive forms are discussed in 3.3.3.2 below.

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12 The form **-maiki** also occurs as **-moki**.
13 The form **-mai** also occurs as **-mioi** or **-moi**.
14 The form **-miaki** also occurs as **-myoki** and **-uyoki**.
15 The form **-wai** also occurs as **-wioi** or **-woi**.

The third motion verb occurs as shown here, but some differences must be noted:

-la to go (from here)
-la + -ki > -loki or **-lokaia** to go to (goal)

The latter form, **-lokaia**, is a derived form, becoming a class 3 verb with two stems; but it has not become a ditransitive form. A comment on **- lokaia** is made in 3.3.3.3 part ii) below.

The suffix **-ki** has a number of functions in the verb in addition to those described above. These functions are addressed in the consideration of derived verbs which is given in 3.3.3. See also Senft (1999 and 2000) on verbs of motion.

3.3.2 Serial verb constructions

3.3.2.1 Introduction

There are many constructions in which a succession of verbs alone (or interspersed with minimal additional predicated material) states a series of closely-related acts; these are referred to as serial verb constructions (SVC). The related acts which such sequences describe are viewed by some linguists as constituting a single macroevent which may have several subevents interspersed, or a single act marked by several stages from its commencement to its completion.[16]

Because of the ease with which the verb object is omitted in general speech, the resultant series of verbs with object omitted occurs as part of normal speech acts; this is a regular feature of some SVC sequences. Two types of verb serialisation are generally found. These are compact SVC, and narrative SVCs. Compact SVCs are what is usually understood under 'serial verb construction' in the literature (e.g Crowley 2002). Narrative SVCs are more complex structures which do not always adhere to the criteria that define a conventional SVC, and are described by Pawley (2008 b) and van Staden and Reesink (2008).

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[16] Other linguists find difficulty in interpreting a complex series as a single act and regard SVCs as being more like a sequence of separate acts. Senft notes that "both Foley and Pawley hold reservations over ... whether SVCs 'bind a sequence of events into a single complex event'." (Senft 2008: 12)

3.3.2.2 Compact SVC

In the first of these a series of two verbs expresses two actions which are so closely related that they may be best seen as one event in the mind of the speaker, the first implying or initiating the second. This type of construction of two verbs in a serial relationship is called a **compact SVC**. No other morpheme is interposed. In negation, a negator must be placed in phrase initial position, and has scope over the entire phrase. Four subtypes of the compact SVC are identified here.

i) Action-result SVC

The first subtype consists of two verbs which may be variously described as standing in a cause-effect relation or an action-result relation, which may be in the past or the future. They are switch-subject constructions, where the object of the first verb is the subject of the second, or the subject of the first verb is the object of the second. Each verb is separately marked for mood.

In the following examples, -**witali** 'to send' appears as the first verb, followed by a directional verb such as **-wa** 'to go' or **-ma** 'to come'; and in the fifth example the first two verbs are followed by a third, **-gisi** 'to see'.

Igau	**b-a-witali**	**b-i-wa…**
later	ir-1sg-to.send	ir-3sg-to.go

Later on I will send (it) to you there…

Mapu-la	**leta**	**bu-ku-witali**	**b-i-ma.**
answer-its	letter	ir-2sg-to.send	ir-3sg-to.come

Send the letter's answer here.

Mapu-la	**lo-ku-witali**	**le-i-ma.**
answer-its	rl-2sg-to.send	rl-3sg-to.come

You have sent the answer here.

Leta	**bogwa**	**l-a-witali-bogwi**	**le-i-wa.**
letter	already	rl-1sg-to.send-first	rl-3sg-to.go

I have already sent the letter (to you) there.

Pila-yu	**wosi**	**la-ka-wital-ai-si**	**le-i-wa**	**bu-ku-gisi.**
cl.part-two	song	rl-1ex-to.send-j-pl	rl-3sg-to.go	ir-2sg-to.see(it)

We have sent away two songs for you to see.

Another example shows a compact SVC which occurs midway in a more lengthy series (noted in 3.3.2.3 below), where the sequence **bima bukuyosi** occurs:

b-i-ma	**bu-ku-yosi**
ir-3sg-go	ir-2sg-hold

lit.it will go you will hold

it will go to you

All of the above examples not only show the typical pattern of a switch subject SVC, but also demonstrate the agreement of mood markings in both verbs, and the variations of tense that are permissible within these constructions.

ii) Act-purpose SVC

The second subtype of compact SVC consists of two verbs in an act-purpose or act-intent relationship.

In section 3.2.3.4, in the discussion of clauses showing intent or purpose I commented on one type of clause which served this grammatical function. Here the use of a compact SVC is described as another way to serve the same function. These are described by Senft (2008: 218) as being of the component independent serialisation type, where verbs in the series "need not have shared tense, mood and modality." In this construction three features are found:

(i) The first verb describes an action the purpose or consequence of which is shown in the second verb, which may be glossed with a gerund or infinitive form as '*go fishing*' or '*went to church*'.

ii) Both verbs in the SVC share the same subject.

iii) The first verb is marked either with mood markers **bV** 'irrealis' or **lV** 'realis', and the second is a simple verb stem plus its subject marker, unmarked for mood.

In the six examples below, the initial verb in the first four has irrealis mood, and in the last two, realis.

B-a-la **a-poula**.
ir-1sg-go 1sg-net.fish
I'm going net-fishing.

Bi-ta-la **sitana** **ta-kawailuwa** **o-bolita.**
ir-1indl-go a.little 1indl-food.gather loc-sea
We'll both go get some seafood.

B-i-kauwai-si **totuwane-la** **i-banai-si** **uula** **la=kaliga.**
ir-3-take-pl bone(s)-its 3-find-pl reason 3sg.gposs=death
They will examine (the corpse's) bones to discover why he died.

To-malasi **b-i-vilayawa-si** **i-sisutu** **si=koni.**
cl.person.clan ir-3-to.marry.pl 3-to.match 3pl.poss-privilege
The Malasi will take many wives because they have this privilege. (lit.'to suit their chiefly privilege')

E-i-lo-si **i-ka.lapi-si.**
Rl-3-go-pl 3-oyster.gather-pl
They went oyster-gathering.

E-i-lauwai-si **to-mata** **i-bakwai-si** **mi<na>na.**
rl-3-to.take-pl cl.person-dead 3-to.bury-pl that<cl.corpse
They carried out the corpse to bury it.

iii) Deontic necessity SVC

A third subtype of compact SVC is used to describe deontic necessity, where the first verb is a modal (either **-bodi** or **-kwani**) marked with 3rd person sg subject and may be either irrealis or realis mood, and the second must be marked with irrealis mood. These are described fully in 3.5.2.3 section 1). Two examples from that section are repeated here.

I-bodi **wala** **b-a-pilas-ai-m.**
3sg-befits only ir-1sg-help-j-2sg
lit. That I will help you is only fitting
I really should help you.

Gala **i-kwani** **bi-ta-yakawoli** **tai-tala** **to-nagowa.**
not 3sg-befits ir-1indl-praise cl.person-one cl.person-fool
lit. That people will praise a fool is not fitting behaviour
People should not praise a fool.

E **b-i-bodi** **bu-ku-suvi-si** **o-kabo.sikaiwa.**
then irreal-3-be.fitting irreal-2-enter-pl at-camp
lit. then it will be fitting that you will enter at camp
Then you will be able to enter the camp.

iv) Preparation-action SVC

This construction shows a verb of preparation followed by a verb of consequent action, where both verbs have the same subject and mood markings. A feature of this type of SVC not seen in other compact SVCs is that a transition morpheme may be placed between the two verbs as the preparation act of the first verb becomes the act of the second verb. Generally the first verb is intransitive. Frequently this SVC shows an imperative quality, especially where the subject marker is 2nd person, as in the last example.

The examples following illustrate these features:

Bi-ta-katubaiasa-si **bi-ta-lo-si**
ir-1in-to.prepare-pl ir-1in-to.go-pl
We will get ready and go. (or) Let's get ready and go.

To-kabilia **b-i-katubaiasa-si** **paila** **b-i-kabilia-si**
cl.people-battle ir-3-to.prepare-pl for ir-3-to.battle-pl
lit.The soldiers will get ready for they will fight
The soldiers will get ready for battle.

Yeigu **b-a-viloubusi** **e** **b-a-gibataula.**
I ir-1sg-to.come(here) well ir-1sg-feast.return
lit. I, I will come here I will return-feast
I will certainly come here and join in the response feast.

Ku-tokaia	**ku.kwatu.migileu**	**valu.**
2sg-to.stand	2sg-to.make-clean	village

Stand up now and make the village clean.

3.3.2.3 Narrative SVCs

In the second main type of SVC two or more verbs state a complex series of events which jointly form a single macro-event made up of a number of sub-events. This construction is termed a **narrative SVC**, when each act in a series is named to describe the whole event. In a narrative series, other morphemes detailing the sequence, such as locative, temporal or nominal, may occur within the sequence. Negation of the entire series is marked by a negator placed in series initial position, while negators placed elsewhere negate only the one verb which follows.[17] All verbs in a narrative series share the one subject, and (if transitives) the same object. A narrative SVC has a single intonation contour over the whole series.

In making this distinction between compact and narrative SVCs I have followed Pawley (2008b, 2009a) and van Staden and Reesink (2008), whose description of the serial reporting of macro-events in Papuan languages stated semantic patterns which also occur in Kiriwina. These patterns of events are seen in the examples which follow here.

i) The following citation is taken from the opening paragraph of a letter. It is a complex series which contains probably three SVCs, although some commas are shown, which would break the convention that an SVC must be under a single intonation contour. But three verbs which follow a comma in this example, and also the last two, show two examples of a narrative SVC each with an unbroken intonation contour. These two SVCs are joined by a single compact SVC, described above as an action-result SVC, which is a switch-subject type, making that whole series a compound single macro-event sequence in which switch subject reference occurs.

[17] In this respect a narrative SVC differs from a compact SVC (where negation affects the whole construction).

L-a-sili,	**l-a-kau**	**mi<ya>na**
rl-1sg-sit	rl-1sg-take	that-cl.thin/flexible
pepa,	**l-a-gini**	**l-a-kapoli**
paper	rl-1sg-write	rl-1sg-to.parcel
l-a-witali	**b-i-ma**	**bu-ku-yosi**
rl-1sg-send	ir-3sg-come	ir-2sg-hold
bu-ku-kwalawa.		
ir-2sg-read		

lit. I sat down, took this paper, wrote, parcelled and sent (it), it will go you will hold and read.
I have written you this letter and posted it to you to take and read it.

The first six verbs **lasili lakau** miyana pepa **lagini lakapoli lawitali** describe a succession of acts which are broken by a pause, so that two intonation units jointly narrate the total process of writing and forwarding a letter. All of these verbs have the same mood marking **l-** 'realis', showing that the writer is conceptualising the whole process as a single completed macro-act which could be glossed as *'I have written you a letter'*. With the last three verbs having the **b-** irrealis aspect-mood marker, **bima bukuyosi bukukwalawa**, he has conceptualised a different macroevent in the future, which has a different subject from that shown for the first macro-event. In this second series under one intonation contour he states a second narrative SVC which could be glossed as *'You will get and read the letter.'* The point of juncture of these two macro-events shows a pair of verbs which have been shown in 3.3.2.2 part i) above as an example of the action-result type of compact SVC which has a switch-subject function.

ii) Another example of a narrative SVC occurred in the telling of a legend expressing the danger of straying into the monster's territory. The features of same subject and mood marking are seen, giving a sense of quick-acting drama, as in:

Dokanikani	**i-sisu**	**b-i-gisi**	**b-i-bodi**
giant	3sg-to-stay	ir-3sg-to see	ir-3sg-to meet

b-i-bokavili	**b-i-yosi**	**b-i-koma.**
ir-3sg to.pursue	ir-3sg-to.seize	ir-3sg-to-eat(s.o)

The monster there would see, encounter, chase, seize and devour him.

In the activity from seeing (**bigisi**) to devouring (**bikoma**) the five verbs of this narrative series are articulated by the story-teller as a single intonation contour, the contour dropping sharply on the last verb.

iii) A subtype of the narrative SVC is shown in iterative sequences of a single verb. Iterative narrative SVCs identically mark each of the verbs used in the series either with simple subject or with mood markings. This subtype is used to indicate a single action which is continued for a long time or over a great distance. The intonation pattern of iterative constructions may vary, but in my experience they are usually delivered in a high monotone which is characterised by no drop at the end, or frequently by a sharply-rising upward termination of the last vowel of the final verb in the sequence. The following sequence occurs in a legend:

E	**mi-na-na**	**i-la**	**i-la**	**i-la.**
well	that-cl.woman	3sg-to.go	3sg-to.go	3sg-to.go

And so she went on and on.

followed soon after by:

E	**Mitigisa**	**l-ei-la**	**l-ei-la**	**l-ei-la**	**i-suvi**	**o-kaibuwa.**
well	name	rl-3sg-to.go	etc	etc	3sg-to.enter	in-cave

And Mitigisa kept on and on until she went into a cave.

In the reiterative forms noted (**i-la** or **lei-la**) the same verb is repeated in full detail, and is adequately glossed as *'go on and on and on...'*. Sometimes the series is followed by a long-drawn-out vowel **eeee**, enunciated with an upward-gliding intonation, to indicate a much longer iteration, as in:

I-sisu	**i-sisu**	**i-sisu**	**eeee** (plus upward glide)**.**
3sg-to.stay	3sg-to.stay	3sg-to.stay	very.much!

He stayed (there) for a very, very long time indeed.

and elsewhere by simply lengthening the final vowel of the last verb, plus an upward intonation glide, as in one statement when my informant Tolosi (who

was blind but an acknowledged legend expert) used two iterative sequences in succession, saying:

I-sisu	**i-sisu-uuuu,**	**i-sisu**	**i-sisu-uuuu.**
3sg-to.stay	3sg-to.stay-on&on	3sg-to stay	3sg-to.stay-on&on

He stayed on and on – oh, for such a long time!

3.3.2.4 SVCs and dictionary entries

The relevance of these constructions for dictionary entries must be taken into account whenever the choice of any lexical unit as a headword is being made. Where certain words habitually appear in the company of others in set sequences, or in phrasal patterns which occur regularly as conventional or acceptable ways of saying something, then the patterns of SVCs are included in the dictionary, described, and illustrated with trustworthy citations. It has been noted that in most occurrences of **-witali** 'to send' a second verb denoting destination or process occurs, and these SVCs acquire the status of lexical units in the same way as other multiword expressions that are not idioms. Some discussion of this category of phrasal expressions has been set down in 6.5. When such phrasal units are included as headwords, a careful choice of citations as dictionary examples is made, and the typical patterns of SVCs described above are included.

This study of SVCs must remain incomplete, as the scope of my examination here is necessarily limited to comments which aid the readers of the dictionary. A more extensive study of Kiriwina text both in old legend sources and in more modern texts such as political or social scenes, may make further subtypes obvious, and these will be fruitful for the dictionary maker of the future, as the Kiriwina language (in common with all living languages) is in a state of flux.

3.3.3 Derived verb forms

This description of derived verb forms includes comments on verbs from all four verb classes.

Many of these changes include the addition of the **-ki** suffix to a verb stem, and other alterations take place within the new verb stem plus **-ki.** These changes do not conform to morphophonemic rules, so I have treated each verb with the **-ki** suffix as a different headword, noting their morphological connection to other lexemes.

3.3.3.1 Class 2 verbs + *-ki* become class 4 verbs

The addition of the **-ki** suffix to class 2 verb stems changes them into class 4 verbs with a comitative function. The verbal suffix **-ki** marks the object noun phrase (which follows the verb) as standing in an oblique objective relationship to the verb. The oblique relationship between the verb and its object is shown in the English glosses by a preposition that defines the relationship between verb and object; the verb's reference, normally class 2 intransitive, is shown in the derived class 4 transitive as being in a relationship with the object which contexts may label in different ways, shown by the italicised adpositions dripped *onto* (sthg), hover *over* (sthg), argue *with* (s.o), full *of* (sthg), or go *to* (place).

Examples of this derived verb form follow. Frequently the original stem occurs in a reduplicated form because of the verb's action being seen as a continuing or repeated act. The implied goals of the verbal action are italicised in the glosses.

-busi (subj people) to descend, move across; (subj water) to flow, drip
-busi + -ki > -bwiki or **-bubwiki** to drip onto (something, someone)

Sopi	**i-bubwiki**	**wowo-la**	**mi<na>na.**
water	3sg-flowing.to	body-3sg.poss	that cl.woman

The water dripped *down onto* her body.

-totu (subj people) to stand, stand up; (subj item) be standing (on)
-totu + -ki > -toki or **-titoki** stand sthg erect; stand on something

Kova	**b-i-titoki**	**koya**	**o-daba-la.**
fire	ir-3sg-standing.to	hill	loc-top-3sg.poss

The firelight will hover *over* the hilltop.

-vatai (vb 2) to argue > **-vita-ki** (vb 4) to argue-with (s.o)

I-vitaki	**gu.gwadi.**
3sg-argue.with	children

He argued *with* the children.

-kasewa (vb 2) to be full > **-kasewo-ki** (vb 4) to be full of (filled from)

Bwaima	**i-kasewoki**	**kaula.**
yam.store	3sg-fill.with	food

The yam-store is filled *with* food.

-la (vb 2) to go > **-lo-ki** (vb 4) to go to (place or person)

Ma<tau>na	**i-loki**	**valu.**
that-cl.person	3sg-go.to	village.

He goes *to* the village.

When **-ki** is added to a verb stem in the manner described above, other changes take place within the stem, which can be described as phonological variants. Some of these variant forms may arise from possible historical or dialect influences, but in dictionary entries they are only noted as variant forms.

3.3.3.2 Class 3 and 4 verbs + -ki and ditransitive reference

It was noted above (3.3.1.4 part ii) section b) that a second form of transitive reference is effected by the addition of the suffix **-ki** to some monotransitive forms. Eleven verbs of class 3 or class 4 become double object verbs when the **-ki** suffix is added. The ditransitive form relates to an indirect object (either a personal pronoun suffixed to the verb or the periphrastic construction always used for 3rd person reference) and a direct object noun phrase which follows the verb. This feature of ditransitive reference is uncommon in Oceanic languages. Examples are shown below.

-vagi (vb 4) to make, do sthg > **-vigaki** to make s.o (become) sthg
to make sthg (into) sthg

B-a-vigakai-m	**ulo=to-pilasi.**
ir-1sg-make-2sg	1sg.gposs=cl.person-help

I will make you my helper.

B-a-vigaki **mi<ya>na** **agu=kwarekwa.**
ir-1sg-make that-cl.thin/flexible 1sg.iposs=garment
I will make this cloth my garment.

-nagi (vb 3 trans) to choose sthg > **-nigaki** (vb 4) to select s.o (to be) sthg

E-i-nigakai-gu-si **to-wotetila.**
rl-3-select-1sg-pl cl.person-servant
They chose me as a servant**.**

-dou (vb 3) to call out **-doki** (vb 4) to name s.o (to be) sthg

B-i-dokai-gu-si **to-karaiwaga.**
ir-3-call-1sg-pl cl.person-rule
They will call me the authority.

-mai (vb 4) to bring (sthg) **-miaki** (vb 4) to bring (s.o) sthg

I-miakai-gu **ká-gu.**
3sg-bring-1sg food-1sg.poss
He brought me my meal.

3.3.3.3 Other derived forms as changed verb classes

When a new verb stem is derived from a class 3 intransitive verb, the subject of the derivative is the same as the subject of the intransitive form, and the new derivative becomes a member of either class 3 or class 4 verbs. The new verbs are formed by derivational suffixes or by their occurrence within compound forms. These new compound forms are examined here in reference to some class 3 and class 4 verbs.

i) Class 3 verbs derived from class 2 verbs

Class 2 verbs when derived occur as the second element in compound verbs. The compounds behave as class 3 verbs. Here I show examples of the intransitive class 2 verbs changing in compound forms to become class 3 verbs, each with an intransitive and a transitive stem.

-mova (class 2) to live, be alive.

Class 3 compound verbs: (with combining forms **-katu-** 'to cause'[18] and **-ka-³** 'to do by eating')

-katu.mova	to heal, be a healer (intransitive)
-katu.movi	to heal s.o (transitive)
-ka.mova	to feed, provide food, be a carer (intransitive)
-ka.movi	to feed something, someone (transitive)

-mata (class 2) to die, be dead

Class 3 compound verbs: (with combining forms **-ka-²** to do using mouth and -**si-¹** to do by or while sitting)

-ka.mata	to bite-kill, kill by biting (intransitive)
-ka.mati	to bite-kill something make die by biting (transitive)
-si.mata	to kill by sitting (intransitive)
-si.mati	to sit on and kill something (transitive)

ii) Class 3 verbs derived from class 4 verbs

In 3.3.1.4 ii) section b) above it was noted that one class 4 verb of motion **-la** 'to go' became by derivation the class 4 verb **-loki** 'to go to (destination)'. A variant form of **-loki** is **-lokaia,** and these two lexemes are used synonymously.[19] The form **-lokaia** however has become a derived class 3 verb with two stem forms (similar to other class 3 verbs), an intransitive form **-lokaia** and a transitive derived stem **-lokowoi,** as shown here:

-lokaia	to go away (usually specifies the act of going)[20]
-lokowoi	to go to (a person or destination)

The transitive derivation is shown in this example:

E	**tuta ma<tuto>na**	**i-lokowoi**	**yama-la**	**(baisa valu)**
and	time that-cl.time	3sg-to.go.to	arm-3sg.poss	(this place)

And when he extended his hand (towards the place)... (Joshua 8.19)

---

[18] The form **-katu** is the first constituent in about 200 compound verbs in my dictionary, and the best gloss seems to be 'to cause'. There are also about 20 other simple verbs the stems of which commence with **-katu-**, which is not a separate morpheme, and these do not express cause. Senft has listed about 95 verbs commencing with **-katu-**, but as he has not distinguished between simple or compound stems, a comparison is difficult.

[19] When used with an object, **-loki** alone is used with 3rd person; but **-lokaia** may be used for all persons, including 3rd person.

[20] However the related form **-loki** is irregular, with transitive use.

A similar derivation is seen in some other class 3 verbs, as in:

-tokaia to stand erect
-tokowoi to stand something up

iii) Derived verbs with *-ki* as emphatic marker

In some verbs the addition of **-ki** adds a component of emphasis (em) to the lexeme. This is seen in the examples:

-kapisi (vb 1) to feel pity > **-kapisi-ki** to feel great pity

I-kapisi-ki	**lopo-la.**
3sg-great.pity	belly-3sg.poss

He feels great pity.

-wotitali (vb 3 o/f) to serve s.o > **wotitali-ki** to serve-emphatic s.o

Bu-ku-wotitali-ki	**kala-mwaleta**	**Yaubada.**
Ir-2sg-serve-em	3sg-only	God

You must serve God alone.

-bodi (vb 4) to be fitting > **-budo-ki** to be fitting-emphatic

Baisa	**b-i-budo-kai-m**	**goli.**
This	ir-3sg-suit-em-2sg	indeed

This will certainly suit you.

However some forms show no meaning variation, occurring with the suffix synchronically only as variant forms:

-taguli (vb 3) to mix things together > **-taguli.ki** (synonymous)
-waiyai (vb 3) to slap s.o > **-wa.ki** (synonymous)
-sikaili (vb 3) to sit on sthg > **-sikaili.ki** (synonymous)

iv) The *-ki* suffix as a locative indicator?

In all of the examples shown for the derived forms with **-ki** suffix, it is possible to replace the stem plus **-ki** with an unmodified stem followed by a locative noun phrase without change in meaning. This functional equivalence

(as shown in examples below) suggests that the oblique relation between the verb and a locative phrase has been more directly related to the verb by the **-ki** suffix. This similarity between the **-ki** suffix and the locative phrase is also noted in 3.8.4.5 below.

Some examples of synonymous pairs of sentences are given here:

(i) **I-miakai-gu ká-gu.**
3sg-bring.to-1sg meal-1sg.poss
He brought me my meal.

(ii) **I-mai ká-gu baisa yeigu.**
3sg-bring meal-1sg to me
He brought my meal to me.

(i) **M-e-titoki koya.**
hb-3sg-stand.on hill
It always stood on the hill.

(ii) **M-e-totu wa=koya.**
hb-3sg-stand on=hill
It always stood on the hill.

(i) **I-budokai-mi.**
3sg-befits.to-2pl
It is fitting for you all.

(ii) **I-bodi paila yokomi.**
3sg-befits for you (pl)
It is fitting for you all.

v) Derived verbs and dictionary entries

Verbs derived by attaching **-ki** to a stem are unpredictable in form and meaning and are treated in the dictionary as separate lexemes. The rules for morphophonemic change in the stem form of verbs with the **-ki** suffix are too complex to provide the dictionary user with a practical guide, so each verb bearing this suffix is treated in the dictionary as a subheadword within the entry for that verb form, or as a separate headword.

3.3.4 Stative order VS becomes derived SV order

It was noted in 3.2.1.2 that in the clauses headed by stative verbs the order of constituents is rigidly VS. But when a stative verb is transitivised the nominals that were subject of the stative become its direct object.

In these examples the stative verbs **-migileu** 'to.be.clean', **-gaga** 'to.be.bad', **-gibuluwa** 'to.be.angry' are transitivised as components of compound verbs. The VS ordering of the stative clauses becomes SV, with the subject nominals of the stative clauses becoming the direct object of each re-ordered clause.

E-i-migileu **bagula.**
rl-3sg-to be clean garden
The garden is cleared (for planting).

Ma<tau>na **i-katu.migileu** **bagula.**
that-cl.person 3sg-cause.clean garden
He cleanses the garden plot.
(Note: **-katumigileu** is a class 4 verb.)

I-gaga **nano-la.**
3sg-to.be.bad mind-3sg.poss
His mind is evil.

Yeigu **b-a-yo-gagi** **nano-la.**
I ir-1sg-do.roughly-be.bad mind-3sg
I will corrupt his mind.
(Note: **-yogagi** is a class 3 verb.)

E-i-gibuluwa **la=kwava.**
rl-3sg-to.be.angry 3sg.poss-wife
His wife was angry.

Guyau **b-i-yo-gibuluwi** **la=kwava.**
chief ir-3sg-do.roughly-make.angry 3sg.poss=wife
The chief will anger his wife.
(Note: **-yogibuluwi** is a class 3 verb.)

3.4 The verbal complex

Discussion of the verb to this point has been confined to the verb stem only. I define the verb stem as the core of the verb which has its initial boundary at the junction point of the subject marker, and its termination at the point of junction of the first suffix, usually the verbal object marker (see formula in 3.4.1). The components of the verb stem itself are set out in 3.4.6 below. I turn now to a description of the verbal complex made up of the verb stem and the grammatical elements which are affixed to it.

3.4.1 The verb stem and its affixes

Constituents of the fully-expanded verb as a single phonological word are shown here; bound forms are marked with a plus sign; optional elements are shown as ±; the order of components is rigid. I do not here refer to the larger elements of the whole verb phrase, which may include free form modifiers; these are examined in section 3.5.

Vb > ±aspect-mood +subject+vb.stem ±adverb ±object ±pl ±emphatic

Notes:

1. The subject prefix is obligatory for all verbs; the object suffix is obligatory for all transitive verbs except 3rd person.

2. The **-si** plural marker is a part of either the subject circumfix or the object suffix.

The verb (Vb) has as its base a verb stem which may be either transitive or intransitive. All verbs must bear a first order prefix which is a subject pronoun; if the sentence includes a subject NP then the verb's subject prefix agrees with it. The plural, while being shown above as post-verbal, is always a part of either the subject circumfix or the object suffix. A second order prefix is an aspect-mood marker, which is optional.

Four orders of suffix may occur. The first is an optional adverb suffix of manner. The second order suffix occurs with transitive stems as a personal

pronoun object in all except 3rd person. For 3rd person reference a NP occurs which is a periphrastic construction, in the form of either a deictic pronoun or an object NP, not syntactically part of the verb. The third order suffix is the plural marker **-si**, which is part either of the subject circumfix or the object suffix, and its placing in the above formula as a third order suffix is to show its position in the phonological word. The ambiguities arising from plural reference applying either to subject or object are documented in detail in 3.4.4. The fourth order suffix is an optional emphatic marker.

These affixes are now described in detail.

3.4.2 Verbs with subject and object affixes

3.4.2.1 The subject markers

The subject pronominal forms affixed to the verb are shown below in Table 3.1, using as an example the intransitive verb stem **-lega** 'to listen'. The form is prefixed for all forms except the plural, when it is a circumfix **-ka-...-si, -ta-...-si. ku-...-si, i-...-si.** These affixes are italicised in Table 3.1. When the subject is a sentient actor, the subject is specified by one from this set of prefixes. For subjects other than sentient only the subject marker for 3rd person singular (for 'it') or plural (for 'those') is used.

Table 3.1 Verb with subject prefixes

I listen(ed)	***a*-lega**
you(sg) listen(ed)	***ku*-lega**
he listens, listened	***i*-lega**
we(excl.du) listen(ed)	***ka*-lega**
we(excl.pl) listen(ed)	***ka*-lega-*si***
we(incl.du) listen(ed)	***ta*-lega**
we(incl.pl) listen(ed)	***ta*-lega-*si***
you(pl) listen(ed)	***ku*-lega-*si***
they listen(ed)	***i*-lega-*si***

As verb stems usually commence with consonants, junction of prefix and stem is not complicated with morphological changes[21]. When the verb stem is used in a reduplicated form to indicate continuity of verb action, stems commencing with the semivowels **w** or **y** have a reduplicated form which commences with a corresponding high vowel (as in **-weli > -uli-weli, -yakaula > -i-yakaula**). These show juncture of vowels; but as they always occur as vocalic sequences no morphophonemic change at point of juncture occurs.

However, one morphophonemic condition must be noted for the junction of the pluralising suffix **/-si/** with verb stems. ending in **/m/**.

In this case the junction of **/-si/** is conditioned by the underlying form of the stem terminal **/m/** (see phonology 2.4.4). If the stem final **/m/** originates in an underlying **/m/**, then /**-si/** is suffixed with no additional junction syllable. But if it originates in an underlying **/*mw/**, the morphophonemic junction formative /**-wai-/** is inserted. This is well illustrated by the verb stem **-mom** 'to drink', which has identical transitive and intransitive forms in Kavataria dialect, which originate in the underlying forms **-mom** and ***-momwa** for intransitive and transitive forms**:**

Intrans	**i-mom-si**	Trans	**i-mom-wai-si**
	3-drink-pl		3-drink.sthg-j-pl
	they drank		they drank (sthg)

3.4.2.2 The object suffixes

The paradigm of the object pronominal suffixes (Table 3.2 below) needs to be seen with a singular and a plural subject, because of some ambiguity (described in 3.4.4 below) which is regularly found in certain plural forms. The pronominal forms in the table are italicised.

[21] There are a few exceptions, as **-uwa** 'to bear fruit' (redupl **uwo.uwa**) and **-uu** 'to blow (of wind)' (redupl **u.uu**). Juncture is effected in the same way noted for reduplicated stems as shown in 3.4.6.2.

Table 3.2 Transitive verb with object suffixes

For singular 3rd person subject (**i-gisi**) +object suffixes		
1st sing	**i-gisai-*gu***	(he saw) me
2nd sing	**i-gisai-*m***	(he saw) you sg.
3rd sing	**i-gisi=*ma<tau>na***	(he saw) him (See note 1 below)
1st dual excl	**i-gisai-*ma***	(he saw) us (excl dual)
1st plural excl	**i-gisai-*masi***	(he saw) us (excl pl)
1st dual incl	**i-gisai-*da***	(he saw) us (incl dual)
1st plural incl	**i-gisai-*dasi***	(he saw) us (incl pl)
2nd plural	**i-gisai-*mi***	(he saw) you (pl)
3rd plural	**i-gisi=*ma<tau-si>na***	(he saw) them
For plural 3rd p. subject (**i-gisai-si**) +object suffixes		
1st sing	**i-gisai-*gu*-si**	(they saw) me
2nd sing	**i-gisai-*m*-si**	(they saw) you sg.
3rd sing	**i-gisai-si=*ma<tau>na***	(they saw) him
1st dual excl	**i-gisai-*ma*-si**	(they saw) us (excl dual)
1st plural excl	**i-gisai-*masi***	(they saw) us (excl pl)
1st dual incl	**i-gisai-*da*-si**	(they saw) us (incl dual)
1st plural incl	**i-gisai-*dasi***	(they saw) us (incl pl)
2nd plural	**i-gisai-*mi***	(they saw) you (pl)
3rd plural	**i-gisai-si=*ma<tau-si>na***	(they saw) them

Notes (attached to Table 3.2):

1. Third person singular and plural object forms only occur as a periphrastic construction, where an NP, usually a deictic, takes the place of a 3rd p object suffix, in enclitic position. Classifier changes within the deictic forms enable precise specification either of a sentient object (him, her, it, them) or of other objects, where the full range of classifier reference may specify the domain in which the object is placed.[22]

[22] Mixed sex groups are referred to by the use of the appropriate classifier which specifies a person or people non-specific as to sex.

2. When the object is inanimate, the deictic object may be replaced with a NP specifying the item(s), as with **igisaisi waga makaisina ‘**they saw those canoes’.

3. Ambiguity occurs in dual and plural 1st person forms with plural subject, as “ownership” of the plural form **-si** cannot be assigned to the subject or object affixes except by contextual information. (See Table 3.4 in 3.4.4.)

4. Homonyms occur for 2nd person plural forms for singular and plural subject.[23]

5. Junction for object suffixes of 1st and 2nd person is set out below; in the paradigm above the diphthong -**ai-** is placed as a morphophonemic junction formative between the verb stem and its suffix. The plural marker -**si** is always placed at the end of the verb word; the absence of **-si** for 2nd person plural object suffix is consistent in all verbs[24].

Morphophonemic juncture

Morphophonemic juncture of verb stem and object suffixes for 1st and 2nd person is governed by five rules, depending on the termination of the verb stem, as shown below. Those forms which do not conform to these patterns are noted as variants in dictionary entries.

1. When the verb stem ends in /m/, the junction with object suffix is marked with a junction formative, the single syllable **-wai-**.

-ligaim ‘to abandon’	**Ku-ligaim-wai-masi.**
	2sg-abandon-j-1expl
	You abandoned us.
-vi.mom ‘to give a drink’	**B-a-vi.mom-wai-mi.**
.	Ir-1sg-do.drink-j-2pl
	I will give you all a drink.

[23] Senft (1986: 34f) records a plural **–si** form for 2nd person plural verbal object suffixes; he may be citing a form of the Kaileuna dialect. I have not encountered this in any mainland dialect.
[24] The form **-mi** ‘you(pl)’ is also found in the 2nd person plural forms of some numerative terms as **komwaido.mi** all of you and **mimili.mi** some of you (plus its synonymous forms **taivile.mi** or **taivimi**).

2. When the verb stem ends in a diphthong, the junction syllable **/ai/** is inserted.[25] For orthographic purposes the diphthong clusters which result are divided by the appropriate semivowels[26] **/w/** or **/y/.**

-taloi 'to bid farewell'	**Bu-ku-taloi-yai-masi.**
	ir-2sg-farewell-j-1expl
	You will farewell us.

-katu.migileu 'to cleanse'	**I-katu.migileu-wai-gu-si.**
	3-cause-make.clean-j-1sg-pl
	They made me clean.

3. When the verb stem ends in /Cu/

i) when **C** is an alveolar consonant, the junction syllable **-/ai-/** replaces the final vowel.

i-kabutu	**>**	**I-kabut-ai-mi.**
3sg-promise		3sg-promise-j-2pl
he promises		He promises you.

ii) for all other consonants, the junction syllable **/-wai-/** replaces the final vowel.

-baku	**>**	**Bu-ku-bak-wai-gu.**
to bury		ir-2sg-bury-j-1sg
		You will bury me.

4. When the verb stem ends in /-aiki/,

i) the junction syllable **/ai/** replaces the final vowel.

ii) the penultimate syllable becomes **/a/**, accommodating to the new back velar articulation of **/k/** (see 2.2.2 phonetic attribute of **/ka/**).

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[25] In Kilivila dialect this is **/ei/**, in Kaileuna dialect **/e/**. This is a regular feature of dialect difference, which I have noted in 1.2.3.

[26] This use of semivowels is part of a practical orthography designed to aid early readers, either children or adults. It is not practicable to produce two versions of text, offering alternates for the printing of vowel clusters, so the text which includes the semivowels is the one printed and used. It must be admitted that eliminating the semi-vowel, would be easy, but the objections of many literate people accustomed to the "old way" would be considerable. It should be noted that Senft frequently uses the semivowel (Senft 1986: 63, 65, 66) in **tauwau**, **mtowena**, **beya**, etc.

-paiki	**>**	**B-i-pak-ai-mi**	**avaka**	**magi-mi.**
to refuse		ir-3sg-refuse-j-2pl	what	desire-2pl.poss
(double obj)		He will refuse you (pl) your request.		

-saiki	**>**	**Ku-sak-ai-masi**	**kaula.**
to give		2sg-give-j-1expl	food
(double obj)		You gave us food.	

5. When the verb stem ends in Ca or Ci, the junction syllable **/ai/** replaces the final vowel. The majority of verb stems belong to this last category.

-yobwaina	**>**	**B-i-yobwain-ai-gu.**
to favour		ir-3sg-favour-j-1sg
		He will favour me.

-towala	**>**	**I-towal-ai-gu-si.**
to stand midway		3-stand.midway-j-1sg-pl
		They stood me in the middle (of group)

.

-va.kadi	**>**	**Lei-va.kad-ai-m.**
to lead		rl-3sg-lead-j-2sg
		He led you.

-gisi	**>**	**B-i-gis-ai-dasi.**
to see		ir-3sg-see-1inpl
		He will see us.

The morphophonemic conditions described here apply in most cases. However, exceptions are found, and the dictionary notes such, and points out those cases when one word occurs in two or more variant forms.

3.4.3 The verbal mood-aspect markers

Verbal mood-aspect markers occur as optional second order prefixes, marking realis and irrealis moods, or habitual aspect. The three forms are:

bV- irrealis mood

lV- realis mood; with the variant form **φV-**

mV- habitual aspect.

The verb occurring without any mood marker is either simple present or simple past, according to context. This is discussed in 3.5.2.2 part i), and see also the glosses in Table 3.1 (3.4.2.1) where these two possible translations are shown. However when the speaker wishes to refer specifically to the completion or incompletion of the verbal action, the mood-aspect markers are used.

Irrealis mood **bV-** marks an uncompleted act, which may be in the past or in the future. Past unfulfilled actions may describe intentions never carried out, or actions initiated but not completed. However, future reference is the more frequent. The realis mood marker **lV-** is always a past event, which may be in the immediate or remote past. The variant form **φV** could be described as '**absence of l, plus V**', when the verb is tagged with the morphophonemic juncture formative but the phoneme **l-** itself is deleted. In general speech these are frequently synonymous, but there is a tendency to favour **lV-** for immediate past, and **φV-** for general or more remote past. The habitual aspect marker **mV-** "habitually occurring" is comparatively rare, and in at least one occurrence (the locative term **metoya**) marks an archaic form (3.8.4.7 Table 3.8).

The paradigm set out in Table 3.3 shows the affixation of the second order aspect-mood markers, including the allomorphic form **absence of l +V-**

The following morphophonemic juncture rules apply when the verb word is prefixed with the mood markers irrealis **bV-**, realis **lV**- and its allomorph **φV**, and habitual aspect **mV-**:

i) When followed by -**ku-,**

bV- becomes **bu-, lV- > lo-, φV- > o-, mV- > mo-**

ii) When followed by -**ta-,**

bV- becomes **bi, lV- > lei-, φV- > ei-, mV- > mei-**

iii) When followed by **-i-,**

bV becomes **bi-, lV-** > **lei-, φV- > ei-. mV** > **me-**

iv) When followed by -**ka-,** **φV-** becomes **a-**

v) When followed by -**a-,** **φV-** is lost

Table 3.3 The verb showing mood-aspect marker prefixes

	Irrealis	Realis or perfect		Habitual
	will-listen	have-listened	have listened	have from[27]
	b-	**l-**	**absence of l**	**m-**
I	**b-a-lega**	**la-lega**	**a-lega**	**ma-toya**
you(sg)	**bu-ku-lega**	**lo-ku-lega**	**o-ku-lega**	**mo-ku-toya**
he (she, it)	**b-i-lega**	**lei-lega**	**ei-lega**	**me-toya**
we (excl.du)	**ba-ka-lega**	**la-ka-lega**	**a-ka-lega**	**ma-ka-toya**
we (excl.pl)	**ba-ka-lega.si**	**la-ka-lega.si**	**a-ka-lega-si**	**ma-ka-toya-si**
we (incl.du)	**bi-ta-lega**	**lei-ta-lega**	**ei-ta-lega**	**mei-ti-toya**
we(incl.pl)	**bi-ta-lega-si**	**lei-ta-lega-si**	**ei-ta-lega-si**	**mei-ti-toya-si**
you(pl)	**bu-ku-lega-si**	**lo-ku-lega-si**	**o-ku-lega-si**	**mo-ku-toya-si**
They	**b-i-lega-si**	**lei-lega-si**	**ei-lega-si**	**me-toya-si**

The function of the mood-aspect markers in aiding time reference in the verb phrase is discussed in the account of the verb phrase in 3.5.2.2 part ii a) below. Precise time reference is seen to be a shared function of the mood-aspect markers and two other components of the verb phrase. This is detailed in 3.5.2.2 part ii) below.

3.4.4 Ambiguity in verbs with plural markers

When the verb stem is marked with the subject and object affixes, plural number of both subject and object is shown by the use of **-si** as a third order suffix to the verb stem. Its attachment may be seen as a pairing of

[27] This is an awkward word to gloss, as it uses 'from' as a verb, i.e. 'Where have you come from?'

affixes that form a high-order constituent. For example, the distinction between 1st person inclusive dual and 1st person inclusive plural subject is seen as:

***ta*-gisi**	we two see
ta*-gisai-*si	we (more than two) see

so that the plural form appears to be a single circumfix **ta-...-si**; thus it is written as a circumfix in all plural forms in Table 3.1 (3.4.2.1).

The same distinction is made between 1st person inclusive dual and 1st person inclusive plural object in Table 3.2 (3.4.2.2):

i-gisai-*da*	he saw us two
i-gisai-*dasi*	he saw us (more than two)

except that here the plural form does not need to be regarded as a circumfix, **-dasi** being clearly the plural form of **-da.**

Ambiguity occurs when transitive verbs are marked with a dual or plural subject and object personal pronoun, and context alone can determine whether the plural suffix is actually part of the subject prefix or the object suffix. The following paradigm of verbs in plural forms shows the words in which this ambiguity occurs.

Table 3.4 Ambiguity in verb pronominal plural reference

Verb	***Possible meanings***
i-lagai-da-si	they hear us (inclusive dual)
i-lagai-dasi	they hear us (inclusive plural) he/she/it hears us (inclusive plural)
i-lagai-ma-si	they hear us (exclusive dual)
i-lagai-masi	he/she/it hears us (exclusive plural) they hear us (exclusive plural)
i-lagai-mi	they hear you (plural) he/she/it hears you (plural)

3.4.5 Two other classes of verbal suffix

The two remaining classes of verb suffixes listed in 3.4 are treated briefly here.

3.4.5.1 Adverbs as first order verb stem suffixes

Members of this small class of bound adverbs attach optionally to the verb stem as a first order suffix, specifying the manner or frequency of execution of the action of the verb. Verbs marked with the adverb suffixes behave as a single phonological word bearing one point of primary stress, with another syllable bearing a weaker secondary stress in longer words. (Stress is discussed in 2.5.1, with secondary stress in 2.5.2, regular stress being on the penultimate syllable.) Examples of verbs plus adverb suffixes with stress shown are:

i-luki-bógwi
3sg-to.say.to-first (trans)
he told (s.o) first

i-luki-bogw-ái-si
3-to.say.to-first-j-pl (trans)
they told (s.o) first

i-luki-vau-wái-gu
3sg-to.say.to-again-j-1sg
he told me again

i-gisi.mlil-ái-gu
3sg-to.see.clearly-j-1sg
he saw me clearly

i-dou.molilá-si
3-to.shout.clearly-pl
they called out clearly

Some examples of such bound adverbs and their use in sentences are given below.

	action done
-bogwa	for the first time
-vau	again or repeatedly
-bau	very well, commendably
-makava	for no particular reason, slapdash
-wokuva	only, single-mindedly
-molila	excellently
-pepuni	secretly
-gaga	for a long time
-vagasi	for a very long time, forever

E	**Solomoni**	**i-kaliai-váu**	**valu.**
and	Solomon	3sg-build-again	village

So Solomon rebuilt the town. (1 Kings 9.17)

Bogwa	**le-i-vigi-báu**	**avai**	**katotila.**
Already	rl-3sg-do-well	any	promise

He has already kept any promises (he made). (Joshua 23.15)

To-mitugaga	**b-i-si.sakaulo-makavá-si**	**wala.**
cl.person-wicked	ir-3-running-for.no.reason-pl	only

The wicked will run when no-one is chasing them. (Proverbs 28.1)

These suffixes frequently show antonymous forms, as with pairs like -**bogwa** and **-vau** ('done for the first time' and 'done again') or -**bau** and -**wokuva** ('done well' and 'done only, just done'). Other pairs are associated with contrasting verb forms which are respectively intransitive or transitive,[28] as with the forms intransitive **molila** and transitive **-mlili**, both meaning 'clearly, plainly', which occur, respectively, as part of an intransitive and a transitive verb, or the intransitive form **-mátula** 'to do' with its derived transitive form **-mituli**, "do sthg". Many such pairs occur as the two stem forms in class 3 verbs:

-gisi-molila (lit. to see-do well) to see clearly (intrans)
-gisi-mlili (lit. to see-see.sthg.plainly) to see sthg plainly (trans)
-ka-mátula (lit. to speak-announce) to make an announcement (intrans)
-ka-mituli (lit. to speak-announce sthg) to announce sthg (trans)

[28] These contrasting forms are found also in the two stem forms of class 3 compound verbs, which were examined in 3.3.1.3.

3.4.5.2 Synonymous pairs in two classes of adverbs

A comparison must be made between this class of bound adverbs and the free form adverbs which follow the verb in the verb phrase, as noted in 3.5.2.4. Synonyms of the bound forms occur in the free form adverbs, so that the one meaning may be stated using either bound or a free form adverb; either of these classes may be used here with little or no difference of meaning.

Some examples follow showing this synonymy. All examples use the same verb, **-vagi** 'to do (something)':

i-vigi-bogwi	**i-vagi siva-tala**	he did it once
i-vigi-vau	**i-vagi tuvaila**	he did it again
i-vigi-bau	**i-vagi saina=bwaina**	he did it very well
i-vigi-makavi	**i-vagi i-nanota**	he did it in vain

Sometimes the two forms are used in one sequence for emphasis:

I-vigi-bau	**saina**	**bwaina**	**goli.**
3sg-do-very.well	very.	good	emph

He did it very well indeed!

3.4.6 Verb stems

All verbs are entered in the dictionary in the form of a verb stem, with a hyphen on the initial margin, indicating the obligatory presence of the subject prefix when the verb occurs in text. They are glossed with the English infinitive form, as in:

-LEGA (*vb 3 intrans*) to listen, hear

If the verb has more than one stem, each verb is entered similarly; if the second form is a subheadword within a main entry it is entered using small capitals, with different parts of speech details attached, as in:

-LAGI (*vb 3 trans*) to hear (sthg)

This subheadword **-lagi** also occurs as a separate entry in the dictionary (as do all subheadwords), as the headword of a cross-reference entry, referring the

reader back to the main entry for **-lega**, where the subheadword **-lagi** is defined.

3.4.6.1 The types of verb stems

A verb stem may be a root, a derived form, or a compound form. Each of these is briefly described.

i) Examples of monomorphemic verb stems are:

-ma	to come (here)
-la	to leave, go away
-mata	to die
-sisu	to stay in a place
-sakaula	to run
-yebwaili	to love

ii) Derived verb stems are formed from verb roots by derivational affixes. Some derived verbs are predictable as to meaning, and so are listed in the dictionary without definition, being only marked with their grammatical category, enabling the reader to locate the derivational affix and its use. With others the meaning is not predictable and so a separate definition is required.

Some frequent derivational processes may be noted. The addition of a final **-i** to class 3 intransitive forms noted in 3.3.1.3 is seen as a reflex, no longer productive, of the POc transitivising suffix ***-i**. A similar source is noted for the verbal suffix **-ki**, or for verb adjunct prefixes such as **-katu-** prefixed to verb roots with an instrumental or agentive function (see 6.3.3.1)[29], are found as high frequency examples of derived forms.

iii) Compound verb stems are formed from more than one root, and frequently develop meanings that cannot be predicted from the semantic content of their parts. Here examples are followed by the morphemes from which they originate:

[29] The forms using verb adjuncts stand midway between derived and compound forms.

-kabulo.mata to faint, become unconscious
(from **kabulo- (**cl.) 'point, protuberance'; and **-mata (**vb) 'to die'. The classifier relates morphemically to **kabulu(la)** '(his) nose', as a speaker's nose is closely observed in matters associated with faintness or emotion.)

-misi.kútuva to be in a deep sleep
(from **-masisi (**vb) to sleep and **-kútuva** vb to gag, gasp)

-si.gaga to stay for a very long time, be forever in one place
(from **-sisu (**vb) 'to stop, stay' and **-gaga**[3] (degree suffix) 'very greatly, exceedingly')

-vila.bwaila to share fittingly, act generously (as a chief)
(from **-vili** (vb) 'to share' and **bwaila** (adj) 'acceptable, generous')

3.4.6.2 Reduplication in verb stems

Verb stems of all classes may occur in a reduplicated form to express continuity or frequent repetition of the verbal action. The reduplicative process takes two forms: reduplication of either the first syllable or the first two syllables of the verb stem. In both cases the first syllable in the reduplication often has a modified form, usually a vowel change. Examples of reduplicative forms follow here:

First syllable reduplicated

-lagi to hear	**i-li.lagi**	he is hearing
-saiki to give	**i-si.saiki**	he is giving s.o sthg
-vagi to do	**i-u.vagi**	he is doing sthg

First two syllables reduplicated

-boku	to cough	**-buku.boku**	coughing
-mtu	to rub	**-mtu.mtu**	rubbing
-butu	to compose	**-butu.butu**[30]	composing
-wosi	to sing	**-usi.wosi**	singing
-méguva	to make magic	**-miga-méguva**	making magic

[30] This form also found reduplicated as **–bu.butu**.

When the verb stem is qualified by an adverb, or when it is a compound form, one of the two components may reduplicate, but never both. [31] Reduplication of the first component is more frequently found than reduplication of the second component.

-to-bogwa to stand first

ku-ti.to-bogwa you are standing first

ku-to-bu.bogwa you stand being the first

-gisi-vau to see (s.o or something) again

b-a-gi.gisi-vau I will be seeing (someone) again

b-a-gisi-wo.vau I will see (someone) frequently

The class 3 verbs described in 3.3.1.3 each have a basic stem for intransitive and a second stem which is derived from the first for transitive, and each stem has its own reduplicated form. Some class 3 verbs have an identical stem form for both intransitive and transitive, but show their variation from intransitive to transitive form by employing different reduplicative forms. For these class 3 verbs, two syllable reduplication marks intransitive, and single syllable reduplication marks transitive, as shown here:

-gabu to burn: to burn sthg

i-gibu.gabu he is doing burning (intransitive)

i-gi.gabu he is burning sthg

-kivi to break: to break sthg

i-kivi.kivi he is breaking (intransitive)

i-ki.kivi he is breaking sthg

-dani to squeeze: to squeeze sthg

i-dini.dani he is squeezing (intransitive)

i-di.dani he is squeezing sthg

[31] A similar process is manifested in Dobu language texts, but here both verb stem and adverb suffix may reduplicate, as **-ona-ona-dai-daita** be speaking carelessly. (Data from Arnold 1931: section 175).

It has been suggested that in these examples, the words cannot be intransitive; but the acts of burning, breaking or squeezing are viewed intransitively and so the intransitive form of reduplication is used.

As the morphophonemic variation of these reduplicative forms does not show a constant shape, the dictionary must list as variant forms all reduplications that occur. I have followed the practice of listing only those reduplications that I have observed in speech or written text.

Where additional features of context-related restrictions occur, these are drawn to the attention of dictionary users in appropriate entries.

An example of such a dictionary entry is the irregular form used for the verb -**vabodanim.** All Kiriwina verbs marked for 3rd plural terminate with the plural suffix **-si**, except only this verb **-vabodanim** 'to be the last in a line (of walking people)', which shows plural by inserting **-si** as an infix in the form **-vaboda-si-nim**. The verb **-vaboda** 'walk and meet s.o on the track' is transitive (with pl **-vabodasi**), but becomes intransitive by the addition of the suffix **-nim** (with pl **-vabodasinim**), 'to be the last in a line of walking people'. Thus there are two irregular features, the placement of the plural suffix as an infix, and the new derived intransitive form.

Two comments on this form are made in the dictionary entry, as follows:

i) The free-standing form of **nim** is a noun, glossed 'mosquito', while the suffix **–nim** is a homonym 'be last in a walking line'. Some Kiriwina people regard this word as a mild joke, and I once heard a Kiriwina child say in English, "I'll go and meet mosquito", then saw him go to the end of a walking line on a jungle track, where possibly mosquitoes converge after people have passed.

ii) I have found an example of the use of this word with the meaning 'be the last in a succession of people doing something', as is shown in the example following:

Guyau	**b-i-va.bodanim**	**b-i-mom**	**ma<kwela>na.**
chief	ir-3sg-be.the.last.to.do	ir-3sg-drink	that-cl.cup

Last of all, the King will drink from that cup. (Jeremiah 25.26)

While this word **-vabodanim** seems at one level to be regarded humorously by speakers, the suffix **-nim** (a homonym of **nim** 'mosquito') when combined with **-vaboda** has the sense of 'be the last one to do (what others have already done)'. **Nim** does not occur as a suffix elsewhere, but the several examples I have found with **-vaboda** attest its place as a lexeme component. In the example given above **-vabodanim** is functioning like a modal verb in the verb phrase.

3.5 Verb phrases

3.5.1 Composition of verb phrases

I turn now to the verb phrase (VP) which has as its nucleus a verb (3.4) but may contain additional optional material, as shown in the diagram below.

VP--> { {±Time adjunct ±Mode +dynamic verb ±Manner [±S Adverbials]
+ Prohibition + dynamic verb
+ Subject verb marker + stative verb }

Figure 3.1 Structure of the verb phrase

Three types of verb phrase are shown in this diagram, two of which have a dynamic verb nucleus, and a third type with a stative verb nucleus.

3.5.2 First type: The declarative verb phrase

3.5.2.1 Composition of the declarative verb phrase

The declarative verb phrase with its optional components (time, mode and manner adverbs) is described first.

The minimal verb phrase of this type consists of a dynamic verb which must be marked with its subject prefix if intransitive, or with both subject

prefix and object suffix[32] if transitive. The fully expanded verb phrase includes time adjunct, mode and manner adverbs as described below.

Also, adverbials which have scope over the whole clause are included in square brackets in this verb phrase syntactic pattern. These include negators, temporal adverbials and degree indicators, which may occur within the declarative verb phrase attached to the three components (time, mode or manner adverbs) modifying them in some way. However, verb phrases specifying prohibition do not accept modification by degree adverbs, or by further negation. These sentence level adverbials also operate freely in other parts of the sentence; their function there was discussed in 3.2.4.

The three components time marker, mode indicator and manner adverbs are now discussed.

3.5.2.2 Time reference in verb phrases

i) When no time component occurs

When the speaker has no time concern in his statement he uses the simple form of the verb (verb stem plus subject prefix) which states only the actor and the action; this unmarked form usually has the sense of simple present or simple past tense, according to context.

Ma<tau>na	**i-vagi**
that-cl.person	3sg-to.do (sthg)

He does (it) or He did (it)

ii) Two time reference components

When the speaker wishes to give the verbal action a temporal reference he employs two time reference components, the time adjunct marker, which is a word introducing the verb phrase, and a verbal aspect-mood marker, which is prefixed to the verb itself. These two components must be considered together as they jointly exercise a time control on the verbal action to indicate a verb's tense, "a form taken by a verb to indicate the time at which the action or state is viewed as occurring." (Chalker and Weiner 1994: 395)

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[32] If the object is 3rd person singular or plural, the object marker is a noun phrase enclitic to the verb; see paradigm.

a) Aspect-mood markers

In the verb phrase, the completion or non-completion of the verb's action is shown by the verb's aspect-mood markers, **lV-, bV**- and **mV-,** which are prefixed to the verb's subject prefix. A completed act is specified by the realis mood marker **lV-,** or an incomplete act by the use of the irrealis mood marker **bV-**. A third prefix, the aspect marker **mV-** to indicate habitually recurring acts is also used, but this is rare, possibly obsolete. These are set out as paradigms in 3.4.3

When used in the verb phrase without any other time reference, the realis marker is usually past tense, and future may be shown by the irrealis marker.

b) The time adjunct markers

A time adjunct marker occurs optionally as the initial word of a verb phrase. Three words are used, **bogwa**, **igau** and **makateki,** which place the completion of the verb's action in various degrees of remoteness (either past or future) from the time of speaking. They are listed here in order of remoteness, (i) only just now being done, (ii) already done, and (iii) done at some other more distant or unspecified time.

makateki	just now (of past or future happenings very close to present)
bogwa	already (of recent past or near future happenings)
igau	at some other time unspecified, when (in past or future)

The first of these time adjuncts, **makateki,** is not often found, as it is only used in reference to happenings very close to the present time, either in the past or future. The second, **bogwa**, has a high frequency of occurrence, and is the most frequently used of these three words. It specifies an action that has been done or is about to be done. The third term, **igau**, either removes the verb's action to some distant time (either past or future) from the time of speaking, or else suggests that the actual time of action isn't really worth commenting on. When once I asked a man whether he had completed a task, he replied with one word, uttered with strong creaky voice intonation, **"Igau!!"** — from which I correctly inferred that he had done it ages ago. At times I have heard Kiriwina described as "The land of **igau**", where everything can be put off till later, which isn't very kind, and is not correct.

c) Syntagmatic function of time adjunct words and aspect-mood markers

These two components within the verb phrase usually co-occur to indicate tenses of the verbal action, more precise than the simple past or simple future shown by the mood markers alone noted above. Occurrences of the time adjunct marker without any verbal mood marker are rarely found. Examples of these verb phrases taken from translation text may show in addition sentence level components, but this syntagmatic relationship between time adjunct and mood gives specific tense-related meanings as in the following examples. (The two components are shown italicised in these examples.)

Makateki	***b*-i-youli-si**	**ma<vilou>na.**
just.now	ir-3-to.overthrow-pl	that-cl.place

They were about to capture that town. (2 Samuel 12.26)

I-u.veilau-si	**witi**	***makateki*** **`**	***e*-i-taiyau-wai-si.**
3-to.be.stealing-pl	wheat	just.now	rl-3-to.harvest-j-pl

They were stealing the newly-harvested wheat. (1 Samuel 23.1)

Avai	**tuta**	***bogwa***	***e*-i-lo-si...**
what	time	already	rl-3-to.go-pl

When they had gone... (Joshua 7.2)

Ku-luk-wai-gu	**avaka**	***bogwa***	***lo*-ku-vagi.**
2sg-to.tell-j-1sg	what	already	rl-2sg-to.do

Tell me what you have done. (Joshua 7.19)

Avai	**tuta**	***bogwa***	***bu*-ku-youli-si**	**ma<vilou>na...**
what	time	already	ir-2-to.capture-pl	that-cl.place

After you have taken the city... (Joshua 8.8)

I-mnabi	**ma<tau>na**	***igau***	**wala**	***b*-i-sisu.**
3sg-to.urge	that-cl.man	time-more	only	ir-3sg-to.stay

He urged him to stay longer. (Judges 19.7)

Igau	**wala**	***e-i*-sisu-ai-si**	**o-bikubaku ...**
time.more	only	rl-3-to.stay-j-pl	in-market.place

While they were staying in the market place...(Judges 19.16)

The word **igau** 'when' also functions as a conjunction introducing a temporal subsidiary clause similar to those shown in 3.2.2.2. The last example may yield an alternative translation reflecting this usage, as "When (while) they were staying there".

iii) Tense specification and additional time phrases

Frequently an additional sentence level time word or phrase is added to the verb phrase. The illustrations given here show verbal expressions which include this additional time reference, giving a more exact time specification for the verbal action:

Bogwa	**lagaila**	**ba-...**
already	today	irrealis

Today I'm going to...

Igau	**kaukwau**	**la-...**
another time	morning	real...

I have done (verb act) during the morning.

Makateki	**tuta**	**b-i-ma**	**me-kaloubusi.**
immediately	time	ir-3sg-come	habitual-to.occur

It will recur soon, at its usual time.

Sentence level time words and phrases are listed and discussed in 3.8.5, with examples.

3.5.2.3 The mode components

Mood in the verb phrase also shows the speaker's attitude towards the fitness, obligation, possibility, likelihood or probability of performance of an action. A modal marker may either occur as an initial component in the verb phrase or may follow the temporal terms described in 3.5.2.2 above. The modal marker may be a verb or an adverb.

i) Modal verbs

There are two main verbs that indicate the speaker's view of the fitness of an action, and may be described as verbs of deontic modality. They occur

as main verbs, taking as their subject a clause specifying the action whose fitness is being evaluated.

-bodi	to be fitting, acceptable (of an action)
-kwani	to be fitting, socially proper (of behaviour)

Modal verbs are class 1 stative verbs, which must be marked with 3rd person subject. Rarely they are found with an object suffix, which is in agreement with the subject of the nominal clause. These two modal verbs are almost exact synonyms; their synonymy is examined in 7.3.3 although the use of **-kwani** may be favoured in reference to chiefly behaviour. Also the phrase **gala i-kwani** "to be unfit" is preferred for undesirable acts.

It is a common rhetorical device to use the two modal verbs in sequence, in what we might call verbal apposition sharing a single complement clause in commending behaviour all should follow, as in this example from a speech:

I-bodai-dasi	**i-kwanai-dasi**	**bi-ta-vagai-si**	**makawala.**
3sg-befits-1inpl	3sg-befits-1inpl	ir-1in-do-pl	thus

It is fitting, it is proper, that we should do the same.

In non-rhetorical speech however only one verb occurs. The examples which follow show subjects as clauses which are complements of the modal:

I-bodai-dasi	**komwaido-dasi**	**wala**	**bi-ta-lo-si.**
3sg-befits-3inpl	all-1inpl	only	ir-1in-go-pl

lit. That we all go befits us.
Let us all go. (1 Samuel 11.14)

Gala	**i-bodi**	**b-a-yowai**	**deli**	**guguwa**	**ma<kwai-si>na.**
Not	3sg-befits	ir-1sg-fight	with	thing	that-cl.object-pl

lit. That I will fight using these things does not suit.
I can't fight with all this. (1 Samuel 17.39)

I-bodi	**wala**	**b-a-pilasai-m.**
3sg-befits	only	ir-1sg-help-2sg

lit. That I will help you is only fitting.
I really should help you.

Gala	**i-kwani**	**bi-ta-yakawoli**	**tai-tala**	**to-nagowa.**
not	3sg-befits	ir-1indl-praise	cl.man-one	cl.person-fool

lit. That people will praise a fool is not fitting behaviour.
People should not praise a fool.

Gala	**i-bodi**	**b-i-kaimila-vau.**
not	3sg-be.fitting	ir-3sg-return-again

lit. That it will be returned is not fitting.
It must not go back. (1 Samuel 6.3)

Dictionary entries for these two modal verbs include examples of situations which the modal verb is evaluating, to show that their deontic function is best seen in syntactic contexts. Examples also show that while their close synonymy is demonstrated in positive situations, the use of a negator shows **gala ikwani** 'not proper' as a mild judgement compared with the more severe judgement **gala ibodi** 'not fitting'.

These two modal verbs, which indicate suitability, fitness or social rectitude of an action, have a very high functional role in communication.

ii) Modal adverbs

Modal adverbs (Adv) are indicators of epistemic modality, which occur in the verb phrase either as an initial component or following the temporal component examined in 3.5.2.2 above. Epistemic modality concerns the likelihood of performance of the verb's action; the modal adverb qualifies the head verb in the phrase, for example:

gagabila	possibly, likely
pwapwasa	easily
mokwita	truly
kaina	maybe, perhaps
bwaina	desirable
makawala	like, thus

In verb phrases containing an epistemic modal, the verb is usually marked with the irrealis mood prefix **bV-**, although realis mood **lV-** is sometimes found.

Examples of the verb phrase incorporating modal adverbs are given here.

A-doki	***kaina***	***b-i-suma***	**mi<na>na.**
1sg-think	perhaps	ir-3sg-be.pregnant	that-cl.woman

I think perhaps that woman might be pregnant.

Gagabila	***wala***	***bu-ku-bani***	**to-ka.mokwita**	**yeigu.**
Possible	only	ir-2sg-find.out	cl.person-speak-true	I

You can easily find out if I am honest. (Genesis 30.33)

Kidamwa	***mokwita***	***l-a-yo-mwasali***	**nano-m...**
if	truly	rl-1sg-cause-rejoice	mind-2sg.poss

If truly you are pleased with me... (Exodus 34.9)

Bwaina	**bu-ku-nagai-si**	**momova.**
desirable	ir-2-to.choose-pl	life

lit Good you will choose life

You should choose life.

The epistemic modal adverbs may be qualified by a negative, or may be marked for degree.

Some of the modal adverbs are also found with 3rd person singular subject prefix markers, and function as main verbs in the same way as the modal verbs noted above. These forms are derived from stative verbs, and some comment on them is added in 3.5.4 below.

3.5.2.4 Adverbs of manner follow the verb

Adverbs which state the manner of the verb's action occur in the verb phrase as free forms following the head verb. Many of these forms which occur as adverbs following verbs also occur as adjectives following nouns.

mokwita	truly
sa.sopa	falsely
pa.peula	strongly
ma.mama	weakly

m.malu	immediately
nanakwa	quickly
minimani	fiercely
manum	gently
kium	secretly
mimilakatila	openly, plainly
kasai	with difficulty, unjustly
nanota	action done in vain

Some examples show verbs modified with adverbs of manner:

Ku-saiki	**m.malu.**
2sg-give	immediately

You give it immediately.

Ma<tau>na	**i-livala**	**mimilakatila.**
that-cl.person	3sg-speak	plainly

That person speaks plainly.

Kidamwa	**bu-ku-sisu**	**manum**	**yoku**	**bu-ku-kwabitam.**
if	ir-2sg-stay	gently	you	ir-2sg-do.wisely

If you stay calm you are wise. (Proverbs 14.29)

Subsidiary clauses or other phrases may function adverbially in a fashion similar to those described above, for example:

siva-tala	(cl.occasion-one) once (different numerals specify how often the verb's action is repeated)
siva-bidubadu	(cl.occasion-many) often
mimilisi tuta	some times

Two examples illustrate adverbial phrases or subsidiary clauses:

Yoku	**lo-ku-bigi.gagi**	**tomota**	**siva-bidubadu.**
2sg	rl-2sg-insult	people	cl.occasion-many

You have insulted people frequently.

Yam	**lagaila**	**magi-gu**	**bi-ta-livala.**
day	today	desire-my	ir-1indl-talk

Today I want you(sg) and I to have a talk.

A different set of adverbs that are bound forms are also suffixed to the head verb; these were listed and described with the adverbials used in the verb phrase, in 3.4.5.1.

3.5.3 Second type: The prohibitive verb phrase

In the diagram of verb phrase structures shown in 3.5.1 above, the prohibitive verb phrase is seen with its two bound components, prohibition + dynamic verb.

Within this verb phrase four prohibitives are used, expressing four degrees of prohibition. The mildest of these, **gala** 'do not' is also considered separately above in 3.2.4.1 in its general use as a negator. The words signifying degrees of prohibition are listed in order of severity. The first two indicate general prohibitions. The second two represent stronger types of prohibition where customary taboos or spiritual laws prohibit an action.

gala	do not
taga	do not, must not (emphatic form)
tabu	it is forbidden to
boma(la)	it is absolutely forbidden to

A prohibitive marker is always followed by a verb marked with irrealis mood. This is shown in the examples that follow:

Gala	**bu-ku-vagi**	**sula.**
do.not	ir-2sg-do	error

Do not make a mistake.

Taga	**bu-ku-kokola.**
must.not	ir-2sg-fear

You must not be afraid.

Taga	**bu-ku-nakaigalai-si**	**ulo=biga**.
do.not	ir-2-forget-pl	1sg.poss=word

Don't forget my words.

Taga	**ma=tokabilia-si**	**ba-ka-youli-si**	**mi=valu.**
must-not	1ex-soldier-pl	ir-1ex-capture-pl	2pl.poss-city

Our soldiers must not capture your city. (Isaiah 36.15)

Tabu	**bu-ku-bigi.matowa**	**baisa**	**m=kwava.**
forbidden	ir-2-speak.filthy	to	2sg.poss=wife

You must not swear at your wife.

Boma-mi	**bu-ku-bubulai-si**	**avai**	**yaubada.**
forbidden-2pl.poss	ir-2-make-pl	any	god

You (pl) are forbidden to make any gods. (Exodus 20.23)

These terms of prohibition present a problem as to their part of speech status. One analysis is to treat them as defective verbs which do not take subject markers, but which take as their subject the whole proposition that is negated. Their occurrence in sentence initial position supports this conjecture. In addition one of them (**boma(la)**) inflects with subject possession reference, in similar behaviour to the class 1 stative verbs.

Verb phrases which express prohibition do not include any other components. If the prohibitive markers are analysed as defective verbs, they cannot be part of a larger verb phrase, but must be seen as representing a verb phrase, with a sentential complement as their subject.

3.5.4 Third type: The stative verb phrase

The head of a stative verb phrase is a class 1 stative verb, which must be prefixed with its complement subject, so that the stative verb plus marker is a single phonological word. When the stative verb is used with personal reference the full paradigm of pronominal forms may be used, although 3rd singular is the most commonly found. This single word stative verb may appear as a total utterance in a clause; but where the speaker wishes to add more detail to the sentence, this appears as a subject NP which almost always follows the head verb. This VS ordering of stative verb clauses was discussed in 3.2.1.2, where the following conditions were seen to apply:

1. The verbal subject marker can only be 3rd person singular.

2. Other components of number and person (normally shown as verb components) must be borne in the subject noun phrase.

While the stative verb phrase may occur without a separate noun phrase subject, this is only found when contextual reference to a missing subject phrase is clear. Thus the phrase

i-sim
3sg-stay (there)
it stays there, it is there

would only be acceptable as a complete statement if the complement of the verb's subject marker was indicated, possibly by body-language, or by its context. This verb phrase generally occurs with its subject complement, as:

I-sim	**mi=waga.**
3sg-stay (there)	2pl.poss=canoe(s)
lit	It stops there your(pl) canoes
Your canoes are there.	

Other contexts, such as an answer to a query, would make the short rejoinder acceptable, for then the question which is being answered becomes the context which relates the verb's subject marker with its subject noun phrase.

For other examples of stative sentences see 3.2.1.2 part ii a) above, where the use of a stative verb with a body part is shown as an idiom for emotive terms, the sensation in the named body part recalling the emotion experienced.

Stative verbs in a coordinate verb string

Some stative verbs occur in a derived form as adverbs which function as modals; this was noted in 3.5.2.3 part i) above. These statives function usually as the first part of a verb string in a coordinate relationship, as was described in 3.3.2. As with all statives, the subject prefix only occurs in 3rd singular form. Their similarity to the modal verbs as glossed in 3.5.2.3 part i) is noted here in the following examples:

-gagabila (stative verb) to be possible

I-gagabila **b-i-gis-ai-m-si.**
3sg-to.be.possible ir-3-to.see-j-2sg-pl
lit. That they should see you is possible
They are able to see you (or) They can see you.

Gala **i-gagabila** **b-i-sikam-si** **(karekwa...)**
not 3sg-to.be.possible ir-3-to.wear-pl (woollen clothing...)
lit. That they should wear (woollen clothing) is not possible.
They must not wear (woollen clothing). Ezekiel 44.17

Oluvi **i-gagabila** **bu-ku-wotetila** **tuvaila.**
afterwards 3sg-to.be.possible ir-2sg-to.serve again
lit That you will serve again will afterwards be possible
Afterwards you can serve again. (Ezekiel 44.27)

Ki, **gala** **i-gagabila** **bu-ku-yuu.yausa-si**
Qn not 3sg-be.possible ir-2-watching-pl

b-i-momwa?
ir-3sg-moment
Weren't you able to stay awake even for one hour? (Mark 14.37)

-paiki (stative verb) to refuse

I-paiki **b-i-nina.vila.**
3sg-refuse ir-3sg-to.mind-change
lit That he should repent he refused
He refused to repent.

I-paiki **b-i-kabikuwoli** **karaiwaga.**
3sg-to.refuse ir-3sg-obey rule
lit. That he should obey the law he refused
He refused to obey the law.

These verbs frequently occur in the shortened form with their subject prefix relating to an unstated context, which is glossed or stated in free translation as 'that (unstated context)'. For example:

I-gagabila.
3sg-be.possible
That is easy (to do).

Bogwa	**b-i-gagabila**	**goli.**
already	ir-3sg-possible	em

That will certainly be possible.

Gala	**i-gagabila**	**wala**.
not	3sg-possible	only

(An unstated context) is just impossible.

Bogwa	**le-i-paiki.**
already	rl-3sg-to.refuse

He has refused (to do sthg).

The adverbs which function in this way are identified in their dictionary entries as having been derived from class 1 stative verbs.

3.6 Nominal constructions: nouns, pronouns and possessives

3.6.1 Nouns a major word type

Nouns are a class of words which prototypically refer to concrete entities (or entities which have the same role in syntax); grammatically they may be qualified by determiners. Nouns may be divided into common or proper, and while common nouns may be quantified and possessed, proper nouns cannot. They all may occur as headword of a noun phrase, and function as subject or object of a clause, or of a preposition.

Nouns that have entries in the Kiriwina dictionary are mostly common nouns, including count and uncount or mass nouns. Monomorphemic common nouns include words for daily life and industry, family and society structures, kin and body part terms, together with names of many commonplace village objects and possessions. Included are the names given to workers, artisans, craftsmen and workers in all fields, with all the tools and processes they use, the names associated with all aspects of daily life, growth, age and death, and spirit beliefs regarding unseen things.

Not many proper names are included in the dictionary, but some associated with leading or ruling figures, historically prominent people or legendary associations are included, such as the names of personalities which have become descriptive terms for people who behave in a similar way. One such proper noun is **Dokanikani**, a prominent mythical human monster who killed then ate raw human flesh; but his name is given to any gigantic person, or to anyone with uncouth habits, as a description of their personal qualities. **Guyau** is a chiefly title but also a form of address, and a descriptive term for certain patterns of behaviour. Anyone conversant with Kiriwina society will readily recognise **Tabalu**, the name of the paramount chiefly family, and other chiefly lines would be similarly named. It would be difficult to speak about the structure of Kiriwina society without naming clans and subclans. Certain geographical locations which are identified as the issuing points of clans named in legends are included. In the same way kin terms when titles are proper nouns, or when descriptive terms are common nouns, according to contrasted information regarding the speaker's use of the term, whether the speaker is encoding **tama-dasi** 'our father' as the title of one who is socially supreme, or is decoding the conventional kin term for the head of the family, using the term and leaving his hearers to decode its meaning for recognition of its parts.

The major noun classes are described in 3.6.2. Then 3.6.3 deals with the various ways in which nouns are possessed or owned. This is followed in 3.6.4 by a study of noun stems and processes of derivation and compounding of stems. In section 3.7 I consider how Kiriwina speech groups all nouns semantically by classifiers; nouns are grouped by some physical components, or acted on in different ways or referred to as bundles or as divided, all the ways which the culture sees as features which relate items. The function of

nouns as head components of noun phrases is studied in 3.7.1, while the classifier's role in the noun phrase and the grouping effected by classifiers is examined in 3.7.2 and 3.7.3. The three modifiers which operate in the noun phrase are examined in 3.7.4. An account of some other classifier functions in 3.7.5 completes this section.

3.6.2 The three possession-based classes of nouns

Nouns are divided into three classes determined by the way they may be related by the personal pronoun possessive markers. Class 1 nouns cannot be possessed; class 2 nouns show inalienable possession as an affix; class 3 nouns show their possession as semantic categories of ownership using proclitic markers. Each of these noun classes is now examined in detail, and special attention is given to the mixed quality of the class 3 nouns in 3.6.3 below.

3.6.2.1 Class 1 nouns (n 1)

.Class 1 nouns are free forms, obligatorily unmarked, as they cannot be possessed. Nouns of this class include many common nouns, which include topographical and place name terms[33], forces of nature (wind, rain, darkness, tides and currents, etc) and names of attributes as colour, quality, etc. In addition to the common nouns, all proper nouns are included in class 1.

Topographical and natural order items in class 1 which cannot be possessed include such items as:

bolita	sea
lumata	coastline, shore
gawata	air (a stratum above trees)
labuma	sky
kalásia	sun
tubukona	moon
utuyam	star

[33] There is also a large number of terms used for ancient borders, names of rocks and other markers used in land division; these names frequently show obsolete forms which may reflect archaic patterns of word formation.

mlopu	cave, grotto
koya	mountain
simla	island

Proper nouns of this class 1 category are generally not included as entries in this dictionary, though exceptions are made for places and personalities prominent in legends. While exceptions are made and some proper names are included in the lexicon, generally personal names and place names are low priority for inclusion in a general dictionary because they do not have meaning in the conventional sense, other than 'name of a person or place.'

Personal names are very numerous, and they are owned as personal property, but this ownership is not morphologically marked in any way. Each of the four clans claims ownership of a separate set of personal names. Many names reflect happenings or events of cultural importance to a family or small group; for example, a man's name **Toimalakabilia** is translatable as 'the one who withdrew from battle', and a woman's name **Kauyalabagidou** as 'Bagidou (a famous necklace) in a basket'. The names of chiefly families are remembered and repeatedly conferred on newborns or given as a mark of honour to foreigners. Ancient boundary marks are known only to land-owners and others who have an expert knowledge of their local topography and its relation to ancient myths, but these names have only a small place in day-to-day communication.

Included in the class 1 category is a subset of body part terms, which show morphological relations to body part terms used in the class 2 category which regularly shows possession. But as class 1 nouns they can only occur unmarked for possession. These class 1 body part terms are listed here together with the morphologically-related class 2 terms.

Class 1 nouns		*Class 2 nouns*	
dábila	the head, a head	**daba(la)**	(his) head
yámila	the hand. a hand	**yama(la)**	(his) hand/arm
baloma	a spirit	**biloma(la)**	(his) spirit/soul
lula	the belly, emotions	**lopo(la)**	(his) belly
nona	mind, will, thought	**nano(la)**	(his) mind/will

Not all class 2 body part nouns or human-related terms have parallel forms in class 1, and no kin terms are included in class 1. See the following class 2 forms:

magi(la)	(his) desire	no class 1 equivalent
so(la)	(his) companion	no class 1 equivalent
tama(la)	(his) father	no class 1 equivalent

3.6.2.2 Class 2 nouns (n 2)

All class 2 nouns are a closed class of inalienably possessed nouns; they are marked with possessive pronouns (poss) as a suffix or (in the case of two kin terms) an infix. Included in this group are kinship terms, most body part terms, and some other terms which are connected in some way to human or spirit entities. Class 2 nouns are a closed class.

Examples of class 2 nouns are:

tama(la)	(his) father
kaike(la)	(his) leg, foot
buyavi(la)	(his) blood
biloma(la)	(his) spirit, soul
magi(la)	(his) desire
titoule(la)	(him)self
lubai(la)	(his) loved person
ká(la)²	(his) meal

The last word in the foregoing list, **ká(la)** '(his) meal' is a homonym of the personal pronoun proclitic for intimate possession, **kala** 'his (intimately possessed item)'. examined in 3.6.3.2. **Kála** 'his meal' is a class 2 noun, with the meaning limited to 'something which he is to eat or is eating'. This class 2 noun **kála** has a high frequency of use, and the orthographic convention I have followed to distinguish its use as a class 2 noun from the proclitic, **kala** 'his (intimately owned item)' is to write its bisyllabic forms with a stress mark. Thus while the form **kala** may mark the possession of garments, food, beverages, ointments, etc., as described in 3.6.3.2 below, when it is used as a class 2 noun and marked with an acute accent, it specifies only a meal to be

eaten. The paradigm of the noun **kála** is **kágu, kám, kála, káda, kadasi, káma, kamasi, kámi, kási.**[34]

Body part terms only occur as singular forms. Thus **mata(la)** '(his) eye(s)' does not refer specifically to one or both eyes. If the speaker wishes to refer specifically to both eyes, or to one eye, he will do so in a phrase where **mata(la)** '(his) eye(s)' is modified by numerals or adjectives, marking the classifier **pila-** which specifies items that occur in symmetrical pairs, as banks of a river, body parts in pairs as ears, eyes, etc., or the classifier **moya** which specifies limbs still attached to a body, for example:

mata-la	**pila-yu**
eye-3sg.poss	cl.part (of symmetrical pair)-two
his two eyes	

mata-la	**pila-kikiwama**
eye-3sg.poss	cl.part (of symmetrical pair)-left.side
his left eye	

kaike-la	**moya-kakata**
leg-3sg	cl.limb-right.side
his right leg	

Kin terms however are a subclass which must be marked as singular or plural, and for this reason the paradigm of possessive affixes set out in Table 3.6 (3.6.3.1) shows the forms for possession of singular or plural kin; this need is shown below in examples for father or fathers, with a wider variety of stem forms occurring as variants. The kin term **tama(la)** '(his) father' is used as an example.

tama-m	your (sg) father	**tama-mi**	your (pl) father
tuma-mwa	your (sg) fathers	**tumi-mia**	your (pl) fathers

Class 2 nouns are entered in the dictionary with the suffix for 3rd person singular possession in brackets as its canonical form, as shown in the list of examples above, and the relevant paradigm for that suffix is located by a reference to the class in the dictionary's appendix. Stem variants within a

[34] No distinguishing accent is needed on the three-syllable forms as these occur only here as free standing forms.

paradigm are listed as variants for each noun. The full paradigms for this class of possession (Tables 3.6 and 3.7) are set out in 3.6.3.1 below.

The dictionary entry for the canonical form **tama(la) '**(his) father' is shown as an example below. Stem variants and the paradigm for personal possession are part of that entry.

TAMA(LA) (n 2 pl **tama-si, tuma-si**)

1. This kin term is used by a person or persons in reference to:
   i) their mother's husband,
   ii) their father's same-sex sibling,
   iii) their father's opposite sex siblings' husband,
   iv) their mother's same sex siblings' husband.
2. Used also as a term of respect to specify any older male.
3. Reference to the plural fathers may also refer to ancestors

Note:

i) The personal possessive suffix **-la⁴** shows possession as a bound form.

ii) Two stem variants **tuma-** and **tumi-** for reference to pl fathers; see full paradigm in appendix.

3.6.2.3 Class 3 nouns (n 3)

Class 3 nouns are free-standing forms which are optionally marked for possession with proclitics. Nouns in this class show two categories of possession, an intimate category and a general one. These markers are detailed when the three forms of possession are discussed in 3.6.3.2 – 3.6.3.4 below. Class 3 nouns are an open class, and include many terms associated with village life and activities. Some examples are:

bwala	house
valu	village
kulia	cooking pot
kaboma	wooden bowl
kova	fire, fireplace
kaukwa	dog
bulutu.valu	domestic pig
bolódila	feral pig
waila	wallaby

kabwaku	a small black and white bird
mluveka	sea eagle
baleku	land suitable for gardens
bagula	garden plot
pwaipwaia	soil, dirt
dakuna	stone
kali	garden fence
dakwa	stone wall
daima	digging stick
kema	axe
ligogo	adze
yena	fish
waga	canoe
wola	canoe paddle
laya	sail
poula	fishnet
méguva	magic
towosi	garden magician
mlukwausa	flying witch

Class 3 nouns include a number of human-related terms, a few body part terms and some kinship categories, which are not bound forms. Some of these are restricted to be marked with one form only of possessive marker; these are noted in 3.6.3.4 below. Examples of these three groups are:

Human-related terms:

guyau	chief
tokai	commoner
ugowaga	visitor
togilagala	migrant
tilaula	enemy, invader
kosa	spirit of newly-dead
yaluwa	spirit several days after death
baloma	a spirit of the ancient dead; also spirits in general
tokwai	spirit(s) which inhabit rocks, trees

Kin terms:

mwala	husband
kwava	wife
kakau	widow(er)
ula	orphan; adopted child
gwadi	child
veivai	relative by marriage

Body part terms:

gábula	beard
kwapa	calf of leg
kwaibuwa	lower back
botoku	cleft in chin
pikweta	groin
towakala	waist

i) Class 3 nouns and the purposive suffix

A suffix termed the purposive suffix attaches to most class 3 nouns; occurring in 3rd person only, it has the form **-la⁶** 'its' (pl form **-si** 'their'). It may be seen as a special use of the 3rd person forms of the personal possession pronominal suffixes discussed in 3.6.3.1, but the personal possession form only attaches to class 2 nouns with human reference, while this purposive suffix attaches to the free form class 3 nouns and limits its reference to impersonal items, so it is better to regard this form as a homophone of the morpheme for general possession, having a particular and non-human range of senses. The purposive suffix marks an item which has been chosen for a particular purpose or reserved for some future task or intention. (The pronominal clitics indicating intimate ownership described below in 3.6.3.2 are sometimes found to be synonymous with nouns marked with the purposeful suffix.) Words marked with the purposive suffix are listed as derived forms within an entry. Examples of nouns showing the purposive or intentional sense of this suffix are:

bagula + -la > bigule.la his (its) garden i.e. the garden planted for his benefit, or the garden planted for a particular purpose.

méguva + -la > meguvá.la its magic i.e the magic for some purpose, as magic to ensure fine weather

mauna + -si > maune.si the animals chosen for some purpose

waga + -la > wage.la its boat i.e. the canoe to be used for carrying a particular cargo.

The meaning of nouns marked with the purposive suffix is fully predictable from their parts. Thus these forms may appear in entries as examples of this grammatical form, but need no further definition. A few nouns of this class will not accept the purposive suffix, such as terms for human or spirit entities (which cannot have a purposeful role), so those words which will accept this suffix are all shown as part of their dictionary entry. These forms thus occur as variant spellings, and are included as a cross-reference entry pointing to their basic entry, as in the cross-reference entry shown:

BIGULE-LA (n3 + purpose) garden for sthg **BÁGULA + -la**[6]

ii) Class 3 nouns and possession

The possession proclitics which mark the class 3 nouns indicate semantic categories of ownership. The components of this possessive relationship are possessor=possessed. These different forms of ownership are discussed in detail in 3.6.3 below. The semantics of ownership do not place nouns in different classes, as most nouns of class 3 may accept either of the two ownership marks as shown in the examples. The ownership these markers state is alienable; one item may be marked for general ownership, or an intimate variety of ownership, or need not be marked for ownership at all. Then in 3.6.3.4 some nouns are listed which may be marked with only one of these forms of ownership and cannot accept any other form.

Examples of this possessive relationship are given here. First, there are class 3 nouns marked for intimate ownership:

kala vivia	his perineal band (for him to wear)
agu sopi	my water (that I drink)
kada yenasi	our (meal of) fish
kami kalaga	your(pl) snack (for you all to eat)
kala karekwa	his/her garment (to wear)

Secondly class 3 nouns marked for general ownership are listed. Note that in the listed examples **yena** 'fish' amd **karekwa** 'garment' may be marked for either form of ownership.

ulo waga	my canoe (that I built or own)
la kema	his axe (that he has bought or owns)
ulo yena	my fish (that I have caught intending to sell)
mi karekwa	your(pl) clothing (that you have made to sell)

3.6.3 Personal pronoun possessives

In considering the various noun classes it has been necessary to discuss the different types of possession which mark these classes. Now however we are considering personal pronoun possessives used, and some details must be restated in order to consider each class of marker.

The typology of possessive constructions shows a pattern which Lichtenberk (1985: 105) has described as that used in many Oceanic languages. Firstly, direct possession showing inalienable possession is used for the part-whole relationships of body parts and kinship terms; this is realised as the characteristic of class 2 nouns, a possessive affix attached to the possessor. Secondly, indirect alienable possession is shown as a marker which may be of two types. Firstly, a marker for intimate possession which Lichtenberk describes as an alimentary classifier but which in Kiriwina may specify a broader range, both of consumables and items worn or applied to the body. The second type marks general possession, to mark items that are owned, perhaps by inheritance, purchase or received as a gift, or manufactured, but which may be disposed of if the owner so chooses. These possessive markers for alienable possession are placed proclitic to the possessed item, and always make a cross-reference to the possessor's person and number. These two types are used to mark class 3 nouns.

These three types of possessive personal pronouns are shown in Table 3.5. Each of these personal pronominal forms is now shown, with the semantics of personal possession which each form includes.

Table 3.5 Pronominal forms

Word class / Part of speech	Personal Possession pronouns			Intimate owner-ship	General owner-ship	Personal pronouns	Verb subject prefixes		Verb object suffixes
	body parts	**one relation a) suffix b) infix**	**plural relations a) suffix b) infix**				**simple**	**with mood markers**	
1st p sg	-gu	-gu -gu-	-gwa -gu-..-ia	kagu ~ agu	ulo	yeigu	a-	ba- la-	-gu
2nd p sg	-m	-m -m-	-mwa -m-..-ia	kam	m	yoku	ku-	buku- loku-, oku-	-m
3rd p sg	-la	-la -le-	-la -le-	kala	la	deictic sg	i-	bi- lei-, ei-	deictic sg
1st p dual excl	-ma	-ma -me-	-maia -me-..-ia	kama	ma	yakama	ka-	baka- laka-, aka-	-ma
1st p pl excl	-masi	-masi -me-..-si	-maiasi -me-..-iasi	kama -si	ma -si	yakamaisi	ka-..-si	baka-..-si laka-..-si ~aka-..-si	-masi
1st p dual incl	-da	-da -de-	-daia -de-..-ia	kada	da	yakida	ta-	bita- leita-, eita-	-da
1st p pl incl	-dasi	-dasi -de-..-si	-daiasi -de-..-iasi	kada -si	da -si	yakidasi	ta-..-si	bita-..-si leita-..-si ~eita-..-si	-dasi
2nd p pl	-mi	-mi -mi-	-mia -mi-..-ia	kami	mi	yokomi	ku-..-si	buku-..-si loku-..-si, ~oku-..-si	-mi
3rd p pl	-si	-si -si-	-sia -si-..-ia	kasi	si	deictic pl	i-..-si	bi-..-si lei-..-si, ~ei-..-si	deictic pl
Examples (canonical form)	**dabala** his head	**bodala** his brother/ her sister **luleta** her brother/ his sister	**budala** his brothers/ her sisters **luleta** her brothers/ his sisters	**kala yena** his fish (for him to eat)	**la waga** his canoe	**matauna** him, that man **minana** her, that woman	**ivagi** he did	**bivagi** he will do **leivagi** he has done	**igisi matauna** he saw him

3.6.3.1 Direct personal possession pronouns (p.poss)

All class 2 nouns are bound forms, which are marked for inalienable possession; the inflecting part of each noun is the personal pronoun lexeme specifying the person and number of individuals who possess these items.

The personal possession pronouns occur suffixed to body part terms. They are also suffixed to kinship terms, with the exception of two kin terms where they occur as infixes (**lu-le-ta** 'his/her opposite sex sibling' and **iva-le-ta** 'his/her same sex sibling's spouse').

Kinship terms require both singular and plural possession to be distinguished. The paradigms in Table 3.6 for suffixes and Table 3.7 for infixes show the need for plural reference to kin groups, and also note stem variations which must be recorded.

Body part terms require only singular reference, and the singular part of the kinship paradigm alone is that which specifies body part possession. Where body parts are duplicated for eye(s) or leg(s), the singular personal form alone is used to refer either to the pair of body parts or to one member of the pair. Examples of this reference were given in 3.6.2.2 above.

Two comments are made here on some variant forms of body part terms.

The first relates to human body part terms. The majority of body part terms occur with inalienable personal possessive suffixes, but a few are possessed with the proclitic markers for intimate possession (i.poss; see 3.6.3.2). In addition, some body part terms, which usually occur as class 2 nouns which must show the inalienable personal pronoun possessive suffix, also occur as class 1 nouns which cannot be marked for possession. These were noted and examples listed in 3.6.2.1.

Secondly, when the limbs of animals or birds are designated, a variant form of the 3rd person possessed form is used to refer to the animal limbs, and this form does not show possession, as the possessive suffix **-la** used with class 2 nouns is restricted to human possession. The lexeme **kaikena** 'hind

leg of animal' is similar to **kaikela** 'his leg (of human)' but is not marked for possession, and does not inflect. Where possession is by an animal or bird, a suffix **-la** 'its' is added. The terms **kaikena** and **yamana** are used to refer to a limb separated from a carcass for consumption. These forms are exemplified here, and contrasted with the form for human body parts:

kaikena hind leg of animal; leg of a bird cf **kaike(la)** (his) leg
kaikena-la its hind leg, its bird-leg

yamana foreleg of animal, wing of bird cf **yama(la)** (his) arm
yamane-la its foreleg, its wing

The paradigms showing this type of inalienable possession are given in Tables 3.6 and 3.7 below.

Pronouns for inalienable personal possession also occur as infixes in two kin terms, **lu<le>ta** (his) opposite sex sibling, and **iva<le>ta** (his) spouse's same sex sibling. The paradigm for the **lu<le>ta** term is set out in Table 3.7. The English glosses assume a man is speaking of his sister.

Table 3.6 A kin term with personal possession pronouns suffixed

Part 1 – Forms for singular kin

1st p sing	tama-**gu**	my (father)
2nd p sing	tama-**m**	your sg (father)
3rd p sing	tama-**la**	his (father) –Note 1
1st p dual excl	tama-**ma**	our excl dual (father)
1st p plural excl	tama-**masi**	our excl plural (father)
1st p dual incl	tama-**da**	our incl dual (father)
1st p plural incl	tama-**dasi**	our incl plural (father)
2nd p plural	tama-**mi**	your plural (father)
3rd p plural	tama-**si**	their (father)

Table 3.6 Part 2 – Forms for plural kin

1st p sing	tuma-**gwa**	my (fathers) –Note 2
2nd p sing	tuma-**mwa**	your sg (fathers)
3rd p sing	tama-**la**	his (fathers) –Note 1
1st p dual excl	tuma-**maia**	our excl dual (fathers)
1st p plural excl	tumi-**maiasi**	our excl plural (fathers)
1st p dual incl	tuma-**daia**	our incl dual (fathers)
1st p plural incl	tumi-**daiasi**	our incl plural (fathers)
2nd p plural	tumi-**mia**	your plural (fathers)
3rd p plural	tumi-**sia**	their (fathers) –Note 2

Notes:

1. Polysemous form for 'his father' and 'his fathers', which must be distinguished by contextual reference.
2. Two allomorphs of **tama-** (**tuma-**, **tumi-)** each of which require separate listing in cross-reference entries.

Table 3.7 A kin term with personal possession pronouns infixed

lu-**gu**-ta	my sister	lu-**gu**-ta-**ia**	my sisters
lu-**m**-ta	your (sg) sister	lu-**m**-ta-**ia**	your (sg) sisters
lu-**le**-ta	his sister	lu-**lé**-ta	his sisters
lu-**me**-ta	our (exdl) sister	lu-**me**-ta-**ia**	our (exdl) sisters
lu-**me**-ta-**si**	our (expl) sister	lu-**me**-ta-**iasi**	our (expl) sisters
lu-**de**-ta	our (indl) sister	lu-**de**-ta-**ia**	our (indl) sisters
lu-**de**-ta-**si**	our (inpl) sister	lu-**de**-ta-**iasi**	our (inpl) sisters
lu-**mi**-ta	your (pl) sister	lu-**mi**-ta-**ia**	your (pl) sisters
lu-**si**-ta	their sister	lu-**si**-ta-**ia**	their sisters

Notes:

1. The 3sg forms bear normal penultimate word stress, but the form for plural kin is marked with a stronger word stress.

2. Personal possession pronouns occur with a few other nouns of this closed class to indicate human possession, for example:

tole(la) a man of (village name)
vile(la) a woman of (village name)
toule(la) true, authentic (item possessed)

3. Plural forms are circumfixes (except for 3rd person singular).

3.6.3.2 Pronouns marking intimate possession (i.poss)

This type of intimate possession is shown here with four slightly different semantic functions all of which are marked with the one form of personal pronoun proclitic marker. The pronoun **ka(la)[1]** (with its paradigm **kagu ~ agu, kam, kala, kama, kama# ...-si, kada, kada# ...-si, kami, kasi)** is a proclitic which marks items that are intimately possessed in some way. These four groups are shown:

i) Items consumed or worn

A major use of this proclitic is to mark the possession of food or drink consumed, clothing owned/being worn, personal decorations or ornaments worn even if owned by someone else, poultices or ointments applied to possessor's body. The intimacy of this possessive relationship is shown in the example glosses by the bracketed words.

kala=yena his fish (a meal to be consumed)
agu=tia my (cup of) tea
kami=karekwa your clothes (which you are wearing)
kam=mweli your(sg) poultice (applied to your wound)
agu=doga my tusk ornament (which I am wearing)

ii) Personal characteristics

This form also marks characteristics or personal traits of the possessor, as his goodness or evil character, height or weight. These expressions which denote a person's physical mental or moral state are found in phrases where adjectives or verb stem reduplications are marked with the intimate marker, becoming in this use syntactically a derived nominal form.

Using the adjective **kwai-veka** 'cl.thing-big':

kala=kwai-veka 'his bigness, his large size', its magnitude

Using the adjective **mitabwaila** 'beautiful/handsome'

kam=mitabwaila 'your(sg) beauty'

Using reduplicate verb stem **-peula** 'to.be.strong'

kasi=pa.peula 'their strength'

Using the adjective **gaga** 'bad'

kala=gaga 'its badness, his evil'

Using reduplicated verb stem **-vila** 'to share'

kasi=vila.vila their share

iii) Item being used now, or set aside for a particular task

Pawley (1973: 158) refers to this relationship as "subordinate", where the possessor has no control over the possessed item. Included here are items where the possessor is a sufferer or an undergoer.

kala=kaiyala 'his spear (the spear that wounded him)'
kala=tuta 'his time (the time set aside for him to speak)'
kala=nanamsa 'his thought (the idea about him in other minds)'
kala=laka 'his tomb (the place where he was buried).

Or it may show an item not his own which he is using for a short time. This kind of ownership, called custodial possession by some grammarians, is sometimes synonymous with the reference of the purposive suffix noted in 3.6.2.3 part i) above. (Further comment on this use of intimately owned items is made when the form marking general ownership is considered in 3.6.3.4 below.)

kala=waga 'his vessel (a vessel he is to travel on)',
kala=ligogu 'his adze (loaned to him for a particular task)',
kala=wosi 'his song (the song he is singing or is to sing)',
kala=bwala 'his house (the one for him to live in for a while)'
kala=kaiyala 'his spear (any stick he picked up to poke with)'
kala=viga 'his cup (anything he used to hold a drink)'

iv) A few body part terms, marked as alienable

Body parts are normally marked as inalienable, and occur as class 2 nouns, but some small body parts such as **kala polu** 'his eyebrows' and **kala gabula** 'his beard' are marked with the intimate proclitic. Some such parts (but not all) are on occasions removed from the body for cultural reasons, as when eyebrows are shaved off to enhance beauty, or a beard is grown to mark a period of mourning, and its removal shows the conclusion of that mourning period. It may be however that the place some of these small body parts hold in love play may be a relevant semantic connection with the intimate marker. A comparison of these body parts is given:

kala=gabula	his beard[35]	(cf **kulu-la**	his head hair)
kala=kwapa	his leg calf	(cf **kaike-la**	his leg)
kala=pola	his eyebrows	(cf **mitikulolo-la**	his eyelashes)
kala=botoku	his chin cleft	(cf **poso-la**	his navel)

A question that must be asked in relation to the varied uses of the intimate possession marker is whether we are dealing with one lexeme or with several homonymous forms marking similar types of intimate possession. I have taken the viewpoint that all intimate uses marked with **kala** function syntactically in one way to describe a relationship the precise nature of which must be determined contextually. So it is best to treat **kala** 'his (intimately-possessed item)' as one form. Lichtenberk (1985) comments that in Oceanic languages "probably the most widespread possessive classifier system is one with two classifiers – an alimentary one and a general one" (p 105). And although he identifies his alimentary classifier in some languages by more that one form, the Kiriwina use of the one form to mark a number of closely similar types of personal possession shows a level of consistency with other Oceanic forms.

A homonym of **kala** 'his (intimately-owned item)' occurs as a class 2 noun, **ká(la)²** '(his) meal' is noted in 3.6.2.2. Because of its easy confusion with the proclitic form for intimate possession it is mentioned again here, noting that in its use as a free-standing noun the homonym in 3.6.2.2 bears an acute accent diacritic on all bisyllabic forms as a distinguishing feature.

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35 When I first grew a beard in Kiriwina, a rumour (untrue) circulated that I was in mourning for my father. When I shaved it off, they said, "Ah, he has completed his time of mourning."

3.6.3.3 Pronouns marking general ownership (g.poss)

The second proclitic designates a relation of general ownership of an item; the pronoun **la** (its paradigm **ulo, m, la, ma, ma# ...-si, da, da# ...-si, mi, si**) marks items other than those possessed intimately, items which may be owned or disposed of, as the owner chooses. Pronouns showing general ownership are placed proclitic to the noun which is marked for this form of ownership.

The items owned in this way are a person's property, as his house, canoe, tools; etc. The use of this proclitic implies control over the item owned, so that the owner is free to give or sell what he owns, or else to keep it permanently. One feature of the general ownership of items of personal equipment (tools, musical instruments, etc) is that an owner may be one in a succession of owners in a family, and will probably pass the item on to his descendants, yet at the same time he has the unquestioned right to dispose of it in some other way according to his need. I have had the experience of buying items each of which has a pedigree of previous ownership over many years; yet their disposal by selling has been unquestioned by relatives.

If items of property are given away (or sold) the former owner can no longer mark them with his ownership category, and a new owner would be free to attach the proclitic of intimate possession or general ownership, depending on the use he intended for it.

ulo=kaiyala my spear (which I own or made)
m=waga your(sg) canoe (owned, bought, etc)
la=vavagi his/her possessions
ma=bwala-si our (expl) house, where we live
da=nanamsa our(indl) thought, the thought which I (speaker) and you(sg hearer) both have
mi=bagula your (pl) garden
si=wota their net (a communally-owned net)

3.6.3.4 Intimate possession and general ownership contrasted

Many items that are in daily use may be marked with the personal pronoun for intimate ownership, or with that for general ownership, depending on whether the user owns it and may dispose of it if he wishes, or whether it is put in his hands for that day's use; or perhaps whether he is going to eat it, wear it or give it to someone else. This meaning is, of course, tenseless, and may refer to a past action, a present continuous action, or a future action. The tense stem in this paragraph is an example only. Compare the following examples:

term	possessed int (intimate) g (general)	gloss
la=tuta	g	his time (when he always comes)
kala=tuta	int	his time (chosen for him to speak)
la=kaiyala	g	his spear (which he made and owns)
kala=kaiyala	int	his spear (the one which wounded him)
la=waga	g	his canoe, i.e. the one he built or bought
kala=waga	int	his canoe, i.e. the one in which he will ride
la=nanamsa	g	his thought, i.e. what is in his mind
kala=nanamsa	int	his thought, i.e. what is thought about him
la=veiguwa	g	his wealth, i.e. items which he owns
kala=veiguwa	int	the wealth item which he will be allowed to wear (although it belongs to someone else)

Words in this list marked as intimately possessed are examples of the forms of ownership described in 3.6.3.2, items that are attached to an occasion or perhaps lent him for a purpose. When that occasion or purpose has ceased then the possession category no longer applies. Or if they are marked as generally owned they are described in 3.6.3.3, and he may keep them or dispose of them as he wishes.

This is illustrated from the following fragment of written text:

L-a-mai	**kada=yena-s*i***
rl-1sg-bring	1in.poss=fish-pl

deli	**ulo=yena**	**igau**	**b-a-gimoli.**
with	1sg.g.poss=fish	another.time	ir-1sg-trade

I have brought our meal of fish, and also my fish to sell (in market).

Here **kada=yenasi** 'our meal of fish' is an intimately possessed item; and **ulo=yena** 'my fish (which I plan to sell)' is a generally owned item. Here the speaker's distinction between two forms of ownership is clear, showing the division of a single catch of fish into two categories of ownership.

Some items that are class 3 nouns cannot move from one category of ownership to another, and may only move from a form of ownership to one unmarked for ownership. One group of words relating to marriage relationship will accept only the general ownership proclitic, and when the relationship is terminated no other category of possession can be shown. These are:

la=kwava his wife (pl **ku.kova**)
la=mwala her husband (pl **m.mwala**)

The fact that terms for spouse are marked as a category of general ownership shows that spouses may be disposed of. A divorced person is not in fact possessed. Most commonly divorce is at the instigation of the woman, and she reverts to an unmarried state, becoming a **nakubukwabuya** 'unmarried woman', free to enter again into a new marriage relationship if she chooses, becoming then **taitala la=kwava** 'a man's wife' in a new relationship. Marriage leads only to an ownership category marked with the proclitic for general ownership, the only possible ownership category. A similar term within marriage may mark an adoption relationship, where **ula** 'orphaned child' may be marked with general possession as **la=ula** 'his adopted orphan' or show no ownership mark, when an orphaned child is spoken of with no reference to a family connection.

The second type to be noted concerns those few examples which were listed in 3.6.2.3 under 'Body part terms'. These words may only be marked with intimate possession and do not ever move into a different category of ownership.

These two groups are firmly fixed with one form of possession. All other class 3 nouns however may be marked with the personal pronoun possessive proclitics for either intimate possession or general ownership, according to what use their owner intends for them.

3.6.3.5 Canonical forms

The dictionary entries for nouns marked with personal pronoun possessives consist of nouns marked with the canonical form (3rd person singular). Each pronominal marker is shown in the dictionary in a paradigm, and each is headword of a dictionary entry. Example sentences used in the dictionary frequently use forms other than the canonical form, so that a number of forms within the class are listed, used as examples, and cross-referenced to that main entry where the canonical form is placed and the class is discussed *in toto*.

Some individual forms within these closed classes of personal pronouns are polysemous, developing different groups of personal reference other than the one which they have within the basic paradigms where they have a regular use. This is evident in all uses of first person dual inclusive forms, whether in the personal pronoun subject and object affixes or in the three paradigms of possessive pronouns. The first person dual inclusive forms in all five paradigms may be literally translated as 'we two people', or they may be used rhetorically to mean 'all people'. This is discussed and exemplified in 5.4.3 section g). Similar changes in the breadth of personal reference are found when a form is frozen with one literal rendering but used for an 'everybody' reference, as when the verb stem -**no-kagu-toki** 'say-my-thanks' does not inflect the part **kagu** 'my' but uses the one form for 'say-my/his/our/their etc. thanks'. Where such polysemous use is made of a frozen form, the dictionary entry for that form states its extent as part of that entry.

3.6.4 Formation of nouns derived and compounded

Common nouns of all classes may be simple, derived, or compound.

3.6.4.1 Simple nouns

I have selected some examples to illustrate the class of simple common nouns; they are mostly monomorphemic, but bound forms for body parts and kin terminology are included.

tau	man
vivila	woman
gwadi	child
tama(la)	(his) father
lu(le)ta	(her) brother, (his) sister
daba(la)	(his) head
nona	mind, thought
nano(la)	(his) mind, thought
koya	mountain
bolita	the sea
kalásia	sun
utuyam	star
bwala	house, building
waga	canoe
guguwa	possessions
guyau	chief
dokanikani	monster
tabalu	chiefly family, royalty
karaiwaga	authority

The proper nouns in this list of examples (**guyau, tabalu, dokanikani)** also function as common nouns, being used as descriptive terms for people who behave in a similar way.

3.6.4.2 Derived nouns

Derived nouns are formed by adding an affix to a stem or word, effecting changes in the meaning and class of the stem or word. Many derived nouns have meanings that cannot be predicted from their component parts, so they will be found in the dictionary as headwords, with their parts identified and meanings defined. Most verb stems are nominalised by the obligatory omission of the verb's subject marker. A large number consist of simple nouns or verb stems prefixed with classifier forms as derivational prefixes. Adjectives prefixed with the classifier may also function as nouns, for example:

igi-vila
cl.wind -change
a changeable wind

kai-waga
cl.long/rigid-canoe
pig's trough

kai-polu
cl.long/rigid-surf
surf-roar (the classifier reference is to the long line of surf)

to-gum
cl.person-last.in.line
a reticent person

to-veka
cl.person-large
an important man

Derived nouns formed by prefixing a word with a classifier are class 3 nouns. The classifier functioning to form derivations is seen also in 3.7.5.3 below.

Combining forms occur as prefixes in derived forms, as in the following examples:

butu- behave like the second component

butu-dimdim behaviour like a European

tubu-tau[36] manly behaviour (of a child)

guma- a person from the second-named component

guma-Gawa a person from Gawa Island

guma-kesa an orphan (kesa remnant)

gu-makava (*guma-makava) a social nobody

moli- level of maturity in a family group (specifies male)

moli-tomoya

male.family-old.person

eldest male child in family

vili- level of maturity in a family group (specifies female)

vili-tomoya

female.family-old person

eldest female child in family

The use of the intimate possession marker as a deriving form to define characteristics or traits of people or qualities of things has been commented on in 3.6.3.2 part ii) above, to name these characteristics from adjectives or other forms. Thus the adjective **bwaina** 'good' prefixed with the intimate possessive marker derives the noun 'goodness'. Some examples of these derived forms, perhaps best described as phrases, are given here.

bwaina	adj	good
kala=bwaina		his goodness, its good quality.
wonaku	adj	long
kala=wonaku		its length, his height
duwosísia	adj	straight
kami=duwosísia		your(pl) straightness

[36] This combining form changed by metathesis from **butu- > tubu-.**

kakalaia adj thin
kasi=kakalaia their skinniness, thin quality (of sthg)

-gisa intrans verb 'to look', redupl **–gi.gisa** 'looking
kala=gigisa its appearance

-mwásila vb 'to be glad', redupl **mwa.mwásila** 'being glad'
nano-gu kala=mwa.mwásila lit. mind-my its gladness
my gladness, my joy

3.6.4.3 Compound nouns

Compound nouns are formed by joining two nouns, or a noun and a word of some other category. In many compounds the first part is a noun specifying a human group or an animal type, with the second part specifying the function or characteristic of the compound.

A speaker may also combine two components, choosing either to give a new compound the qualities of a proper noun, as **giyou-matala** 'chief first' is recognised as descriptive of one particular paramount chief, or whether he is merely pairing two personal qualities, in this case chiefliness and being first, leaving the hearer to decode his expression as a general reference to anyone exemplifying these qualities.[37] In the first sense the word is a proper noun; in the second, it is a common noun, and so is treated as a headword in the dictionary. Examples of compounds which pair two terms, as the quality of chiefliness and some other personal attribute, are:

giyou.bwaila (**guyau** chief, **bwaila** (adj) acceptable)
a chief who uses authority wisely

giyou.matala (**guyau** chief**, mata-la** its point/front)
a paramount chief (used also as proper noun for God, the supreme one)

gudi.lobu (**gwadi** child. **-lobu** to adorn with borrowed finery)
a decorated child (wearing parents' wealth)

[37] "A decoder merely has to recognise and infer its meaning." (Pawley, pers. comm.)

gudi.kesa (**gwadi** child, **kesa** remnant)
an only child, last living child (in a family)

3.7 Noun phrases

3.7.1 An outline of noun phrase structure

The formal structure of the noun phrase (NP) is shown in Figure 3.2 below, showing which constituents are obligatory or optional.

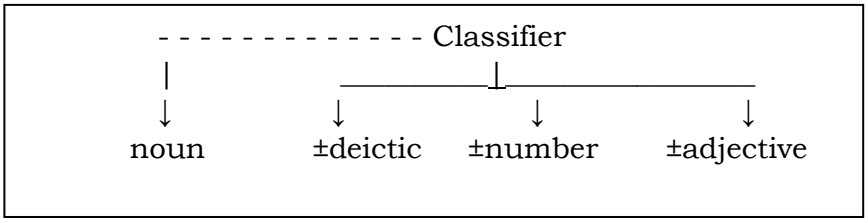

Figure 3.2 Structure of the noun phrase

The broken line between classifier and head noun signifies that there is no morphological relationship between these two components. However, the classifier has an obligatory relationship with the three optional components; it occurs as a morphologically complex constituent represented by a morpheme in each of the three modifier slots: in the deictic which has the classifier as its nucleus, and in different ways in the other two modifiers. The classifier's semantic relation to the noun, and its role in each of the modifier slots, are described in 3.7.3 below.

The noun phrase may contain a head noun plus up to three components which qualify it (deictic, numeral and adjective). Rarely do all four of these co-occur in one NP, as an NP may occur minimally as a head noun, or as a noun with one to three modifiers. The three qualifying components are linked to the head noun by the classifier which may occur in all three modifiers. The clarity of this relationship aids a process of ellipsis which takes place within the NP; the classifier specification in a modifier is often sufficient to identify the referent, and so the head noun may be deleted from the NP, if this aids the speaker's re-ordering of words in his statement. This process of deletion is shown in the example given in 3.7.5.2 below.

3.7.2 Classifiers in the noun phrase

Senft introduces his 1996 study of classifiers as a linguistic phenomenon with the basic description, "Classifiers (are) morphemes that classify and quantify nouns according to semantic criteria" (p 5), which is a good broad statement of my aim here to show this morpheme's function within the noun phrase. It is not possible for me to do justice to this word class within the limited confines of this chapter. I can best present the classifier by showing the way it attaches to the noun modifiers, linking each noun to a group all of which show a comparable meaning. The significance of this grouping is found in the fact that we are identifying their samenesses and differences through Kiriwina minds. The whole class of classifiers has to date included only authentic morphemes of the language. As Senft points out, "at least so far no loanword has been incorporated completely or in part into the inventory of Kilivila Classificatory Particles" (Senft 1996: 167), a datum which I have also recorded[38] and found to be accurate.

Moreover, the classifiers are not a marginal linguistic phenomenon in this society – they are part of almost every conversation, and any would-be language learner must quickly face this fact. No item in the Kiriwina world may be pointed out or talked about if it is not specified by classifiers.[39] The classifier does not have a free-form existence, but it is an essential element of most modifiers, occurring as a component within the deictic and number phrases and in most adjectives standing as a pronominal representation of the head noun. However the relationship between the classifier and the noun is of a different order, as it classifies nouns by associating them with semantic domains, described in the next paragraph.

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[38] "During my eleven years of residence there I recorded the classifiers as a closed and stable class…loan words have not been permitted to function as classifiers" (Lawton 1993: 177).

[39] The word **baisa** 'this unknown item' or 'this that I am holding or we are looking at' is the solitary exception (see Lawton (1993) section 5.2.2; also Senft (1996) quoting the form **beya** on p 17. This word is usually used in reference to something being held up or examined; but there is no evidence of the word **baisa** taking over the classifier role. The word **baisa** also has other functions, such as a directive (3.8.4.3) and a copula (3.2.1.3 part ii).

3.7.3 How classifiers set up semantic domains

All classifiers are a single part of speech, and there is no difference in morphosyntactic context as classifiers may be adequately exemplified in terms of their relationship to the nominal modifiers (deictic pronouns, numerals, and adjectives). But as the classifiers may be grouped and understood in terms of the semantic domains they specify, the following examination of this closed class by outlining the semantic categories they specify is made to demonstrate the semantic divisions which the classifiers label. In the world-view of the Kiriwina speaker, items are grouped according to their human or non-human form, their physical properties, or some other property. The part of speech label for the classifiers (cl.) is in all cases marked with its semantic function label (e.g. cl.action). A compact listing of the whole class of classifiers together with an alphabetically-arranged lexicon may be found in Lawton 1993: 265–302, where I have identified about 150 classifiers[40], and they may be grouped as follows:

1. Six classifiers termed basic property specifiers group the whole world of beings, items and concepts.

2. About thirty classifiers termed subclassifiers specify some items more precisely within the domains of the basic property specifiers.

3. Nine classifiers specify ways things have been acted on; these are termed action classifiers.

4. Forty-eight classifiers specify how things are divided.

5. Fifty-six classifiers specify different ways in which things are grouped.

Each of these five groups is now examined, with examples of classifiers operating in the nominal modifiers.

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[40] Senft (1996) lists 177 in 3.3.1 (and I do not quarrel with this), and in 2.1 he suggests that "there are probably more that 200." It is doubtful whether a firm final number could be established, especially as different dialects and further research yield other forms and negate earlier ones.

3.7.3.1 Six basic property specifiers

There are six basic classifiers which may be used to specify the whole world of beings, items and concepts. These are referred to collectively as the six basic property specifiers. They are:

to-1 with allomorphs **tai-1** and **tau-1** human beings (non-specific sex)

tau	**ma<tau>na**
person	that-cl.person
that person	

gu.gwadi	**to-vaka.veka**
pl-child	cl.person-pl.big
big children	

tai-vasi	**gwe.guya**
cl.person-four	pl.chief
four chiefs	

na-1 all animals, birds, insects, marine animals (except shellfish)

kaukwa	**mi<na>na**
dog	that-cl.animal
that dog	

na-tala	**kwau**
cl.animal-one	shark
one shark	

mauna	**na-kekita**
animal	cl.animal-small
a little bird, animal, insect, fish, (context determines)	

kai- things that are rigid and long; included are trees and plants, (including large rigid forms of grass) and flowers; wooden things, iron tools and simple manufactured things.

kai-tala	**waga**	**kai-wonaku**
cl.long/rigid-one	canoe	cl.long/rigid-long
one long canoe		

kai-vila	**lala?**
cl.long/rigid-how.many	flower
how many flowers?	

ya- things that are thin and flexible; included are weeds, creepers, most grasses, seaweed, paper, cloth, leaves, string, hair, thin-walled containers.

mi<ya>na	**wotunu**
that-cl.thin/flexible	string
that string	

karekwa	**ya-kakalaia**
cloth	cl.thin/flexible-thin
thin fabric	

ya-tolu	**yekwesi**
cl.thin/flexible-three	leaf
three leaves	

pila- things divided into two symmetrical parts, or anything seen as one of a pair of things, as two banks of a river, or a log divided laterally or carcass cut in half along backbone so that each half is symmetrical; anything rigid and thick, as milled timber, books, thick iron plates.

pila-yu	**wola**
cl.rigid-two	paddle
two canoe paddles.	

buki	**ma<pila-si>na**
book	that-cl.rigid-pl
those books	

kai	**pila-bidubadu**
timber	cl.rigid-thick
thick planks	

kwai- a thing (specifying anything that is not specified using other basic property specifiers). The following may be specified using this classifier and its glosses:

* **complex**; any object composed of a number of different parts, as house, soulava necklace, chair, table, sewn or woven mats (things composed of only a few different parts specified by **kai-**, as house gable, canoe)

* **shapeless**; an object of no clear shape, as rock, fragment, shellfish (either the animal or an empty shell)

* **mass**; round objects with no neck or mouth; mass nouns as stone, ball, pig bladder (used for football), pearl; water, sand, earth, sugar

* **garden**; garden produce (some of which are **kwai-** when immature and **ya-** when mature, as **momyeipu** 'pawpaw', **pamkwena** 'pumpkin', **meloni** 'watermelon', **lemoni** 'any citrus fruit', **kum** 'breadfruit'), seeds, fruit, yams, all nuts and mall fruits

* **concept**; abstract nouns, time and location terms, geographical and topographical features, natural forces (tides, calm, winds, etc), personal experiences and names of activities and concepts; bodily states, as sleep, disease, exhaustion, hunger

* **unknown**; anything unknown or indefinite (as a strange noise, an object dimly seen in fog or poor light, any coloured patch in the sea, etc).

Kwai- may be fittingly labelled as an "anything else" classifier, specifying everything that will not fit into the range of reference of other classifiers. But it is still useful to list some items which it specifies, as the reader may be tempted to classify them incorrectly. The free form **baisa** 'this (item)' functions as a synonym for the deictic word, but it does not function as the classifiers do as a core component for deictics, numerals and adjectives.

dakuna	**kwai-veka**
stone	cl.shapeless-big
a big rock	

nanamsa **ma<kwai>na**
thought that-cl.concept
that idea

karaiwaga **kwai-luwo-tala**
rule cl.concept-ten.group-one
ten commandments

When the basic property specifiers are glossed in dictionary examples, a term which represents the whole semantic domain specified by that classifier is used, such as **kai-** (cl.long/rigid). The classifier **kwai-** however presents a greater degree of difficulty, as the semantic domain it specifies is both large and diverse and no single gloss is suitable. When it is necessary to gloss **kwai-** literally in the dictionary, the various parts of its semantic domain must be named in a gloss to help the reader 'make sense' of an example. The dictionary entry for **kwai-** identifies six English domains, and each of these is used as a gloss, according to the item which **kwai-** is specifying. It is important to recognise that these English-based domains are emically-based, and may not appear to be classes to the English reader.

3.7.3.2 The subclassifiers

There are about thirty classifiers which operate in a semantically hierarchical relation with the six basic property specifiers, functioning to specify more precisely items within the domains of some of these superordinate classifiers. Thus they are labelled here as subclassifiers. For example, the subclassifiers for **to-^{1}** 'human' are **to-^{2}** 'adult male human', **na-^{2}** 'adult female human' and **gudi-** 'child of either sex'. This is seen in the example below when Ruth first refers to herself as 'a person of no account' (using **to-^{1}**), and then a female foreigner (using **na-^{2}**):

Yeigu **kam=to-makava ...** **yeigu** **na-gilagala.**
I 2sg.poss=cl.person-no.status ... I cl.woman-foreigner
lit. I your person no status ... I female foreigner
I am someone of no account to you, I am a foreigner. (Ruth 2.10)

The subclassifiers used to specify more exactly things within the domain of **ya-** 'thin, flexible' include three with special reference to gardening functions, **tam-** 'sprouting' (of first sign of new growth), **sobulo-** 'growing' (of new thin tendrils) and **sega-** 'branching' (of a clustering of new shoots). In the following example the speaker has employed not only **tam-** and **sega-** to define growth stages of a yam tendril, but also a fourth, **gili-** 'row' which he has used as a synonym for **sobulo-**. All of them are more precise specifications of a semantic group specifiable by **ya-** 'thin, flexible'. He is describing how a number of tendrils in the ground are pruned so that only one will produce tubers.

Taitu	**tam-tala**	**b-i-tam**	**gili-vasi,**
yam	cl.new.growth-one	ir-3sg-to.sprout	cl.tendril-four

ta-kigudu	**gili-tala**	**wala**	**b-i-susina ...**
1indual-to.prune	cl.tendril-one	only	ir-3sg-to.grow ...

baisa	**sega-tala.**
this	cl.branch-one

A new-sprouting yam will sprout four tendrils (at once); people prune this so that one tendril only will grow - this is one branch.

The semantic domains specified by the subclassifiers are established thus by text citations. The domains of subclassifiers are small and homogeneous, and glossing them adequately is straightforward.

3.7.3.3 Classifiers that specify actions

Nine classifiers specify items acted on in gardening, fishing or food preparation; in gardening, items that have been burnt, buried, punctured or become rotten (by careless harvesting), as **buko-**[1] anything buried; in fishing activity, by sinking or being submerged, as **beku-** anything floating full of water; or in cooking preparation by being made, kneaded or beaten, as **nutu-** anything kneaded into a ball. These nine classifiers are glossed as cl.action. The example shows an activity as the reason for a tragedy at sea:

I-utu.bolu	**si=waga**	**ma<ponina>na**	**ponina-veka.**
3sg-to.break.hole	3pl.poss=canoe	that-cl.action.hole	cl.action.-big

He holed their canoe with a really big hole.

3.7.3.4 Classifiers for things that are divided

A larger group of forty-eight classifiers specify how things are divided in different ways.

Fourteen classifiers refer to topographical divisions such as land or garden divisions, and fishing spots, as **gubo-** specifies a garden division which is half the size of a **kalivisi-** plot but bigger than a **vala-** plot. Fifteen specify parts of things within larger whole items, as canoe divisions or areas within the yam storehouse, as **liku-** specifies certain areas of authority in both canoes and yam storehouses; and divisions in houses (shelves, storeys, entrances) or parts of the human body, as **moya-** specifies a limb or digit still attached to the body. Sixteen refer to pieces of things that have been divided, such as cuts of meat, different sizes of portions, and quantities big enough for a serve of food or a mouthful, as **kuwo-** refers to crumbs worth keeping, but **utu-** specifies scraps to be discarded. Finally three others can specify multiple sorts of divisions, as **katupo-** specifies things cut into quarters.

Some of these modes of division are illustrated here. First, the topographical division of an inhabited area into suburbs, where the classifier **kubila-** specifies a plot of land which is owned and identified by boundaries:

Valu	**ma<kwai>na**	**kubila-lima**	**kubila-tala.**
village	that<cl.place	cl.land.plot-five	cl.land.plot-one

That village has six suburbs.

Then the division of a human body into pieces, using **kwaya-** which specifies human limbs when severed from body. Fortunately, the example is taken from a legend:

Le-i-kapituni	**kwaya-tala**	**kaike-la**	**le-i-woi**	**i-koma.**
rl-3sg-to.sever	cl.limb-one	leg-3sg.poss	rl-3sg-to.take.to	3sg-to.eat

He cut off one of his (own!) legs and took it away to eat.

As a last example of classifiers specifying division I refer to the classifier **bubo-**, which specifies the mode of division, when a log is cut transversely. The example itself is used in 3.7.5.1 below in an illustration of the use of classifiers in multiple specification.

3.7.3.5 Classifiers for things that are grouped

In this last section fifty-six classifiers specify different ways in which things are grouped.

Seven classifiers specify inherent arrangements, as people grouped by generations, clans and families, or things that occur as groups, as hands of bananas, fruit in clusters or bunches as **tubo-** specifies a generation, all the children born at one period, or **buko-²** refers to any fruit or nuts that occur in bunches or clusters. Then twenty seven classifiers specify ways in which disparate items are put together as groups of people, things bundled together, items that collectively become a load or a cargo, fish in strings, clumps of growing things, such as **gugulo-** for gatherings of people, **tupila-** specifies a fleet of canoes, **kapo-** anything tied up in a parcel, **pupai-** layers of things, **mmo-** conical bundles, and **poulo-** a grove of one sort of tree. Following this is a smaller group of eight classifiers which specify things that are arranged in some regular way, as coils, reels or rows, such as **tavi-** specifying a loose coil of rope in the hand, or **gili-** specifying rows of shell discs or belts of **buna** shells. Lastly, fourteen classifiers specify items in exact numbers, as two to six items arranged as a bunch, a two-bundle of crabs, a four-bundle of coconuts, a ten-bundle of fish or wealth items, and a ten-group of four-bundles (as ten of **yulai-tala luya** 'four-group of coconuts' is specified by **kwailuwotala luya** 'forty coconuts').

Some of these group-specifying classifiers are illustrated here.

An example of the classifiers specifying inherent arrangement shows **dila-** specifying the grouping of clan members in a family group or **dala**:

Baisa	**liliu-si**	**ma<dila>na.**
this	story-3pl.poss	that-cl.family

This is the account of that family.

The classifier **kapo-** 'parcel' illustrates the grouping of things in a bundle:

E-i-sak-ai-gu	**ma<kapo>na**	**bali.**
rl-3sg-to.give.to-j-1sg	that-cl.parcel	barley

He gave me that parcel of barley. (Ruth 3.17)

Then in this example the traditional right of the Tudava chiefly family to the wearing or display of certain decorations is shown as **yulai-** 'a four-group', where the speaker is sure of the description of a decoration with four lines of shells, and then adds 'but maybe **kwai-tolu** 'cl.thing-three' ' because there was no classifier to specify a three-group so he must use plain speech for this lesser glory of only three lines:

Tudava	**si=buna**	**kaina**	**yulai-tala**
family.name	3pl.poss=shell	maybe	cl.four.group-one

kaina	**kwai-tolu.**
maybe	cl.thing-three

The Tudava chiefs (may display) either four lines of buna shells or maybe three lines.

3.7.3.6 Many small semantic domains

The size of the domains specified by classifiers varies greatly. On the one hand, the six basic property specifiers may be used by a Kiriwina speaker to group the entire world of items and concepts. On the other hand, in some areas of cultural activity, domains of certain varieties of bundles or types of divisions are limited to two or three items.[41] However even those with tiny semantic domains still function in the Kiriwina grammar in the same way as do those with large domains of reference, and I consider that the classifiers cannot be separated into different types of words on the basis of the smallness of their semantic domain of reference. The fact of small domains gives rise to another consideration, that many items may be specified by a number of different classifiers. This 'multiple specification' is discussed in 3.7.5.1.

3.7.4 Classifiers as core of noun modifiers

The question arises here whether classifiers are attached to words as affixes, or whether they are a word stem or core with affixes attached. Senft speaks of classifiers as forms "which are infixed or prefixed to the respective

[41] Malinowski (1922b: 59) comments that the "very restricted sphere of application" of some forms meant that they were "obviously equivalent to nouns, in that they describe an individual thing" , and so he called these "a naming formative, but not a classificatory one." However, I retain the one label of classifier regardless of the size or complexity of their domains.

word frame or word stem." (1996: 17) However I consider them to be the stem or core of words, to which the various affixes denoting deixis, number or modifying adjective are affixed. Affixes are generally small classes of morphemes, whereas word stems may be numerous, each with a specific meaning. The classifiers are a major word class, and my assigning of headword status to them (in 3.7.6) is a mark of their importance in the lexicon. As the core of a word, a classifier states a meaning which is modified, enumerated or used as a deictic device.

Thus I treat classifiers as the core of the three noun modifiers used in the noun phrase. These three word classes are now addressed, the deictic pronouns, number words and adjectives, and the semantic role which the classifier exercises in each.

3.7.4.1 Classifiers in the deictic word

The deictic pronoun is formed from the combination of the circumfix **ma-...-na** enclosing a classifier which is the word's core. There are two variants of the circumfix which are to some extent phonologically conditioned, shown below. Two infixes optionally occur as a first and second order suffix to the classifier core, which are only found in the deictic word. These are the alternate marker **-we-** and the plural marker **-si-**. When both infixes occur their ordering as first and second order affixes is rigid, as set out in examples below.

Examples of the circumfix form and its variants are:

ma-...-na, as in **ma<tau>na,** 'that person'; **ma<kai>na** 'that tree'
m-...-na, as in **m<to>na** 'that man', **m<mmo>na** 'that taro bundle'
mi-...-na, as in **mi<na>na** 'that woman', **mi<ya>na** 'that paper'

The following examples illustrate the use of the two infixes **-we-** 'that other' and **-si-** 'plural marker'**,** which are used only within the deictics**.**

tau ma<tau>na	that person
ma<tau-we>na tau	that other person
tomota ma<tau-si>na	those people
tomota ma<tau-si-we>na	those other people

The classifier's role in the deictic pronoun

The classifier in the deictic pronoun links the noun to a semantic domain. When the domain is small, as with **tau ma<tau>na** (lit. person that-person), it seems like needless duplication of semantic information; but when the function of the classifier aiding a process of ellipsis is considered, the semantic role of the classifier within the deictic linking to the noun is better appreciated. This process of ellipsis is examined in 3.7.5.2.

The canonical form for the deictic pronoun is **ma<tau>na**, with allomorphic forms **m<to>na** and **mi<na>na** as variants. The dictionary also lists the five other basic property specifiers as cross-reference entries, because of the high frequency of their occurrence, and these are listed as subheadwords in the canonical entry.

Two variants of two deictic forms occur. First, **ma<kwai>na** 'one complex or unknowable item' occurs in the variant form **mana-kwa**, (pl form **mana-kwai-si**) which has joined the elements of the deictic's circumfix into the form **mana-** and prefixed this new form to **-kwa**, a variant form of the classifier **kwai-.** I have not found any other deictic constructed in this way. Because of the breadth of the domain of **kwai-** this variant form occurs frequently. The second variant is a different plural form which is found with two classifier cores. In this variant **mtosina** occurs as **mtósita**, and **makwaisina** as **makwáisita**. Both words showing this second variant bear antepenultimate stress[42]. However, this second variant is not common.

3.7.4.2 Classifiers in the numeral

Numerals function in the NP to enumerate; but they also have a modifying function similar to pronouns or determiners, as they not only enumerate but also state the composition of a group. When these two functions are combined with the semantic link between noun and numeral by the classifier, the numeral's function as determiner specifying group composition, is consistent with the classifier's enumerative function. The basic order of the two components is noun + numeral, but this is not rigid.

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[42] This unusual stress placement may be the result of vowel devoicing in the penultimate syllable – see 2.7.1.

The example shows the classifier **ya-** (thin/flexible) and **kai-** (long/rigid) enumerating the members of two groups while specifying the basic physical properties of each group, fabric curtains and rigid posts:

Ku-sagi	**ya-yu**	**taboda**	**o-tupwa-si**
2sg-to.hang	cl.thin/flexible-two	curtain	loc-side-pl

kokola	**kai-tolu.**
post	cl.long/rigid-three

Hang two curtains between three posts. (Adapted from Exodus 26.32)

The counting system

The counting system may be described as a mixed quinary-decimal system which lacks simple numbers for six to nine.[43] Precise numbers in the areas of six to nine, or 60 to 90, etc. are given as phrases, where a number like 67 would be given as a four-word phrase "fifty ten five two". This phrase is rigidly ordered from high to low number terms.

The number words are as follows:

-tala	one	Also found as **-tana**[44] in **na-tana** one woman	
-yu	two	**buki pila-yu**	two books
-tolu	three	**waga kai-tolu**	three canoes
-vasi	four	**bulukwa na-vasi**	four pigs
-lima	five	**tomota tai-lima**	five people

For numbers of ten or more, the number word is prefixed by a single multiplying morpheme which identifies groups of tens, or groups of hundreds, or groups of thousands; these are termed multipliers. The number word following a multiplier states how many such groups are included within a total number. Thus, **luwo-tolu** 'ten-group.three' specifies the number thirty.

The following multipliers occur:

luwo-	ten.group (plus number 1 – 5)
lakatu-	hundred.group (plus number 1 – 5)
lakatuluwo-	thousand.group (plus number 1 – 5)

[43] In much modern Kiriwinan speech these numbers do occur as borrowings from English (especially in games of cards), so that the English-based counting system now co-exists alongside the traditional Kiriwina system, especially with Kiriwina speakers educated in English.

[44] Yeiwau dialect prefers **-tana** in all uses.

The larger numbers are expressed as number phrases with number words ordered within the phrase from high to low number words. Examples of the larger numbers which employ these multipliers are as follows:

-**luwo-yu** 20 (lit. two ten-groups)
-**luwo-lima -luwo-vasi** 90 (lit. five ten-groups four ten-groups)
-**lakatu-tolu** 300 (lit. three hundred-groups)
-**lakatuluwo-lima -lakatuluwo-yu** 7,000
(lit. five thousand-groups two thousand-groups)

The place of the classifier in number words

Numeral words from one to five never occur in isolation[45] from items being enumerated. Counting is directly linked to the items specified by a classifier, which bears the number word as a suffix. (Alternatively classifier plus number may be considered a compound form.) Classifier + number is obligatory for number words up to 10, and is optional for higher numbers, but usually occurs for numbers up to one hundred. (However context makes it clear for the larger numbers what things are being counted.) Where the speaker chooses to use a classifier with the higher number the appropriate classifier is prefixed to every word in the phrase, so that number phrases like the following example are sometimes found:

tai-lakatu-lima	**tai-lakatu-yu**
cl.person-hundred.group-five	cl.person-hundred.group-two
tai-luwo-lima	**tai-luwo-tala**
cl.person-ten.group-five	cl.person-ten.group-one

tai-vasi	**tomota**
cl.person-four	person

seven hundred and sixty four people

[45] Where **yuwa**, an allomorph of **-yu,** is used, this is an exception which applies to **yuwa peta** 'two baskets', as all other uses of the numeral two include a classifier as in **nayu bulukwa** 'two pigs'.

Other data on use of numeral terms

Harvest heaps of yams are measured for size by the numeral stating how many basketsful of **taitu** yams[46] have been used to form them; a heap made from eight hundred baskets of yams is termed an eight-hundred heap, a good harvest. The harvest heap may also be measured by the length of a ceremonial fence which encircles the heap (which may measure nearly six metres). Personal status of the gardener may thus be established either by the large numeral (how many basketsful used for the harvest heap), or by the smaller numeral (the length of the fence erected at the heap's circumference).

Ordinal numerals are formed by the addition of the suffix **-la** to the final word in a number phrase. The following quotation illustrates this:

Mitaga	**taitu**	**kwe-luwo-tala**	**kwai-tolu-la**
but	year	cl.concept-ten.group-one	l.concept-three-ord

e-i-pakai-si	**ma<tau>na.**
rl-3-refuse-pl	that-cl.person

But in the 13th year they rejected him. (Genesis 14.4)

Other numeral terms occur. Some adjectives indicate quantity of mass-nouns, or indefinite numbers of count-nouns. These may occur with or without classifiers according to which class of adjective they belong. Some of these also inflect, for example:

tai-vila	how many (people); a few people (cl + adj interrogative numeral)
mimili(si)	some (people) (no cl; inflects with pl only)
bidubadu	many (no cl; refers also to mass nouns as "a lot of")

Some quantifiers for human groups do not carry a classifier but inflect, as with the following:

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46 Malinowski (1922b: 53) pointed out that baskets of yams are counted using no classifier. Actually a zero classifier is used. This zero morpheme is an allomorph of **ta-**, which is also used to specify basketsful of yams. For deictic reference a zero form is impossible as the deictic word must have a core, and **ta-** is used.

komwaido(na[47])	all (of a group) Commoner in pl forms
mdole(la)	all of him (allomorph of **-mwaido-**)
tomwaido(la)	all of him, every part of (him)
mimili(si)	some (of them) (Only pl forms used)
(kala)mwaleta	(he) alone, only (him)
(kasi)mwaleta	(they) alone, only (them)
(kasi)tai(yu)	just the (two) of (them) Plural inflections are used to state specific number in a group. See also Table 3.10 in 3.8.6.3 for a paradigm and other uses of this word.
tuvai(la)	also, as well; (him) also[48] Inflected forms of this word are rarely found; it is usually frozen in the form **tuvaila**.

Some phrasal lexemes specify specific lengths of items less than one fathom, based on a scale naming positions on the human body. One set of phrases gives vertical measurements from the heel to some part of the body, and another set gives horizontal measurements from the fingertip of one hand to a point across outstretched arms. Each of these measurements describe one dimension which cannot be enlarged by the addition of another unit; but when the measurement is larger than **uva-tala** 'one fathom', the total measurement is given as so many fathoms plus the single length measure for the residue. These sets of length measures are studied in 7.5.4.4. See the measure quoted below for one long yam as an example of this.

Examples of these phrasal lexemes are:

o-vitako-la
loc-chest-3sg.poss
from sole of foot up to a person's chest (person usinf this vertical measurement may inflect this term, as **o-vitako-gu** 'up to my chest')

---

[47] This form alone uses archaic **-na** in place of the **-la** suffix; however it is of high frequency occurrence. The pl forms **-dasi, -masi, -mi** and **-si** are common; but the sg form **-na** is a preferred form, being used for both sg and pl reference to both animate and inanimate objects. The prefix **ko-** is sometimes replaced with classifiers **kai-, pila-** and **ya-.**

[48] The form **tuvaila** is used frozen in this form in phrases like **yokomi tuvaila** "also you(pl)". Its occurrence in inflected form is rare. One body of text enumerated by computer has 1,070 uses of **tuvaila** "also", and one only of **tuvaim** "also you(sg)".

i-koma	**i-moi**	**o-katupoi**
3sg-eat	3sg-come.to	loc-elbow.joint

The phrase defines a length unit measuring 'from one fingertip across to the opposite elbow'.

Thus one very long **kuvipiti** 'type of **kuvi** yam' I have seen measured

uva-yu	**o-kwailopola**	**yámila**
cl.fathom-two	loc-hand.palm	hand

two fathoms (plus) from fingertip to the centre of the palm of the hand.[49]

3.7.4.3 Adjective classes and classifiers

Adjectives are divided into three classes according to the presence or absence of classifiers in them. Pluralisation is differently expressed in each class. The details of each class are given here.

i) Class 1 adjectives

Most of the twelve adjectives in class 1 occur as pairs; three such pairs are seen in the examples. Adjectives of this class are bound forms which must occur suffixed to classifiers. All class 1 adjectives have singular and plural forms, the latter shown by reduplication of one or two initial syllables of the singular form, for example:

sing form		plural form	example	
-veka	big	**-vaka.veka**		
			tomota	**to-vaka.veka**
			person	cl.person-pl.big
			important people	

sing form		plural form	example	
-kekita	little	**-ki.kekita**		
			vavagi	**kwe-ki.kekita**
			thing	cl.thing-pl-little
			little things	

[49] About four metres in length. Such long yams are not eaten, but kept on display until they rot. They are described as the "feather of the village", a thing of pride for all. Each village has one official measurer, called the **tomatela**.

-vau new **-wo.vau**

yekwesi **ya-wo.vau**
leaf cl.thin/flexible-pl-new
new leaves (tree growth)

-bogwa old **-bu.bogwa**

buki **pila-bu.bogwa**
book cl.thick/rigid-pl-old
old books

-mwala male **-m.mwala**

dakuna **kwai-m.mwala**
stone cl.thing-pl-male.sex
male stones (as used in magic spell)

-vivila female **-u.vila**

momyeipu **kai-u.vila**
pawpaw cl.long/rigid-pl-female
female pawpaw trees

ii) Class 2 adjectives

There are twenty-eight adjectives in class 2, which are also found as pairs of opposites, as rough–smooth. They occur either as free forms or optionally suffixed to classifiers. Reduplication processes in this class of adjective are found in three different ways.

a) Some class 2 adjectives show plural by reduplication.

sing form plural form example

mama weak (pl **ma.mama**)

kokola **kai-ma.mama**
post cl.long/rigid-pl-weak
weak posts

poupou thick (pl **pu.poupou**)

karekwa **ya-pu.poupou**
cloth.item cl.thin/flexible-pl-thick
thick garments

b) Some of this class only occur in a reduplicated form, usually of both syllables in a two-syllable form, but sometimes of the first syllable only in longer words. This reduplicated form may signify either singular or plural.[50]

bidubadu	thick	**kai**	**pila-bidubadu**
		timber	cl.rigid-thick
		thick planks (cl optional; context determines pl)	
lubulabu	dry	**pwaipwaia**	**lubulabu**
		earth	dry
		dry earth (cl optional)	
pitupitu	rough	**karekwa**	**ya-pitupitu**
		cloth.item	cl.thin/flexible-rough
		rough garment(s) (cl optional, sg or pl determined by context)	

c) Some class 2 adjectives are derived by reduplication of verb stems. Plurality is not specified by this group. Examples are:

verb form	adjective	
-peula to be strong	**pa.peula**	strong
	kai	**ke-pa.peula**
	tree	cl.long/rigid-strong
	a sturdy tree	
	(**ke-** is allomorph of **kai**-)	
-dúbuna to be smooth	**du.dúbuna**	smooth
	wola	**pila-du.dúbuna**
	paddle	cl.piece-smooth
	a smooth canoe paddle	

iii) Class 3 adjectives

These adjectives only occur as free forms, do not occur with classifiers, and have no plural forms. There are about 14 adjectives in this class, which consists of terms for moral or value assessments. Examples are:

[50] This is suggestive of an early form where an unreduplicated stem, which is not currently present in the language, was a singular form.

bwaina	good	**tomota bwaina**	good people
gaga	bad	**nona gaga**	a bad thought
mwau	heavy	**kokola mwau**	heavy post(s)
gagabila	light	**koni gagabila**	light load
mokwita	true	**biga mokwita**	a true statement
sasopa	false	**bulogala sasopa**	false tidings

3.7.5 Other uses of classifiers

Some other classifier uses show the Kiriwina speaker relating items by reference to semantic domains. Multiple specification of one item by several classifiers is an instance of this.

3.7.5.1 Multiple specification

The classifier in the noun phrase classifies head nouns in terms of a set of contrasting semantic domains. However, a speaker may recognise that a noun could be linked to several different semantic domains, and he will use different classifiers to link an item to the domain(s) he wishes to talk about. Thus he may classify a yam by its physical properties, using the deictic **ma<kwai>na** 'that garden produce'. But if he is speaking of one yam that has started sprouting he will say **ma<tam>na** 'that one sprouting'. If the growing yam tuber is putting out a cluster of shoots he may speak of **ma<sega>na** 'that.one branching'. If it has been cooked for him he may refer to it by the way it has been cooked as **ma<gabu>na** 'that one roasted'. If one yam has been cut into two halves he may refer to each piece as **ma<pila>na** 'that half-yam'. At harvest he will refer to a basketful of yams as **mi<ta>na** 'that basketful of yams'.

Alternatively, one item may be classified by several classifiers within one conversation. Each classifier the speaker includes shows a domain which he links to that item, and which he places within a single statement about the item. An example of multiple specification taken from conversation is:

Kai	**ma<bubo-si>na**	**kwela-tolu...**
timber	that-cl.division-pl	cl.platter-three

those three sawn-off plate-like timber discs...

The speaker had observed a large tree trunk which had been transversely cut with a chainsaw into large discs. He used the noun **kai** 'timber' to identify the item as timber, and the classifiers **bubo-** specified its division by transverse cutting, and **kwela-** because each piece had the appearance of wooden platters.

Multiple specification of items classified by the six basic property specifiers is described in the dictionary, and where some items show membership in different domains, as with the ways in which dried pandanus leaf is rolled, coiled, or stacked, this is recorded. But where many different classifiers may be used to describe a number of different ways in which an item can be acted on, it is not feasible to label every item with its possible reclassifications; as idiomatic use of classifier domain reference is frequent. The Kiriwina orator looking for a way to praise a worker's personal qualities employs the domains of the classifiers effectively, as when a nurse (**minana**) was described as a stack of emergency firewood (**makaina**). Further comment on classifiers in the Kiriwina dictionary is made in 3.7.6 below.

3.7.5.2 The classifier and ellipsis

The classifier occurs in all three of the noun modifiers. In the deictic, in lower numbers, and in class 1 adjectives it must be present, and it may also occur in higher number phrases and with class 2 adjectives. As the classifier's role is to restate the noun, or to identify the semantic domain of the noun, ellipsis of the head noun may occur provided that at least one modifier-plus-classifier is left in that NP to show the noun's semantic domain.

The following text illustrates this process of ellipsis, where the narrator is speaking about a type of axe used by garden magicians as their instrument for working magic:

Mlosaida	**kai-yu**	**kema.**
village.name	cl.long/rigid-two	axe

Kai-tala	**Lukosisiga,**	**kai-yuwe-la**	**Malasi.**
cl.long/rigid-one	clan.name	cl.long/rigid-two-ord	clan.name

Ma<kai>na	**Malasi**	**baisa**	**yakamaisi**
that-cl.long/rigid	clan.name	this	we(expl)

gwe.guya	**ma=kema-si.**
pl.chief	1ex.poss=axe-pl

Mlosaida has two axes. One (is used by) **Lukosisiga** clan, the second by **Malasi** clan. That (axe used by) **Malasi** clan is the axe that we chiefs use.

The speaker is talking about a ceremonial axe used by garden magicians. The noun phrase which denotes the axe occurs five times. The first phrase is the NP.

kai-yu	**kema**
cl.long/rigid-two	axe
two axes	

and the fifth is

gwe.guya	**ma=kema-si**
pl-chief	1ex.poss=axe-pl
the axe for us chiefs	

In the other three occurrences the reference is to the axes, but the noun for 'axe' is omitted:

kai-tala	**kai-yuwe-la**	**ma<kai>na**
cl.long;rigid-one	cl.long/rigid-two-ord	that-cl.long/rigid
one (axe)	a second (axe)	that (axe)

The classifier **kai**- 'long/rigid' is used in reference to the axe, a principle of agreement being followed throughout. Ellipsis of the head noun is thus made possible because of the classifier, which may in text refer to many different items, but which in the context of this comment is clearly used as the preferred classifier for 'axe'.

3.7.5.3 The classifier in derivations and compounds

Some classifiers are found outside of the NP contributing the semantic content of their domain reference to derived words or to compound forms.

i) Derived words

Nouns that are derived by means of classifiers specifying human domains are numerous, and some of these are also verbalised. Examples show the classifiers (functioning here as a derivational prefix) prefixed to nouns or verbs.

karaiwaga (n) a rule, law

to-karaiwaga (n) a person wielding authority

-to-karaiwaga (vb) to act with authority

(Basic property specifier here is **to-**[1] **'**person non-specific sex'.)

-guguya (vb) to preach, lecture

to-guguya (n) a male lay preacher

na-guguya (n) a female lay preacher

(Subclassifiers here are **to-**[2]**/na-**[2] 'male/female adult human'.)

-kimwadu (vb) to be naked

to-kimwadu (n)

cl.person-naked

a naked person

-mata (vb) to be dead

to-mata (n)

cl.person-dead

a human corpse

gudi-mata (n)

cl.child-dead

a still-born child

ii) Compound verbs

The classifier **pila-** may specify one of a pair of symmetrical items, as one side of a mountain or one yam cut into two equal halves. This classifier occurs as the first component in two compound verbs. The first compound refers to the loss of sight from one eye; this is stated verbally as **-pila-kesa**, lit. 'one (of two) residue'. Thus either the compound verb form or a derived noun may be found, the latter employing two classifiers:

-pila.kesa (vb) to have only one functioning eye

to-pila.kesa (n) a one-eyed person.[51]

A second compound verb describes a particular fastening effected by two straps, where **-pila-** denotes the pair of fastening straps, and **-kavati** to secure sthg, as an apron is tied to the body.

-pila-kavati (vb) to fasten by joining the two straps

Ya-yu	**kala=wotunu**	**bu-ku-pila.kavatai-si**
cl.thin/flex.-two	3sg.poss=string	ir-2-fasten.join-pl

mi<ya>na.
that-cl.thin/flexible
Two shoulder straps are fastened. (Exodus 28.7)

3.7.5.4 Dialect differences in classifier domains

Different dialects sometimes adopt domain differences which accommodate features of their own village culture. Thus in Kaibola (a village in the Kilivila dialect area) shark-fishing is a village skill for which they are famous, and sharks, specified everywhere else with other fish as **na-**, are specified in Kaibola as **kwai-**, the classifier used in other dialect areas for yams, as they equate shark flesh with their staple food.

3.7.6 Classifiers a major word class

Most classifiers are historically derived from nouns or other morphemes with 'lexical' meanings. In the dictionary classifiers could be entered as subheadwords under the headword from which they are historically derived. However they have a clear functional difference from these historically-related forms. While classifiers are syntactically essential in the NP as the core component of most modifiers, their relationship with the head noun in that phrase is determined by the semantic feature of the head noun on which the speaker chooses to focus. There is no morpheme relation evident between noun and classifier except when the noun from which a classifier is derived is

[51] In English we speak of a half-blind person; but Kiriwina speaks of a half-sighted person.

the actual head noun of that noun phrase. Thus the semantic relation between a classifier and a noun can only be determined by usage, attested by text citations. For this reason all classifiers occur as dictionary entries where each classifier is a headword for a main entry. (Some classifiers occur as headwords in their own right, such as **pila-** which is not synchronically derived from any other form.)

Where there is a morphological similarity between a classifier and another lexeme this is noted as information within that dictionary entry, but the classifier's definition is placed in that entry where the classifier is the headword. Thus **kai** (n 3) 'tree, timber' is a headword, and within this entry **kai-** (cl) 'long/rigid (item)' occurs as a subheadword showing its morphological relation; the reader is then referred to the separate entry for **kai-** (cl) where the domain of the classifier is specified and examples of its use given. The separation of all classifiers as headwords in this way acknowledges the status of classifiers as a major word class.

Reference should also be made to Senft's published works on classifiers, especially his 1996 book, *Classificatory particles in Kilivila,* in which he suggests that classifiers may originate in nouns which were first used as repeaters which later developed the forms they now hold (see his appendix D, 352-353).`

A dictionary appendix sets out the whole class of classifiers stating the various semantic domains described in 3.7.3 above. Dictionary entries aim to state the full domain understood for each classifier, especial care being taken to describe fully the complex domains and the limits of very small domains.

3.8 Other components of the noun phrase

3.8.1 Personal pronouns

Table 3.5 includes the paradigms of seven forms of closed classes of personal pronominal forms. Two of these occur as verbal affixes marking the verb's subject and object, which were examined in 3.4.2. Four paradigms are

the possession markers. Five pronominal forms are found as components within the noun phrase. These five are listed here showing 1st person singular forms:

yeigu	I – free form personal pronoun
(so)**gu**	my (friend) – inalienable possession suffix
(lu)**gu**(ta)	my (sister) – inalienable possession infix
ulo=waga	my (canoe) – general possession proclitic marker
agu=yena	my (meal of fish) – intimate possession proclitic marker

The last four of these are the pronominal markers for various forms of possession, which have been examined in detail in 3.6.3. The free form personal pronouns alone remain, and are examined in 3.8.1.1.

3.8.1.1 Free form personal pronouns

The free form personal pronouns are used when the speaker wants to state specific persons in his noun phrases. The example shows two personal pronouns **yoku** 'you(sg)' and **yakamaisi** 'us(excl.pl)' as members of **da...si** 'our (incl.pl)' group:

Ka,	**baisa**	**tuta**	**yoku**	**yakamaisi**	**da=peula-si**
tag	this	time	2sg	1expl	in.poss=strength-pl

makawala	**wala.**
thus	only

lit. See, at this time you and us our strength is only the same.
Now you are as weak as we are! (Isaiah 14.10)

Certain other personal pronouns which make semantic distinctions in addition to person and number are found, such as those discussed in 3.8.3 below, or the use of the deictic in periphrastic constructions as verbal objects.

3.8.1.2 Plural in noun phrases

Most nouns do not accept a plural form, as plural is generally a function of the NP modifiers. However, a group of human or human-related terms do have plural forms, effected by partial reduplication of the noun stem. The exact form of the reduplication is lexically determined, for example:

tau	a man	**tau.wau**	men
tomoya	old man	**to-m.moya**	old men
ve (vocative)	woman!	**ve.ve**	women!
numoya	old woman	**nu.numoya**	old women
gwadi	a child	**gu.gwadi**	children
guyau	a chief	**gwe.guya**	chiefs
baloma	a spirit	**bili.baloma**	spirits
kwava	a wife	**ku.kova**	wives
mwala	a husband	**m.mwala**	husbands

The pluralising function of the deictic word is seen in the two contrasting phrases:

mauna **mi<na>na**
animal that-cl.animal
that animal

mauna **mi<na-si>na**
animal that-cl.animal-pl
those animals

and in phrases showing the singular or plural adjective forms:

mauna **na-veka**
animal cl.animal-big
a big animal

mauna **na-vaka.veka**
animal cl.animal-pl.big
big animals

A few adjectives indicate plurality by vocalic changes within the stem. Examples of this process are:

-minabwaita	beautiful	**na-minibwaita**	beautiful women
-mitabwaila	handsome	**to-mitibwaila**	handsome men
-migaga (*migagaga)	ugly	**kwe-migigaga**	ugly (buildings)

3.8.2 Adverbs

A group of adverb suffixes listed in 3.4.5.1 also occurs as modifiers of adjectives, for example:

-bau	action done efficiently
-bogwa	done for the first time
-vau	done again
-makava	done for no particular reason
-wokuva	done carelessly
-gaga	very (superlative term)

Sometimes these adverbs modify adjectives as suffixes, as in this example, where a degree marker has an adverbial function. (In the examples only the adverbial elements are in italics):

bwala kwai-veka.*gaga*
house cl.complex-big.*very*
a *very* large building

More often modification with this adverb is done in one of two other ways:

i) a derived form (classifier + adverb) occurring in a phrase adj + adv, seen in the example:

laya	**ya-bisi.basi**	***ya-bogwa***	***wala***
sail	cl.thin/flexible.sewn	*cl.thin/flexible-first*	*only*

the *very first* sewn sail

ii) a separate adverbial phrase which modifies a term by describing the manner or circumstance of an action.

butula	**kala=kavisi**	***saina***	***walakaiwa***	***sainela...***
tune	3sg.poss=praise	very	high	very.much

words of praise of the very highest order indeed... (Luke 19.38)

Ma<tau>na	**to-vitoubobuta**	***to-peula***	**o-la=vavagi.**
that-cl.man	cl.man-prophet	cl.man-strong	loc-3sg. poss=action

He was a prophet strong in all he did. (Luke 24.19)

Most attributive terms accept modification by degree. Ungradable adjectives do not accept modification except by locative or comitative terms; these two phrase types are described in 3.8.4 and 3.8.6 below.

3.8.3 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases are introduced by the prepositions homophonous with the conjunctions listed in 3.2.2, to state results or intentions, or alternates. The following prepositions are frequent:

paila	for
uula	because
deli	with
kaina	or, maybe
kileta	because
kidamwa	if

Such conjunctions may introduce subordinate clauses into a sentence; these were discussed in sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. They may also introduce phrasal expressions at relevant positions within a sentence, for example:

paila	**valu**	**kala=bwaina**
for	village	3sg.iposs=good

for the good of the village people

baisa	**uula**
this	reason

this is the reason

uula	**pogi**
reason	jealousy

because of jealousy

deli	**kala=katu.bubula**
with	3sg.iposs=decoration

with his personal adornments

kaina	**gala**
or	no

or maybe not

kidamwa	**kwai-tala**	**wala**
if	cl.complex-one	only

if there is only one

kidamwa-ga	**mokwita**
if-indeed	true

if indeed that is true

Other prepositional phrases include locative, temporal and comitative phrases which are introduced into a sentence, each of which requires examination. These phrases are discussed in 3.8.4 to 3.8.6 below.

3.8.4 Locative phrases

The locative phrase consists of a noun phrase introduced by a locative prefix or preposition, and specifies either a time or a place associated with an action. Temporal locative phrases may either precede or follow the verb in a sentence. Spatial locatives usually follow the verb. The spatial locator may state either a place of the verb's action, or the place which is the goal or intended destination of the action.

3.8.4.1 The locative prefix

The locative prefix **o-** (proclitic variant **wa**) introduces the locative phrase, marking the location of an item or the time being specified. It is placed before any word other than di-syllabic forms. When the word is di-syllabic, its variant **wa** generally occurs as a free form preposition. The preposition **wa** carries secondary word stress, but the prefix has stress only if it is the penultimate syllable of the word to which it is attached.

These forms are seen in the following examples, where primary stress placement is also shown:

ó-gu=wága	at, near, towards my canoe
wà=túta makwáina	at that time
ò-lubulotóula	at midnight
wà=bwála	at, in, by or towards the house
o-bikubáku	in or to the village centre
o-koukwéda	at (close to) the doorway

These locative phrases are illustrated in two sentences. The first uses the temporal locative phrase **o-la tuta** 'at his time,' and the second sentence uses a site locative **o-lopola Biasiba** 'in the centre of Beersheba', as locative phrases:

Igau	**o-la=tuta**	**Pelegi**
another.time	loc-3sg.gposs=time	Peleg

mina=watanawa	**i-livisi-si.**
people=below	3-divide-pl

During Peleg's time the people of the world were divided. (Genesis 10.25)

Eberaam	**i-vali**	**kai-tala**	**pulopola**
Abraham	3sg-plant	cl.long/rigid-one	palm tree

o-lopo-la	**Biasiba.**
loc-centre-3sg.poss	Beersheba

Abraham planted a palm tree in Beersheba. (Genesis 21.33)

3.8.4.2 Body part terms as locators

Body part terms can be marked with a locative prefix. Where a body part term is used in a locative construction, it may refer directly to a position on a person's body, in which case it inflects for personal possession; or it may refer to a position on or by an inanimate item, where the 3p possessor form (either sg or pl) is used. Thus:

	body position	location in space
o-daba(la)	on (his) head	on top, above something
o-duba(si)	on (their) heads	above (those things)
o-mata(la)	in (his) eye	in front of (a person or a place)

o-papa(la)	at (his) side	beside something
o-lopo(la)	in (his) belly	inside of (a place)
o-sikowa(la)	on (his) posterior	underneath something

3.8.4.3 Movement towards a place or a person

Where the locative phrase is used for movement towards a place (or towards an animal) the prefix **o-** is used as in examples given above, and context determines whether 'position relative to an object' or 'movement towards something' is the sense intended.

Where the locative phrase shows movement to or towards a person, or terminating beside a person, the preposition **baisa** 'to, towards someone', which has a directive function, is usually preferred to **o-.**

I-sakaula	**o-la=bwala.**
3sg-run	loc-3sg.poss=house

She ran to her house.

I-sakaula	**baisa**	**ina-la.**
3sg-run	loc.person	mother-3sg.poss

She ran to her mother.

3.8.4.4 Frozen locative terms

Many locative terms commencing with **o-** or **wa-** are frozen forms, where the locative prefix element **wa-** is no longer regarded by the speaker as separable, as the stem to which it is prefixed does not currently function as a separate word. Such complex words are treated in the dictionary as unanalysable. Examples are:

odudubala	at early dawn
olakaiwa	up high
walakaiwa	(synonym) up high
olumoule(la)	in amongst (it)
watanawa	low down
omilisasa	a space inside a house
otilawa	higher up, by a higher path
otasai	silly mid-on (a **girikiti** 'cricket' term)

The use of **baisa** 'here' as a locative associated with body language components is described in 5.4.3.8.

3.8.4.5 A locative connotation in the verbal *-ki* suffix

In the examination of class 4 verbs in 3.3.1.4 part ii b) above, it was noted that there is a functional equivalence between the verbal suffix **-ki** and motion directed towards an object. In many examples of the verb plus **-ki** suffix it is possible to replace the stem plus **-ki** with an unmodified stem followed by a locative noun phrase without change in meaning. This suggests that a locative function may be associated with the **-ki** suffix.

3.8.4.6 A recessive locative category

Motion away from a human or a place is marked by the form **metoya** 'away from' which is added as an initial component to the whole locative phrase. This is shown in the first two examples below. It can also indicate the beginning point of a period of time; this second function is exemplified in the third listed example below:

metoya	**baisa**	**guyau**
from	loc.person	chief

lit. from to chief
from the chief

metoya	**o-gu**	**bwala**
from	loc-1sg.g.poss	house

lit. from at my house
from my house

metoya	**wa=tuta**	**ma<tuto>na**
from	loc=time	that-cl.time

lit. from at that time
from that time

3.8.4.7 The form *metoya* as a verb

Metoya may also occur as the archaic stative verb **-toya** 'to be from', marked with the habitual aspect marker **mV-**. This was included in Table 3.3 in section 3.4.3. This inflecting form of **-toya** is followed by a location specifying the place or time from which the verbal action is recessing. The verbal use of **metoya** is an archaism, almost lost. Table 3.8 below repeats that section of Table 3.3 relating to **-toya**. The forms shown in the paradigm of Table 3.8 sometimes occur, although rarely; all listed forms are found.

Table 3.8 Paradigm of the verb *–toya*

ma-toya	I am from
mo-ku-toya	you(sg) are from
me-toya	he is from
ma-ka-toya	we (exdl) are from
ma-ka-toya-si	we(expl) are from
me-ti-toya	we (indl) are from
me-ti-toya-si	we (inpl) are from
mo-ku-toya-si	you(pl) are from
me-toya-si	they are from

These verbs function in the same way as the adverbial form **metoya** in the examples in 3.8.4.6, glossed with 'We are (I am) from (a place, person or time)'. However the adverb **metoya** 'from' is also regularly used, even when there are clearly personal components in the statement which would seem to the etic user to indicate "proper" use of the inflected verb form. The following two statements are synonymous:

Yakamai-si	**metoya**	**o-ma=valu-si.**
we(ex)-pl	from	loc-1ex.poss=village-pl

We are from our village.

Yakamai-si	**ma-ka-toya-si**	**o-ma=valu-si**.
we(ex)-pl	hb-1ex-from-pl	loc-1ex.poss=village-pl

We are from our village.

3.8.5 Temporal phrases

A precise time reference is made by including a sentence level phrase which locates the verb's action at a precise time or within a stated period.

Any word or phrase specifying a time or occasion may be introduced into the sentence:

lagaila	today
kaukwau lagaila	this morning
bogi	evening, dusk
lubulotoula	midnight
ikiki.visiga	at first light of dawn
taitu bima	next year
tubukona leiwókuva	last month
tuta baisa	at this time, in these days
baisa tuta	at this very moment, right now

These time reference terms may occur as sentence initial components which are not part of the verb phrase. However, they also occur as the initial component for the verb phrase when they co-occur in phrases with the three time adjunct markers shown in 3.5.2.2. Thus the verb may be preceded by phrases like:

bogwa makateki	already but only recently/soon
igau tuta bima	at some time in the future
omitibogwa igau	long, long ago
bogwa bibogi	just when it is getting dark

Some text examples showing phrases of this kind are:

Igau	**tuta**	**oluvi**	**dale-mi**	**b-i-lukwai-si**
another.time	time	after	family-2pl	ir-3-tell-pl

dale-masi...
family-1expl.poss

In the future your descendants would say to ours... (Joshua 22.24)

Omitibogwa	**igau**	**gala**	**avai**	**guyau**	**i-gu.guyoi...**
long ago	another.time	not	any	chief	3sg-ruling

Before there were any kings... (Genesis 36.31)

Avai=tuta	**bogwa**	**bu-ku-youli-si**	**ma<vilou>na...**
what=time	already	ir-2-conquer-pl	that-cl.place

After you have taken the city... (Joshua 8.8)

Temporal phrases are shown here occurring in other places in the sentence, where the time expression is more generally a temporal comment applied to the whole sentence. In the majority of occurrences the speaker prefers to place a time reference close to or at the beginning of his utterance, so that the temporal phrase occurs preceding the verb, or within the verb phrase, locating the action at a time, and rarely follows the verb. An example of this order is:

Yoku	**gala**	**avai=tuta**	**bu-ku-yo.gagi**	**m=biga**	**katotila.**
you	not	what=time	ir-2sg-make.bad	2sg.g.poss=word	promise

You will never break your promises.

Two examples are given here where temporals were placed at the conclusion of sentences. The first example, **omitibogwa e lagaila** 'long ago and today'**,** is a speech formula which often occurs in narrative, with the sense 'always, from ancient times to today', and is often attached to the end of a statement. The second example **yam komwaidona** 'the whole day' is similarly placed. In both of these examples the temporal phrases refer to the whole statement, not just to one part of it. Intonation patterns of these sentences show a slight pause between the core proposition of a sentence and its sentence final time phrase, so that each part has its own intonation contour; this strengthens the role of temporal phrases placed at the end of the sentence to relate to the whole utterance.

Ma<kwai-si>na	**bogwa**	**lo-ku-yomitali**	***omitibogwa***
that-cl.complex-pl	already	rl-2sg-show	long.ago

e	***lagaila.***
and	today

You have shown these things from long ago to today. (Psalm 25.6)

Ma<tau>na **i-ko-keula** **da=koni-si**
that-cl.man 3sg-redupl-carry 1in.poss=burden-pl

yam ***kwai-tala*** ***kwai-tala.***
day cl.complex-one cl.complex-one
He was carrying our burdens day after day.

3.8.6 Comitative phrases

Phrases expressing 'being in company with someone' or association as a group are of frequent occurrence in conversation. This is especially noted in the discussion of reciprocals in 3.8.7 below.

3.8.6.1 Comitative prepositions

Comitative prepositions introduce phrases that state the members of a group, specifying the act of association as a group. Such phrases are introduced by prepositions like:

deli with
so(la) with (him) This form inflects
toyo also, and (within a group)
(kasi)tai(yu) (those two) people (two inflecting parts)

The first two are synonymous, occurring as prepositions at the beginning of a phrase, specifying (often naming) the person(s) associated with an act. The form **toyo** occurs mid-phrase to add yet another to a group. The fourth, **(kasi)tai(yu)**, needs particular comment.

3.8.6.2 The uses of *(kasi)tai(yu)*

The construction (**kasi)tai(yu)** has three uses.

i) The first is to introduce a phrase which details the people in a group. An example shows this function, with other comitative prepositions also occurring mid-phrase:

dale-la	**kasi-tai-tolu**
tribe-3sg.poss	3ppl-cl.person-three

ma<tau-si>na	**Datani**	**deli**	**Abiram**	**toyo**	**Oni.**
that-cl.person-pl	name	with	name	also	name

three members of his tribe - Dathan, Abiram and Oni. (Numbers 16.1)

ii) Secondly, the word **(kasi)tai(yu)** may stand alone as a headword denoting a group by stating the number of people acting together, for example:

Yokomi	**kami-tai-yu**	**avai**	**so-gu?**
you(pl)	2pl-cl.person-two	who	company-1sg.poss

Which of you two will go with me? (1 Samuel 26.6)

e	**kami-tai-yu**	**wala**	**bu-ku-kwaliga-si**	**baisa.**
and	you(2pl)-cl.person-two	only	ir-2-die-pl	here

and both of you will die there. (Jeremiah 22.26)

Kaina	**kasi-tai-luwo-yu**	**to-bu.bwaila.**
perhaps	3pl-cl.person-ten.group-two	cl.person-pl.good

Perhaps twenty of them are good people. (Genesis 18.31)

iii) The third use is in reciprocal constructions, described in 3.8.7.

3.8.6.3 Is *(kasi)tai(yu)* a productive construction or a lexeme?

In the **(kasi)tai(yu)** paradigm there are three parts:

a) **ka(la)-4** he, him (personal pronoun, human reference only)

b) **-tai-1** (cl.human) specifies 'human, non-specific as to sex'.
(Its variants **tau, to** do not occur here.)

c) **-yu** (number term) Any number word may be used.

Only two words make use of this form **ka(la)-4** 'he, him':

(kala)mwaleta	(he) alone, only (him)
(kasi)tai(yu)	(those two) people

The first component, **ka(la)-⁴**, is a homonym of the proclitic possession marker **kala¹** 'his (possessed item)', and is a personal pronoun, which occurs in these two words only. The first is with the adverb suffix **-mwaleta** (allomorph -**mwaguta**), with the sense 'alone, only', and is used to state the limitation or separateness of one person or a group of people. The full paradigm of this pronoun plus suffix is set out in Table 3.9 below. The second occurrence has non-singular forms only, represented by the canonical form **(kasi)tai(yu)**, and states the precise number of people in a group. The paradigm of this set is in Table 3.10 below. No singular form occurs, as singular reference 'only one person' is made using the singular forms included in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9 Paradigm of *(kala)mwaleta*

kagu-mwaleta	I alone, only me (also **agumwaleta**)
kam-mwaleta	you(sg) alone, only you
kala-mwaleta	he (she) alone, only him (her)
kama-mwaleta	we(exdl) alone, only us
kama-mwaleta-si	we(expl) alone, only us
kada-mwaleta	we(indl) alone, only us
kada-mwaleta-si	we(inpl) alone, only us
kami-mwaleta	you(pl) alone, only you
kasi-mwaleta	they alone, only them

Notes (with Table 3.9)

1. Human reference applies for all listed forms.
2. Inanimate reference is made using 3sg and 3pl forms
3. The canonical form is **(kala)mwaleta.**

Table 3.10 Paradigm of *(kasi)tai(yu)*

(only non-singular forms occur)

kama-tai-yu	we(exdl) two people
kama-tai-tolu-si	we(expl) three people
kada-tai-yu	we(indl) two people
kada-tai-tolu-si	we(inpl) three people
kami-tai-yu	you(pl) two people
kami-tai-tolu	you(pl) three people
kasi-tai-yu	those two people
kasi-tai-tolu	those three people

Notes (with Table 3.10)

1. Dual forms occur throughout, marked with numeral **-yu**
2. Non-dual forms use whatever number is appropriate. (the number word **tolu** 'three' only used in this paradigm).
3. Only one classifier form (**tai**-) is used as the core of this word.

The limitation imposed on the use of **(kasi)tai(yu)** by the restricted reference of its core classifier **tai-,** coupled with the impossibility of replacing **tai-** with other classifiers, is the conundrum underlying the title of this section.

The classifier **tai-**[1] is glossed 'person (non-specific as to sex)', and so the word is used always in reference to groups of people. The choice of this word made by Kiriwina translators in the following texts must be noted.

The two young men David and Jonathan are described as **kasitaiyu** 'those two' (1 Samuel 20.41).

Naomi and her daughter-in-law Ruth are **kasitaiyu** 'those two' (Ruth 1.18).

Thirty famous warriors are termed **kasitailuwotolu** 'the thirty' (2 Samuel 23.18).

A mixed group of men, women and children are termed **kasitailuwoyu** 'twenty' (Genesis 18.31).

No other classifier is used in this position to specify groups made up of men, or women, or any mixed group, and it could be said that ***tai** is here not a classifier bur a stem glossed as 'people in a group (non-specific as to sex)'. If this were so, it would be the solitary use of this word in the lexicon. As its gloss is the same as that given to **tai**[1] in 3.7.3.1, it is better to recognise this as an acceptable role for this classifier.

Several examples of classifiers contributing their semantic force as derivational affixes have been seen in 3.6.4.2 and 3.7.5.3, and the use of **tai-** in **kasitaiyu** is consistent with the use of classifiers in other derived forms. While the main use of the classifiers is in setting domains within the noun phrase, the uses seen in derivations show that some classifiers may contribute, but in a limited way, to other forms, and the limitation of the classifier's input is that other classifiers cannot substitute for the ones used in derivations in the way classifiers do in their regular use in the noun phrase modifiers. In **(kasi)tai(yu)** not even the variant forms of **tai-** ever occur, and thus **(kasi)tai(yu)** must be seen as a lexeme frozen in this form, having the status of a headword in the dictionary, along with other members of its paradigm in Table 3.10.

3.8.7 Reciprocals

The subject noun phrase of a reciprocal construction is a complex NP stating the people (usually two) who are in a reciprocal relationship performing a mutual action. The parties engaged in a reciprocal activity are linked by one of the comitative prepositions listed in 3.8.6.1. The commonest used is (**kasi)tai(yu)**, describing a reciprocal relationship between the subject and another person.[52] Other comitative prepositions, such as **so(la)** '(his) companion', are also found.

The construction employed usually breaks the complex noun phrase into two parts, placing the verb in between the two parties involved in the action, which results in the pattern 'He (one party) they are arguing those two her (second party)'. This pattern of 'Subject(sg) + vb(pl subject) + (**kasi)tai(yu)** + subject(sg)', is seen in the following examples:

---

[52] Reciprocal constructions may also involve a group of more than two, but the form **kasitaiyu** in reference to a two-group is most frequently found.

Yeigu	**bogwa**	**ka-bigatona**	**kama-tai-yu**	**mi<na>na.**
1sg	already	1exdl-converse	1exdl-cl.person-two	that-cl.woman

lit. I already we two (excl) converse we two her.

She and I have already had a conversation (about something).

In this construction, the split.subject NP **Yeigu kama-tai-yu mi<na>na** enumerates those who are the subject group of two; divided in the sentence construction by a verb with dual subject prefix.

In another example **(kasi)tai(yu)** is replaced by the comitative preposition **so(la)**, but still with the same reciprocal sense:

Ki,	**Douglas**	**bogwa**	**le-i-vai-si**	**so-la**
Qn	Douglas	already	rl-3-marry-pl	companion-3sg.poss

mi<na>na	**lubai-la?**
that-cl.woman	sweetheart-3sg.poss

Have Douglas and his sweetheart married? (from a letter)

In this example the NP **Douglas so-la mi<na>na lubai-la** specifies a group of two people.

In each of these examples the apparently singular subject is followed by a plural verb anticipating the enumeration of the rest of the subject group. The construction is used with the reciprocal sense of "each other" implied.

3.9 SVO order and foregrounding

This section deals with syntactic processes used to place an item in the foreground or background of attention, or to elide particular constituents within a sentence.

3.9.1 Regular SVO constituent order

The ordering of all major constituents in sentences, including nominal sentences, is discussed here. Kiriwina shares the basic constituent ordering of SVO with a large number of Oceanic languages. "It is probable that SVO was the preferred order in POc ... (T)he SVO order is still obligatory for

pronominal subjects and objects" (Pawley 1973: 117). Although the basic SVO ordering underlies sentences, a speaker may re-order the sentence constituents to give greater prominence to a part of the sentence.

The most common constituent order in verbal sentences is SVO. This is usually seen when a new theme is introduced into conversation, or where the speaker has no wish to place particular emphasis on any component of his statement.

A sentence may also include other components besides S, V and O. The order of a possible fully-expanded simple sentence given in Figure 3.3 shows the basic order in which such other components are most regularly found:[53]

(Time ref) (modals) verb (direct obj) { locative (time ref) / locative (place ref) / prep phrase }

Figure 3.3 Possible sentence pattern

The basic ordering of other components of the sentence is now dealt with. It must be noted that some "prepositions" are better termed adpositions, as they may be placed in different places in a phrase.

3.9.1.1 Time reference phrases (temp.p)

Time reference phrases are generally placed early in the sentence, especially because the temporal construction has scope over the whole clause; sometimes, however, the time reference occurs at the end, especially when the time reference is an argument of the verb. Examples follow which illustrate both these placements. These two examples show temporal reference placed clause initial, applied to the whole clause:

	temp.p			
Avai	**tuta**	**b-i-bogi**	**b-i-masisi-si**	**valu.**
What	time	ir-3sg-night	ir-3-sleep pl	village

At night the village people will sleep.

[53] See also 3.3.3.2 on double object verbs, which show a rigid pattern in examples there. The indirect object is either a verbal pronominal suffix or else a NP following the verb.

	temp.p			
E	**lagaila**	**vavagi**	**ma<kwai>na**	**i-kaloubusi.**
well	today	thing	that-cl.complex	3sg-appear

Then today that thing appeared.

The following example then shows two temporal phrases placed clause final, which have reference only to the scope of the verb:

			temp.p	temp.p	
Karaiwaga	**ma<kwai>na**	**i-sisu**	**tokinabogwa,**	**baisa**	**tuta gala.**
rule	that-cl.complex	3sg-stay	long.long.ago	this	time no

That authority existed in the old days; not now.

Another example shows two time reference phrases, the second being clearly subsequent to the verb's action.

	temp.p			
Igau	**kwai-vasi**	**yam**	**b-i-kauwai-si**	**tutuwane-la**
when	cl.complex-four	day	ir-3-take-pl	bone-3sg.poss

		temp.p	
b-i-sisu	**o-kaivala**	**tuta**	**komwaidona.**
ir-3sg-stay	at-the.place	time	all

After four days they would take (the corpse's) bones and put them somewhere permanently.

3.9.1.2 Locative – place reference (place.p)

Locative place reference phrases normally follow the verb phrase. Some examples are given here which show the time reference at beginning and place reference at end of the simple sentence. This order is statistically most frequent in all clauses, and is shown in the first two citations:

	temp.p			place.p	
Yam	**ma<kwai>na**	**ba-ka-kauwai-si**	**yena**	**metoya**	**o-bolita.**
day	that-cl.complex	ir-1ex-take-pl	fish	from	in-sea

On that day we will take fish from the sea.

			temp.p		place.p
Wiki	**ma<kwai>na**	**bogwa**	**b-i-tavina**	**ambaisa**	**ambaisa.**
week	that-cl.complex	already	ir-3sg-go.about	where	where

This very week he will be moving about all over the place.

However the locative reference may occur in clause initial position, if the location of the statement is uppermost in the speaker's mind. In the example the highly unusual place for a prayer act of Jonah is foremost in the speaker's mind, even re-ordering the locative phrase **olopola yena** to place **yena** first in the clause, as shown here:

					place.p
Yena	**o-lopo-la**	**Youna**	**i-nigada**	**baisa**	**Guyau.**
fish	loc-belly-3sg.poss	Jonah	3sg-to.pray	to	Lord

In the fish's belly Jonah prayed to the Lord! (Jonah 2.1)

3.9.1.3 Comitative and other prepositional phrases

Comitative phrases and other prepositional phrases generally follow the verb phrase, for example:

			place.p
Ma<kwai>na	**dakuna**	**ku-saiwa**	**o-uula.**
that-cl.complex	stone	2sg-put.there	at-base

Put that stone down at the base (of house).

			com.p			
Kabutuvatusi	**b-i-viloubusi**	**metoya**	**baisa**	**tuwoli**	**tomota.**
sign	ir-3sg-appear	from	at	different	people

The signs will come from a number of different people.

			prep.p
M<to>na	**i-kanukwenu**	**deli**	**kala=katububula.**
that-cl.man	3sg-lying	with	3sg.iposs=decorations

He is lying there all decorated.

Biloma-la	**goli**	**i-sunapula**
spirit-3sg.poss	indeed	3sg-come.out

prep.p

guguwa	**ma<kwai-si>na**	**deli**	**wala.**
goods	that-cl.complex-pl	with	only

His spirit indeed has come out carrying those decorations.

Guguwa	**ma<kwai-si>na**	**bogwa**	**e-i-kau**
goods	that-cl.complex-pl	already	rl-3sg-take

	prep.p	place.p
deli	**la=baloma**	**wa=Tuma.**
with	3sg.poss-spirit	to=Tuma

Those decorations have been taken to Tuma with his spirit.

3.9.2 Constituent re-ordering

A speaker wishing to bring a part of his statement to the foreground of attention will place that component at or closer to sentence initial position. If the component which the speaker wishes to make prominent is already in sentence initial position, it may be made more prominent by the addition of emphatic clitics, as described in 3.2.4.4 above, especially by terminating the phrase with the emphatic free form **goli** 'indeed'.

Two sequences from death ceremonies illustrate this re-ordering. The majority of sentences in the document were SVO order. In this first block the temp.p + SVO clause is followed by two clauses ordered OV and VO.

temp.p	S	V
Tuta pikekita	**tomota**	**b-i-kapolai-si**
time little	people	ir-3-wrap-pl

O

to-mata	**mi<na>na.**
cl.person-dead	that-cl.corpse

Soon people will enshroud that corpse.

O		V
To-mata	**kulu-la**	**b-i-kauwai-si,**
cl.person-dead	hair-3sg.poss	ir-3-take-pl

V	O
b-i-vagai-si	**kasi=kuwa.**
ir-3-make-pl	3pl.iposs=necklace

The deceased's hair they will take and make their necklace (memento).

Soon after this, an investigation into the cause of death by observing *rigor mortis* signs is introduced by two VO clauses, ordered regularly.

V	O
B-i-kiwisai-si	**bugweiwa,**
ir-3-look-pl	body.signs

V	O	
b-i-nikolai-si	**avaka**	**kala=kabutuvatusi**.
ir-3-know-pl	what	3sg.iposs=sign

They will watch body signs, to find out what was the cause of death.

These regular clauses are followed by a compound sentence where the paramount locative phrase is brought to the commencement of the first clause, which is followed with a re-ordered VSO clause, terminating in a regular intransitive SV clause.

loc.p (whole line)				
Metoya	**baisa**	**m<to>na**	**to-kwaliga**	**wowo-la**
from	this	that-cl.person	cl.-dead	body-3sg.poss

V	S	or O	or O
b-i-nikolai-si	**veya-la**	**kaina bulukwa**	**kaina kaula**
ir-3-know-pl	relation-3sg.poss	either pig	or food

S		V
m-to-na	**to-mata**	**i-kaliga.**
that-cl.person	cl.person-dead	3sg-die

From the body of the deceased his relations will know whether a pig or food caused the person's death.

In this first clause (ordered VS either O or O) the VS ordering is optional, and it could have been spoken **veyala binikolaisi** 'his relations will know', but because the speaker is giving prominence to 'know' he re-orders his clause to put 'know' in the first position. In the second clause the death is known to all and no re-ordering is needed.

The following features characterise foregrounding movement. In nominal sentences, the component which the speaker wants to be made more prominent is related usually to the deictic pronoun, and thereafter this modifier is used and the head noun is frequently omitted. Small units are more easily moved than large complex ones. The pronominal function of the classifiers in the NP aids this process; an item plus its classifier are introduced into conversation, and thereafter only the classifier-bearing words appear.

Two examples of this sequence follow here. In a phrase in sentence i) **buki ma-pa-na** 'that book' is identified; thereafter in ii) and iii) the phrase is identified only by the deictic pronoun bearing as its core the classifier **pa-** which in context specifies 'book', so that thereafter the head noun may be omitted without semantic loss.

i) **Buki ma-pa-na kala=kalawa gagabila.**
book that-cl.thick/rigid 3sg.poss=read easy
That book is easy to read.

ii) **Gala makawala ma<pa-si>na.**
not like that-cl.thick/rigid-pl
It's not like those (other books).

iii) **Ma<pa>na mokwita**.
that-cl.thick/rigid true
That book is genuine (the real thing).

In repetitive reference the single word is more easily repositioned by the speaker (although sometimes a whole phrase may be moved). A single word is more easily repositioned, and the clarity of reference of the classifier core makes this unambiguous and clear to hearers. The example quoted earlier in

3.7.5.2 also demonstrated this, which is reiterated here because it is part of explaining foregrounding movement of constituents.

In the second sequence there was a discussion over the concept of choice. In the first sentence the classifier **kwai-** could refer equally to a mango, or to the concept of a choice; but the conversation was about the selection of a desired thing. Then in sentences ii) and iii) comments followed where reference to **toyápila** 'favourite thing' was omitted; finally in iv) a final sentence re-associated the item and its classifier.

i) **Kwai-tala** **weiwa** **agu=toyápila** **ma<kwai>na.**
cl.thing-one mango 1sg.iposs=favourite that-cl.thing
A mango is my favourite thing.

ii) **Baisa** **goli** **kwai-mwau.**
this indeed cl.concept-heavy
Indeed, this is a serious matter.

iii) **Vavagi** **kwai-veka.**
thing cl.concept-big
This is an important thing.

iv) **Vavagi** **bwaina** **kala=gigisa** **kam=toyapila**
thing good 3sg.iposs=look 2sg.iposs=favourite

e **nanakwa** **ku-kwau** **kopwi** **ma<-kwai-we->na.**
and quickly 2sg-take hold that-cl.fruit-other
Something that looks good is your favourite, so you quickly grab and hold that fruit you chose.

The pattern of ellipsis followed finally by restatement of the whole phrase seen in the last sequence iv) is the same pattern shown in the example quoted in 3.7.5.2, where a phrase containing the head noun was followed by three phrases which omitted the head noun, and finally a fifth phrase restored the head noun.

In sentences where the head is a verb, short phrases are easier for the speaker to re-order for foregrounding than long or complex ones. In addition to foregrounding, components can be marked with phonetic features for emphasis to give them greater prominence, while the other parts of the sentence may be reduced by ellipsis. Features such as intonation patterns which give a high tone to some part, or excessive length to an already stressed syllable, are examples of such phonetic features which aid the speaker.

The following example is taken from a meeting of chiefs held because a report had been circulated of a newspaper article from Port Moresby which contained false information of a challenge to chiefly power in Kiriwina, containing the phrase **ma<kwai>na biga rabesa** 'that rubbish word'. Thereafter modifiers containing the classifier **kwai-**, which in that context specified 'false report', were repeated in various positions in sentences, as:

ma<kwai>na	**biga**	**i-kaibiga-si...**
that-cl.report	word	3-speak-pl

that (false) report they are making... (order OV)

ma<kwai>na	**i-toli...**
that-cl.report	3sg-stand.still

that false report stands... (regular order SV)

ma<kwai-si>na	**biga**	**kwai-yu...**
that-cl.report-pl	word	cl.report-two

those two falsehoods (I was accused of)... (order OV)

In the ensuing conversation the various forms of the noun phrase showed how ellipsis of the head noun aided description by various modifiers. In the above example **biga rabesa** 'lying report' was replaced by nominal modifiers, and in addition the chiefs' conversation at that time included other descriptive phrases, such as **biga makwaina iuu** 'those windy words', **bigatona makwaina** 'that gossip', **biga wawa** 'excreta words', **rabesa gala dimlela** 'rubbish with no status', **niusi toginigini si bubunela** 'news reporters' usual words', **yasasopa** 'a thin fabric of wrong information', and **bigawokuva wala** 'only words'. Elision invites descriptive detail much of which cannot be adequately shown by use of the head noun itself.

3.9.3 Ellipsis aids foregrounding

The part played by ellipsis is seen when the ease of movement of a small component is observed. If parts of a phrase can be omitted without affecting clarity of meaning then the resultant smaller part is easily moved to a foreground position. The following sequence shows a component's total omission.

In sentence i) there is a basic SVO sentence. Then in sentence ii) there is the public showing of a corpse, where a locative phrase, usually terminating a sentence, is moved to the beginning of the sentence, resulting in a sentence with components ordered Loc Phrase + V + S, the object NP being completely omitted without loss of meaning:

	S		V	O
i)	**M<to-si>na**	**to-valam**	**b-i-kopoi-si**	**to-mata.**
	that-cl.person-pl	cl.person-lament	ir-3-lift-pl	cl.person-dead

The official mourners will lift up the corpse.

	Loc phrase		V
ii)	**Metoya**	**o-la=bwala**	**b-i-lauwai-si**
	from	loc-3sg.poss=house	ir-3-take-pl

S		
kadala	**kaina**	**tuwala.**
uncle-3sg.poss	or	elder.brother-3sg.poss[54]

From his house the relatives will take it ('corpse' deleted).

Foregrounding is aided here by two processes of ellipsis.

First, the class 3 verbs use either an intransitive stem, which brings the verb action into prominence, or else a derived form of the same stem which is a transitive form, and as the nature of transitiveness is to focus on the object, this derived stem brings into prominence whatever object the verb's action is directed towards. All class 3 verbs exercise a focussing function in this way.

[54] These forms **kadala** 'his uncle(s)', **tuwala** 'his elder brother(s)' may be either singular or plural.

Thus the object focus form of the verb **-lau** 'take something' used in sentence ii) above clearly declares the existence of an object NP and its omission does no violence to the sentence meaning, as context is shouting out what the object focus form has brought to the fore. These class 3 transitive verbs occur frequently with their object noun phrase omitted.

Second, the pronominal function of the classifiers in the noun phrase aids omission of head nouns, leaving a remnant which may then be moved more easily to different places in the sentence. Ellipsis may be either of the head noun, which is shown in examples quoted in 3.9.2 above, or of the whole NP, as in the example shown in this section. In these examples a classifier is used to identify an item, and in following context that classifier aids omission of the head noun, with no detriment to meaning. This in turn reduces the size of the phrase and adds to the foregrounding devices which the speaker uses to give prominence to one part of his statement.

4 *Planning and compiling the dictionary*

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an account of the making of my Kiriwina to English dictionary. Its genesis was coupled to my first acquaintance with the Kiriwina language. I was drawn into lexicography as part of my work as a translator of the Bible into Kiriwina; and dictionary and translated text grew together. In this early stage the Kiriwina people chose the Kavataria dialect as the form they preferred for printed scripture, which is the dialect described in the dictionary. I give an account of my most valued colleagues in this work, the sort of data chosen and methods used in recording text and identifying headwords. Finally I suggest who may be the probable users of this dictionary.

Sidney Landau (1984: 6) cites Yakov Malkiel as saying that dictionaries can be distinguished by three categories – range, perspective and presentation. By range he means how much of the lexicon of a language is included, how many languages are included, and how encyclopaedic the definitions are. A dictionary's perspective is shown by whether it is a synchronic or diachronic work, and by the ordering of entries alphabetically or in some other way. Presentation covers the organisation and extent of each entry, and the use of illustrative sentences.

The ideal I have aimed at in this Kiriwina to English dictionary may be summarised using these criteria. The dictionary is bilingual, and is intended to encompass the total lexicon, with the exception of a few marginal categories like personal and place names. The work is synchronic in perspective and entries are ordered alphabetically, including all variant forms which are cross-referenced to a main entry. A total of 12,000 lexical units are included as headwords in its current draft form as a computerised file, with an additional 8,000 variant forms, derivations and compounds. The entries aim to present translation equivalents where possible, or a numbered series of senses to

define a word's possible range of meaning, adding metaphorical uses, with references to synonyms and other semantic relationships, giving pronunciation guides where necessary, and illustrative sentences selected to demonstrate a word's usage in a context. The data in an entry are set out in a consistent order, so that any one datum may be located in one place in an ordered sequence of items.

4.2 How I came to live and work in Kiriwina

The history of a dictionary must be in part the story of its lexicographer. I begin this account with a statement of my unpreparedness for lexicography and what I had to do to equip myself for the work of dictionary making.

My role as a lexicographer of Kiriwina evolved through a long and happy association with the Kiriwina people, coupled with many years helping them (as they helped me) with translation of church-related texts, and with training in linguistic theory and fieldwork techniques acquired on the way. However when I went to Kiriwina in 1961 I had not the slightest clue that I would need to be a linguist, and none of my fellow-missionaries warned me.

Academically I had little linguistic training apart from a basic knowledge of the classics (Latin and Greek) and a year studying sound changes in European languages and their origins in Indo-European roots. My pass degree from Adelaide University was in history and philosophy. I began my training for the Methodist ministry in 1949, and when in 1956 I was accepted for overseas service, the Mission Board in Sydney appointed me and my wife Margaret to work in the area they called the Papuan Islands Region, as teaching staff for the new Wesley High School at Salamo, Fergusson Island, in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. Margaret was a secondary school teacher, and the Board required me to complete a Diploma of Education at Sydney Teachers' College before going. We arrived in Papua in January 1957, and the new High School opened in 1958.

In this initial period my teaching work was strictly in English. But on weekends I had to superintend church work in surrounding villages, and this work required a knowledge of the Dobu language, which was the language the

church used for its village work and for official meetings.[1] After three years in this posting I was transferred to Dobu Island as superintendent of the Dobu Circuit,[2] where in addition to work with village churches I was entrusted with the final year's training of three indigenous probationary ministers, one of whom, Philemon Bukoya, was from Kiriwina. In this work my ability in the Dobu language increased, so that before long I functioned as the Papua Synod's official translator in church meetings, translating all Dobu speeches for English hearers, and all English speeches into Dobu for indigenous hearers.

In 1961 the Lawtons were transferred to the Kiriwina Circuit, and in that year while still resident at Dobu and responsible for its oversight I was required also to oversee the work of the Kiriwina Circuit. Conveniently my ministerial student Philemon was immediately able to begin teaching me the Kiriwina language.

The Lawton family (now numbering four) transferred to Kiriwina in 1962, taking up residence at Oyabia, adjacent to Kavataria village on Kiriwina Island; here the family increased to five, and we lived until 1973. I found that my fluency in Dobu, a language known to many Kiriwina people, proved to be a valuable aid in acquiring the Kiriwina language, which while sharing few cognates is grammatically and syntagmatically similar to Dobu. I began to collect Kiriwina words with the same enthusiasm I had formerly shown in collecting stamps. After about five weeks I was using Kiriwina effectively in my work with village churches and pastoral staff.

Mission work in a foreign culture leaves little time for luxuries like study or research. In my new post I had the responsibility of caring for a mission station, which in addition to my primary responsibility for the oversight of about 40 Papuan staff and their village churches meant also looking after buildings, repairing them and adding new ones, the mechanical care of vehicles and a boat engine, the upkeep of a small herd of cattle and a coconut plantation, being responsible for all finance, and needing to patrol an area of about 6,000 square miles of sea, a duty which caused me to be absent from home about 24 weeks every year. Anthropological and linguistic studies

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[1] The church encouraged the use of major vernaculars in every community, but needed one vernacular for its meetings and records. As the Dobu language had currency as the *lingua franca* of the **kula** exchange circle, it was adopted for the church's official language for its Papua District work.

[2] The churches attached to Salamo were a section of Dobu Circuit.

when possible were relegated to the hours of 8 pm to midnight by candle or lantern light. Nonetheless I was both challenged and fascinated by the linguistic complexities that surrounded me.

4.3 Beginning a dictionary

Soon after arriving at Oyabia I was confronted with the need for preparation of Kiriwina language material, and also found a half-completed draft of a new Kiriwina hymn book and catechism waiting for completion and publication. When this was finally done, the next priority proved to be the need for Bible translation work.

It came about in this way. I had a cupboard full of Gospel portions – Mark had been translated in 1908 (Gilmour 1908b), the book of Acts in 1932 (Prisk 1932), and the other three Gospels in 1949 (Shotton and Ugwalubu, 1949). As I patrolled my parish I actively disposed of these by barter, cash money being rarely available. I accepted anything marketable – yams, bananas, old carvings, poultry, shells. (When I returned home I then had to convert these into cash, so as to balance my books, as a credit balance of yams, carvings and poultry was not acceptable.) Soon my stocks of books were exhausted, and I wrote to the Bible Society for fresh supplies. None was available, and the Bible Society suggested that I would need to check the quality of translation in these old books before a reprint could be done. This opened my eyes to the defects inherent in text which had been translated by different workers over many years, and it was soon clear that retranslation was the wisest option. In this way I began the work of Bible translation, working initially on the New Testament. This work has engaged me ever since.

To begin, I gathered a committee of Kiriwina church leaders for this, as I had no confidence in my own ability as a translator. It was here however that my need of a reliable lexical resource was evident, as an appreciation of words functioning within a wide cultural context was needed for effective translation, and such an aid was not to be found in the word lists I had 'inherited'. I had already gathered a list of words and phrases needed for daily conversation and common activities. But now as my translation work began every item coming from my colleagues in translation had to be examined and fitted into the pattern of words and expressions I already knew.

In this early stage of compiling a lexicon of Kiriwina, I was materially aided by data left by previous mission staff. A major aid as I began translation work was the dictionary left by a former missionary, Hedley Shotton (Shotton 1949). But my primary source was the speech of Kiriwina colleagues, which I preferred to consulting a word list. My developing word list was in no sense an improved Shotton list, but a list of those words and concepts spoken by Kiriwina people, which Shotton's dictionary confirmed, and it aided me as I looked wider. I was working with intelligent Kiriwina colleagues who responded to my interest by leading me to a better understanding of their language and culture, introducing many words and phrases not included in Shotton's dictionary, showing new senses and idiomatic uses which he had not noted.

My most valued Kiriwina colleagues were first Inose Ugwalubu,[3] and later Antonio Lubisa Bunaimata, who was a most perceptive and discerning colleague in translation work for many years. Our main task then was translation of the New Testament into Kiriwina, but our conversations ranged far and wide beyond biblical themes, as these men and other helpers made aspects of Kiriwina culture clearer to me.

My Kiriwina friends not only told me words but showed them to me. Late one night a committee member Siotamo knocked at my door to show me in his person the effect of eating **botutu**, an intoxicating variety of betel nut we had been talking about. He was certainly half-drunk! Another committee member Jacob brought his little son to show me how the men's pubic leaf **vivia** was put on. Another came to protest over a spelling error when the adjective -**veka** 'big' included an epenthetic **[a]** after the first syllable, which caused former workers to spell it as *-**veaka** (see 2.4.5) Others came of their own volition to help or correct me. In consequence, every night by hurricane lamp the expressions my many teachers had shared with me were added to a growing list.

My word list grew apace, and so I constructed a portable card index which enabled me to make further notes on words as opportunity offered. Apart from the convenience of alphabetical ordering, it enabled me to increase

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[3] Inose had been a **toulatila** 'unmarried youth' when Fellows arrived in Kiriwina in 1894. He had also worked with Hedley Shotton in translating the Gospels in 1946-49 (Shotton and Ugwalubu 1949). In spite of his great age he kept a clear mind to the last and was my chief informant in my early years. As a result some Kiriwina people said I spoke like an old man! Inose died in 1967 aged about 95.

notes on any lexeme and locate them with ease.[4] About the size of a moderately large suitcase, it accommodated about 6,000 cards of 12x6 cm. From the first I was interested in any sense that could be stated for each word. Sometimes a mere translation equivalent was sufficient. But my card index for the verb **-gini** 'to write' may be an example of the associated detail I discovered for the one lexeme. The following details were recorded on the original cards:

> **-gini** vb - to write Redupl (continuous) use **–gini.gini**
> Intransitive use:
> 1. to carve a design or pattern
> 2. modern use - to write (seen as a design of lines)
>
> Transitive use:
> 1. to carve sthg (obj is name of pattern carved)
> 2. to write sthg eg letter
> 3. to draw a picture, to ornament anything with pattern of lines
>
> **ginigini** (n)
> 1. Carving or setting out a pattern of lines (usu in wood)
> 2. Writing, printed text

Two cards were added to this card for **-gini** showing the kinds of patterns which were carved, each with its name; the following patterns of **ginigini** were illustrated - **bwita, matala ina, sawila, udowada, keiuna, pagatu, mnigiwari** or **minigiwari, kulitapwapwaila, kudula kaukwa, weku, koisalulu** and **dodoleta**.[5]

Later I added other details to the basic information on these first cards, noting the status of **ginigini** as a superordinate term with the names of types of pattern as its subordinates. I also added a few other carving pattern names, noted a synonym and gave a text example of the intransitive verb using the reduplicative form. An idiomatic use and a compound form where -**gini** was part of the compound, and a derived form were noted. In this way the concept of lexical families began to be a feature of my word list.

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[4] This would not be necessary in these computer days! In that past age keeping odd notes and additional data in an accessible form could only be by a card file.

[5] Many of these patterns were named by Kiriwina people of Iwa, whose carving skills in ebony I admired excessively.

I continued to gather information on each lexeme in the same way shown for the verb **-gini**, often illustrating processes in the development of a word's meaning with diagrams. Sometimes encyclopaedic detail had to be added, as when a word implied a succession of acts. In this way I added to this index on a daily basis, and in ensuing years always took my suitcase of cards with me in the field, and even carried it to Australia on three successive triennial furloughs so I could continue adding and refining lexical detail during holidays.

Sacred Heart missionaries working in a different Kiriwina dialect made their word lists and findings available to me. I refer here to Frs Baldwin and Twomey of the Catholic Mission. Kevin Twomey and I cooperated for some time in Bible translation work. I later met Fr Bernard Baldwin in his retirement in Kensington, NSW. Both of these men made their lexical data available to me, and I have found their citations of text demonstrating word usage to be of great value.

I was fortunate at this early period of my work in being able to attend two translation workshops conducted by the Bible Society, the first of which I attended accompanied by Pastor Lepani Gumagawa, and the second accompanied by Pastor Antonio Lubisa, who had become my chief colleague in translation work. At these workshops I met many other workers from New Guinea, the Solomons and New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) who were engaged in Bible translation work. Lecturing staff at the translation workshops included Eugene Nida from USA, Harold Moulton from Britain, and Arthur Capell from Australia, and Moulton subsequently aided my translation work and supplied reference texts.

In addition, on successive furloughs I was fortunate to attend two Summer Schools conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. These courses were held in Brisbane, at the University of Queensland, St Lucia, each for about three months. They offered courses in grammar and phonology, and conducted seminars in field methods and data acquisition. To attend the first in 1963 the whole Lawton family travelled from Adelaide to Brisbane in my mother's A30. Our two older children still speak of this epic journey! For the second school in 1967 I was accompanied only by my colleague Antonio. We also drove from Adelaide to Brisbane. I thought I would show Antonio the deserts of Australia as we drove via Broken Hill – but it rained all the way.

In every period of my work, from my first arrival in Kiriwina to the period when the Bible was being finally checked, my list of Kiriwina words has been like a living organism, growing, changing and undergoing revision. My early lexicographical work was haphazard and lacked method; I had no appreciation of many semantic connections between words, variant forms or dialect differences did not concern me, and the status of many phrases or multiword expressions as headwords had no significance for me – I treated them as a succession of morphemes rather than as larger units. But the guidance of two translation workshops and the theoretical groundwork and guidance on field method in Summer Schools made my later work more effective. As time went on I gained an increasing appreciation of folk taxonomies and other semantic fields, and I began to recognise how one lexeme could function in a number of compounds and phrases, a sharing of one component of meaning between other larger units which I called a lexical family. I began to see how the interrelations of meanings within lexical families showed patterns of Kiriwina thinking, and once-obscure glosses often connected as part of that pattern. As a result, corrections and refinements were constant.

Commercial dictionary projects generally have a specific budget, and are undertaken by a team, with different staff members specialising in separate tasks. In the case of many bilingual dictionaries of languages spoken by small groups, neither of these luxuries is available. The budget is made up of whatever the lexicographer himself can provide, and the staff consists of one, plus perhaps a wife to assist. This is certainly true for me. However, I always sought help from any passing expert, and have often found assistance gladly and gratuitously given.

4.4 Bible translation and growth of a lexicon

The tasks of Bible translation and lexicography went on together, the second a direct consequence of the first. Thus the story of Kiriwina Bible translation is an account of the circumstances which produced the Kiriwina to English dictionary.

The translation story can be divided into three periods. The first is the 1960s, during my residence in Kiriwina, as I first learned the language. The

second is the 1970s when I was based in Canberra; in this period we completed translating the New Testament. The third is a longer period (1982-2004) which encompassed translation of the Old Testament.

4.4.1 Translation work begins, 1962 – 1972

In the first period (1962-1972), we (I and my Translation Committee) worked at Oyabia, when I snatched such opportunities as I could from regular mission duties to call the men[6] together - they always came eagerly. Initially we worked on the four Gospels, which had been translated before, and we had to confront the different orthographies of previous translators and different translation equivalents used. As an instance of problems in early translated work, I had to decide whether verbs should be written conjunctively (including subject and mood markers as one phonological word) or disjunctively, which was the pattern of older work. I decided to set a written exam for all my Kiriwina pastoral staff, to see in what form they preferred to write the verbs (they didn't know why they were being tested!) and subsequent examination of their answers showed a clear preference for conjunctive writing of verbs. So from that time my orthography followed a conjunctive pattern, which was never questioned. The sequence **Pita i la i bia wota i mai** was now written **Pita ila ibia wota imai** 'Peter went and dragged the net ashore' (John 21.11a), each phonological word bearing one stress point. There were other revisions in orthography which were tested and confirmed by the committee.

For about three years staff of the Catholic Mission joined us. This was a valuable time, as it helped both groups to use similar translation equivalents for Christian terminology. Eventually however the Catholic group withdrew, but amicably - their priest Fr Kevin Twomey saying they were happy with the standard of work being done. In this period the Kavataria dialect was selected as the language for printed scriptures, a joint act of the two denominations.[7]

In 1970 the Methodist Church released me for fulltime translation work for two years. For the first six months of this period the Lawton family lived at Dobu as I had been asked to make a study of the orthography used for the Dobu language. I was eventually able to make some recommendations on

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6 I always tried to include women in the group but was seldom successful.

7 See 4.5 below. Twomey made the comment about the choice of Kavataria dialect - "It is their Latin."

orthography change (Lawton 1976). Also my typist Ruth Andrews produced (under my supervision) a typescript copy of John Dixon's Dobu dictionary with English finder list (Dixon 1947), which up to that time had only been available as a card index file[8]. I also worked with Fr Martin Atchison of the nearby Catholic mission at Budoya on an inter-confessional retranslation of the Gospel of Mark. The balance of this two year period was spent at Oyabia in Kiriwina, where translation of the Kiriwina New Testament continued.

4.4.2 Translation of New Testament completed, 1973 – 1981

In 1973 the second period began, which ended in the eventual publication of the Kiriwina New Testament (Lawton 1984). The Lawton family was "sent south" to live in Canberra, which occasioned great excitement for our three children who now attended primary and high schools. The family entered suburban life in Australia. My wife Margaret joined the staff of the Bible Society's translation department in Canberra where she worked for the next 25 years. This transition enabled me to study in the Department of Linguistics, School of General Studies, at the Australian National University. This year of general linguistic study was extended via a Commonwealth Scholarship, enabling me to give close attention to features of the Kiriwina language. My final thesis was a study of the Kiriwina classifiers and their semantic influence in communication, which led to an MA in linguistics from Australian National University, awarded in 1980.

Meanwhile the work on translation of the New Testament into Kiriwina continued during this first decade of my residence in Canberra. Three field trips each of three months were made back to Kiriwina in 1976, 1978 and 1979. In 1978 and 1979 the two leading Kiriwina translators (Pastor Antonio Lubisa and the lay leader Beniamina Boyama) came to Canberra for periods of three months to enable the complete translation of the New Testament and to check the final draft. Throughout this period my portable card file was changed to a much larger card index of about 8,000 items, using 15x14cm cards. These much larger cards enabled me to set out details better, going into greater detail on the various senses of words, add text examples

[8] Ruth added her name after the last entry of the English finder list, which substantiates this statement. One copy is now included in the file of dictionaries held by the Linguistics Department of the Faculty of Arts at the Australian National University.

illustrating usage, and other data such as synonyms and some taxonomic details. The concentration of detail on a single card proved more effective. Throughout this period new expressions or additional senses which my Kiriwina visitors used (in translation work, or even when referring to the Canberra cityscape) were added to my growing dictionary. And in my return visits to Kiriwina I added data on variant forms and new words, so that the lexicon continued its growth.

I now had to look for financial support, as I no longer received a church salary;[9] and in July 1976 I entered the business world of Canberra by opening a second-hand bookshop, which provided the finance for the continuing work of translation[10] in this period. Translation of the New Testament was completed in 1978, and after final checking it was published by the Bible Society in 1984 (Lawton 1984).

4.4.3 Completion of Old Testament translation, 1982 – 2004

In 1982 the third period of translation work encompassing the Old Testament was commenced.

During my 1978 visit to Kiriwina I had been approached by a deputation of senior Pastors asking me to undertake translation of the Old Testament into Kiriwina. I did not agree to undertake this at first, saying that I wanted to see how our work on the New Testament had been accepted and used by the Kiriwina people. The 1982 visit was undertaken to satisfy me on this point, and it was soon clear that not only was the New Testament being well used, but also that there was an appreciation of the importance of the Old Testament narratives as background and support for the New Testament, and an expectation that it would be done.

On this visit to Kiriwina I was accompanied by Margaret, and we formed a women's group headed by her to translate the Book of Ruth, while a men's group with me translated the Book of Jonah; these translations were later

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9 I was however a 'kept' man, as Margaret was working fulltime in the Translations Dept of the Bible Society head office in Canberra. In this position she edited several PNG bibles.

10 The antiquarian book business Lawtons Books came to have a life of its own in Canberra up to 2002, making it possible for me to continue both as a translator and as a lexicographer.

published to show the beginning of Old Testament translation (Lawton, Ralph and Margaret, 1991).

In this period of Old Testament translation, which has occupied us up to 2004, I encouraged the Kiriwina people to be their own translators with help from myself and a Canberra support group.[11] From 1983 to 1987 I worked fulltime on this project, supported in part from my activity as a bookseller, and in part from church groups in Canberra.[12]

The English Old Testament text used by the Kiriwina translators throughout this time was the Good News Bible, a new English text first published by the United Bible Societies in 1976 as a text for those who used English as a second language. It has proved a valuable aid for our workers. My final text for Old Testament accuracy was the Hebrew text *Biblica Hebraica.*

Each of the years 1983-86 I spent three months in Kiriwina, when enthusiastic groups of men, women and young people worked with me on parts of the Old Testament.

A typical working day during my Kiriwina visits was made of three separate groups meeting morning, afternoon and evening. I wrote up a draft translation on a blackboard for each group (each draft the work of a Kiriwina Translation Committee member), and we discussed its accuracy and content, amending a draft as each committee approved it. That final draft from each committee I then transcribed into my files. In this way, over the four year period I wrote out the text of about half of the Kiriwina Old Testament, twice! In the middle of each day one family would bring me a cooking pot filled with delicious yams and taro, together with cooked fish (they had a roster!), and I was supplied in this fashion for the whole of each period. My day would start at about 6 am, and finished whenever I had completed transcribing that day's draft, usually about 2 am.

It was during this period that I acquired a new name. I had hung a cluster of two **buna** (white "eggsshell cowrie") shells at the entrance to our meeting room, so that any late-comer would bump them, causing a musical

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11 The Canberra help was in keying in text so printed drafts could be circulated for revision. Canberra friends also contributed most of the finance which made this program possible.

12 Major help came from one church group who supplied $10,000 for each of these four years.

note[13] typically produced by these shells; it is a sound I love, reminding me of a long journey during a Woodlark Island patrol, in a canoe decorated with such clusters, every stroke of the paddlers producing this ringing sound. But in Kiriwina it happens that only a high-ranking **guyau** may possess and use this two-cluster, which is called a **lubakaidoga** and is worn by the chief as a dancing ornament. One lady, the daughter of a chief, who was always a late arrival because of her home commitments, rang this object each time she came in, and she was heard to mutter petulantly as she sat down, **Iyupali la guyau Lotoni!** "Lawton is clutching his chiefly status!" Later in a public meeting I was referred to as **Iyupalilaguyaulotoni**, and the name stuck! I still possess that shell cluster, and the name.

Each of the four three-month trips I made to Kiriwina in 1983 to 1986 was followed by a group of Kiriwina translation workers coming for a three months' period to Canberra. Throughout this period I added to my lexicon, now a computer text capable of expanding beyond the bounds of a card index. It had expanded to about 8,500 entries. A print-out of this form was bound in 1998, and in 2002 was redrafted as an extensive computer file containing 12,000 entries which emphasised lexical families, and included about 8,000 variant forms as a cross-referencing tool embedded in the dictionary's alphabetically-ordered list.

During a short field visit in 1991 I used a different translation procedure for the translation of the Old Testament book "Song of Songs", a book which has many explicit or idiomatic references to sexual relationships between a man and a woman in love. Wishing to test the level of acceptable explicit reference to sexual relationships I set up a women's committee, first led by a former missionary's wife visiting at that time,[14] and a second committee of men under the leadership of an experienced Kiriwina translator. The two committees produced two separate translations. The women kept sexual references distant and just translated English idioms as literal text. The men used Kiriwina terms for sexual activity, and understood the English idioms, translating them explicitly with Kiriwina translation equivalents. From these two separate drafts I then produced a third draft which followed explicit

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13 The tinkling or ringing sound made by pendant items worn or possessed by a chief is called *kautuwotu*, and this sound is associated with a chief as part of his exclusive right in society. It is the sound of chiefliness.

14 Mrs Vera Goodwin lived in Kiriwina in 1949–1955, and had contributed a quantity of translations of hymns and children's stories; her hymns are popular and used frequently in church services.

translation but tried to accommodate restraint at some points, and this was then submitted to a central Translation Committee, amended slightly and accepted.

The Shorter Bible (about half of the Old Testament plus a revised New Testament) was completed in 1994 and published in 1997 (Lawton 1997). Translation work on the balance of the Old Testament was handled by a Kiriwina committee which consulted with me by correspondence, and the full Old Testament translation was completed by 2005.

In 2003 I commenced a research degree in the Department of Linguistics of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies in the Australian National University, with the aim of writing a doctoral thesis on selected topics in Kiriwina lexicography. In 2004 three Kiriwina workers came to Canberra as visiting fellows with the ANU,[15] and divided their time equally between final checking of Old Testament translation manuscripts and dictionary work where they spent most of their time on taxonomies and semantic fields. This work on taxonomies has not yet been incorporated into my main dictionary file, and will be added giving taxonomies, partonymies and semantic fields a more prominent place in the dictionary.

This academic work had to be deferred for two years from 2006 to enable me to prepare the Kiriwina Bible for publication. The Bible was typeset by the Korean Bible Society, and was published by the Bible Society of Papua New Guinea in 2011.

4.5 Choice of a dialect for Bible and dictionary

When the first missionary Samuel Fellows arrived in Kiriwina in 1894 he was befriended by the Tabalu chief Pulitala of Mlosaida village, who gave him land adjacent to that village, at Oyabia. Not unnaturally the form of the Kiriwina language Fellows chose to use was that spoken by his host, the Kavataria dialect. As the mission work spread, Kiriwina Christians were chosen as pastors and put in charge of village churches, They conducted

[15] Three Kavataria men from the Kiriwina Translation Committee, Nelson Toposona, Lepani Ahab and Daniel Fellows.

vernacular schools using Kavataria dialect primers,[16] with the result that when the Government established its station on Kiriwina Island in 1905 they found a population who had been educated by teachers using the Kavataria dialect, and who had been introduced to Christian teachings by native pastors using that dialect. The Government officers drew their first official interpreters from Kavataria village, and at the time of my advent in 1961 the Government translator employed was still a Kavataria dialect speaker.

The Kavataria dialect had thus been in use for literary and Government work for 40 years when in 1935 the Catholic mission commenced working in Kiriwina. This new mission chose to work amongst the Kilivila dialect speakers of the politically dominant northern region of Kiriwina Island, close to Omarakana, the village of the paramount chief. In 1965, subsequent to the Second Vatican Council, there was a new interest within the Catholic Church in Bible translation work, and the Sacred Heart missionaries began to share in the translation work I and my committee were doing. Then in 1968 they suggested that we should be using the Kilivila dialect, because the speakers of that dialect predominated both politically and numerically. I agreed that the matter of a dialect change should be considered, but suggested that the Kiriwina people themselves should decide which dialect they preferred for their scriptures.

We had completed by this time a translation of the four Gospels in Kavataria dialect,[17] so I prepared a retranslation of the Gospels in Kilivila dialect, and a hundred copies of this were circulated to a selected group of readers of both dialects, including both denominations. This was used for two years, so that speakers of the two dialects could assess the use of Kilivila dialect for their Bible.

At the end of this period we came together to discuss and decide on the dialect to be used for scriptures. Sixty Kiriwina people of both denominations attended, one of whom was the paramount chief Vanoi, who spoke Kilivila; and also three missionary clergy. The final vote was sixty in favour of Kavataria dialect, two for Kilivila dialect, and one abstention (myself).

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16 These were originally prepared by Gilmour (1908a). I possess a reprint copy of this primer dated 1934, a 5”x4” booklet of 24 pages which taught simple words and sentences.

17 The printing of this was delayed by dialect choice discussions; it was eventually printed in 1979 (Lawton 1979).

There were historical reasons for this nearly unanimous decision. The Kavataria dialect had for decades been the dialect used by missionaries and pastors for sermons, prayers, written scriptures, and vernacular education, and by Government interpreters to state regulations or to talk about lawful behaviour. As a result listeners hearing Kavataria dialect felt it sounded best, and Kavataria dialect was selected as the dialect to be used for their bible translation. The paramount chief Vanoi had spoken at the meeting saying **Yakamaisi sena gegedu** 'Our dialect sounds awkward', and all the Kiriwinans on the committee, about half of whom were Kilivila speakers, agreed with him.[18]

It followed that my dictionary work, which had from its beginnings been used to describe the Kavataria dialect of Kiriwina, should continue to use this dialect. Also, translated biblical text would be suitable for text citations in dictionary illustrations, as Kiriwina speakers had translated it and Kiriwina committees approved it.

4.6 Headwords for the Kiriwina dictionary

4.6.1 Beginning a lexicon

The platform for making a dictionary is the list of headwords to be treated. This list may be arrived at by several means, such as by observation of speech events, direct elicitation from informants, searching any written texts, or drawing on previous dictionaries. My accumulation of headwords for the Kiriwina dictionary has been based mainly on my observation of places, people and events, frequently aided by informants explaining those things I had observed. Where I have been able to examine written text, or old word lists assembled by previous researchers, other new words have been added to my list, but these have been authenticated by my Kiriwina colleagues before being placed in the list of headwords included in the dictionary.

When I have been supplied with material containing subordinate categories of taxonomies not included in my own lists, I have sometimes

[18] I did not agree, as any dialect would state a message clearly, but felt the choice of a dialect for their bible had to be theirs.

included these terms without checking them directly with informants, wishing to make a listed taxonomy as complete as possible. This procedure has been especially followed when a particular list or corpus of material has been compiled by an informant known to me for his trustworthy material.

Thus I set out here under three headings my selection of headwords for the Kiriwina dictionary:– first, my sources, namely the place, people and activities I observed and sought information on, including many activities in which I shared; second, the methods used to record speech events for analysis and identification of headwords; third, headwords I decided not to include in the dictionary.

4.6.2 The sources of headwords

My first concern was to identify words relating to everyday family life - casual daily chatting and gossip, meal preparation and consumption, children in the stages of their growth, parental pride and discipline; education, marriage customs, pregnancy and childbirth, attitudes to problems of the disabled, sickness, old age and death. Such matters were of daily concern in my missionary work, so that linguistic research became an accompaniment of every day's work.

I took every opportunity to record events of social importance - customs relating to annual gardening, harvest, how harvested food was handled, shared and used; the practice of traditional fishing monopolies, when fishing was frequently a communal act, arranged as an exchange with an inland village community. I investigated the technology behind these - making of gardens and fences, building of canoes, how skills were recognised, rewarded or honoured. I had a particular interest in mortuary customs, as the ceremonies surrounding death and mourning, and subsequent customs relating to sharing of inheritances were both private and communal.

The ways chiefly authority was exercised and the community's reverence for and response to this was also entrenched in many activities I listed. My colleague Antonio, himself a high-ranking Tabalu, provided information on chiefly matters which was especially valuable.

I followed matters of community interest, identifying terms for village layout, house building, especially of chiefly structures or shared buildings such as church or hall, lodging for visitors, the manufacture and installing of thatching.

I also observed community participation in modern religious and political activities; and other similar features of Kiriwina's current social scene. One opportunity was to attend public meetings and listen to the speeches supporting candidates for election to political office. I recorded the stylistic features of this rhetorical register of speech evident at such gatherings.

Sharing in community fun activities proved to be a great source for cultural description - harvest displays, competitions, cricket matches organised between villages, dancing, children's games, were sources of relevant data, strongly marked with community enjoyment. I also sought data on those community activities which connected Kiriwina with nearby cultures.[19]

I observed cultural attitudes to deviant behaviour like selfishness, rudeness, dishonesty, crime, and acts of marital infidelity. I sometimes witnessed the power of shame (**mósila**) which on occasions led individuals to a public shaming act such as self-expulsion from his village, or even suicide.

Underlying all these private and communal activities were beliefs in spirit beings and activities related to spirits in daily life, practice of magic, and also attitudes or expectations of a future life in a spirit realm, and the domination of spirits inhabiting that realm. I found references to this in all areas of Kiriwina life, a part of ordinary daily life, occurring in childbirth, sickness, accidents, death, and in the communal activities of gardening, fishing, and journeys undertaken. As it happened all around me I recorded as much of the terminologies as I could.

Also an oral tradition was evident which supplied a complex series of legends explaining the beginnings of Kiriwina culture plus many of its present-day forms. While I found the texts of the legends a good source of words for my citation files, the legends themselves frequently function as large lexical

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[19] Chief among these is **kula** trade. Other trading has been done in the past, such as with Amphlett Islands in clay pots, and Rossell Island who made **kaloumwa** discs extensively used in wealth items. Church groups also visited other communities to participate in religious activities.

items, so that the status of legend titles or themes had to be considered as headwords for concepts of culture identified in the dictionary.

4.6.3 Collecting speech and authenticating words

In my fieldwork I have collected text as narrative, speeches, conversations, legends, songs, magic spells, old sayings and proverbs, even recording sermons and prayers of village pastors and speeches of political candidates, for speech formulas and other multiword units which Kiriwina speakers agreed were the conventional words for things. From these sources and from my translation work I have accumulated an extensive lexicon, the lists I had inherited on arrival functioning as aids to authenticate or confirm headwords.

For the identification of flora and fauna by means of scientific names I made use of external authorities whenever I could. The Department of Stock and Fisheries in Port Moresby supplied me with equipment for collecting fish species, and identified those I forwarded to them. I made use of current literature on fish and marine life, using coloured plates in authoritative texts with informants to identify many species. In identifying botanical and insect life I was fortunate to find researchers visiting Kiriwina who gladly assisted me with identification[20] of species, so that wherever possible I have identified a species or family by reference to its Linnaean nomenclature. At any public event I had no difficulty in finding informants; if my own Kiriwina colleagues were not with me, a bystander would move eagerly into the role of a teacher.

My friend Antonio was particularly helpful, on one occasion setting up a series of interviews with a blind Kiriwinan who was an acknowledged expert in chiefly matters.[21] On another occasion he invited me to be present at a ritual of lamentation following the death of his elder brother, when he explained details of participants and their contributions, adding how he would be obliged to pay for what they were doing.

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20 However I was never able to find an astronomer for the identification of star groups.

21 Working with blind Tolosi enabled me to prepare a paper on Kiriwina chiefs, which later became the base for my address to the Anthropological Society of South Australia. See Lawton 1998.

As to my technique in gathering data, I was never a critic ridiculing, disbelieving or deriding what I was observing or being told, but a learner, following whatever they considered acceptable or proper behaviour. As a result I was often invited to share in family life, meals, times of relaxation with children, made part of concerns in sickness or grief at death. Time spent with children was especially productive. At times it showed me the level of comprehension of quite young children in their speech, when they used expressions I would have associated with an adult attitude.

Also I shared in events of community importance – ritual sharing of yams and fish, mortuary celebrations, exchanges, dance celebrations after harvest. My enthusiasm to learn engendered an enthusiastic response to teach me. Sometimes I had to pay for specialised information, as custom required, for example when I consulted privately with magicians on their spells or potions. Such information included the transfer of carving skills from father to son by the medium of magic, or getting the recipe for a potion to abort a foetus which a father prepared for his daughters to save them from the pain and dangers of child-bearing.

On most occasions the use of a tape recorder was the only way in which I could keep details of an encounter, followed by privately assisted transcription for accuracy. Whenever I used the tape recorder I did so openly, often playing back text for informants to demonstrate my purpose. Once, a chief asked me to switch it off, as he did not wish his words to be kept in this machine. But he was still happy to talk to me.

Most of my field experience and elicitation was set down in my card index, supported by written notes of extended detail. I have on occasions encouraged my Kiriwina colleagues to look through my word list, to correct or add to what I have written. Antonio Lubisa has added valuable notes to my work (in Kiriwinan) because of this. I have also made a practice of never discarding data if I had made a *pro tem* decision that it was pointless or erroneous. Later re-examination has confirmed the wisdom of this practice. Photographs have aided or supported my notes.

4.6.4 Lexemes not included as headwords

A large lexicon of names included within class 1 nouns (see 3.6.2.1) has been excluded. These include personal names, frequently made up from some incident of birth or from some incident in a person's life. I had been supplied with a list of nearly a thousand personal names used only by the Malasi clan, and have recently added other names used exclusively by the other three clans, so that each of the four clans owns a group of names which are used by that clan exclusively for prominent clan members. Also names are given to wealth items, to canoes, to ancient boundary markers and sites with legendary associations; these are not included. Their forms may have a place in a study seeking diachronic forms of Kiriwina, but they do not function as form-meaning pairs in communication, and so are not included in this synchronic dictionary.

I have decided also to exclude many of the borrowings listed in a lexicon by Jerry W. Leach,[22] except those that I have found in regular use. Examples of expressions, excluded because I seldom heard them used, are certain number words like **seben** or **teni**, apparently employed in a game of cards, or an English profanity such as **yubiladibasta.** (They would have a place in a monolingual dictionary of Kiriwina, if ever one is written.) Those borrowings that I have found in regular use are included, such as the name given to a particular trade item, a mixing bowl in regular use termed a **bouldisi**, and other regularly used items such as **baskeda** (a large hard biscuit)**, manusisi** (a box of matches), and **tobaki.**[23] Other languages have also supplied borrowings, as **kutou** (from French,[24], a short knife used in peeling vegetables) or **esaesa** (from Dobu, a superordinate term for traditional wealth items).

Some words that are cited as Kiriwina terms in research literature on Kiriwina but not found elsewhere in text citations, I view with suspicion and

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[22] Leach's lexicon of borrowed forms has about 800 entries, and he had hoped to revise it adding other entries. It has been deposited in the Pacific Literature archive at Aust National University.

[23] Borrowed forms frequently do not conform to Kiriwina phonology patterns, as their shape was influenced by the language which supplied them.

[24] This French term named a trade item sold by the Brudo brothers, French traders who conducted their business from a store adjacent to Kavataria village in the 1930s. Today any small peeling knife is still a called a **kutou**.

usually prefer not to include them.[25] I am also cautious about words to which Kiriwina speakers give differing or opposing glosses; when I list them the opposing translation equivalents are recorded as part of the data for that term, drawing attention to inconsistent information.

When information has been passed to me secretly, or imparted in a way that shows my informant has not wanted others to hear him, I do not include unless I have later information that shows the theme to be a matter of general knowledge. However, if I have paid for the knowledge I know that by tradition I therefore 'own' it, and am not bound by the giver's secrecy.

Words that are included as components of magic formulae spoken as spells or charms are not included. These words are not used for communication between people, but purport to be communication with the world of spirits, and are spoken in the manner of a secret act. They are frequently 'loaded' with archaic forms or forms drawn from other languages, intended I think to sound mysterious if overheard.

I do not include nonce words. If later information showed such a word in regular use I would accept it. At one stage my committee members were amused at the comment of a village woman who had described their translation work as **impoteigina** 'important', and some time later they told me with mock solemnity that Impoteigina had died. So I did not include this word, as it had been only a joke at the time. But some years later I spoke to a man from that village, and discovered that the term **impoteigina** was known and still in use! So **impoteigina** has been reinstated. Archaic or obsolete terms are not excluded but their status is noted. The term **to-ókoóko** 'trader' is in my lists of words but is not known or used today. I think it arose from an imitation of people speaking in some unknown tongue, as it translated as "the **ókoóko** people".[26] But in reading some old written documents I discovered the term occurring, clearly a recognised usage from the 1930s. (At another time I had discovered that Malinowski had been called **Kisimbati** by the people of Omarakana village, arising from his use of a Tok Pisin term which was meaningless to them.) Thus I have retained the old trader nickname **toókoóko**, as it occurs occasionally in old Kiriwina texts.

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[25] Doubtful terms may ultimately be listed in a dictionary appendix, noting their origins.
[26] As the Latin term *barbaroi* was used to describe foreigners with strange-sounding speech.

4.7 The dictionary produced by these means

Today the Kiriwina dictionary exists as an end-result of the fifty years of my associating with the people of Kiriwina, observing their land and culture, and sharing with them the translation of the Bible and its relation to their lives. In addition my interest in daily life and exercise of cultural obligations has ensured a lexicon which is a fair statement of the modern Kiriwina scene. Additional material on taxonomies (from the 2004 period referred to in 4.4.3 above) will be added to the main dictionary file, which should then contain about 14,000 entries, and my intention is to list large taxonomies and semantic fields as appendix items.

An interesting feature of my work in this last period has been that scholars and researchers have frequently contacted me to check certain words or concepts they have encountered in their researches. Many such contacts have enabled me to correct or add to my own data. Throughout its compilation, this dictionary has been refined by input from the researches of these other scholars of Kiriwina and its culture, the very people for whom it is being compiled. One major task, the completion of an English finder list, made from a revision of the list of approximately 9,000 items which was done in 1998, is still incomplete.

4.8 Who will use this dictionary?

When I began to compile a dictionary, it was just for my own use as a translator and mission worker. But I soon realised that my own dictionary work would serve others who like myself were students of the culture they were observing. As I read the writings of many scholars who had written descriptions of Kiriwina culture or analyses of the Kiriwina language, I saw that proficiency in the use of the Kiriwina language was important to them. A reliable dictionary would be a useful tool for these researchers, helping them to produce reliable results.

I realised also that a comprehensive cultural record (which a synchronic dictionary must be) could help to clarify some of the mysteries of this culture. How did such a social order dominated by a chiefly system arise, or a system of classifiers essential for the most basic use of the language? Both of these are rare, some say unique, in Papua New Guinea. Other mysteries lurk - such as the way present linguistic forms give hints of an underlying protolanguage, hints which this lexicographer has ignored except in occasional detached notes within entries. While a synchronic dictionary is generally not concerned with etymologies,[27] an accurate record of forms and notes on variants and inconsistencies become valuable sources for scholars who are interested in these things. So I saw such researchers as being the main users of my dictionary.

Then there are the Kiriwina people themselves. I have recently discovered that a number of Kiriwina people are eagerly awaiting the advent of "their dictionary".[28] I have heard from both young men in village life and from Kiriwina people now living in Papua New Guinea's urban centres that they believe many old Kiriwina words are being lost, and they see a dictionary as a place for these words to be recorded. These modern Kiriwinans want to share the old and new features of their language with their own children, many of whom are city dwellers who have a diminishing experience of the culture and language of their homeland. While recording obsolete or archaic words may be remote from the basic purpose of the dictionary, yet I do record and retain such words, as they are still found in old texts such as legends and old records, and are used in citations in dictionary text.

Finally, there may be other groups of potential users, who are not those for whom the dictionary was primarily written. Among tourists, travellers, and people whose work has brought them into contact with Kiriwina people, there may be some who will make use of a reliable dictionary, and I have tried to make my work as "user-friendly" as is consistent with a thorough attention to the linguistic complexities of this language.

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[27] Landau comments, (p 101) "The importance of etymology for historical dictionaries is beyond dispute. ... Synchronic dictionaries, on the other hand, need not deal with etymology at all."
[28] They will probably be mainly interested in the English finder list.

5 *Organisation of the dictionary*

5.1 The arrangement of data in the dictionary

Chapter 5 addresses the way that the material in the Kiriwina to English dictionary is arranged. Like all general dictionaries, the central part of the work is a list of entries. Each entry consists of a headword followed by a study of the forms the headword occurs in, and the meaning or meanings it has. A central purpose of this chapter is to distinguish the different types of entries needed, and to state how each of these entries is put together, and what sorts of information need to be recorded for each word. A finder list is added to this central list, for English translation equivalents of Kiriwina words.

As this is a bilingual dictionary, other information is needed. The reader, who stands in an English-speaking culture, needs to know something about the way of life of the people whose language is recorded. Information is needed on the conventions followed for writing the language, and what sort of grammar rules are observed. So this information is provided as prefatory material.

When other necessary information is too extensive to include in the dictionary entries, it has been found necessary to append what is needed for the understanding of some words and their relationships. This appended material contains word lists needed to show relations of some word classes, details of taxonomies, paradigms of closed classes, and encyclopaedic information where it is needed for the understanding of some words.

The dictionary thus contains the following parts:

* prefatory material about the people, their culture and language,
* a Kiriwina–English dictionary showing words and their meanings, plus an English–Kiriwina finder list,
* an appendix for information too extensive to fit into entries.

These three parts are detailed in this chapter as follows:

In section 5.2 the contents of prefatory material and the appendix are detailed.

Section 5.3 gives a detailed summary of the contents and organisation of the dictionary core and the structure of the English-Kiriwina finder list.

The rest of the chapter (sections 5.4–5.7) examines in detail the types of entries which appear in the central part of the dictionary[1].

5.2 Front and back matter of the dictionary

The provision of extra linguistic or cultural detail, which is needed as supplementary information for dictionary entries, is the purpose for the inclusion of front and back matter in the dictionary.

5.2.1 The front matter of the dictionary

This Kiriwina to English dictionary is compiled for English readers who wish to understand the words and cultural concepts of Kiriwina. The prefatory material first introduces Kiriwina to the reader, showing the islands where people speaking this language live, briefly sketching their village life, their major subsistence occupations of fishing and gardening, the importance of the annual cultivation of a yam crop, and various other features of their culture. The Kiriwina language is identified as being a member of the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian family of languages, and specifically as belonging to the Papuan Tip subgroup of Oceanic. The extent of lexicographic research into this language is sketched, and existing dictionaries and word lists are identified.

The dictionary's preface introduces the reader to features of the Kiriwina language. Its phonology is described, with orthography conventions observed. An extensive grammar statement sets out the patterns of the language, which is copiously illustrated with text examples. A statement on the particular dialect base for the dictionary states the reasons and historical background for the selection of this dialect.

The information in the dictionary preface is related to the central text of the dictionary by cross-referencing. The reason for the inclusion of these

[1] Certain terms are used interchangeably by lexicographers, which is sometimes apparent as their works are quoted or referred to in this chapter: the term **article** is a synonym of **entry**; **lemma** (pl **lemmata**) is a synonym of **headword**; and **lemma list** sometimes interchanges with **lexicon** in reference to a language's total word list identified in a dictionary.

things in the preface is as supporting data for various entries, as word meanings are discussed.

5.2.2 What is appended to the dictionary

Further cultural detail or material which shows how words are related to one another, such as those which are the technical terms the language uses in describing a process of manufacture, is added as an appendix to the dictionary core. The purpose of this added material is to place words in a context, which is sometimes difficult within the limited space a dictionary allots to an entry for stating a word's meaning. Cross-referencing from dictionary entries to appended material makes this information effectively a part of the dictionary entries. Five different areas are included here.

5.2.2.1 Encyclopaedic detail

Some entries need extensive additional information to aid the reader's proper understanding of a word, giving ethnological material, or relating the word to various contexts. While the dictionary does not aim to be an encyclopaedia of Kiriwina culture, sometimes additional material is necessary; the aim is always to say as little as possible in the identification of meaning, but sometimes apparently discursive detail is necessary. An example is the description of **-basi** 'to poke (with a purpose)' when the particular sense is applied to a gift given in the hope that a certain purpose may result (see **-basi** quoted in 5.3.2.2 below).

5.2.2.2 Taxonomies

Some very large taxonomies, such as that which relates trees, grasses and creepers, or the various families of fish and other marine life, cannot be shown within a single dictionary entry due to size limitations which affect many dictionaries, but are helpful in showing the emic relation of groups in the Kiriwina environment. Likewise the listing of various garden crops (yams, taro, bananas and sugarcane) is a necessary grouping of names which would have a dubious place in the lexicon as separate words, but with a full statement of varieties grown shows the breadth of the Kiriwina gardener's

wisdom. The taxonomy of **mwasawa** 'amusements' is valuable for the cultural blend it shows of old ways and new amusements.

Other taxonomies, such as the range of terms used for stating length and height/depth measurements, scaled against the human body, or the various partonymies detailing parts of the body (arm, hand, leg, foot, eye, etc.), or the partonymy listing the various cuts of meat from a butchered pig carcass, all these are beyond the scope of a single dictionary entry, and so are best appended to the dictionary and related to the individual words in the dictionary by cross-referencing to an appendix. Some of them, such as cuts of meat from a carcass, appear as pictures inserted in the text of the dictionary.

5.2.2.3 Word lists

Some classes or subclasses of words are better understood when the whole class is set out. The class of classifiers is one such class, and the difficulties of multiple specification become clearer when the capabilities of the various forms are seen and contrasted within a total list. The difficulties of relating Kiriwina month names with their English forms are best appreciated when varying systems within the island of Kiriwina are listed and studied. The variety of emotive terminology relating to different body parts is better understood when the phrases attached to each body part are comprehensively listed and synonymous forms noted.

5.2.2.4 Manufacturing skills

A statement is needed for the description of the technical skills associated with manufacture, so that the technical vocabulary associated with each skill is set out under the relevant skill as a list. These technical terms are associated with particular skills, such as the making of **im** 'string', **wota** 'nets', **doba** 'grass-skirts', **waga** 'canoes' and **kaliai** 'building construction'.

An example is the account of string-manufacture. The following is a summary of the detail which is included in about two pages of text:

1. Five steps in sources and preparation of material.
2. Five stages described for refining string fibres.

3. The final spinning of the string, with some account of its uses, is covered in six points.
4. Finally, the terms used in this description are listed:
   three tree names
   ten verbs describing processes
   fifteen nouns naming components and uses.

5.2.2.5 Word studies

Some individual words need extensive examination of the various ways they are used, and the extent of information needed far exceeds the normal size of a main entry. The lexeme **kileta** (conjunction or exclamation) 'almost' is an example here. It occurs as an entry in this form:

KILETA (conjunction or exclamation)

Generally occurs in conversation as a comment on something which nearly happened or nearly did not happen. It may be glossed, 'Almost!' ~ 'Wow, that was a near thing!' ~ 'Whoops!' It often stands alone as an exclamation (which is followed by a statement of the present good or bad state of the speaker); or as a conjunction which introduces a clause of the thing which nearly occurred, followed by the main clause stating the present good or bad state of the speaker. Example: **Kileta goli lakapusi.** 'Astonishment indeed (but) I have fallen', which may be very freely translated as 'Just my luck! I could have avoided this, but I still fell over.' The intonation pattern of the sentence is a smooth high to low glide, with no perceptive break after **kileta**.

See further data in Appendix, section 15.

Section 15 in the dictionary appendix then discusses the use of this form, and gives examples of different types of situations in which **kileta** is shown as introducing a clause (which is frequently elided, leaving only **kileta**) followed by a main clause stating the good or bad which is now evident. The information on this word extends to more than two pages.

5.2.2.6 Paradigms

Wherever possible, paradigms of closed classes and grammatical processes are included in relevant dictionary entries. It is a helpful feature to group all such paradigms within this dictionary appendix, as readers may need to refer across to the patterns seen for other words. Included within this section are paradigms for verbal affixes, verb adverb suffixes, verb adjunct prefixes, possession suffixes and clitics, the numeral system with classifiers, the deictic pronoun with classifiers, and paradigms of plural reference.

5.3 The central list

This is the central core of the dictionary, where Kiriwina words are listed and defined.

5.3.1 What the central list contains

The Kiriwina to English dictionary aims to be a comprehensive general dictionary of the Kiriwina language, which includes as headwords all recorded words and word-terms (other than proper nouns), and all affixes of the language, as well as many multiword expressions. The central list is drawn from twentieth-century everyday speech as represented by the Kavataria dialect. The lexicon which is made up of this central list consists of an alphabetically-ordered list of headwords, each of which is followed by a block of information that makes up the entry for that headword. The pattern of this treatment is typical of the way any general dictionary aims to detail a language.

My use of bible texts as illustrations has been challenged as not being examples of everyday speech, and certainly not natural text. Two points must be considered as I answer this comment.

First, the basic English text used by the Kiriwina translators (see 4.4.3) has been the Good News Bible, "a modern translation which seeks to state clearly and accurately the meaning of the original texts in words and forms that are widely understood by all people who use English as a means of communication ... communicat(ing) the content and message of the Bible in

natural everyday English." (Good News Bible, Australian version 1993: foreword). When in 1967 I discussed this translation with Rev Robert Bratcher, the translator of the Good News New Testament, he said he always used his two sons aged 16 and 17 to test the clarity or acceptability of his translation. So the English text my translators used was natural everyday English speech wherever possible.

Second, my translation method with Kiriwina translators has always been to explain the content of a passage (where needed) and then to encourage them to repeat its meaning in a form which they considered normal everyday speech. When this basic draft was arrived at it was seldom that it had to be changed, so that I am convinced that the wording of the Kiriwina Bible is both "natural" and "everyday speech".

However, I have also used natural everyday texts as examples wherever possible.

This part of the dictionary is the most extensive, and contains the material which is the main part of the work. The general features marking the organisation of this part of the dictionary are now detailed.

5.3.2 Alphabetical order of headwords

The arrangement of the Kiriwina lexicon is alphabetical, for only when the dictionary user knows that the lexicon is ordered alphabetically is he able to locate every variant form that may be found in the language. This feature of the Kiriwina lexicon must be recognised as one of the broad dictionary features shared by a great majority of translation dictionaries. Alphabetical arrangement caters specifically for the researcher who has located an unknown word and seeks to fit it into the general pattern of the language. Almost a 'given' for a dictionary, the strict alphabetical listing of all headwords ensures that every lexeme cited in the lexicon for that dictionary is easily found.

5.3.2.1 Words which do not conform alphabetically

Groups of words inevitably occur in lists which clearly do not conform to alphabetical order; yet they must be inserted at that point in the dictionary,

where they are being shown to relate to certain other words. An example is the entry which is made for **-sopu** 'to yam-plant' which needs to be shown not only in its derived forms, but also must be related specifically to the planting of certain food plants, while showing the planting terms which belong to other food plants:

-SOPU (vb 4 intrans; redupl form **-supusopu**; cf trans. **-sapu**)

1. to yam-plant. This planting term generally used only for yams of **taitu** and **kuvi** varieties, and also for some specific food plants, as **kasimemwa**, and **konada**. Syn **-vaula, -kalidaima**
2. It is also used in reference to the cultivation of a wild yam variety **kasiyena** which has a prominent place in certain magic ceremonies.

-SAPU (vb 4 trans; redupl form **-sisapu**)

Also found as **-sopu**, redupl form **-sisopu**

1. to plant (sthg. - used with the names of yam varieties etc being planted). Syn **-vali**

Not only does the entry for **-sopu** show its variant forms and derivations, as **-sapu, -supusopu, -sisapu ~ -sisopu**, but the synonym for planting (which may in fact be its antonym as it designates the planting of different things) is **-vaula** 'to plant (anything other than yams)', plus a general term for garden cultivation **-kalidaima** 'work with a digging stick'. Then in addition the entry specifies those types of food plants to which it may be applied. From the one entry four variants or derived forms become headwords of cross-reference entries, while the other words will be found either as headwords of different entries or as cross-references pointing to the place in the dictionary where they are listed and defined.

If a researcher has found one such word in isolation, he will turn to this dictionary expecting it to do two things for him: a) it will be able to confirm that the form he has found does in fact occur, and b) it will then lead him (perhaps by a cross-reference) to the place where that word is set down as a headword or as a variant of some other headword, and defined.

Therefore where lexemes are grouped or clustered outside of the alphabetical order, they will have to be re-listed as headwords for cross-

reference entries where each variant is the headword, now listed alphabetically.

The reader will find the following five occasions where lexemes have initially occurred outside of the alphabetically-ordered list. All of the lexemes in these groups re-occur in the alphabetically-ordered lexicon:

i) Variants, derivations, etc occur early in every main entry close to their original forms, as shown above for **-sopu** and its related forms. Likewise in the entry for **-geyai** 'to scatter, disperse', the variant form **-gaya** occurs, and the derived form **-gigai** with its variant forms **-gai**, **-goi** and **-giaki** also occur and then become headwords for cross-reference entries.

ii) Subheadwords occur within a main entry, including all members of that lexical family. Their order within the entry accords to 5.4.3.2 (this order is verb stem, verb stem component, verb derivative, noun, noun stem component, nominal derivative, pronoun, adjective, adverb, classifier, affix or clitic, conjunction, exclamation, and collocation); but they are also listed separately within the alphabetically ordered lexicon and located by a cross-reference entry to that main entry where they are defined. The entry for **-geyai** (cited in previous paragraph) includes seventeen compound verb stems which are sub-headwords within the entry, listing forms like **-butugeyai** 'go into and scatter a group', -**kaligeyai** 'to perish and disperse', **-tumgeyai** 'to dissolve (as sugar in water', etc., and each verb has a number of variant forms and derivations. In addition, within the entry other related forms such as **gaya** (n) 'projecting piece', and the classifier **gaya** which specifies things that project outwards and divide or interrupt a space; and a number of synonymous forms are also included. A total of more that forty subheadwords (plus other variants) are listed, and each either occurs as headword of an entry or becomes the headword of a cross-reference entry leading the reader back to this main entry with the headword **-geyai**; thus all forms are eventually listed in alphabetical order in the dictionary.

iii) Superordinate terms have their hyponyms as nests alongside the higher form; each item in the nest is not only ordered alphabetically within the nest itself, but is also listed elsewhere in the alphabetically ordered lexicon, with its superordinate stated. Thus the fish **beiba** is the superordinate fish term, and the varieties of **beiba** (**beiba**, **daboki**, **mwagapa** and **waidala**) are nested with **beiba**, and are also separately listed for alphabetical ordering, each with a cross-reference to **beiba**.

iv) While some cross-references may be made from within a main entry, if that form does not occur within the alphabetically-ordered lexicon list then it must be placed with its correct spelling in the lexicon list. All synonyms or antonyms quoted within the sense spectrum of a lexeme are included here – but they will either occur as a headword or be cross-referenced to a main entry where that synonym is a headword and is defined. The various synonyms of **osisuna** 'at its outside place' need to be compared closely to find which part of the outside of a building is referred to: **otadeula** 'nearby', **otapwala** 'beside', **omatala** 'in front of', **osibula** 'underneath', **otuboulola** 'behind', **okoukweda** 'near the entrance', **otoukweda** 'close to the entrance (but further than **okoukweda**), and **osisuna** 'outside (some distance away)'**.**

v) All lists which occur as part of taxonomies, or in any listing of partonymies, or any incompatibles, are listed in some way within their groups (in an ordered succession, or alphabetically), but must also be included in the language's lexicon list. Thus the parts of **yena** 'fish' form a small partonymy which is listed within the entry for **yena**, and includes **dabana** 'head', **yeyuna** 'tail', **wowola** 'body', **silisili** 'scales', **unuunula** 'skin', **siyola** 'fin(s)', **galela** 'gills' and **sileula** 'guts'.

5.3.2.2 Polysemes and hyponyms

When polysemous forms of a headword occur, they are generally included as subheadwords within the one main entry for that headword, although in some cases their semantic diversity favours the treatment of historically-related forms as headwords for different entries. For example, the verb **-basi** 'to poke (with a purpose)' has an array of senses, as follows:

1. to poke (using spear)
2. to poke, prick (using fingers or stick)
3. to give an injection (used for modern medical procedure)
4. to sew, stitch (using needle and thread)
5. to make thatching (sewing sago leaf onto batten)
6. to plait, weave (as for armbands)
7. to knock at door (using hand or stick)
8. to insert spatula into lime gourd
9. to prune growing **taitu** yam cluster
10. to give a gift (with the intention of shaming recipient into returning your own property)
11. to effect a **kula** exchange through a sequence of gifts

In all of these there is a common element of poking (hoping to effect some result). Although senses 10 and 11 may be seen to have a level of polysemy further removed from the other nine listed senses of **-basi**, yet they are placed in the dictionary within one entry, because of the historical element of 'poking with intent' being common to all. The entries for these senses would also include extended anthropological notes to aid their understanding.

A second example is placed in 7.2.6, where a number of examples of **-boda** 'to meet, encounter' are seen to be polysemous and historically belonging together, yet are synchronically distinct and best made headwords of different entries, and one form labelled as homonymous and placed as headword of another entry.

Thus it is sometimes necessary to place polysemous forms in separate entries, even when an historical connection between them may be found. In the following example, the two forms of **-bani** 'to find' seem to have a historical connection, yet are made headwords of different entries as shown below.

-bani^{1} to find, search for sthg
-bani^{2} to fish using a fishing-line

In both of these there is one historical component of finding or searching. But in modern use, **-bani**^{1} has a general sense of looking for any lost item, or searching in hope of finding something unknown. **-bani**^{2} however is used exclusively for hand-line fishing using a hook, and the derived noun **bani** is

the name given either to a fishing line or a fish-hook. Thus they are placed in separate entries as homophones, in spite of the historical common element of finding/searching which they share.[2]

Homonymous forms are always placed as headwords of separate entries. There is no meaning link between the two forms **gala**[1] (adv) 'negator' and **-gala**[2] (vb) 'to migrate', and these homonymous forms are headwords of separate entries. A more extended list shows homonyms of the form **-ka-** given below in summary, numbered from 1 to 8; each of these **ka** forms is headword for a separate entry.

-ka-[1] combining form as verb adjunct forms indicating action where speech or refraining from speech is shown. Relates to **-kawau** (vb 4) 'to call out'. (Run-on list has 110 verb stems using this form.)

-ka-[2] combining form as verb adjunct form indicating action performed by biting or holding in mouth. Relates to verb **-kavi** 'to bite'. (Run-on list has 33 verb stems using this form.)

-ka-[3] combining form as verb adjunct form indicating action involving eating; this is a variant form of the combining form **-kam** which is used in compounds with the same meaning. Relates to the verb stem **-kam** 'to eat'. (Run-on list has 18 verb stems using this form.)

-ka-[4] combining form meaning 'to do (something)'; the action to be done is named as the second part of the compound verb stem. Relates to **-kabi** 'to do sthg by hand action. (Run-on list has 10 verb stems; they have been described to me as 'words for servants', imperatives to do some servile act.)

-ka[5] verb clitic, derived from **-kabi** 'to do (using hands)', but which can only function as the first word in a multiword lexeme, where the action performed is stated in the rest of the phrase. An example using the reduplicated stem form **-kika** 'to be doing' is ***Ikika wákala*** **okuvalila** 'He is tying the belt on his waist'.

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[2] However, in his extensive dictionary Baldwin (1967) includes the two senses in one entry, showing the fishing sense as an illustration within the **–bani** entry.

ka-[6] (cl) variant form of the classifier **kai** 'long/rigid item'. This may originate in a Kilivila dialect variant form. See also note with cl **kasa-**. It is also found in some compound nouns, as **kabeikunu** 'pillow'.

-ka-[7] (personal pronoun subject marker) 1st person dual exclusive 'we two'.

ka[8] (exclamation) 'look!'

5.3.2.3 Lexemes not included in this lexicon

Some lexemes are not included in this dictionary's lexicon. These are mostly proper nouns, especially names of people; for personal names, while regarded highly, and considered personal property the ownership of which is sanctioned by traditional law, yet for the most part they play no part in general spoken communication beyond the role of 'name used for one person'. Exceptions are made for some names or titles which have developed a communicative role besides simple naming, when a name is used to describe the characteristics of someone who behaves in a similar way to an historic person who bore that name. Thus, **Dokanikani** was the name of a legendary man of immense size and bestial characteristics, who killed people then ate them raw[3]. But the title **dokanikani** has come to be used for any monster, someone of gigantic size, or of bestial personal habits.

An extended note on this category of lexeme is to be found in 4.6.4.

5.3.3 The finder list

The finder list is a list of English words with suitable Kiriwina translation equivalents attached. This list is based on the English words that appear in the identification of Kiriwina words in the dictionary, and does not attempt to include words or concepts foreign to Kiriwina culture. Its purpose is a finding tool for the reader, to help him locate suitable Kiriwina equivalents to English words and locate them in the dictionary.

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[3] In Kitava dialect Dokanikani is a legendary giant wild pig, and eating of raw flesh would be appropriate.

Generally the meaning gloss is limited to one word or phrase, although sometimes more than one equivalent term is given. The finder list does not aim to function like a thesaurus providing many synonymous Kiriwina words for one English word. The list does, however, give the lexicographer an opportunity to show how many English phrasal expressions or speech formulae are found in Kiriwina expressions, in for example the equivalents for give, give life to, give food, give a greeting, give thanks, give gifts, give the breast, give judgment, etc. Exact equivalence is seldom found, but generally the same part of speech (as English verb with Kiriwina equivalent verb) is given.

The finder list follows the list of Kiriwina headwords in this central part of the dictionary. As most entries in the finder list are single lines, with no spacing between entries, the total list is about one-tenth of the size of the main dictionary.

5.3.4 The structure of entries

The consistent structure of entries in this dictionary is a twofold pattern, the first part detailing the morphology of the lexeme which is its headword, and the second part commenting on its semantic input to an utterance. Thus a typical dictionary article consists of a comment on form and a comment on semantics as its two major components.

The comment on form includes a statement of the morphology of the headword, together with all variants and related morphological data. The comment on meaning is a listing of the spectrum of senses for each headword, commencing with the primary sense of the word, and including idiomatic usage.

These two parts of an entry provide the context in which the entry's headword must function, described by Hannay (see below) as a 'lexico-grammatical frame'.

The arrangement of data in this way is unidirectional, as the users are assumed to be moving from the source language Kiriwina to comprehension of meaning in the target language English. As the users' major task is not production but comprehension of Kiriwina speech, this necessitates a pattern,

described by Mike Hannay, as "providing the lexico-grammatical frame" needed for each lexeme (Hannay 2003: 151). He describes this type of bilingual dictionary as reception-oriented, where the user, who may be ignorant of the source language but well-versed in grammatical structures, may need the addition of detailed comment on an entry's headword, with cross-references to "special grammar and usage sections, which are offered as appendices", as "a lexical item cannot be used successfully unless one knows what grammatical patterns it enters into" (p 147).

An example of the reception-oriented comprehension needed to make a best-possible translation is seen when two similar words are used, as in this example from Kiriwina to describe the giving of incorrect information. Two words, and their primary senses with some secondary senses, need to be considered.

> **-sopa** (vb) to give incorrect information, say what is untrue. A secondary sense 'to lie, be a liar', may be appropriate under certain circumstances, but it needs the application of co-occurrence restrictions and text citations to clarify whether the speaker knows that what he is repeating is false.
>
> **-wabu**. (vb) to lie, say what one knows to be false
> Secondary senses 'to deceive, cheat'
>
> Citation example:
>
Ma<tau-si>na	**i-wabwai-si**	**wala**	**se-sia**
that-cl.person-pl 3-	deceive-pl	only	companion-3pl.poss

> **metoya** **o-si=tai.nona.**
> from in-3pl.poss=flattery
> They deceive each other with their flattery.

The verb **-sopa** is a comment on the truth-value of any information, and may be seen as a mild correction offered; on the other hand, **-wabu** is an accusation or statement of the speaker's intention to deceive, which would cause offence.

Within major entries a third component must be noted, beyond the comment on form and meaning of the headword. When an entry includes a

number of subheadwords which all make use of the semantic input of that entry's headword, the group of lexemes sharing the headword is defined as a lexical family.

Within each such major entry the various subheadwords included in the entry show the field of the headword's meaning when it is incorporated within other lexemes, which not only shows a related family of meaning, but also provides clearer boundaries for the headword itself. This total synopsis set down in the whole entry shows the possible semantic input from the headword into that lexical family, seen in simple, derived or compound usage as well as in multiword units, which *in toto* shows the extent of the meaning input of the one headword. This is exemplified in 5.4.5.1 below.

5.3.5 The entry types

The description of entry types used in the Kiriwina dictionary shows the choices which the lexicographer must make in presenting his linguistic data. For instance, he must decide how much data should be attached to a lexeme to enable the reader to appreciate its full effect in communicating meaning. He must decide how to treat variants and derivations while giving due prominence to major sense units, and how to cater for many different forms, so as to lead the reader to that dictionary entry where the meaning of each lexeme is to be found. In order to fulfil these needs, he must decide on the types of entries needed and the sorts of information each should have, so as to do justice not only to the language and culture of his source language but also to the particular research needs of his readership.

The pattern followed throughout this central component of the dictionary is the use of four types of entries, each entry detailing one lexeme of the language and saying all that the lexicographer considers needs to be said about that lexeme.

Other features of the entries which may in reality be part of broader dictionary features, such as the typographical forms and signs consistently used, or many detached notes, must necessarily be included in the detailing of features of the dictionary entries. The microcosmic components of an entry, such as capitalisation of headwords, inclusion of variants with each headword etc, are referred to here, and these are detailed in 5.4.3 and 5.4.4 below.

The structures of the four types of entries used in this dictionary to meet users' research needs (main entries, cross-reference entries, combining form entries and classifier entries) are briefly sketched here. For a fuller account of the microstructure of each entry type see sections 5.4 to 5.7 in this chapter. The twofold nature of each entry type, showing in each entry a comment on the form of the lexeme and a comment on its meaning, may be seen below, with the differences in each entry type marked by the limitations which each entry type places either on the information it admits in relation to the form, or the meaning spectra of a lexeme. The consistency of this pattern of treatment is part of a general dictionary's structure outside of the actual lexicon of headwords, as well as specific linguistic information which must relate to some Kiriwina forms.

5.3.5.1 Main entries

A main entry gives information about the form and meaning of the headword, and about the family of lexemes which include the headword. Main entries may have three parts:

i) The comment on form, where the headword and its variant forms, together with its part(s) of speech and any derived forms, are stated.

ii) The comment on meaning, where the sense spectrum for that headword is set out, together with any co-occurrence restrictions for each sense. Notes on taxonomies or part-whole relationships are added here, together with any niched lists of hyponyms.

iii) The lexical family, which is made up of all lexemes which incorporate the entry's headword, including morphologically complex and compound forms and multiword forms. Each such lexeme is a subheadword within the main entry.

A detailed statement on the main entry is given in 5.4 below.

5.3.5.2 Cross-reference entries

Cross-reference entries are secondary entries. Their purpose is to list each lexeme which does not occur as a headword, placing it in the alphabetical list of entries, and so referring the reader to the particular main

entry where that lexeme is placed and defined. A comment on meaning in this entry type is either a minimal comment or else none at all. Cross-reference entries typically consist of one line of text. They are detailed and exemplified in 5.5 below.

5.3.5.3 Combining form entries

The term 'combining entry' is used by the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (Stevenson 2007) to describe dictionary entries which show the function of certain affixes which they term 'combining forms'. The purpose of this entry form is to show how the meaning of a combining form is a constant semantic input into a number of complex forms, and to list those lexemes which use that combining form. The structure of the combining form entries is shown in detail with an example in 5.6 below.

5.3.5.4 Classifier entries

The classifier entry is a special type of main entry, which contains a comment on form, and on meaning. The comment on meaning is limited to the specifying of a group of words which are linked to one another semantically only by means of the classifier headword, by their inclusion within the group specified by that classifier. Especially relevant to this type of entry is the description of the semantic linking made by the classifier in the noun phrase, which is examined in 3.7.1 and 3.7.2. This last form of entry is shown in 5.7 below, with the large semantic domain of the classifier **kai-** as an example.

5.3.6 Features shared by all entry types

Headwords in all entries are capitalised in bold type, and are the only text items placed at left margin of an entry, all other text being indented. Headwords are followed by their parts of speech, forms in free variation and other morphologically-related lexemes. Subheadwords are indented in small capitals, also in bold type, with parts of speech added. All other forms of each lexeme (such as variants, plurals, reduplications and derived forms), plus synonyms and any other listed lexemes, are included within that entry, in lower case bold type. Text citations used as examples are in italics, the

particular lexical item being illustrated within an example picked out in bold italics. All other text material is in plain (not bold) type.

Reference is frequently made from within the central text of the dictionary to front and back matter, together with cross-references between entries; thus some cross-references may be made by a note from within an entry, not only through cross-reference entries. Where quotations or comments from external sources are made, these are placed in brackets within an entry, introduced by the word 'Note:'.

Although the central core of the dictionary is the part most sought after by readers, all parts of the preface and appended material are included by cross-referencing from this central part. Thus the whole body of work is made to be a functioning tool aiding readers in their understanding of this language in its cultural setting.

The microstructure of the four entry types used in the Kiriwina to English dictionary is the concern of the rest of this chapter.

5.4 Main entries

5.4.1 An example of a main entry

An example is given here for a main entry where the parts of speech for the same lexeme are identified and included as its subheadwords. One homophone is also shown in this example as the headword of a separate entry. Although the classifier **gabu-** must be recognised as being related to the verb stem **-gabu**, its function is too far removed from the verb it is derived from to be considered the same lexeme. For this reason all classifiers, as forms exercising a semantic rather than a syntactic role, are made separate entries (see 5.7 below).

-GABU[1] (*vb 3 intrans; redupl* **–gibu.gabu**; *trans* **-gabu;** *der.n; cl*)

Redupl of intrans also **–gibu.gwabu, -gubu.gwabu**

1. (subj item affected) To burn, scorch, damage (by fire)

2. (subj food cooked) To cook, roast, bake (over fire, or in coals or ashes) Syn **-kumli**; ant **-sulu**

*Taitu i**gibugabu** opwanosi* The yam is baking in the ashes

-GABU (*vb 3 trans; redupl* **–gi.gabu**)

1. (obj item being cooked or burnt) To roast sthg

Igi.gabu *simsimwai wa kova.* He is roasting sweet potato in the fire.

2. To burn sthg, destroy by burning

*Tomota i****gab****waisi msomsa obikubaku* The people are burning rubbish in the village centre.

(Note: For discussion of those class 3 verbs with identical stems in intransitive and transitive see 3.4.6.2. The distinction between these transitive and intransitive forms is seen in two ways. First, they use different reduplicative forms; second, they occur as two different words when affixed with 3rd p pl subject; in this example, intrans. ***igabusi*** they burn, trans ***igabwaisi*** they burn something.)

GABU (*der.n*) (Cl **kwai-, gabu-**)

1. Sthg destroyed by burning
2. A burnt or singed item.

Gabu *kaimapula* ***gabu*** A burn will be repaid by a burn. (Exodus 21.25)

GABU-² (cl) See **GABU-²**

GABU-² (*cl;* specifies partition)

(cf **-gabu¹** (vb) 'to burn')

May also occur as **gubu-** (cl)

1. Specifies a fireplace; or place where fire was burning
2. Specifies place on body scarred or burnt by fire
3. Refers to a batch of roasted food

Domain includes **kova, kai, pwanosi, pwakova, kabwasi**, etc.

gubu*veka kaula* a large batch of roasted yams

The components shown in this example include many of the features of a main entry. I list here each of these components adding relevant notes and style details regularly employed in main entries in the dictionary.

5.4.2 The structure of main entries

Material presented in main entries constitutes that part of the dictionary which is commonly regarded as the dictionary's basic purpose, to list words and state their meanings. The headwords of main entries, together with all subheadwords and variant forms included, are that part of the lexicon of the language which is being defined in the dictionary.

The data presented in each main entry are placed consistently in one order; the reader seeking guidance for some particular feature, such as the parts of speech of a headword or subheadword, will find it always in one place in an entry.

The main entry's structure, which includes comments on the headword's form and meaning, is detailed below. The total structure of a main entry may also include a statement of the lexical family of that entry's headword.

5.4.3 The comment on form

The first part of the main entry details the form of the headword, its part(s) of speech, and all morphological detail seen in derivations, reduplicative forms and other variants. Membership of the headword in a paradigm or taxonomy is also noted in this section. Those features seen in the above example are first detailed, followed by other details relating directly or indirectly to its form that may be found in any main entry.

5.4.3.1 The headword

The first item in an entry is the headword, in upper case, bold type. As in this example it is a verb stem, it is marked with a hyphen on its initial margin. It is followed by a part of speech label (*bracketed, in italics*). Where different parts of speech are shown in this bracketed section, the position or absence of a hyphen marking the headword at the beginning of the entry applies only to the first-named part of speech.

5.4.3.2 One form, different parts of speech

Where one lexical form occurs as different parts of speech, the range of its part of speech uses is summarised in the bracketed section following the headword, as where the headword **-gabu** is shown as an intransitive verb which occurs also in identical form as a transitive verb, the difference being seen in different reduplicated forms for each. A bracketed detached note states two features that mark differences between intransitive and transitive forms of this class of verb.

The significance of the hyphen is seen in this example which marks otherwise identical lexical forms. In the above example, **-gabu** (*vb*) can only occur as a verb (either intransitive or transitive) with a subject prefix marker, and **gabu-** (*cl*) functions as a classifier when occurring with a suffix; while **gabu** unmarked by a hyphen is the derived nominalised form.

Within this entry the intransitive **-gabu**^{1} is the headword; the derived transitive form **-gabu** and the nominalised form **gabu** are subheadwords, while a cross-reference is made to another main entry where the polysemous classifier **gabu-**^{2} is listed as its headword These four parts of speech are listed in the bracketed section following the headword **-gabu**^{1}.

Different parts of speech within a main entry are identified in a canonical order of verb stem, verb stem component, verb derivative, noun, noun stem component, noun derivative, pronoun, adjective, adverb, classifier, affix or clitic, conjunction, exclamation, collocation. This feature is macrostructural, and applies especially to the last section of a main entry which includes as a lexical family all lexical forms which employ the entry's headword as a component.

Text examples of each part of speech show a word functioning in a context.

5.4.3.3 Variants and other lexemes

Many variants are found in main entries, such as variant pronunciations, stem variants of inflected forms, and sometimes dialect variants; in this example **gubu-** is noted as a variant of the classifier **gabu-**. But as all variants must be listed alphabetically for the reader, each variant

which occurs within an entry becomes a headword in a cross-reference entry which will point the reader to this main entry where it is listed as part of this particular lexical family. Among other lexemes noted in a main entry are found reduplications and plural forms, and each of these is placed close to the part of speech it relates to, as is seen above in this example where one reduplicated lexeme **–gibu.gabu** relates to the intransitive form of **-gabu**, while another reduplicated lexeme **–gi.gabu** relates to the transitive form of **-gabu**. Each of these lexemes becomes a subheadword within the main entry, and also a headword of a cross-reference entry. In this way the alphabetically-ordered arrangement of the dictionary accommodates every form that occurs, with their cross-referencing locating each for the reader within one main entry.

However, forms like synonyms and antonyms which are shown within this example main entry are not defined there, as they are not lexically related to the entry's headword. Their relationship is semantic only; and frequently relates to one defined sense in a series; they would be found either as headwords in a different lexical family, or heading a cross-reference entry.

5.4.3.4 Nouns and their classifiers

Nouns are marked with the applicable classifier for that noun, in the form (Cl ...) placed after parts of speech, as in the above example. But as classifiers do not only mark semantic domains for items, but also may specify how they have been acted upon, divided or grouped, this note will frequently need to be expanded to include any multiple specification which applies for that noun. In the example in 5.4.1 the domain of the classifier **gabu-** is shown. A more extended comment on multiple specification may be seen in the grammar statement in 3.7.5.1.

Other comments on variants which do not arise from the example given above, but which may occur within other main entries, follow.

5.4.3.5 Pronunciation

A pronunciation guide is not a necessary component of every main entry, as the Kiriwina text is phonemically based, and a general guide to pronunciation of phonemes is given in the front matter. However when some detail causes a pronunciation which varies from the regular pattern, a

pronunciation guide is placed early in an entry, either as a stress diacritic on a word or as a bracketed section in lower case, immediately after the headword or subheadword's parts of speech. These two guides to pronunciation are shown here:

i) Stress placement

Regular stress is on a word's penultimate syllable and does not need to be shown. However a pronunciation guide is provided in dictionary entries to mark headwords bearing antepenultimate stress, as the stress placement for these forms is only predictable by quite complex rules, and the application of these rules is too cumbersome for easy use. An example follows:

wotétila a job, employment
(cf **kai-teti-la** a spreading bush)

Stress is also shown in dictionary entries when syllable margins occur within vowel clusters, to distinguish between diphthongs and vowel sequences. This is given in cases where stress placement marks the margin of a syllable, for example:

vocalic cluster	**-va-úla²**	to go through the middle
cf. diphthong	**-váula¹**	to plant (anything other than yams)

cluster of diphthong + vowel	**-keiíta**	to return
cf. diphthong	**-kéita**	to copulate (animal)

Thus, the difference between the two words **-vaula¹** and **-vaula²** must show that in one case the cluster **/au/** is a diphthongal glide and thus the nucleus of a single syllable, and in the second the cluster is a succession of two syllables; regular stress does not need to be shown in the first, but the dictionary entry for the second is written showing the stress diacritic:

-vaúla² (vb 3 intr)

The stress diacritics are not needed in text as contextual information is usually a sufficient guide to the nature of the vocalic cluster.

ii) Pronunciation of other irregular sequences

When syllable loss, epenthetic addition, the dominance or weakness of some phonemes, or some other feature leads to unpredictable stress placement, a pronunciation guide is added in brackets in plain type, with a reference to the section of the orthography statement where the phonetic influence causing the variation is stated. Thus pronunciation effected by a dominant phoneme over a lenis form is noted in the subheadword **-kamvagasi** 'to eat greedily':

> **-kam-vagasi** (vb+adv; pron **-kammagasi**; see 2.4.2 on dominant **m** and lenis **v**.).

5.4.3.6 Usage – register, style, currency

The labelling of lexemes, or even of text examples of headwords, with usage labels, involves the lexicographer in a broader view of techniques than grammatical analysis. In his study of usage indications, Burkhanov describes it as a study of "lexicographic techniques of representing pragmatic information" (Burkhanov 2003: 103). Since there is "no consensus on the number of usage labels" (Burkhanov 2003: 106), the description of these pragmatic components of linguistic description becomes a part of the structure of definitions; in many cases it becomes clear that a headword included in the context of a text citation is better suited for an adequate statement of usage. Throughout this dictionary the form of speech used for analysis is described as standard language or a declarative style. Where comments are added on usage, such as a comment on register (rhetorical style, breathy register for children, chanted as for game or dance, etc), style (humorous, offensive, coarse, impolite, emotive) or currency (archaic, obsolete, rare), these are placed within an entry following a numbered sense, in the bracketed form (Note: [style stated]). An example is taken from one of the many senses listed for **wowo(la)** '(his) body', because of reluctance to refer in conversation to specific sexual organs: The importance of a full sentence as a text citation to describe the usage feature is seen here.

> **wowo(la)**
>
> 3. a person's sexual organs, as in phr **wowo-la mi<na>na** 'her body' (Note – euphemism: a euphemistic reference to 'her sexual

organs', as direct reference to **wi(la)** '(her) vagina' is considered coarse in general conversation.) This euphemistic comment is used in reference either to male or female sexual organs, for example:

I-kaibiga	**o-yama-gu**	**o-kaike-gu**
3SG-say	at-hand-my	at-foot-my

a-kova-suya	**o-uwo-si.**
I-thrust-enter	in-body-3pl

He said, "With my hands and feet I pushed roughly into their bodies." (a husband boasting to shame his wife)

5.4.3.7 Canonical forms and paradigms

Where nouns occur as bound forms, such as the class 2 nouns exemplified in 3.6.2.2, where the paradigm of the noun **tama(la)** '(his) father' with the pronominal possessive suffix is set out, they are represented in the lexicon by one form as the canonical form for the whole closed class. The convention I have followed is to use the 3rd person singular form of the suffix as the canonical form.

A main entry using a canonical form from a paradigm as its headword stands for the class which includes that canonical form. All other members of the class are headwords for cross-reference entries which refer to the main entry where the canonical form is headword. The definition in that entry defines the function of the whole class, which is listed horizontally within the entry. This is essentially a space-saving device, as the semantic content of the class is fully defined once only, with other members of the paradigm being accommodated only in cross-reference entries which do not fully define their headword.

However any member of the class which has gained a particular meaning beyond its regular function within the class qualifies as a headword of a separate main entry. An example of this is the special rhetorical use that has been shown in the use of the 1st person dual inclusive pronominal forms, which may be understood literally (the speaker and his one hearer) or to mean 'everyone, i.e. the speaker and all his hearers, plus the community generally'. For example:

I-bodi	**bi-ta-bokuli**	**keda**	**ma<kada>na.**
3sg-to.befit	ir-1dlex-to.follow	path	that-cl.path

lit. It is fitting that we two should follow that way (of behaviour).

In this example an orator is urging all of his audience (and people generally) to do what he suggests.

5.4.3.8 Paralinguistic components

Paralinguistic components frequently accompany speech and occur within a "context of culture" (Malinowski 1935: 18). These include gestures which accompany some lexemes, or modulations in pitch or intonation used in some locative or temporal expressions. Such components are described as part of an entry. An example of this shows the paralinguistic elements attached to two subheadwords of **baisa**[4]**:**

BAISA (*deic*) this (item); here (in a specified place).

Also occurs in related terms **baisė** and **baisó.**

BAISÉ here (close by). (Note – accent on final syllable is accompanied by a pointing motion of lips or a head motion indicating place nearby, where the speaker wishes something to be placed.)

BAISÓ at a place out of sight (Note–- the stressed final syllable uttered in very high or falsetto tone, frequently accompanied by upward nod of head, indicating that the item referred to is situated somewhere out of sight, – in another village, or in a land far away. The word final vocoid of this form may also be lengthened considerably.)

5.4.4 The comment on meaning

The meaning of a headword or any of its subheadwords may be regarded as the major purpose of a dictionary. For a bilingual dictionary a major purpose is

> to provide lexical items in one language (the source language) with counterparts (equivalents) in another language (the target language)

[4] See Phonology 2.5.5.2.

> that are as near as possible with regard to meaning and usage (Svensén 2009: 253).

This is generally acknowledged to be the *raison d'être* of commercial bilingual dictionaries. However a bilingual dictionary, seeking to serve the needs of a tertiary or research-level reader, of necessity goes further than simple translation equivalence. When the meaning transition is from one culture to a foreign and socially different culture, several translation equivalents may be necessary to establish a common semantic ground; and where no adequate translation equivalent can be found, entrance into a dwelling (as illustrated below) must at times employ extensive encyclopaedic detail to encompass a bridge between the two cultures.

For example, lexemes giving an adequate statement of how to enter a building may offer the following choices:

owodola	at its opening
okoukweda	at its (front) door (defines a space in front of door)
otoukweda	at its (front) door (defines space outside of **koukweda** space) (Dwellings rarely have back doors.)

If a person wishes only to enter a building, which may be standing empty, there is no social issue, and he may simply step through a hole in the wall, whether that hole is a regular doorway or not.

If he is on a relation of social intimacy with the occupants, he would be standing in the **koukweda** space, and would enter from there. If he was a stranger to the house's occupants, or was hierarchically inferior to the adults living there, he would be standing in the **toukweda** space, and would move from there upon being invited. If however he was a total stranger from another culture, the head of that house would probably overlook his bad manners or ignorance of social niceties and invite him in anyway.

5.4.4.1 Co-occurrence restrictions for each sense

When the definition is essayed, a first entry for each sense may be a statement of co-occurrence restrictions which apply to that sense. These are shown in the above example, placed in brackets at the beginning of a

numbered sense. A statement of such restrictions is not needed if the translation equivalent for the headword defines the word's function adequately. Where a number of restrictions apply for one form they may be better identified by a series of numbered senses defining specific usages.

5.4.4.2 Definition, with different senses

Following the statement of co-occurrence restrictions, the definition of the headword is given in lower case type. A definition may be either a translation equivalent, or a statement including necessary cultural context of a word and its cultural equivalent in English.

A definition is a statement of the meaning of a lexical form. Meaning, as Anna Wierzbicka points out, is all in the mind. "Lexicography" she says, "is concerned not with 'denotational structure' but with conceptual structure, not with 'denotation conditions' but with meaning" (Wierzbicka 1985: 16). To give a definition of any lexeme, whether in reference to a countable entity, or to an activity, or to a grammatical function name, involves a statement of what mental conception is held about that item.

The formal structure of the definition conforms wherever possible to the part of speech of the item being defined. Verb stems, for instance, are consistently glossed in this dictionary with the English infinitive, a part of speech lacking in Kiriwina but well-known to the English-speaking dictionary user. Where it is helpful to add preferred subject and/or object, this is shown by stating a subject in brackets, and an object in brackets, each side of the gloss, as in '(person) to turn (item)', or '(sun) to descend'.

The different senses identified for a lexeme are numbered. In a series of numbered senses the first numbered (usually the literal meaning of the headword) is the word's primary sense, followed by other secondary senses. If the word may be used as a metaphor this information would be added here as an additional sense after the literal meaning. Thus the verb **-yowa** (subj animal) 'to fly' has a metaphorical use where it is used as a stative verb in reference to a human bodily sensation describing the emotion of fear or surprise, shown in these examples:

i-yowa **lopo-gu.**
3sg-fly my-belly
lit. It flies my belly
Something scares me.

e-i-yowa **lupo-dasi.**
rl-3sg-fly our-bellies
lit. It flew our bellies
We were startled.

Likewise in the example in 5.4.1 above the primary sense of **-gabu1** is followed by its secondary reference to a particular cooking process.

The succession of senses from a first literal form to a number of related or modern senses is illustrated by the noun **waga** 'canoe' in the following example, where the first sense is the literal use given as a translation equivalent, and secondary senses where the word is adapted to modern cultural equivalents:

WAGA (n 3 Cl kai-)

1. A canoe (superordinate term; subordinate types listed from small to great: **kewou, ligatayu, kalipoula, masawa, nagega.**)
2. Any seagoing vessel as launch, cutter, steamer
3. A truck or road vehicle for conveying people or goods
4. An aeroplane (usu **waga kaiyoyowa** 'canoe flying')
5. A container, as case for luggage, tool box, storage chest[5]

5.4.4.3 Definitions for class 3 verbs

The example in 5.4.1 shows the form of entry for this major class of verbs. Each class 3 verb has two stem forms, a primary form for intransitive reference and a derived stem for transitive reference.[6] The intransitive stem is always used as the headword in an entry, and the transitive stem is seen as a

[5] This fifth sense, however, may be homophonous and make the headword of a separate entry.
[6] In my discussion of foregrounding in 3.9.3, I refer to the use of class 3 verbs as a focussing device, with intransitive verbs focussing on verbal action, and transitive stems focussing on the goal or direction of the verbal action. Intransitives are verb focus (v/f), and transitives are object focus (o/f) forms, and aid the process of foregrounding which is a prominent feature of Kiriwina speech.

derived form and shown as a subheadword within the same entry.[7] This word **-gabu** is also one of a small group of class 3 verbs which use the same form for intransitive and transitive (like class four verbs) but show the distinction between intransitive and transitive either in the different reduplicated stem forms used, or in the different spellings shown when marked with 3rd person plural (see note on this in 5.4.1).

5.4.4.4 Text examples of use

Citations illustrating use are added in an entry following definitions. They are in italics, with the word being illustrated picked out within the text example in bold type, as may be seen in the example shown in 5.4.1 above. Text examples serve a variety of purposes in illustrating words in context. Not only do they give a demonstration of their grammatical function or context, but syntagmatic and semantic information can be shown.

These text examples may have, as Svensén (2009: 283) suggests, "different degrees of authenticity". The ideal example shows the word functioning in natural text from an emic source. Hannay (2003: 151) says that they "should be authentic examples which really focus on the word in question". However such quotes are frequently long, and limitation of space may prohibit their use too often, so that the lexicographer is forced to some curtailing of the example. Faced with this dilemma, another lexicographer suggests the use of "(his) own examples, examples that are not directly found in the language corpus ... but according to the lexicographer's intuition" (Ridings 2003: 209).[8] Simpson echoes this, saying that

> (a)lthough many dictionaries employ actual examples of usage to illustrate words, others make use of 'invented' examples. Nowadays this is not a favoured procedure, but it has its advantages. ... (It) does in the best cases allow the editor to create examples which bring out succinctly the essence of the term in a custom-made form (Simpson 2003: 261).

My own preference has been the use of oral text, or written translated material produced by Kiriwina colleagues; but I must confess to the occasional use of invented examples formed from abbreviated sentences which are modelled on more extensive text examples; they sound natural to me.

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[7] In this particular example the stem difference is found only in the different reduplicative forms it uses. The grammar statement gives a full statement on class 3 verbs showing the two stems in 3.3.1.3.

[8] Ridings is writing of computational tools in lexicography, but his comment is relevant here.

If possible I show variants, or reduplicated forms, in the text examples, so that the illustrations not only exemplify basic meaning but also show variants or related forms operating within a context. When needed a literal translation is placed between the Kiriwina example and its free translation.

A drawing, map or diagram is sometimes used, placed on a page as close as possible to the entry. Alternatively a number of patterns, showing carving designs, or multiple classifier reference of one item, are included as full page illustrations.

5.4.4.5 Semantic relations in synonymy, variant forms

Any additional notes relating to the lexeme being defined follow the numbered senses in an entry. If the reference is to semantically related lexemes, the note may follow a sense (or group of senses) either with a label, as "syn **-kumli**; ant **-sulu**" (as seen in the example quoted in 5.4.1); or else a note attached to a variant form may state its source or function. Thus, a dialect variant which has come into general use outside its dialect area may be labelled in the text, as:

-MWAIM (vb 3) (Also occas **-mweim**, Kilivila dialect)

The need to attach notes on synonymy etc to various senses was also referred to in 5.3.2.2 above.

5.4.4.6 Additional notes on features within a main entry

In addition to the above notes commenting on the example given in 5.4.1, I add here a listing of other items which may be included in a main entry's definition, with examples.

i) Encyclopaedic detail

It is sometimes necessary to add encyclopaedic detail to the basic definition of any word. The translation equivalent of a term may seem simple and direct but may hide much that is complex especially in areas of the culture which are obscure for the English speaker, in such things as kinship terms, or in familiar objects like doorways, fences or boundaries. When such

detail is needed, it is placed here in a bracketed section of plain text commencing with "(Note: ...)". The following entry exemplifies this:

YAGA(LA) (*n 1, pls* **yagasi, igasi**)

1. (His) name. Inflects with inalienable possession.

(Notes: a) Names are owned, and appropriation of a name without the owner's permission is viewed seriously, sometimes leading to court cases. b) While the query *Ami yagam?* 'What is your name?' is grammatically correct, such a direct query is considered bad manners; one usually asks a nearby friend *Ami yagala som*? 'What's your companion's name?' The request is made softly, even whispered, and a reply is given in the same register.)

When extended detail cannot be avoided, for practical reasons I have tried to limit the amount of information in such a note to about eighty words. Where it is considered essential to add much more detail, the whole extended note is placed in the dictionary appendix devoted to cultural detail, accompanied by a cross-reference in the dictionary entry.

ii) Semantic relations

One of the functions of the dictionary which is indirectly related to definition is to state semantic relationships which the headword holds with other lexemes. One important class of semantic relationships is seen in taxonomies, which are examined in chapter 7. If an entry's headword represents a taxon of a taxonomy, information about its taxonomic status is recorded in that main entry, as a bracketed note, in the form "(Note: ... [taxonomic detail])". If the headword is a hyponym in a taxonomy, reference is made to its superordinate, as in the following example:

KABÁYUMA (n 3) A species of turtle (see superordinate **wonu**)

If the headword is itself the superordinate in a taxonomy, that taxonomic status is stated, and known subordinates are listed horizontally in the entry but are not defined within that entry. The following example lists one Kiriwina fish name with two uses. First, it denotes a particular species whose scientific

identity (with Latin name) is known[9]. Second, it serves as a superordinate or generic for a larger class of fish taxa. In the main entry these two uses are recorded as separate senses within the one entry, thus:

DUBASÍMILA (*n 3*)

1. A species of fish, 75cm, occurs in coral reefs, identified as the Spangled Emperor (*Lethrinus nebulosus*, Munro 608. pl 43)
2. A superordinate term for a family of fish, the subordinate taxa including **baramgwau, dubakalala, dubasímila, gidawali**. **iluvatutu, kalipuya, kaikola, kimwebu, kumtila, kútiga, lamwai, lila, lúluva, maramgwau, tegameya.**

Further reference to semantic relations in synonymy etc. is made in 5.4.4.5 above, where the relationship is identified as being tied to different senses of headwords.

iii) Supplementary data for an entry

Any supplementary data which relates indirectly to an entry, such as definitions supplied by other linguists, is given in the form of a bracketed note. As an example, whenever an entry in my dictionary defines a cultural concept referred to by Malinowski, I add to that entry a reference to Malinowski's use (using his orthography). Malinowski does not seek a translation equivalent but shows a concept in its cultural environment.[10] His purpose is to define a term for its relevance to the theme he has before him, whereas my definition seeks to show that term in the full width of its domain.

Thus my definition of **nabwaia** 'tomorrow' has added to it the bracketed note (Mal *Nabwoye* P51, L189).[11]

5.4.5 The lexical family

In this Kiriwina dictionary main entries are extended to include any lexemes which use the entry's headword. This extended entry is the lexical

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[9] Family name is given in plain type, as "flathead (fam Platidaecephalidae)" and species in italics as in this text example.

[10] See Malinowski 1935: 17f. for his insistence on the importance of the "context of culture" when considering apparently simple objects like a digging stick or an axe.

[11] The notation I employ here is from Szczerbowski 2000, used with his permission.

family of that Kiriwina headword (variants, derivations, complex words, compounds and phrases).

In his study of the structure of the shape of dictionary entries for the bilingual dictionary of the Oceanic language Raga, David S. Walsh (2007) has described an entry form which he calls the 'enhanced entry', which has many similarities to Kiriwina. His comment on the place of derivations and subheadwords within the enhanced entry reflects similar features which in Kiriwina led to the pattern of a lexeme family within a major entry:

> The subheadword entries for derived and other related forms … can, for derived forms, be filled by the product of headword reduplication and/or of affixation to the headword, and for other related forms, be filled by compound words in which one of the elements is the headword in question, or by constructions in which the headword in question is a semantically prominent element (Walsh 2007: 379).

Walsh's description of these subheadword entries is closely similar to the concept of lexical family which I have shown to be a frequent phenomenon in Kiriwina dictionary entries.

The grouping of subheadwords in an entry often does violence to the alphabetically ordered text, as variant forms, derivations and even semantically-related forms are frequently niched whenever it is necessary to do so. As a result, every lexeme in the lexicon which shows a different form from the base word becomes a headword for a cross-reference entry, so that all lexical items are included in the strict alphabetical ordering of the lexicon.

5.4.5.1 Example of a lexical family

The entry for **-GABU** shown in 5.4.1 is an example showing part of a lexical family. I give here an example of a full lexical family, which occurs under the headword **-kau** 'take'. The full extent of the text example has been reduced to show only a few of each category of subheadword.

–KAU[1] (vb 4 redupl **–ki.kau**)

Also found as **–kauwai, -kouwai, -kwawai**

1. to take, extract, get sthg. Syn **-keula**
2. to accept sthg, obtain it.

3. to take s.o by the hand, draw him away

(Note – redupl form shows vowel harmony with subj pron. in 2nd p: **a-ka.kau, ku-ku.kwau, i-ki.kau**.)

-KAUWAI (vb 4)

also found as **-kouwai** and Kilivila dialect form **-kwawai**

to take (what?)

The form **-kauwai** is an unusual shape of the verb stem which retains the junction formative syllable of the object suffix, using it as a query device. See examples:

*Am moku**kwauwai**ya?* Where did you take (sthg) from?

*Avaka kuku**kwauwai**si?* What are you taking?

-KA-⁴ (vb.ref.)

Also found as **–ko-²**

Occurs as a combining form in compound verb stems, having the sense of going and taking/getting sthg. It originates in the form **-kau-**, and often incorporates an imperative motive. See combining entry for **-ka-⁴** for a listing of stems using this form.

Derived forms **tokau** a carrier; **toka.sesila** a traitor (See **-sesila**)

The verb **-kau** (also found as **-kou**) occurs as the first part of a number of compound forms. See examples.

-KAU.BOGWA (vb 4)

to take first (i.e first before any other items, or first before other people)

-KAU.GAGA (vb 3 intr; see tr **–kau.gagi**)

1. to take wrongly, steal . Syn **-veilau**
2. to take by mistake

-KAU.GAGI (vb 3 tr))

to pick up sthg which is not yours and take it (it may be theft, or a mistake)

-KAU.LAGUVA (vb 3 intrans; see trans **–kau.ligai**)

Also found as **–kou.laguva**, **-kau.laga**

1. to return paddling (by canoe); to arrive using **wola** 'paddle'
2. to come back after harvest
3. to finish our time here on earth

-KAU.LIGAI (vb 3 tr)

1. to bring sthg back (paddling canoe)
2. to return sthg.

-KAU.LAGA see **-kau.laguva**

-KOU.LAGUVA see **–kau.laguva**

KAIKAULA (n) (from **kai+kau+-la**)

A smouldering stick (one that takes fire and does not go out easily). This stick is taken and used for the lighting of another fire. In both senses (take fire, take to kindle another fire) the **-kau** component may be applied.

The verb **-kau** is also found in a number of phrases:

IKAU LUGWA (phr lit. he takes revenge)

He avenges sthg. Syn **ikau mapula**, **iwaiya mapula**

Ikau kala lugwa *titoulela* He avenges himself

IKAU MAPULA (phr lit. he took its price)

he takes revenge, he avenges sthg.

In some phrases where body part terminology is used as a metaphor for emotive states, the verb **-kau-** also appears:

IKAU KABULU(LA) (phr lit. it takes (his) nose)

he is about to lose his temper (the nose is carefully observed for signs of loss of self-control) Syn **ivinuvinu kabulu(la)**, **ipusa kabulu(la)**

IKAU MATA(LA) (phr lit. it takes (his) eyes)

1. It takes his attention, absorbs him wholly; he heeds nothing else.
2. He desires that thing. Syn **ikau nano(la)**, **ikewakewa mata(la)**

5.4.5.2 The ordering of items in the lexical family

i) Data for each subheadword

As seen in the example above, the subheadwords in the lexical family are indented, in small caps with bold type, their part(s) of speech named, and they are defined, with numbered senses. The whole process set down for the headword in a main entry is repeated for each subheadword, its use in different parts of speech, co-occurrence restrictions, all variants, are recorded where applicable for each subheadword in the lexical family.

ii) The ordering of subheadwords in an entry

The subheadwords are set down in a fixed order. The parts of speech are set down in the canonical order specified in 5.4.3.2). The first part of the example in 5.4.5.1 shows those forms which have been identified as being exact repetitions of the headword in various parts of speech (**-kau**, **-kauwai**, **-ka-**[4]). Following these are those forms where the headword has been used in derived forms (**tokau**), compounds (**-kau.gaga**), and phrases (**-kau lugwa**). Any larger multi-word groups identified as a lexeme would be placed at the end of this order, but no instance of this occurs in my example.

Some of the details needed for subheadwords are now given.

iii) Derived forms

Generally the meanings of derived forms are predictable and so do not need separate definition. In the example given in 5.4.5.1 above the derived forms **tokau** and **toka.sesila** are only listed and glossed. However some derived forms acquire a meaning which cannot be predicted from the normal derivational process. A derived form **toliwaga**, formed with the combining form **toli-** 'owner of' with **waga** 'canoe' is an example. In their regular use lexemes commencing with **toli-** indicate someone who owns an item; but frequently this lexeme is expanded to include someone who has authority over something, as **toliwaga** may specify either the owner of a canoe or else its "captain" during a voyage. A further complication with this word is that the title **toliwaga** was on some past occasion used as a special title of chiefly favour for one **dala** 'family line'. In consequence the entry for **toliwaga** bears the following note:

Note: it is important to recognise that **toliwaga** is not the name of a chiefly family line, but a particular title indicating chiefly favour bestowed by the **Tabalu** on another chiefly **dala** which had in the distant past rendered them outstanding service. The service is itself long-forgotten but the title and its implied loyalty remain.

For these reasons **toliwaga** must become a headword for a main entry, a derived form needing definition.

Another example is the second derived form shown in the example, **tokasesila** 'a traitor'. While as a derived form it does not need definition, yet its parts need some comment here. Its components are **to-** 'person' and **-ka.sesila**, a compound form which exists as two homophones. One of these is a compound of **ka-**[1] 'do by saying', and in the other a compound of **-ka-**[4] 'do by taking', each joined to the verb stem **-sesila** 'to surrender s.o to an opponent, to betray s.o.' In Matthew 10.4 Judas Iscariot is described as **tokasesila** 'the betrayer', the one who betrayed Jesus by showing him to the enemy, which is the derivation of **–ka.sesila**[1] (**-ka-**[1] + **-sesila**).

iv) Compound forms

The example in 5.4.5.1 shows some compound verb stems and a compound noun which use **-kau** 'take' as headword, making them subheadwords which are included in this lexeme family. This form of compound is identified in the chapter on lexemes (see 6.3.3.1). The constituents of each compound are stated in the entry, to show the meaning input from the parts it employs; these other parts may be located by cross-reference to a different entry.

Where two verb stems combine to function as a single compound form (see 6.3.3.2), it is sometimes difficult to designate one stem as the head, as both constituents may contribute equally to the compound form's meaning. Examples of this form of compound are:

-biga.sola to repeat what you saw
from **-biga** 'to speak or say' and **-sola** 'to witness sthg'

-vila.bwaila to share out equally
from **-vila** 'to share things out' and **-bwaila** 'to do well'

Both of the forms they employ will have headword status for these compounds, so the compound will need to appear in two main entries so that the semantic input of each component to the compound is noted.

v) Phrases and larger collocations

Phrases differ from compounds, as they are multi-word collocations bearing stress on each word in the phrase, whereas the compound is a multi-morphemic unit with one point of primary stress (and sometimes another point of secondary stress). The individual words of a phrase will function elsewhere as lexemes, headwords which are separately defined. But in a phrase the meaning of the collocation is more than the meanings of its parts; indeed if the phrase is an idiom its meaning may be totally other than the meanings of its parts. Phrases are described in 6.4.

Phrases, and larger conventional expressions such as proverbs, sayings, etc. that have conventional status as the usual way to state something, are subheadwords in these lexical family entries, under that lexeme in the phrase which is identified as the collocation's headword. The example of a lexical family shown in 5.4.5.1 includes examples of phrasal lexemes (**ikau lugwa, ikau matala**). However in phrases the level of semantic input from more than one component sometimes makes it necessary for the phrase meaning to be identified in more than one dictionary entry. This was also noted in iv) above. In the first example quoted, **ikau lugwa** appears in the lexical family under **-kau**. But its second component must also be shown under the verb **-lugwa** 'to be filled', where its special relation to an act of revenge or retribution is seen as a development of a secondary sense; so the phrase is essential as an illustration within that second domain.

The larger conventional expressions however are generally not included in the several domains of their component words, and the lexicographer chooses which term is the head for that expression. Thus the chanted form, uttered in unison by some sixty dancers (or "fielders") in a game of cricket, is marked by a rhythmic pattern which ignores normal word stress placement, as in this example:

Ó.yamá.gu	**léi.pakí,**	**máginíti**	**léi.pakí.**
In-hand-my	it-has-stuck,	magnet	it-has-stuck.

This chanted form must be defined as “caught” or “dismissed by a catch (in the game of **girikiti**)”. (There is a second verse suggesting the catcher’s hands are sticky like PK chewing gum.) But the inclusion of this chant as a lexeme with headword status is unlikely!

5.5 Cross-reference entries

Cross-reference entries are mainly concerned with the morpheme content of lexemes, a major function of these entries being as a search and locate tool within subheadwords and forms in free variation.

5.5.1 Headwords of cross-reference entries

The lexemes that are headwords of cross-reference entries are those that have either occurred as subheadwords or were noted as variant forms within a main entry, and the function of the cross-reference entry is to list all such forms within the alphabetically-ordered list, enabling the reader to locate the main entry where they are defined.

Two types of cross-reference entry are needed, one for a mono-morphemic word, the other for a lexeme that is a component within a complex form.

5.5.2 A cross-reference entry for a simple lexeme

I give first an example of the cross-reference entry for a mono-morphemic lexeme, such as a variant form of the lexeme **-kalawa**.

-KALAU (*vb 3 tr*) to add sthg up (**-KALAWA**)

The variant form is first listed in upper case, with its part of speech; the detail and typeface conventions used are identical with those used for the headword of a main entry. A brief definition follows. The purpose of definition in this type of entry is not to define meaning precisely but to aid in cross-referencing the word to that main entry where the variant form is defined. The upper case word in bold type placed in brackets at the end of the entry is the headword of the main entry to which the variant form is referenced.

5.5.3 A cross-reference entry for a complex lexeme

A second type of cross-reference entry is for a lexeme that is part of a morphologically complex form, such as the compound verb stem **–ka.binini²**: As is seen in the example, the full constituent structure of the compound is placed at the termination of the cross-reference entry, with one component, its headword, in upper case bold type. This upper case form is the cross-reference to the entry where that compound form is placed as a subheadword and defined.

-KA.BININI² (vb 4) to graze (skin) (**-ka-² + -BININI**)

Added here is the main entry which has **-binini** as its headword.

-BININI (vb 4)

This is a form which requires a special note.

1. It is a compound of **-bia + NINI**, and its definition is to be found under the headword **-NINI**, q.v.

2. This compound form has morphed into a simple verb form, and is now found as a component in a number of compound forms as follows:

-ka.binini¹ (Compound from **–ka-³ + -binini)**

1. (subj item causing injury) To graze, wound body slightly by rubbing.

*Dakuna i**kabinini** kaikegu.* The stone grazed my foot.

-ka.binini² (Compound from **-ka-² + binini)**

1. (subj person or animal biting) To bite off a small piece (food, flesh)

2. (obj item being shaped) to nibble at sthg, shape by biting (Other compound forms using this verb stem are then listed and defined in the entry, including **-kanubinini**, **-katubinini**, **-kibinini**, **-kobinini**, **-lobinini**, **-saibinini**, **-sibinini**, **-tabinini**, **-tobinini**, **-vabinini**, **-yobinini**. Each of these is a headword in other cross-reference entries.)

The complexity in this example is that the form **-binini** may be either a compound form, or a monomorphemic form, as the main entry example for **-binini** shows. If a compound, the initial component **-bi-** of the compound **-binini** is a combining form and becomes the headword of a combining entry, the third type of entry described in 5.6 below.

If however **-binini** is seen as monomorphemic, it is shown as prefixed with **-ka-²**, a different combining form. When the reader turns to this combining entry, he finds **-ka-²** listed as its headword, where its meaning input is defined and a full run-on list of forms using **-ka-²** is given. (The combining entry for **-ka-²** is shown in 5.6.3 below, as an example of combining entries.)

The two homophonous forms of **-kabinini** are developed from the two different combining forms **-ka²** and **-ka³.**

5.5.4 Other lexemes in a cross-reference entry

Other lexemes that are shown in the cross-reference entry for complex words will be found by their alphabetical order within the dictionary, as the headword of another entry. Those forms that bear a superscript number are homophones, many of which head the third form of entry described in 5.6 below, the combining entry. Some complex words contain up to four constituents, such as **-ko-bi-tetina-vau** 'bite–pull–do.roughly–again' (subject a fish taking a lure a second time). All constituents shown in the final form of a cross-reference entry are found in the alphabetically ordered entries,

Main entries and cross-reference entries comprise nearly all of the lexemes in this dictionary. However, two more entry types are needed, because their headwords represent two groups of lexemes (only about 400 in all) with important functions. One such class of headwords consists of a prefixed component which functions as a combining form mainly in one type of compound verb, and the other is the class of classifiers which exercise a semantic function prominent in discourse structures. These are described in 5.6 and 5.7 below.

5.6 Combining form entries

5.6.1 Combining form entries in the SOED

The term 'combining entry' is used by the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* to describe entries which have as a headword certain affixes which they term 'combining forms':

> In combining entries the headword is an affix ... combining forms generally represent either (i) modified forms of independent words ... (**anglo-**, **auto-**) or (ii) identical and closely-related independent English words ... (**after-**, **back-**) ... All other initial elements that form words are classed as prefixes (Stevenson 2007: xxxix).

Such combining entries use the combining form as headword, followed by the words "combining form", and show examples of the complex words formed.

The headwords for combining entries in the Kiriwina to English dictionary are combining forms similar to those which the SOED states to be modified forms of independent words, and are described in 5.6.2 below. The purpose of the combining form entry is to state the meaning input which these headwords make to a number of complex lexemes, but no reference is made to the semantic content of those lexemes marked with the combining form, as such multiform lexemes are listed under their other component(s) as a subheadword in a main entry. Thus while the entry includes a comment on form and on meaning, the meaning comment is limited to the semantic influence of the combining form only. In the concluding section of each combining form entry all words or multiword units using that combining form are listed.

5.6.2 Headwords of combining form entries

In their verbal role these headwords are termed verb adjuncts (vac). Many are clearly lexically related to verbs, acting in the initial part of a compound verb stem to state modes of action of the head (which is usually the second component of a compound stem). The verb stems employ these verb adjuncts to add instrumental, agentive, causal or some other manner of verbal action.

Similar combining forms occur as prefixes in compound nouns, termed nominal adjuncts (nac) where forms like **toli-** 'owner of', **kabo-** 'instrument for' and **kai-** (or some other classifier) 'the item named' are the initial components of a number of compound nouns. These prefixes are also headwords for combining entries.

A note must be added about those classifiers which function here as nominal referents, as noted for **kai-** in the preceding paragraph. While the normal function of the classifier in the noun phrase is in its association with the noun's modifiers, here a few classifiers are used, as are other combining forms, to mark a noun as having specific or definite reference. The six basic property classifiers **to-**, **na-**, **kai-**, **kwai-**, **pila-** and **ya-** are most frequently found exercising this function.

5.6.3 An example of a combining form entry

The combining entry for **-KA-²** is shown as an example:

-KA-² (*vac*) combining form

Occurs as the first part of a compound verb stem, having the sense of an action performed by biting on sthg. or holding it in mouth. This may be lexically related to **-kavi** 'to bite on sthg'. Stems commencing with **-ka-²** include:

-kabinini², **-kabitetina**, **-kabolu**, **-kabotutu¹**, **-kabubuna**, **-kabubwaluwa**, **-kabuyai**, **-kadaka**, **-kadilakia**, **-kadubwaina**, **-kagidageda**, **-kagumgum**, **-kakovi**, **-kalaga**, **kalova**, **-kamata**, **-kambibila**, **-kamayuyu**, **-kamdawelu**, **-kamineina**, **-kamkumku**, **-kammali**, **-kamolu**, **-kamova**, **-kapípila**, **-kasamolu**, **-kasau**, **-kasumsam**, **-kasuvimali**, **-kasuwoki**, **-kasuyúmila**, **-katoka**, **-ka.uwi**, **-kawolova**.

5.6.4 Compounds grouped by combining forms

Each combining form entry marks a group of words with one consistent meaning addition. The combining entry concludes with a run-on list of all

compounds which make use of that combining form. Some of the run-on lists are extensive, numbering over two hundred lexemes. For each of those compound stems listed, the second constituent of each stem is the headword of a main entry where that word is defined.

In addition the reader becomes aware that such affixes may be found attached to compound forms not included in the lexicon, with the same meaning input. The headword of a combining form entry is thus an identifying tool for unrecorded words, a feature which is sometimes found in text.

5.6.5 The structure of combining form entries

A combining form entry is structured according to the following three points:

1. The affix which is the combining form is first stated, with its part of speech in brackets,[12] followed by the words 'combining form'.

2. Then the function and meaning input for the headword is stated in plain text, with a statement on its derivation where applicable.

3. The final part of the entry is a run-on list of those lexemes which employ that combining form. These run-on forms are listed without definition in the entry, as each will be found as a headword or subheadword in a main entry.

5.7 Classifier entries

5.7.1 Classifiers and their domains

Classifier entries are special types of main entries. Their headwords are limited to one part of speech, the classifier, which has as its meaning a semantic domain which that classifier is specifying. The domain thus specified is not a group of lexically-related items, but items which have certain semantic qualities which the speaker recognises as being related in some way.

[12] The part of speech for verbal combining forms is **verb adjunct** (vac). Combining forms which occur in compound nouns are labelled as the part of speech **nominal adjunct** (nac).

The items that are so grouped are linked either by certain physical qualities or by the ways they have been acted on.

The physical qualities first group items which are human or human-related, or other sentient life forms which are not human; other items not included in these two are assessed by physical qualities of length, rigidity, symmetry, or qualities other than these.

Then a second grouping specifies how things have been acted upon (by being used in some way, or cut into pieces, or grouped in some fashion). These two groups are detailed in 3.7.3.4 — 3.7.3.5. Because of this doubling of modes of grouping it follows that multiple specification is a frequent phenomenon which a dictionary entry attempts to show where it is helpful to do so.

5.7.2 Classifiers function as semantic links

There is frequently an evident morphological relationship between classifiers and other headwords, as was seen in the example of **-gabu** in 5.4.1. But the very different role of semantic grouping exercised by the classifier in linking items not by lexical but by semantic relationships puts the classifiers apart, too removed in function from the nouns or verbs they are derived from to be considered the same lexeme. When a morphological relationship is evident this is referred to within a main entry, with a cross-reference to the entry where that classifier is the headword. An example of an entry including a classifier is given here, followed by the entry for the classifier referred to:

KAI[1] (*n 3*)

1. All kinds of plants with stems, including trees and stalks of flowers.
2. A tree or bush, growing or dead (specified by cl **kai-**)
3. Any timber, either as sticks or logs (specified by cl **kai-**) or sawn and dressed planks (specified by cl **pila-**)

KAI-[2] (*cl* long/rigid items) See **KAI-**[2]

KAI-[2] (cl)

Basic property specifier, specifies long/rigid items

(cf **kai[1]** (n 3) tree, plant, timber)

This classifier specifies the following domains:

1. Any growing tree, shrub, plant, including flowers, fungi and larger rigid grasses (smaller grasses specified by **ya-** or **tam-**);

2. Some garden produce, especially those which reproduce by rhizome or thickening of stem, long **kuvipiti** yams (other yams specified by **kwai-**), sugarcane, whole bunch of bananas (hand of bananas specified by **kila-**, and single bananas specified by **kwai-**), shelled nut, cob of corn, stalk of spinach;

3. Any item made from single piece of wood (e.g. bowl, digging stick, comb, spear, post, carvings not representing living creature (but see note on carvings below);

4. Some things made from several pieces of wood, as canoe, gable assembly of house (whole house, or other complex assemblies, specified by **kwai-**);

5. Long rigid things (iron spear, crowbar, concrete post), feather, bundle of dry coconut leaf (for fishing torch), and all lamps and electric globes, stick of tobacco, stalactite or stalagmite;

6. Fire, fireplace (see also cl. **kova-**);

7. Idiomatic use – Four varieties of fish (**lova, kumidu, mwala, kwaduva**) are referred to by deictics with core **kai-** 'because they go through the water like spears'.

8. Used with names of plants: **uri, tapiokwa, bisia, unonu,** etc; a very wide domain.

Examples:	deic	*ma**kai**na kai*	that tree
	num	*kokola **kai**luwotala **kai**lima **kai**yu*	seventeen posts
	adj	***kai**wonaku kaitaula*	long (house-plate)

Notes: Carvings which may include representations of human or animal form but which have some function apart from the carved representation are specified by **ma<kai>na**; the figure that forms part of the whole carving is specified by **mi<na>na** (but see note

on cl **kasa-**); some modern items are in this domain, e.g. **tekodo ma<kai>na** 'that tape recorder' because it has perceptual similarity to a simple box; but note **kai-tala ki, kwai-tala loki** 'long/rigid-one key, complex-one lock', reflecting the respective complexity of a simple key and complex lock.
(Mal **kay**[13] 'trees and plants, wooden things, long objects')

The separate classifier entry for **kai-²** (cl) specifies the very large domain of **kai-²** 'long/rigid items', some wooden, some of other materials (stalactites, crowbars, feathers etc), together with idiomatic uses of the classifier, such as reference to fish like garfish, which are said to look like spears going along in the sea.

Some other uses of classifier forms may be found, such as notes within classifier entries to variant forms, and to words where classifiers are seen to be one component of a complex form. With these exceptions the classifier entries are limited only to the semantic role of the classifier base and the groupings they specify. Classifiers never stand alone as a free form, functioning mainly within the noun phrase modifiers (as stated in 3.7.1) as a semantic link to nouns.

[13] This is an example of supplementary data referred to in 5.4.4.8 showing the treatment of this lexeme by Malinowski.

6 *Identifying headwords for the dictionary*

6.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the question: Which form-meaning pairings in Kiriwina count as lexemes and so qualify to appear as headwords in the Kiriwina to English Dictionary?

6.1.1 What counts as a lexeme?

The chapter begins by noting that the notion 'lexeme' (or 'lexical item') is problematic, because it is theory dependent. In particular the class of expressions that grammarians typically regard as lexemes differs from the class recognised by conventional lexicographers. The contrast between grammarians' lexicons and conventional lexicographers' lexicons has been discussed at some length by Andrew Pawley (1986, 1996, 2009b), and the following discussion and description of this contrast draws heavily on his comments and suggestions.

Discussion of this difference does not concern single morphemes, which are universally treated as lexemes. It concerns multi-morphemic words and multiword expressions.

6.1.2 Grammarians' lexemes

Our understanding of how grammarians regard the lexicon comes from the theoretical literature, where one can find detailed models of how languages are organised and discussions of evaluation procedures for ranking competing analyses. A well-known example is Chomsky (1965).

The literature on the theory of grammar shows that most grammarians share a particular, narrow view of what a language is: a code for specifying all the grammatical sequences of a language and assigning structure to these sentences. They seek the most parsimonious description of that code and in

doing so impose a clear division of labour between rules of grammar and lexicon. The lexicon is a component of the grammar but is complementary to the general, productive rules for forming complex words and larger constructions. Their lexicon consists of those form-meaning pairings which are not predictable by rules of grammar and which belong either to major part-of-speech categories, such as noun, verb, adjective, or to minor categories, such as classes of grammatical words and classes of affixes. If a form-meaning pairing is predictable from the rules of grammar, it is by definition well-formed and not a lexical item. In this respect, then, the lexicon is an appendix to the grammar, a repository of irregularities.

These ideas are reflected both in statements by early structural linguists and in the writings of generative grammarians, as shown by the following quotations:

> The lexicon is really an appendix of the grammar, a list of basic irregularities (Bloomfield 1933: 274).
>
> The base of the grammar will contain a lexicon, which is simply an unordered list of all lexical formatives ... each lexical entry being ... a phonological distinctive feature matrix [with] a collection of specified syntactic features (Chomsky 1965: 84).
>
> The lexicon is the repository of all of the morphemes but of only some of the words ... [O]ne cannot suppose that all the words known by speakers are contained in their lexicons. Rather, infinitely many words are formed by various productive rules from independently characterized constructions (Keyser and Postal 1976: 174, 173-4).

The principle of descriptive parsimony requires that no form-meaning pairing be specified twice, i.e. both by the rules of grammar and in the lexicon. However, grammarians have long acknowledged that, in practice, the exact placement of the boundary between grammar and lexicon is problematic because some grammatical rules, such as most derivational rules, are semi-productive. In such cases the analyst may choose to simplify the grammar and enlarge the lexicon, by treating the products of all semi-productive rules as lexemes, or enlarge the grammar and reduce the lexicon by treating at least some such products as rule-governed.

Generative grammarians such as Chomsky draw a line between linguistic competence and language use. Linguistic competence is equated with knowing which rules yield grammatically well-formed sentences, not with how these sentences are used for the purposes of everyday communication.

Unlike conventional dictionary-makers, grammarians are not concerned with whether a particular well-formed phrase or sentence has a special cultural status, say, as the name of an entity, or as a proverb or a speech formula, or even whether it has ever been known to occur. A well-formed phrase that occurs thousands of times in a corpus has the same status as one that occurs once or one that is unrecorded but possible.

It should be said that no general dictionaries have been compiled that conform to the ideals of grammarians. Their position is a theoretical one.

The foregoing remarks about grammarians' views of the division between lexicon and grammar need to be qualified. While most grammatical theorists posit, as a matter of principle, a sharp boundary between grammatical rules and lexical items, some theorists, such as advocates of Construction Grammar, hold that languages show a continuum between fully productive grammatical rules and words. More will be said on this matter in 6.1.4.

6.1.3 Lexicographers' lexemes

Conventional lexicographers operate with a different view of language and lexicon. In writing of the difference, Pawley states that

> Whereas grammarians merely write about the dictionary as a theoretical construct, lexicographers actually produce dictionaries ... large general dictionaries, those that tackle the whole vocabulary of a language ... [C]onventional dictionary makers care little about well-formedness or otherwise of complex expressions. In their dictionaries, it seems, the lexical status of a composite expression is determined with the following questions in mind: (1) Is the meaning a standardised concept, one that is familiar or commonplace to members of the speech community? (2) If so, is the form in question the standard way (or a standard way) of expressing the concept? We might say that (1) and (2), taken together, constitute the *standard usage* or *conventional usage principle*: any highly conventional form-meaning pairing is a lexicographer's lexeme (Pawley 1996: 196–197).

At this point we should note that lexicographers generally do not speak of 'lexemes' or 'lexical items' as their basic units but of 'dictionary entries'. A minimal dictionary entry is a bundle of information whose core components are a 'headword' ('lemma' or 'entry term'), a part of speech classification and a

definition of the headword's meaning. Such a bundle describes a unit, equivalent to what grammarians call a 'lexeme'.[1]

Dictionary makers are craftsmen rather than theoreticians and seldom try to place their work within a theoretical framework, so it is chiefly by examining their practice that we can discern their basic assumptions about what a language consists of, and what counts as a lexeme for them. When we look at the contents of general dictionaries and phrasal dictionaries of English, we can see that the compilers hold a much more generous view of the lexicon than grammarians, and this stems from their richer concept of linguistic competence.

For example, Pawley notes that *Webster's II* contains thousands of form-meaning pairings that are literal expressions, and which we would expect to be generated by rules of grammar. Thus as well as listing *forget*, Webster lists *forgettable, forgettingly, forgetful, forgetfulness, forgetfully* and *forgetter* (Pawley: 1986: 101), all derived by productive processes and defined by their literal meanings. We find *brother-less*, 'without a brother', and *brother-like*, 'characteristic of or befitting a brother'. Among the listed compounds beginning with *blood*, there are *blood-stained, blood test, blood type* and *bloody-faced*; but alongside *grass* we do not find *grass-stained, grass test, grass type* or *grassy-faced.* Why?

What qualifies a morphologically complex expression for inclusion in a conventional dictionary is not that it is a form-meaning pairing that cannot be predicted by the grammar but whether it has the status of a well-established conventional usage. The compilers of *Webster's II* judged *blood-stain, blood test* and *bloody-faced* to be conventional names for familiar concepts, whereas *grass-stain, grass type* and *grassy-faced* were (rightly or wrongly) judged not to be, or to be low on the conventionality scale. We can infer that these omissions are an indication that the last group of expressions did not appear in the compilers' corpus of common usages.

Mainstream lexicography stems from a long-standing humanist tradition that regards a language as intimately connected with the culture and society of its speakers. To have native-like command of a language it is not enough merely to know how to say things grammatically. One must know the

[1] Or strictly, to a lexical unit. For the distinction between lexeme and lexical unit see 6.2 and 6.4.

forms of expression that native speakers customarily employ to perform particular communicative jobs. This knowledge includes knowing which expressions have the status of established names of things, as opposed to being *ad hoc* descriptions, e.g. *bus driver, truck driver, plane driver, ship driver* and *cloud driver* are all well-formed compounds, but only the first two are standard names for occupations. Similarly, *memorandum of understanding* and *memorandum of misunderstanding* are both possible phrases but only the first is a standard term. In cricket, *mid off, long off* and *square leg* are standard names for particular field positions, but *short off* and *round leg* are not.

Examples of well-formed multiword expressions that are lexicalised in Kiriwina appear in 6.4 and 6.5.

6.1.4 Lexicalisation as a matter of degree

The ideal general dictionary, then, should *contain all form-meaning pairings that have the status of conventional expressions in the language*. The actual practice of general dictionary-makers is never completely consistent with this ideal. There are several reasons for this. One reason is that the selection of headwords that appear in a dictionary is constrained by practical considerations like space and cost. General dictionaries vary greatly in their size and scope. Given a size limit, lexicographers must omit some lexemes that are judged to be less important.

However, there is another reason for inconsistency, which is that lexicalisation of multimorphemic and multiword expressions is a matter of degree. Pawley and Syder (1983: 193) point out that lexicalisation operates at two levels. First the lexical content of some conventional phrasal expressions can be more or less fixed, e.g. the formula of indignation: *Who do you think you are!* can be varied in certain ways, e.g. the pronouns can be third person (*he, she, they*) and certain intensifiers can be inserted after *who* (e.g. *Who the hell do you think you are?*). Second, the degree of conventional status that a particular form-meaning pairing holds in the speech community can vary from very high to very low.

Pawley (1986: 104) discusses twenty-seven different criteria which are indicators of lexical status. These fall into six categories, (1) institutional

status in a culture, (2) resemblance to simple lexemes, (3) special syntactic restrictions, (4) the possibility of eliding part of a phrasal expression, (5) writing conventions, and (6) arbitrariness. For example, under category (1) fall the following criteria: (i) Is the expression considered to be the usual name of a concept? (ii) Is it part of a system of contrasting terms? (iii) Does society give special status to the named entity, as being deeply embedded in customary behaviour or belief? (iv) Is the customary status codified in legal statutes? (v) Is the expression a speech act formula, a standard way of performing a particular communicative act? and (vi) Does a multiword expression have a standard acronym?

It seems that the view that lexicalisation of multi-word expressions is a matter of degree is one of the pillars of construction grammar, as developed (in more than one variety), for example, by Charles Fillmore, Paul Kay (Fillmore et al, 1988), and Adele Goldberg. Thus, Goldberg (1995: 4) contrasts the traditional 'componential' or 'modular' model of grammar, which posits a strict distinction between syntax and lexicon with a 'construction-based' approach, which posits a syntax-lexicon continuum. In construction grammar the primary organisational unit of language is the construction, a syntactic template paired with conventional semantic and pragmatic content. The syntactic construction itself, as well as its parts, contributes to its meaning, for example, the ditransitive schema [S V IO DO], as in 'John gave Mary an apple' expresses the meaning 'X causes Y to receive Z'. The grammar of a language is made up of families of constructions. The lexical content of some constructions can be more or less fixed.

However, construction grammarians have been chiefly concerned with theoretical issues to do with the formal and semantic properties of constructions rather than with the implications of their models for the business of dictionary-making. It has fallen to lexicographers compiling phrasal dictionaries to face up to the practical issues. Among English dictionaries, Cowie and Mackin (1975) and Cowie, Mackin and McCaig (1983) were pioneering works in this domain. I will return to these matters in 6.4.

6.2 The structural types of headwords

We turn now to an account of the structural types of headwords that appear in the Kiriwina dictionary. These include monomorphemic lexemes and stem-plus-affix types, compound words and multiword (phrasal) lexemes. In addition there are dictionary entries where the headword is a fixed expression that is sentence-sized, e.g. a saying or speech formula, and which is problematic to describe as a lexeme.

It is taken as axiomatic that all monomorphemic forms, whether affixes and clitics, bound stems or free-standing forms, qualify as headwords in the Kiriwina dictionary. In practice there is one major exception; proper names, which can only have the definition 'personal name belonging to someone' or 'name of a place (region, island, village, etc)', are generally not included.

The concern of the rest of this chapter is chiefly with two major categories of lexical units. The first of these comprises phonological words that are morphologically complex, including compounds. The second group is made up of phrasal lexemes, fixed multiword expressions comprising a grammatical phrase or single clause. Multimorphemic lexemes are examined in 6.3, and phrasal lexemes in 6.4 and 6.5. In addition the place in a dictionary of fixed expressions larger than a single clause will be considered in 6.6.

6.3 Multimorphemic lexemes

6.3.1 Two main types

Multimorphemic words are of two main structural types. One type consists of a stem plus one or more affixes. The affixes can be derivational (i.e. class-changing or meaning-changing) or they can be inflected affixes in cases where the combination of stem plus affix exhibits an irregularity of form.

The other type is compound words. Compounds consist of two words each of which can occur alone as a phonological word.

It is important to note that not all possible multi-morphemic words are lexemes. Many words can be generated by grammatical rules but have never been uttered. Many words occur as nonce forms, but lack the status of being conventional expressions, i.e. it is not the case that the form is a standard name for a standard concept. An example is the phonological word **bigisivauwaim**, made up of:

B-	**i-**	**gisi-**	**vau-**	**wai-**	**m.**
mood-3sg-		see-	again-junction-		2sg

He will see you again.

This constitutes a bundle made up of five lexemes: a verb root **-gisi** plus subject affix (**i-gisi** 'he sees (someone)'), and three other affixes (**b-, -vau** and **-m**), plus a morphophonemic junction syllable **-wai**. See grammar sketch 3.4 for further detail on the verb as a single phonological word.

A multimorphemic form can be regarded as a lexeme if it (1) is an idiom, i.e. has a meaning which cannot be deduced from the collective meanings of its parts, or (2) it is well-formed but has the status of a conventional expression.

Examples of well-formed multimorphemic expressions that are lexicalised in Kiriwina can be seen in compounds that contain the prefix **toli-** 'owner of or authority for sthg.' plus a modifying noun. Some common usages that name accepted social roles are **toli-waga** 'owner or captain of vessel', **toli-baku** 'authority for village centre', **toli-bwala** 'house owner', **toli-bulukwa** 'pig owner'. But this prefix is used as a general indicator of ownership or authority in only about ten words. Other possible compounds like ***toli-gwadi** 'one with authority over a child', ***toli-yagila** 'one with authority over the wind' or ***toli-wota** 'owner of fishing-net', while grammatically well-formed, do not have lexeme status, as they are not common usages.

6.3.2 Derived words

Derived words are formed from a base form with a derivational affix, which changes the class (or subclass) and meaning of the word, as *fight* > *fight-er, fight-able; man* > *man-ly, man-like, man-liness*. In derivations the main component of meaning resides in the base form, and it is the base form

that serves as the primary headword and determines the position of entries for derived forms in the dictionary. The derived forms are then marked with their new word class and the derivational affix is also defined, showing how it modifies the meaning of the base form. The base form may be a single morpheme, or may itself be a derived form. A single base form may occur with a number of derivational affixes yielding a family of derived forms. Lexical families are a feature of the Kiriwina dictionary, where any base form as headword is followed by all lexical units using that base form in derived forms (such as those shown here), compounds, or phrasal lexemes. Some Kiriwina examples of families of derived forms are set out here, in each case with the base form given first.

The headword **-karaiwaga** 'to have authority' is a frequent verbal lexeme, in a society where the social order is dominated by an hereditary chiefly system, and under a high-ranking chief there are several grades of lesser authority, with a number of conventions which express authority or define areas of authority. (One of my chief difficulties, when I began working in Kiriwina, was in relation to this concept of authority[2].)

The concept of authority is expressed by the derived noun formed from the verb root **-karaiwaga** plus the obligatory absence of a subject marker. Many derived nouns are produced by this use of the verb root form, by which the verbal action is nominalised.

-karaiwaga (vb 3) 'to rule, to have authority'

> **karaiwaga** (n) (derived noun formed from verb root plus obligatory absence of a subject prefix) rule, authority;
>
> **to-karaiwaga** (n) (cl.person + derived noun) authoritarian, official;
>
> **kabo-karaiwaga** (n) (prefix 'item for [sthg]' + derived noun) a kingdom, a territory ruled by an authority.

The base form **gwadi** 'immature human' when used in derived forms has a wider scope beyond human reference to refer also to immature non-human categories, as seen in three of the examples of derived forms listed below:

---

[2] My Kiriwina staff wanted to be ruled, to be told what to do. While I was trying to build up leaders who thought independently or acted on their own initiative, I was often confronted with, "Sir, **you** rule!" But I was not looking for obedience – I wanted independent thought and personal initiative.

gwadi (n) immature human, child

ila-gwadi (n) (adj. human female + **gwadi**) youngest female member of a human family group

mola-gwadi (n) (adj human male + **gwadi**) youngest male member of a human family group

na-gwadi (n) (cl.animal + **gwadi**) immature animal, as puppy, chick

bulo.gwadi (n **bulukwa** domestic animal + **gwadi**) youngest of a litter of animals

mai.gwadi (n) (**-mai** vb 'to arrive' + **gwadi**) any one of the clutch of fledglings or litter of animals (whether newly-born or already fledged etc.) Pl **m.maigwadi** (collective n) the litter

-visaiki (vb) 'to measure, compare, (also found as **-vasaki**)

kabo-visaiki (n) (**kabo** 'instrument for' + **visaiki**)

1. a ruler, measuring tool
2. anything used as a comparison or example of sthg

biga-visaiki (n) (**biga** 'word' + **-visaiki**)

(Also found as **biga-la visaiki** its=word a.comparison)

1. a parable
2. sthg spoken which illustrates a truth

ka-vasaki (vb) **(kawau** 'to call out' + **-visaiki**)

1. to act a part in a play
2. to mock or publicly deride

Similarly derived nouns are formed from adjectives which are marked with the clitic for intimate personal possession (i.poss; see 3.6.3.2). Usually the 3sg form of the clitic is used. This derivation, more like a phrase than a single word, as the presence of the clitic is needed to mark the change of word class from adjective to noun, produces nouns that equate to English nouns derived with *-ness,* as *badness, goodness,* etc. For example:

-veka (adj1) big

kala=kwai-veka (i.poss + der. n) its bigness, its (great) size

-kekita (adj1) small

kala=kwe-kekita (i.poss + der.n) its smallness

gaga (adj3) bad

kala=gaga (i.poss + der.n) his/its badness, its evil

bwaina (adj3) good

kala=bwaina (i.poss + der.n) his/its goodness

6.3.3 Compound words

Compounds are usually formed from two free morphemes which make a new form-meaning pair in which the parts from which the form is made contribute more or less equally to the new meaning. Only those compound forms which the speech community uses regularly may be ascribed the status of lexical units. The highest number of compound forms are the verbs which are now summarised.

Two major groups of compound verbs are distinguished:

a) those formed from two verbs, the first of which is an elided verb form; these are called 'Verb adjunct compound verbs'.

b) those formed from two different parts of speech, which are grouped under the heading 'Other forms of compound verbs'.

Within each of these groups some other verbs are noted which pattern a little differently. The process of compounding is seen in this account of the types of Kiriwina compound verbs which follows.

6.3.3.1 Verb adjunct compound verbs

Verbs classed as 'verb adjunct compounds' are formed from two constituents, where the first is a verb root, usually in an elided form, which is termed a verb adjunct (abbreviated as **vac**), followed by a second which is a verb root in its full form. The verb adjunct component functions like a mode word in a verb phrase, stating something about the way or purpose or means by which the action of the verb has been effected. Verb adjuncts are essentially combining forms, where the meaning of the initial part is a constant in all compounds which use it. However, these compound forms have meanings which are not totally predictable from the meanings of their parts, and all verb adjunct compounds are lexicalised and show the range of senses which the speech community accords to each.

Many of these compounds have a semantic composition like that seen in derived verbs (see 6.3.2 above, where some forms use a first constituent other than a verb), but the consistent verbal origin of the first constituent establishes them as a verb adjunct compound.

In dictionary entries for verb adjunct compounds, the last stem constituent usually serves as the primary headword. The first constituent is entered as the headword for a combining entry, which identifies its constant meaning input into a number of compound forms, and then lists the compound forms which use that combining form as its first constituent.

i) The first constituent of verb adjunct compounds

The first constituent, usually formed from a verb root,[3] may specify the position of the actor's body for the performance of the verb action, or the association of a part of his body in this action. A few examples of verb adjunct components follow:

-to-⁵ (from **-totu** 'to stand') do by or while standing
-si-¹ (from **-sili** 'to sit') do by or while sitting
-si-² (from **-sisu** 'to stay') do by or while staying there
-kana- (from **-kenu** 'to lie down') do by or while lying down
-katu- (from **-katubaiasa** 'to prepare') cause sthg to happen
-lo- (from **-loula** 'to walk, journey') do while walking/journeying
-gi- (from **-gibu** 'to poke delicately') do using fingers delicately
-ka-² (from **-kavi** 'to bite hard') do by biting sthg
-va-³ (from **-vala** 'to foot-search') do using the foot

These are examples from a total of more than a hundred different verb adjunct forms. Others may specify the vigour of the verbal action, or give a directional component of the action, or specify the means used to effect the action, etc. Some compounds even employ two verb adjunct components, an example of which is given below. As an indication of the number of compound forms using an initial verb adjunct component, the dictionary lexicalises 110 verbs using **-to-⁵**, 82 verbs using **-kana-**, 29 verbs using **-ka-²**, and 27 using **-va-³**.

---

[3] Nouns are also used – see **mata(la)** and **nano(la)** in examples below. The suggestion that, in view of the predominance of verb roots as first constituent, may be an obsolete verb ***–mata** 'to watch' cannot be sustained, as a large number of verbs using **–mata-** 'do using eyes' is found. My dictionary lists over fifty examples.

ii) The second constituent of verb adjunct compounds

About 200 verb stems recorded in the dictionary are used as the second constituent of verb adjunct compounds. Most of them have the status of simple verb roots (although about 15 occur synchronically only as the second constituent of compound forms). Some examples are given here of the simple verb roots used as second constituent, together with some of the compounds in which they are employed.

-bau (vb 1) to act efficiently, do sthg to great personal advantage

-si.bau (from **-sili** 'to sit' **+ -bau**)

1. to sit in a good position (so as to be comfortable)
2. to sit so as to see better than others

-bini.bau (from **-bani-** 'to find' + **-bau**)

to seek or find sthg efficiently or effectively

-ka.bau (from **-ka-**[1] derived from -**kawau** 'to call out' + **-bau**)

1. to speak clearly, say sthg plainly
2. to say sthg firmly and loudly so all can hear it

-kanu.bau (from **-kenu** 'to lie down' **+ -bau**)

1. to be lying in a good position (inanimate item well-displayed)
2. to be comfortable (personal reference)

-pela 'to cross' (intransitive)

-katu.peili (from **-katu** 'to cause sthg' + transitive form of **-pela**)

1. to cause offence to s.o
2. to cause harm to self

-ka.pela (from -**kawau** 'to call out' + **-pela**)

1. to change the subject (in conversation)
2. to speak of something different

-va.pela (from **-vala** 'to foot-push' + **-pela**)

to wade across; to cross between two points by walking

-vila[1] 'to turn, revolve'

-kanu.vila (from **-kenu-** 'to lie down' + **-vila**[1])

1. (subj person) to turn over (as while lying in bed)
2. (subj inanimate item) to turn end-for-end

-to.vila (from **-toli** 'to stand' **+ -vila[1])**

1. (subj person) to turn around while in a standing position
2. (subject wind) to change direction
3. (subject the sun) to begin descending, move towards afternoon

-yo.vila (from **-yova** 'to do gently' + **-vila**[1])

1. to turn aside, hesitate
2. to choose another way

Those verbs which use body position as a component of meaning usually refer to the actor's physical state of standing, seated, recumbent, walking, etc. But sometimes the position component is used to refer to an inanimate object; **-tovila** may refer to the actor's turning while standing, or to an object placed in an upright position which is rotated. Such meanings are dependent on their use for this purpose, and are not an automatic feature of the verb adjuncts' use in speech. Another feature of meaning identification for these compounds is that it is sometimes inappropriate to ascribe headword status only to the second component. For example a comprehensive range of compounds shown below associated with **-vila** 'to.turn' includes several forms (marked with an asterisk) which show their primary meaning in the first component. The source for each verb adjunct is shown first in each example:

-kenu (vb 2) to lie down

-kanu.vila to turn over while lying down (subj human)

-katubaiasa (vb 3) to prepare

-katu.vila (intrans) to turn upside down

-katu.vili (trans) to turn sthg or s.o over (or around)

kawau (vb 4) to call out

*** -ka.vili** to turn and rebuke s.o

-kakaya (vb 2) to swim

*** -kaya.vila** to return swimming, to swim back

-kivi (vb 4) to twist open (a turning hand gesture)

-ki.vila (intrans) to turn using hands

-ki.vili (trans) 1. to turn sthg around, turn it end for end

2. to translate sthg

-kau (vb 4) to take, secure sthg

*** -ko.vila** to speak in jest, speak with no regard for truth

mata(la) (n) (his) eyes

*** -mita.vila** 1. to look around (turning head)
2. to turn face away

nano(la) (n) (his) mind

*** -nina.vila** 1. to think back, recollect, change his mind
2. to come to his senses, have a new view

-sili (vb 3) to sit

-si.vila 1. to turn while in sitting position
2. to repent, change his mind

-toli (vb 2) to stand

-to.vila 1. to turn around while standing, to about-turn
2. to change direction (wind)
3. to begin to set (sun in afternoon)

-vala (vb 3) to foot-push

*** -va.vila** (intrans) to go around another way

*** -va.vili** (trans) to go and visit s.o

-wa (vb 4) to leave

-wo.vila (intrans) 1. to turn aside
2. to fork (road divides)

-wo.vili (trans) to go around sthg

-yova (vb 3) to do gently

-yo.vila to turn aside, turn away

Most of these listed forms are developments of turning in some way, the first component specifying how the turning is effected. But the marked forms show their primary meaning in the first component, with the turning component acting on or modifying the first (rebuking, turning to do it; swimming back; speaking casually, with the turning component an idiom for 'changing the subject'; looking, head turning to do it; recollecting, again with turning an idiom for turning back to the past; walking about; visiting which involves turning aside from intended way). However, the meanings of the majority of

these compounds are based on the second component, and this is true for the verb adjunct compounds in general. Thus the second component is usually made the headword.

Some of these compounds are polysemous, as they may have both a literal meaning and an idiomatic meaning attached to them by the speech community. A literal translation for each form would be possible as a gloss (lie.down-turn; cause-turn; speak-turn; swim-turn etc) but such would not be sufficient as a translation equivalent in the dictionary when the idiomatic sense is the primary meaning which conventional usage accords to some compounds.

Some compound verbs of this type are found with a pair of two verb adjuncts as their first component. An example detailed here is the form **-ka.su.yúmila**, 'to regurgitate', the parts of which are:

-yúmila (vb 3 intrans) to return
-su- elided form of **-suvi** to enter
-ka-[3] elided form of **-kam** to eat

The transitive form **-ka.su.yumali** 'to vomit something' is also found as the variant form **-ka.suvi.mali**, where the verb root **-suvi** 'enter' is used in full, with **-mali** as an elided form of the transitive **-yumali** 'to return sthg'. The verb, literally glossed 'eat-swallow-return' as it states a process of three successive acts which are correlated. A cultural note attached to the verb **-kasuyúmila** states the practise of poisoning which takes place when someone has offended against a high-ranking chief leading to a poisoning punishment. A high-ranking **Tabalu** family member explained to me that it was possible to detect some poisons immediately after swallowing, and if regurgitation could be immediately effected then the possibility of survival was high. The act of regurgitation and recipes for emetics both have a high place in chiefly lore.

6.3.3.2 Other types of compound verbs

While verb adjunct compounds have a consistent grammatical formation, consisting of a verb adjunct (usually formed from an elided verb root) plus a verb root as headword, other types of compounds are formed by

combining two lexical units in different ways. Each type of compound is described below; however, none of these other types forms a large group comparable to the group of verb adjunct compounds. Usually one component is identifiable as the compound's headword, but in some the semantic content of both components contributes equally to the compound's meaning, and for these it is necessary to enter that compound form twice in the dictionary.

Five of these other types of compound verbs are identified here, with examples:

i) Two full verb roots combine as a compound form

-biga.sola (from **-biga** 'to speak' and **-sola** 'to witness (an event)'
a) to tell what you have seen
b) to be a witness at court hearing

-kam.koni (from **-kam** 'to eat' and **-koni** 'to try')
to taste sthg

-sili.bodi (from **-sili** 'to sit down' and **-bodi** 'to prevent')
to prevent by sitting in the way, to hinder sthg by sitting there

-sipu.kikiti (from **-sipu** 'to lash sthg' and **-kikita** 'to be firm, tight')
to lash sthg firmly

One of this type of compound verbs is formed from a full verb adjunct compound as its first component, This example of a verb adjunct compound verb stem plus a simple verb root forming a compound follows:

-ta.pela.yayai (from verb adjunct compound **-ta-pela** (**-ta-**[5] 'travel in canoe paddled' + **-pela** to cross over) + **-yayai** 'to use all of sthg'
a) to convey everything across (in paddled canoe)
b) to make a clean sweep (of plunder in war)

ii) One verb root plus a noun or a modifier, as in:

a) a verb plus a noun:

-bigi.tomoya (from **-biga** 'to speak' + **tomoya** 'elder person')
1. to speak with authority like an elder
2. to speak like old people, use archaic words (second component for this form usually pl **tommoya** 'old people')

-tama.pola (from **-tama** 'to assent' + **pola** 'eyebrows')
to signal agreement by raising eyebrows

-keli.sasa (from **-keli** 'to dig' + **sasa** 'ditch, gap')
to dig a trench, to ditch-dig

b) a verb plus some other stem constituent:

-vili.mgógula (from **-vila⁴** to share out, and ***mgógula,** which is only found as a constituent in compound forms, but is synchronically present in morphologically related forms, as the classifier **-guli** 'heap' or emphatic clitic **goli** 'very much')
1. to make heaps (yams or fish) for ritual distribution
2. (subj items) to heap up sthg (as **buwa** 'betelnut', **dakuna** 'stones')
(The transitive form **–vili.mgugoli** is also used.)

-tom.gwaga (from **-tom** 'to stand there' + **-gaga** (adv) 'very much')
to triumph, win (a battle or contest)

c) A verb adjunct plus noun or noun phrase

-katu.wakeda (from **-katu-** 'to cause sthg' + noun phrase **wa=keda** 'on the track')
to prepare for or begin a journey

-dou.kulaga (from **-dou²** 'call out' + **ku-laga** vb with subject marker 'you hear'. This second constituent is a verb but is nominating the type of call - 'call for attention')
to shout out for attention

-ko.guguli (from **kabi** 'do sthg deliberately' + **gugula** 'a heap')
to make a heap (for ritual distribution)

d) A classifier plus a verb

-ya.ula (from cl.**-ya-** 'cl.thin/flexible' plus **-ula** 'to revolve, go around')
1. to spin string (effected by rolling strands of thread on thigh)
2. to join string (fibres separated then rolled together)

-pila.kavati (from **pila** 'cl.part' + -**kavata** 'to attach')
to part-attach sthg (a temporary fix)

e) A derived noun verbalised

This may possibly be a subtype of type 4 above.

-tokaraiwaga (from **-karaiwaga** 'to rule' which becomes a derived noun **tokaraiwaga** 'person with authority'; this is then verbalised)
1. to act with authority (of any person)
2. to be put in charge (of project)

6.3.3.3 Some general comments

A few general comments about these other types of compound verbs are in order. In all cases there are only two constituents, even though one constituent may originally have been a compound form. When either constituent was originally a class 3 verb (which has different stem forms for intransitive and transitive function) the resultant compound form is also found as a class 3 verb with two stem forms, with the transitive stems generally predominating. Usually the second constituent is identified as headword for all compound forms. An exception is the compound form **-tavikoli** (from **-teya** 'to cut' and **-koli** 'to try') the first component is clearly the headword for the compound gloss 'to cut (timber) and then try (it)', used of timber that is first cut then trialled in construction. Simple verb roots are the most frequent parts of speech amongst the morphemes used for these verbs, although it is noteworthy that other parts of speech (nouns, phrases, adjectives, classifiers) are employed as the first or second component. This is

not to suggest that the formations of these compounds are nonce forms; they are conventional lexical units rich in meanings that have cultural significance.

The compound **-tapelayayai** listed above illustrates this. The word itself is an old battle term associated with the patterns of war and pillage between island communities, although in contemporary translated texts it is used to refer to different cultures and environments. It is a class 3 compound, and occurs in the following forms:

> **-ta.pela.yayai** (intransitive, lit. to travel paddling-cross.over-all.taken) 'to raid (by canoe) and utterly despoil'
>
> Two transitive forms occur:
>
> **-tapeili.yayai** 'to cross paddling (with all booty loaded)'
> **-tapeili.iyai** 'to load all booty and cross over paddling'
>
> The morphemes included are **-tapela** (vb 3 intrans) (from **-ta-**[5] 'travel in vessel propelled by paddles' and **-pela** 'to cross over' (as between islands); transitive form **-tapeili** 'to convey sthg across' (as between islands).
>
> **-yayai** (vb 3 intransitive) 'to use up totally, to take all'. Transitive form **-iyai** 'use all of sthg'. (There is also a possible connection with the verb **-yayali** (trans **-iyali**) 'to be heaped up randomly' in the manner of battle plunder seized and taken in a hurry.)

A transitive form of the first component is used in both examples, while the second component is shown with first an intransitive, then a transitive form. The literal gloss depends on which form of the verb shows the transitive form highlighting the active component in a battle. When the intransitive **-yayai** is used, the paddled escape (with booty) is foregrounded; but the use of transitive **-iyai** foregrounds the victor loading his canoes then departing.

Kiriwina translators have used this old battle term in describing and translating Old Testament accounts of pillaging armies, even though in such translations they use **-tapela** in reference not to loaded canoes being paddled but wagons stacked with spoil. One example of this is given from translated text:

Komwaidona	**wala**	**b-i-tapeili.iyai-si**	**b-i-lau-wai-si**
all	only	ir-3-carry.away.everything-pl	ir-3-take-j-pl

Babilonia	**e**	**gala**	**kesa.**
Babylonia	and	not	remnant

Everything will be carried off to Babylonia, nothing will be left. (Isaiah 39.6)

6.4 Phrasal idioms as lexemes

6.4.1 Introduction

For present purposes, a phrase can be defined as two or more phonological words that form a grammatical construction and which is not larger than a single clause. The question arises as to which phrasal expressions may be considered to be lexicalised in terms of the criteria listed in Pawley (1986) and so qualify for inclusion in a general dictionary.

Idiomatic command of a language depends on a mysterious process of selection, termed by Pawley and Syder 'nativelike selection', of ways of saying things which sound natural and acceptable, whereas other choices which are just as grammatical are rejected. They say,

> (N)ative speakers do not exercise the creative potential of syntactic rules to anything like their full extent, and ... indeed, if they did so they would not be accepted as exhibiting nativelike control of the language. The fact is that only a small proportion of the total set of grammatical sentences are nativelike in form – in the sense of being readily acceptable to native informants as ordinary, natural forms of expression, in contrast to expressions that are grammatical but are judged to be 'unidiomatic', 'odd', or 'foreignisms' (Pawley and Syder 1983: 193).

They suggest that part of the solution to this mystery is that native speakers learn a large body of more or less fixed expressions which have acquired preferential status in the speech community over other varieties that are paraphrases. There is a broad parallel with the theory of natural selection in biology, where certain individuals with advantageous features survive, while others drop out.

These favoured phrasal expressions may be more or less lexicalised in the sense of Pawley (1986, 1996). Anthony Cowie (1998) says,

> Lexicographers will need to draw on the expertise and research findings of phraseologists, both to identify categories of multiword units that we are only now coming to recognise and to do full justice to their meanings, written and spoken forms, and syntactic and pragmatic functions (Cowie 1998: 20).

For convenience of analysis, lexicalised phrasal expressions are divided here into two groups: phrasal idioms, and phrasal literal expressions. The phrasal expressions that have received most attention from lexicographers are those that are more or less idiomatic in their meanings. It is likely that most languages contain a large number of idiomatic phrases. The analysis of English phrasal units made by Cowie and his associates (Mackin and McCaig) in their production of *The Oxford dictionary of current idiomatic English (Vol 2 Phrase, clause and sentence idioms)* includes 7000 general idiomatic expressions. I now examine more closely these two types of phrasal expressions.

6.4.2 Phrasal idioms

Phrasal idioms are expressions whose literal meaning gives either no clue or only a partial clue to the meaning of the phrase.

6.4.2.1 Introduction

Cruse (1986) examines the multiword unit in expressions like *kick the bucket*, saying that

> an idiom is an expression whose meaning cannot be accounted for as a compositional function of the meanings its parts have when they are not parts of idioms (Cruse 1986: 37).

Cruse suggests that 'degrees of opacity' must be recognised in different idioms, some being semantically completely opaque, where the phrase is assigned meanings which bear no relation at all to the literal meanings of their parts. The degree of opacity diminishes, as the meanings of some of the words in the phrase give partial clues to the phrase's meaning. This view is similar to that expressed by Cowie (1998: 20). In his analysis of phrasal units Cowie sees idioms not as clear types but as "categories ... ranged along a scale or

continuum from unmotivated and formally invariable idioms to partially motivated and partially variable collocations" (Cowie 1998: 6). At the low (least idiomatic) end of the scale he places restricted collocations, calling them "the most fuzzy category" because collocations in this position showed the greatest degree of variability of form. He notes that in the composition of the *Oxford dictionary of current idiomatic English* vol 2,

> [the authors] drew on Russian phraseological theory ... (the dictionary) recognised and applied the framework of categories ... the tripartite scheme of categories called in my own work pure idioms, figurative idioms and restricted collocations (Cowie 1998: 221).

Here the same 'tripartite scheme of categories' has been used in an examination of Kiriwina idiomatic phrasal lexemes. In the following pages I give examples of the three phrase types that illustrate points within this continuum composed of pure idioms, figurative idioms and restricted collocations.[4] These are indicated by the abbreviations F1, F2 and RC respectively.

6.4.2.2 Pure idioms (F1)

Cruse's definition of 'idiom' given above properly fits pure idioms, i.e. expressions whose parts give no clue as to the meaning of the total phrase, as the meaning of *a red herring* 'a misleading clue' has no relation either to a fish or a colour. Likewise the words in the Kiriwina phrase **itapoi yamala** (lit. 'her hands droop') 'she is giving birth' do not mean hands hanging helplessly.

Another example is the name which is given to a rather nasty little fungus:

la=kaitukwa	**bogau**
3sg.poss=staff.of.authority	evil.spirit
lit. the malignant spirit's staff	
(Name of) a stinkhorn fungus	

A brief explanation is necessary even to make sense of the literal reading. One family line of chiefs possesses authority to walk into a battle and cause it to

[4] Cowie states that these terms and their use "provided the yardstick against which candidates for inclusion were assessed." (Cowie 1998, 221)

cease, brandishing the symbol of their authority, the **kaitukwa** 'ebony staff' usually used as a walking staff. The word **bogau** has a number of senses relating to malignant spirits, or to the sorcerers who call on them for evil purposes. The literal reading is of a spirit or a sorcerer bearing its (his) ebony staff, a symbol of power. The toadstool itself has no uses known to me or to anyone I have ever questioned, but the implication of malignancy in its name suggests foul uses. Its pungent aroma makes it easily found in the jungle.

Other examples of pure idioms in the Kiriwina language follow here, each given with both literal and idiomatic meanings. Pronominal components are a fixed feature of these expressions; a note is added if a plural form is acceptable.

digulela valu (lit. feather of the village) Refers to someone (or something) whose distinction is a cause for pride to entire village community.

baisa kam=kwatayaila (lit. this your shame!) I give you a reciprocal gift which totally eclipses the gift you gave me

kwaita sopa (lit. one falsehood) Spoken in admiration of an exciting new fact. The truth of the assertion is not being questioned.

manona agu=lewa (lit. that slap my due punishment) The man who will punish me

tutala eiyoyowa pali (lit. when the dragonflies are flying) It is getting dark (fading light early evening)[5]

ititalagila lopola (lit. she spills her belly) She has her period

itapoi yamala (lit. her hands hang down) She is in labour, will soon give birth. (The stative verb **-tapoi** is used in reference to any bodily posture adopted which suggests weariness, pain, sickness or supplication, coupled with words for knees or legs indicating a position adopted. The phrase quoted, coupled with hands, is used only of the onset of labour pains, possibly suggesting a feminine posture asking for assistance.)

[5] Compare the English 'at cockcrow' as an idiom for 'in the morning'.

isuvi kulula (lit. he thrusts in his head-hair) He advances (of one in a group engaged in war or organised fighting where a line of fighters advance together). A little like "He put his shoulder to the wheel".

If some 'pure idioms' contain a small semantic clue which hints at the meaning, this is a reminder that degrees of opacity may apply, as part of the continuum is moving towards the second type of phrase. While **itapoi yamala** gives no semantic indication of the phrase's meaning, **isuvi kulula** does suggest a bodily movement which is the essential direction of the action referred to, although a context would be needed to show the phrase's meaning as a battle idiom. When used of a group of fighters the plural form **isuvaisi kulusi** is used, so a partial component of meaning is evident in the use of the grammatically correct plural term. However in a general sense semantic opacity characterises this first group of phrases, pure idioms.

6.4.2.3 Figurative idioms (F2)

Moving further along the continuum there are Kiriwina phrases which include words which may suggest partially the phrase's meaning. One component, or perhaps some part of the phrase, shows the meaning or direction of the phrase, hinting at a meaning or application of the unit. Thus the phrase **si keda valulu** 'heavily-pregnant women's time to walk' is a temporal reference (about 9 a.m.) when it is now full daylight and a heavily-pregnant woman may walk about without danger of stumbling.

Other examples of figurative idioms follow:

baisa kala=lewa (lit. this his due beating) a fitting punishment for s.o (the punishment takes any form)

wowogu sopila (lit. my body's water) my seminal fluid (In conversation "body" is generally used as euphemism for sexual parts either of men or women. This is seen in next example also.)

wowola minana (lit. that woman's body) that woman's sexual organs (This may not be an idiom but a euphemism.)

bwaina bogi (lit. good night) an evening greeting or farewell; however its word order is foreign, i.e. English word order; a pragmatic or formal greeting

ibudi kaula (lit. he readies [sets up] food) He gets poisoned food ready (an initial step to be followed by other acts).

kukwam koula (lit. you eat mourning paint) Paint your body black for mourning. (This idiom is used at a time close to death, when a close relative is advised he must now use a particular body paint symbolising mourning.)

Ibubusi bwala. (lit. The house is falling) The roof leaks (only water is falling)

6.4.2.4 Restricted collocations

The third group of idioms comprises restricted collocations (RCs). These vary in two important respects from pure idioms and figurative idioms. First, RCs are closer to literal expressions. Broadly, they are expressions where at least one component has a sense that it only has when combined with a partner, the collocate. Secondly, the RCs show a greater degree of variation in their wording, as when various elements (not just one component) are admissible as alternate forms of the collocate. However, this scale of variation opens the class of restricted collocations very wide, and Cowie discusses this difficulty in relation to the *Oxford dictionary of current idiomatic English*, stating that limits needed to be set on the degree of "limited collocability" that determined which restricted collocations are to be included in the dictionary. He observes that "only those items were included which were entirely invariable (e.g. *break one's journey, curry favour*) or which displayed limited collocability (e.g. *a chequered career/history, do the necessary/needful*)" (Cowie 1998: 221).

The class of restricted collocations is by far the largest number of phrase types within the continuum of idioms, and its edges are blurred, as many phrases have claims to membership in varying degrees. So many words demonstrate admissible restrictions on collocations that it would be impractical to try to list all such phrases of this type in the dictionary.

In the Kiriwina dictionary I have only chosen those restricted collocations as headwords which limit their admissible variable collocates to four or five forms. Some examples follow, with both literal and idiomatic meanings given.

i) The verb *-mata* 'to die' in restricted collocations

The verb **-mata** 'to die' is used in restricted collocations with different body part terms as collocates, using sensations in a named body part idiomatically, as shown here:

With **lopo-la** 'his belly' as collocate:

i-mata **lopo-la**
3sg-to die belly-his
lit. his belly dies
He is weak with hunger.

With **kabulu-la** 'his nose' as collocate:

i-mata **kabulu-la**
3sg-to die nose-his
lit. his nose dies
This RC has two idiomatic senses:
1. He has fainted (i.e. he has lost all sensation; close to literal truth)
2. His fury has made him unaware of his surroundings
(The nose appears in a number of phrases connected with fury, loss of control, etc, and is closely observed when someone is very angry.)

With **nano-la** 'his mind' as collocate:

i-mata **nano-la**
3sg-to die mind-his
lit. his mind dies
He is so surprised that he is incapable of speech, 'struck dumb'
The collocate **daba-la** 'his head' is used here synonymously.

With **taiga-la** 'his ear' as collocate:

i-mata **taiga-la**
3sg-to die ears-his
lit. his ears die
He is sick of hearing about that.
The collocate **mata-la** 'his eyes' has a similar use, i.e. 'sick of seeing that (behaviour)'.

ii) The verb *-kusa* 'be too short' in restricted collocations

The verb **-kusa** 'to be too short (for some use)' has a literal sense which may refer to a post not suitable for use; the verb is used as an idiom in restricted collocations with different body part terms as collocates, as shown in examples:

With **kaike-la** 'his feet' as collocate:

i-kusa kaike-la
3sg-to be too short legs-his
lit. his legs are too short
1. He refuses to stop someone (by not obstructing way with feet).
The collocates **yama-la** 'his arms'**, wowo-la** 'his body' or **wodo-la** 'his mouth' are used to give a similar sense.
2. He is too lazy to go and help someone (with **yama-la** 'to reach out and help someone'; with **wodo-la** 'to speak out on someone's behalf'; with **wowo-la** 'do sthg physical to help someone'.)

With **mata-la** 'his eyes' as collocate:

i-kusa **mata-la**
3sg-to be too short eyes-his
lit. his eyes are too short
He refuses to see something (which is in plain view).
With **kabulu-la** 'his nose' or **taiga-la** 'his ears' as collocates a similar sense of refusing to acknowledge a stench or to hear a disturbing noise is found.

With **nano-la** 'his mind' as collocate:

i-kusa	**nano-la**
3sg-to be too short	mind-his

lit. it is too short his mind

He refuses to think about sthg any longer.

With **daba-la** 'his head' as collocate a synonymous sense is shown.

iii) The SVC *-siuli -sipatu* 'to mark, surround' in restricted collocations

The two verbs **-uli** 'to be alongside' and **-patu** 'to block' are used in a serial verb construction as a restricted collocation with the sense 'to surround'. In this RC use the verbs are verb adjunct compounds, the verb adjunct prefixes used for each SVC specifying the physical mode of action, as in:

-si.uli –si.patu to surround sitting

Plural form **i-si.ul-ai-si i-si.pat-ai-si** they sat surrounding

-to.uli –to.patu to surround standing

Plural form **i-to.ul-ai-si i-to.pat-ai-si** they stood surrounding

-va.uli –va.patu to surround going along (or walking)

Plural form **i-va.ul-ai-si i-va.pat-ai-si** they walked surrounding

-kanu.uli –kanu.patu to surround recumbent (i.e lying hidden)

Plural form **i-kanu.ul-ai-si i-kanu.pat-ai-si** they lay surrounding

When marked with singular subject this RC states the placing of a boundary:

Kalitutila	**i-va.uli**	**i-va.patu**	**bagula.**
boundary	3sg-go-alongside	3sg-go-block	garden

The boundary line goes around (marks the edge of) the garden.

When marked with plural subject they describe the warlike action of surrounding and containing an enemy force, as in:

To-kabilia	**i-to.ul-ai-si**	**i-to.pat-ai-si**
cl.person-soldier	3-stand-be alongside-j-pl	3-stand-block-j-pl

kasi=tilaula.
3pl.poss=enemy
The soldiers surrounded their enemies.

It could be said that each of these collocates is literally true, but the restricted nature of each is that a serial verb construction is required to describe either the setting of a boundary line (which must be singular) or a group action in war against an enemy force (which must be plural).

iv) The verb *-geda* 'to bite' in restricted collocations

The intrans verb **-geda** 'to bite (subj animal)' is a class 3 verb, occurring in reduplicated form as **-gida.geda** 'biting', transitive form **-gadi**, redupl **-gi.gadi** 'biting s.o.' All of these forms occur as components of restricted collocations, where the bite of an animal is an idiom for bodily pain, or for ferocity (or eagerness) in behaviour for example:

i-geda	**kala=laiya**
it-bites	3sg.poss=anger

lit. His anger bites
He behaves furiously.

i-gida.geda	**biga**
3sg-biting	words

lit. The words are biting
furious speech

Avaka	**i-gida.geda**	**biga?**
what	3sg-biting	words

lit. What it is biting words?
What is he talking about so eagerly?

matala	**gida.geda**
front	biting

a well-trained soldier, savage fighter

i-gi.gadi **b-i-kaloubusi**
3sg-biting ir-3sg-give birth
lit. it is biting she will give birth
Her labour pains are fierce, soon she will give birth.

i-gida.geda **kudu-gu**
3sg-biting teeth-my
lit. My teeth it-biting (aching)
My teeth are aching furiously.

i-gida-ki **litu-la**
3sg-bite-to children-his
lit. He bites to his children
He brings suffering on his children.

v) The verb *-kam* 'to eat' in restricted collocations

The transitive form **-koma** 'to eat (something)' is used as an idiom for making a humble request to a superior for their assistance.

A-koma **lopo-m.**
1sg-to.eat belly-2sg.poss
lit. 'I eat your belly'
Please respond to me.

A-koma **pwa-m.**
1sg-to.eat excreta-2sg.poss
lit. 'I eat your excreta'
Oh, please respond to me (an abject more intense plea)

These formulas are idioms which serve as speech formulas for humble requests. In a speech sequence, the boundaries of these two speech formulas are clearly marked with intonation pauses. Semantically they are equivalent to 'I beg you' or 'I humbly beseech you', and are associated with a supplicant debasing himself before someone who may be able to help him. The ordering of the components in the phrases is rigid, and I have only encountered them with the inflecting affixes shown.

6.4.2.5 Clausal emotive idioms

A large group of clause-sized conventional expressions uses reference to the body, body parts, or human condition as idioms for various emotions. These are a subclass of restricted collocations; some of the RC examples given above belong in this group.[6]

These 'clausal emotive' constructions are like exclamations in that they usually stand alone, and rarely occur as a component within a larger sentence. They number in excess of four hundred, and follow a consistent grammatical pattern, which is described in the next paragraph. They were shared with me by a group of older men over a period of some years, who showed me how their language functioned to describe emotions. Body part terms used include the body, head, nose, ear, eye, forehead, foot, hand, belly, face, mouth, buttocks (or excrement), and also the mind and the human spirit.

i) Rigid grammatical structure

The grammatical structure of these constructions is rigid; the rigidity may be summarised by the following three points, using one example throughout:

First, the verb is a class 1 stative, and order of components is always VS.

I-yowa **lopo-la.**
3sg-fly belly-3sg.poss
lit. His belly flew
He was startled.

Second, the verb subject marker is always only 3rd p sg, regardless of person and number components.

Third, person and number are shown in the body part's possessive suffix, for example:

[6] See also Senft (1998), especially pp 76–90. He suggests that this idiomatic use of body part terms happens "probably in all languages" (p 76).

I-yowa **lopo-gu.**
3sg-fly belly-1sg.poss
lit. My belly flew
I was startled.

I-yowa **lupo-daisi.**
3sg-fly belly-1inpl.poss
lit. Our bellies flew
We were startled.

An additional feature of this construction is that the verb in the sentence operates as a verb in all respects except that it is limited to 3rd p sg subject marker; it may be marked for mood and may also occur in a reduplicated form, so that **i-yowa** 'it flew' may occur in the form **b-i-yoyowa** 'it will be flying'. Sometimes the sentence may occur with the verb replaced by a derived nominalised form of the verb, and the body part may occur as a class 1 noun which cannot show either number or possession, so that the sentence may occur as:

Saina **yowa** **lula.**
very flight belly
What a startling thing!

Some examples of this one form **iyowa lopola** are shown here with literal readings and with the idiomatic sense:

I-yowa **lopo-gu.**
3sg.-to.fly belly-1sg.poss
lit. It flew my belly
I was startled.

I-yo.yowa **lupo-si.**
3sg.to.be.flying belly-3pl.poss
lit. It is flying their bellies
They are being startled (now).

Saina **yowa** **lula.**
very flight belly
lit. Very flight belly
There was a great surprise.

Bogwa **b-i-yowa** **lupo-mi.**
already ir-3sg-to.fly belly-2pl.poss
lit. Already it-will-fly your bellies
You will (soon) be startled.

ii) Examples of consistent structure

Further examples of emotive constructions follow, in which the body part terms are marked for different forms of possession, and the verb is marked consistently with singular subject prefix.

I-bwaina **lopo-la.**
3sg-good belly-3sg.poss
lit. It is good his belly
He has "cooled down" (after being angry).

E-i-kasai **wowo-la.**
rl-3sg-be.hard body-3sg.poss
lit. It was hard his body
He has had a fruitless quest.
(comment after an unsuccessful trading trip)

I-kubu.kubu **nano-la.**
3sg-be.hurting mind-3sg.poss
lit. It is hurting his mind
He feels threatened by danger.

I-mama **mita-daisi.**
3sg-be.weak eye-1inclpl.poss
lit. It is weak our eyes
We are tired out (as from study).

B-i-tagam **lula.**
ir-3sg-relaxed belly
lit. It will be relaxed belly
People will be content. (or) There will be quietness.

I-tubwau **popu-la.**
3sg-be.weary buttocks-3sg.poss
lit. It is tired his buttocks
He is sick and tired of staying there.

I-kusa **kabulu-la.**
3sg-be.short nose-3sg.poss
lit. His nose is short
He refuses to acknowledge a stink.

E-i-kai **wowo-gu.**
rl-3sg-worry body-1sg.poss
lit. It was distracted my body
I was worried, distracted by many things.

I-taboda **mita-si.**
3sg-be.closed eye-3pl.poss
lit. It is closed their eyes
They refuse to see (turn a blind eye to) events.

I-mwasila **migi-la.**
3sg-be.serene face-3sg.poss
lit. It is calm/relaxed his face
He is confident (in arguments or battle).

I-tagam **nano-m**.
3sg-be.cheerful mind-2sg.poss
lit. It is relaxed your mind
You are content (after receiving sthg.)

I-yuviyavi **nina-daisi.**
3sg-be.hot mind-2inclpl.poss
lit. It is hot our minds.
We are very keen to get something. (or) We are zealous.

iii) Canonical form in dictionary entries

Clausal emotive constructions are entered in the dictionary in the canonical form of the body part with 3sg possessive suffix, but with citations showing a range of possessive suffixes. Each of these constructions must be entered under two headwords:

a) first, with the body part as headword, to show the particular emotive relationships made for that body part.

b) second, with the stative verb as headword, to show the variety of emotions which the sense spectrum of that verb is understood to include.

6.5 Multi-word conventional expressions that are not idioms

6.5.1 Introduction

We turn now to a class of expressions for which there is no universally accepted name. It consists of those multi-word conventional expressions that are not idioms, that is to say, which are grammatically and semantically well-formed. The most suitable short name for this class is probably 'speech formula'. However, 'speech formula' is not entirely satisfactory for this purpose because, as well as conventional literal multi-word expressions, it also includes idioms and certain single word expressions. A speech formula is a tried and true way of saying something, e.g. performing a particular kind of speech act, such as greeting, well-wishing, farewelling, apologising, asking a favour, making a complaint, ending a letter or a speech or a prayer, telling the time. Some examples of speech formulas from English are: *How are you? I'm pleased to meet you. Sorry to keep you waiting. See you later. I declare this meeting closed. I declare you man and wife. Yours sincerely, (plus name). Long live the king. Who do you think you are?*

Speech formulas abound in Kiriwina speech. There are rigid collocations to mark opening or closing gambits in conversation, polite requests and replies, conventional greetings or farewells, etc. They are found in forms of public speeches, as in political rallies, extempore prayers, sermons,

magic spells (often sequences of rigid collocations), storytellers and singers recounting events or legends, public games, dance and sport activities, distributions of food and wealth items in mortuary ceremonies, and ritual lamentations at death.

The class of speech formulas or multiword conventional expressions is difficult for dictionary makers to deal with, for several reasons.

*First, the class is massively large.

*Second, the boundaries of the class are not easily defined.

*Third, many speech formulas resemble restricted collocations in being constructions that contain variable constituents, that is, they are not completely fixed.

*Fourth, as with many other multi-word expressions, it is often not clear how best to alphabetise an entry for a formula.

*Fifth, a proper description of a speech formula often involves describing not only its grammatical form and structure but also its discourse function and context, and the distinctive intonation patterns and voice qualities that it requires, with any particular body language that accompanies the words (Kuiper 1996, Pawley 2007b, 2009b).

6.5.2 Examples of speech formulas

Although the lexical content of phrasal speech formulas is largely rigid, some formulas have variable inflecting components, or allow highly restricted lexical variation. The greeting formulas referred to in 6.4.2.4 as a restricted collocation illustrate this feature of a set order yet with one component variable. The form **bwaina kaukwau** 'good morning' (which also occurs with different time of day forms **lalai** 'midday', **koyavi** 'evening' (used in reference to late afternoon until gathering dusk) and **bogi** 'night') is used exclusively as a greeting, never in reference to the state of the weather. If a speaker wishes to refer to a time of good weather the two words are reversed, becoming a stative nominal clause (see 3.2.1.2); noun plus adjective is the normal unmarked means of reference to an object plus its quality. Further, **bwaina kaukwau** plus the other three forms *alone* are used; there is never any use of ***bwaina yam** 'good day', ***bwaina dudubali** 'good dawn' or ***bwaina lubulotoula** 'good midnight'. Also, no other adjective or qualification of the adjective **bwaina** is accepted, as ***gaga kaukwau** 'bad morning' is rejected, and I have never heard

***saina bwaina kaukwau** 'a very good morning'. Conventional usage accepts only the stated four terms, with a usage accurately applied to the time of day. (Early in the advent of this collocation, when it seemed to me to be a nonce form, I answered with a reverse-order response, or disagreed and said no the morning was not good, the response was always amusement.) Some other examples of speech formulas follow.

This formula marks the speaker's desire to make a request. It may even occur midway in a speech, showing the speaker's wish for particular attention to be paid to what he is about to say.

Sita **b-a-livala.** (**sitana** slightly and **-livala** to speak)
a.little ir-1sg-to.speak
I want to make a speech.

Sita **b-a-mom** **sopi.**
a.little ir-1sg-to.drink water
Please give me a drink of water.

The form **sita** (an elided form of **sitana**) is a single word introduction to a polite request, so that the form appears not to be a collocation; but its collocation with a request shows that it is really socially accepted as correct, and its phrasal structure could accurately be stated as **sita + request**.

The following lexical unit is a formula for concluding any spoken or written statement.

Bogwa **m-e-sinaku.** (**bogwa** already and ***-sinaku to.**end)
already hab-3sg-to.end
lit. Already it has ended
That's all I have to say.

It may stand alone, or it may add what is being concluded - a speech (**Bogwa mesinaku agu livala** 'It is finished my words'), or to conclude a letter (**Bogwa mesinaku ulo ginigini** 'It is finished my writing'), or to mark the end of a spoken report (**Bogwa mesinaku agu kwamatula** 'It is finished my report').

The verb form used ***-sinaku** occurs nowhere else in speech, only as a component in this conclusion formula.

A group of expressions for misfortunes or bad outcomes uses a derived form of the verb **-wai** 'to strike' plus the suffix -ki 'to, towards'. The verb **-waki** 'to strike at' is used statively in these phrases to show that someone is afflicted with a misfortune or smitten by some tragedy. The grammatical order of these phrases is **VS**.

i-waki	**neuya**
3sg-to.strike.to	isolation

to be struck by friendless isolation

i-waki	**silaveva**
3.sg-to.strike.to	neglect

to be afflicted with neglect

i-waki	**somata**
3-sg-to.strike.to	utter.weariness

to be utterly weary; weariness strikes

i-waki	**molu**
3sg-to.strike.to	hunger

to be utterly starving; hunger afflicts

These conventional expressions are statements of severe misfortune encountered, and may be stated in a summary form as **iwaki + misfortune.** They are ordered **VS** similarly to emotive idioms described in 6.4.2.5; they could be correctly described as idioms, as the sense of 'strike' is not literal, translatable as 'Friendless isolation strikes, neglect strikes', etc. Kiriwina translators used this conventional expression to translate a passage in the Psalms, which is shown here:

Ku-luvaim-wai-masi	**i.u-wak-ai-masi**	**neuya.**
2sg-to abandon-j-1expl	3sg-redup-to strike-to-j-1expl	isolation

lit. you abandoned us it-striking-us isolation

You abandoned us and left us helpless. (Psalm 44.19)

In this next group of examples a common departure speech formula is illustrated. A serial verb construction comprising the two verbs **-m -la** 'to move, to leave' is used (or an alternate form reiterating one verb **-m -m** 'to move to move') is used by one speaker on behalf of two people about to depart. The dual form of the second verb would be plural if more than two were in the departing group, but otherwise the form of this phrase is rigid.

Ku-m b-i-ta-la.
2sg-to.move ir-1incldual-to.leave
lit. you move we two will depart
Let's go away (from here).

Ku-m b-i-ta-m.
2sg-to.move ir-1incldual-to move
lit. you move we two will move
Let's move away (to another nearby place).

Their frequency of use is illustrated in a short conversation recorded in Lawton (1993: 249); where the numbered sentence 106 shows the SVC **kum tam** 'you-move we-move', sentence 111 has **kum bitam** 'you-move we-two-will-move', while sentence 113 is a modified form **kuma tamokaia** 'you come we-two-go-to (someone)' which follows the rigid forms given in the other sentences. Different verbs may be used as the second verb in this SVC, as **-ma** 'to come', **-makaia** 'to come to (a place), **-la** 'to go', **-lokaia** 'to go to (a nearby place), **-wa** 'to depart', **-wokaia** 'to go to (a distant place), and the constituent order is rigid.

6.5.3 Fixed word order a feature of speech formulas

A general feature of speech formulas, and indeed other kinds of conventional expressions, is rigidity of word order. Some other examples are cited below in which the fixed order of components is a consistent feature. This rigidity is not solely one of grammatical ordering, as the ordering of information within a phrase is frequently an order of semantic detail which is consistently followed. The Kiriwina speaker observes the ordering conventions of his language without thought, the collocation being produced from his fund

of 'things that sound right in that order'. Any re-ordering of constituents may sometimes be understood but would be heard as an 'un-natural' way a foreign language learner might use, as when a little Tongan girl in Canberra pointing at a magpie cried out, "Look at the *white and black* bird!", at variance with the normal English order 'black and white'.

6.5.3.1. Distinguishing features

Those distinguishing features found in each group of examples are first stated.

i) Black (or a dark colour) occurs first in any order of constituents

This is seen in a description of a squall at sea; its literal translation is an exact description of the occasion:

bwabwau-la	**deli**	**igile-la**
black.cloud-its	with	wind-its

a black windy squall

Both nouns have the suffix **-la** specifying the nature of that item, 'its blackness, its windiness'. The ordering of components is rigid because in any collocation involving **bwau** 'black' the colour term is always the first component. An attempt to describe the squall in reverse order would be unacceptable because black is always first, and **igile-la deli bwabwau-la** 'its windiness and blackness' would be understood but would sound odd.

bwabwau	**malaka**	**pupwakau**
black	red	white

black, red and white colours

These three colours are used in painting prow-boards, chiefly house-boards or chiefly symbols, and are always named in an order which moves from dark hues to pale.

ii) The order of groups of people is *'men, women, children'*

tau.wau	**vivila**	**gu.gwadi**
man-pl	women (pl)	pl-child

men, women and children (everyone)

tai-tala	**na-tana**	**gudi-tala**
cl.man-one	cl.woman-one	cl.child-one

each person here; each man, woman and child

iii) In temporal sequences an order of past to present to future is followed

Three sets of examples show the sequence of day to night, ancient to present, or present to future.

yam	**bogi**
day	night

by day and night (order rarely reversed)

yum.yam	**bugi.bogi**
pl-day	pl-night

day and night continually, all the time

The following time sequence gives past (ancient) followed by now (today). This expression frequently concludes a statement on any long-standing custom:

omitibogwa	**e**	**lagaila**
long.ago	and	today

from ancient times to now

The following speech formula shows a similar time sequence, moving from a present state of existence to one of extinction. This is the phrase used to describe the extinction of a family by sickness or deaths in battle. The literal translation is the exact description of the situation, although **-potu** 'to sprout' is being used idiomatically of human family growth.

gala	**potu**	**gala**	**veu**
not	shoot	not	issue

without any descendant

An example of the use of the phrase is:

B-a-takopwi	**ma<tau-si>na**	**gala**	**potu**	**gala**	**veu.**
Ir-1sg-destroy	that-Cl.person-pl	no	shoot	no	issue

I will wipe them out. (Jeremiah 49.37)

iv) Numbers are stated in descending order

The first example 'three or four people' shows the preferred order of these components:

tai-vasi	**tai-tolu**
cl.person-four	cl.person-three

lit. four (or) three people

three or four people

This convention was shown in the following statement of the number of rows of **kaloumwa** red discs that one chief could display on a belt, as:

yulai-tala	**kaina**	**gili-tolu**
cl.four.group-one	or	cl.row-three

one group of four or three rows

Although it seems as if the succession is from one to three, the first word specifies a four-group of rows, so that the actual numbering of rows stated is 'four or three'. This occurred in a statement of the chiefly right of **Tudava** chiefs to wear a particular chiefly article, the **katudababila** belt, ornamented with four rows or three rows of red wealth discs:

Tudava	**b-i-sikam-si**	**katudababila**	**yulai-tala**
Tudava	ir-3-to wear-pl	belt	cl.four.group-one

kaina	**gili-tolu.**
or	cl.row-three

The Tudava chiefs may wear either a four-row or a three-row belt.

v) Words appear in reduplicated clusters for collective reference

availa	**availa**
who	who

whoever (plural human reference)

avaka	**avaka**
what	what

whatever (plural object reference)

am-baisa	**am-baisa**
Q-here	Q-here

wherever (multiple destinations)

sitana	**sitana**
a.little	a.little

bit by bit; very very slowly

tai-tala	**tai-tala**
cl.person-one	cl.person-one

each person (in a series)

One such sequence from within a sentence is shown here:

Am-baisa	**am-baisa**	**b-i-kamitulai-si**	**Buloga-la**	**Bwaina**
Q-here	Q-here	ir-3-to.announce-pl	news-3sg.poss	good

Wherever they will announce the Good News ... (Mark 14.9)

6.5.3.2 Other phrasal formulas

Many other phrasal formulas could be added, such as those used for small measurements less that one span, measurements of height and depth, canoe sailing terminology, religious terms, personal naming conventions, dancing and games phrases, etc. They are literal statements, occurring in word sequences that the speaker hears as conventional those phrases that are linguistically correct and literally true, and their acceptance and use by the speech community in that rigid form is the justification for their appearance as headwords in the dictionary.

A unit of horizontal measure is taken as an example here. A series of set phrases are used to denote precise lengths up to one span. This non-branching hierarchy of length measurements is shown in 7.5.4.4. One unit in this hierarchy is the multiword expression **ikoma imoi okatupoi** 'from left fingertip to elbow-joint of right arm' which states one unit of horizontal measurement, as precisely as another word from the same series, **okatupoi** 'from fingertip to elbow joint' states another. The words of the phrase are rigidly ordered. While individual words in the phrase all function independently as lexical units in other environments, their combination as a multiword unit forms a lexical unit, a multi-word sequence which is rigidly ordered, which must become a dictionary headword. Thus the term may be parsed as:

i-koma	**i-moi**[7]	**o-katupoi**
3sg-to.eat (sthg)	3sg-to.bring.to	at-elbow.joint

lit. consuming (that space) from fingertip to the opposite elbow
a three-quarters arm span

The use of **-koma** 'to eat sthg' in this phrase would put this conventional expression with those RCs noted using **-koma** in 6.4.2.4 v) above. Six multiword expressions within a hierarchy of measurement terms shown in Table 7.18 use **-koma** idiomatically in stating certain length units. Precision in this terminology is socially important, as in a yam competition the supremacy of one gardener is established as a **to-kwai-bagula** 'skilled gardener' by the precise measurement of his longest yam.

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[7] See 3.3.1.4 section ii a) for this use of **–moi.**

6.5.4 The place of conventional expressions in the dictionary

In Kiriwina, as in every language, the class of multi-word conventional expressions that are not idioms is very large, and the choice of those which will appear as headwords in the dictionary must be made. Their very naturalness as they occur in the framework of conversation makes them difficult for a lexicographer to recognise. An appreciation of their boundaries within a context is a basic essential. The conventional status and "correct" form of such expressions has to be established by reference to recorded occurrences in text composed or spoken by a native speaker. The number of recorded occurrences necessary to establish a particular multiword sequence as a conventional expression should be at least two (Pawley 1996: 197), but a larger number from different sources is desirable.[8] Most multiword conventional phrases that are not idioms cannot easily be called 'lexemes' but they can lay claim to have a place in the dictionary because of their status as conventional expressions.

This last statement must of course be taken as an ideal. Whenever possible I have included such expressions in the Kiriwina dictionary, either as headwords (when a single word within the collocation can be established as headword for the purpose of alphabetical inclusion in the lexicon) or as subheadwords within an entry. The total task of identifying all conventional expressions that exist in any language is huge, and certainly will never be completed in my lifetime for the Kiriwina dictionary.

6.6 Formulaic sequences larger than a sentence

Some cons ideration must be given to the question whether formulaic sequences larger than a single sentence that recur in texts have a status which warrants their inclusion in a general dictionary.

Such formulas include sayings, magic incantations, battle chants, or cricket cries that mark specific occasions within a game. In the various forms

[8] Landau (1984: 163) states that the Oxford English Dictionary averaged ten citations per usage.

of **mwasawa** 'game' there are many poetic sequences that are chanted or cried out as part of an ordered sequence of acts. When a child loses a baby tooth it is cast away with a particular incantation, usually with the assistance of an elderly person (an interesting parallel to the tooth fairy!). The group action of pulling a log through the jungle to where it will be shaped as a canoe hull is accompanied with a rhythmic chant which coordinates the workers' efforts. All such segments of text are marked by certain set sequences which are repeated as a group chant or as a formal act, and they do have meaning for the labourers.

In principle, there is no good reason why a dictionary should not include fixed expressions of these kinds. If the dictionary were organised as an encyclopaedia of Kiriwina culture then they would have a place and would be recorded as separate features of particular cultural events. There are, however, major practical difficulties to finding a place for such sequences in a general dictionary which is organised in terms of single entries with headwords. For these larger formulaic sequences the best dictionary treatment may be in their use as text citations.

The **vinavina** chants which are features of many games and activities, are marked with rhythmic characteristics that place the rhythmic sequence higher in importance than the actual morphemes used, and words are elided or lengthened to force them into conformity with the **vinavina** rhythmic form. The recording of these features may belong to an anthropological or a musicological study, but cannot be part of the dictionary's concern. Likewise the detailed statement of a magician's magic spells usually includes borrowed forms for dramatic effect and phonetic modification of morphemes to adapt them to an incantation, so that the morphemes used are frequently not part of the language's lexicon of regular speech.

7 *Lexical relations*

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the ways in which the lexical units of Kiriwina relate to one another semantically, and how these lexical relations are treated in the Kiriwina dictionary. I first introduce and define in 7.2 the basic units of lexical semantics, and examine the challenges of making sense discriminations in a bilingual dictionary. In sections 7.3 and 7.4 I study types of synonymy and antonymy, and in 7.5 types of hierarchical relations are considered. Finally 7.6 discusses difficulties associated with incompatibilities within the various semantically related groups.

In my study of this theme I have found helpful D. Alan Cruse's *Lexical semantics* (Cruse 1986), henceforth Cruse, and have quoted from this text frequently in the course of this chapter.

7.2 The units of lexical semantics

7.2.1 Lexical units and lexemes

A clear understanding of the terminology used in the description of lexical semantics is essential. A first consideration is to define 'lexical unit' and contrast it with 'lexeme'. Cruse notes this initial need, and says in reference to lexical units,

> It will be necessary to introduce a distinction ... between two kinds of element relevant to lexical semantics ... called lexical units and lexemes ... Lexical units are those form-meaning complexes with (relatively) stable and discrete semantic properties which stand in meaning relations such as antonymy (e.g. *long:short*) and hyponomy (e.g. *dog;animal*) and which react syntagmatically with contexts in various ways ... The meaning aspect of a lexical unit (is) termed a sense[1] (Cruse1986: 49).

[1] Cruse (1986: 49) asserts at this point that "lexemes are the items listed in the lexicon or 'ideal dictionary' of a language." Here he may be referring to entries in that 'ideal dictionary' which a speaker carries in his head.

I later say (in 7.2.5) that on the other hand lexemes are a family of lexical units which correspond to a headword and its senses.

Cruse asserts here the primacy of the lexical unit as the basic unit of lexical semantics.

> (There is) a view of lexical meaning in which there is a tendency to regard the lexeme as the primary semantic unit, and the different lexical units as 'merely variants'. Our approach, however, focuses on the individual lexical unit as the primary operational semantic unit, and consigns the lexeme to a secondary position (Cruse: 80).

He says elsewhere that where the lexical unit is a lexical form with a single sense, the lexeme is "a family of lexical units" (Cruse: 76), a group of units having a polysemous function. He gives primary place to the lexical unit as "the primary operational semantic unit" (Cruse 80); lexemes on the other hand having a polysemous function are a family of these primary semantic units, and so must be placed in a secondary position with regard to lexical units. The notion 'lexeme' is examined in detail in 7.2.5 below.

7.2.2 Lexical units and lexical forms

Cruse observes that

> One of the basic problems of lexical semantics is the apparent multiplicity of semantic uses of a single word (without grammatical difference) ... the meaning of any word form is in some sense different in every distinct context in which it occurs (Cruse: 51).

This 'multiplicity of semantic uses' of any single word form leads Cruse to a refinement of his definition of the lexical unit, hitherto defined as a "word form associated with a single sense" (Cruse: 76), but now expanded to include a "set of word forms" which may be alternative manifestations of the one lexical unit, as the forms *obeyed* and *obeys* may be accepted as alternative manifestations of *obey*. There are two kinds of affixes which attach to word forms: derivational affixes, which produce new lexical units (as *obey/dis-obey*), and inflectional affixes, which do not produce new lexical units (as *obey/obeyed*). Cruse includes a word form and its inflected forms as a single semantic group, "a set of word forms differing only in respect of inflections (which is called) a lexical form", and states his redefinition, "A lexical unit is then the union of a

lexical form and a single sense." It is from this point that he proceeds to the "question of assigning lexical units to lexemes" (Cruse: 77).

In order to facilitate the assigning of different senses to lexemes, it is first necessary to make some observations on senses identified for a lexical form by its context, and on the possible arrays of senses which may be found in a lexical form. These observations are made in 7.2.3 and 7.2.4 below.

7.2.3 Senses of lexical forms shown by contrast

Cruse distinguishes between established senses and potential senses which may be associated with a lexical form:

> A lexical form may well be associated with an unlimited number of possible senses. If we take seriously the notion of unlimited number, there must be, for any lexical form, potential senses which have never been realised in use; equally, every lexical form has at least one relatively well-utilised sense (Cruse: 68).

He suggests that the well-established sense may be held in the mental lexicon of a speaker as the sense which he first accepts as the meaning for that form, denying other possible but more remote senses; one sense in a series being more normal, and others less normal. It must be admitted that ascribing two or more polysemous senses for one lexeme is a problem here, which I am putting aside for the moment, as it is discussed later (see 7.2.6 ff below). He suggests that there are "two ways in which the sentential context of a word form may affect its semantic contribution to the sentence" (Cruse: 51).

7.2.3.1 Contextual information

The first means of limitation is the selection which contextual information makes to limit the possible senses which may be understood for a lexical form. "A single sense can be modified in an unlimited number of ways by different contexts, each context emphasising certain semantic traits, and obscuring or suppressing others" (p 52). Cruse's use of the lexical form *bank* with two different contexts illustrates the way in which the speaker's mind has identified different senses for the one lexical form. Indeed three different contexts of this same form show that this lexical form may show three

separate senses in the speaker's mind, each one associated with a single lexical form, as in:

1. The bank of the river
2. The bank in our shopping precinct
3. The sharp bank of the fighter plane

where the three possible senses of 'sloping ground at margin of river', 'financial institution' and '(vehicle) tilts sharply while turning' may be present in the speaker's mental lexicon for the one lexical form. Cruse refers to this selection of one semantic component of a lexical unit by the addition of contextual information as 'modulation', and he describes modulation as being "two meanings ... both associated with the same lexical unit". He does point out that in the case of examples 1 and 2 "there are two lexical units *bank* corresponding to these senses" (Cruse: 52), and it would be difficult to establish through historical links any shared sense origin for the two. However senses 1 and 3 do have a sense equivalence in the shared component of 'sharp slope', so that the lexical form *bank* is showing polysemy in respect of senses 1 and 3, and homonymy in respect of senses 1 and 2. Cruse adds that "the variation within a sense caused by modulation is largely continuous and fluid in nature" (Cruse: 52), so that it is frequently a matter of individual choice exercised by the lexicographer whether a single lexical form shows a single sense modified by context, or context showing different senses and therefore different lexical units.

The lexical form **-bani** shows a similar range of possible semantic components some of which fit the pattern of modulation of a single sense described by Cruse, while others are more like the identification of different senses for the one form. The following sense discriminations, with contextual data shown bracketed, illustrate this:

-bani 'to seek, find'

to search about (hoping to find something, as shellfish for bait)
to look about (for a lost item)
to find something (which had been lost)
to search for (the way out, of physical or mental confusion)
to find out (a new fact previously unknown)

This word **-bani** has a range of uses to do with searching and finding. The difference between looking about and finding is marked by different inflectional prefixes indicating an irreal or a real act, or sometimes by the use of a reduplicated verb **-binibani** 'searching' to describe the act of looking about in progress.

7.2.3.2 Resolution of ambiguity

The second way in which context places limits on the senses of a lexical form is in the resolution of ambiguity. "The second manner of semantic variation concerns the activation by different contexts of different senses associated with ambiguous word form." (Cruse: 52). Cruse calls this the contextual selection of senses. If the polysemy of a lexeme leaves a statement open to two possible interpretations, the context supplied may make one sense possible, even likely, and the other highly unlikely, even impossible. This is well illustrated by an example sentence using this lexeme **-bani** which is ambiguous.

The lexical form **-bani** may have the sense 'to search, find', or the sense 'to go fishing using line and hook' (while the derived noun **bani** is used both for a fishing line and for a hook). Some lexicographers of Kiriwina have proposed that these two senses are related and have glossed **-bani** as a seeking or finding device for fish, which differs from words used to describe fish procured by netting (**-poula**) or by spearing (**-basi**), which are used for visible fish, whereas the fishing line targets unknowable prey. However I think this proposed connection is unjustified. It is better to see this second sense as a different lexeme.

The need for a choice of sense is illustrated in the following example where the sentence including the verb **-bani** 'to look for something' is ambiguous, needing further information to show which sense of the lexical form is intended by the speaker.

B-a-la **a-bani.**
ir-1sg-go 1sg-fish (or) find
1 I'm going fishing.
2 I'm going to search (for something).

The ambiguity could be resolved by contextual information in the sentence, as in the two following sentences.

B-a-la	**a-bani**	**kada=yena-si**
ir-1sg-go	1sg-line.fish	1in.i.poss=fish-pl

I'm going to catch our meal of fish.

B-a-la	**a-bani**	**avaka**	**l-a-kitumou.**
ir-1sg-go	1sg-search	what	rl-1sg-lose

I'm going to look for what I lost.

The senses which a word may have in relation to other words need to be recognised as being in the mind of a speaker who uses that word understanding it has that sort of meaning potential as he makes it part of his sentence. "(W)e can picture the meaning of a word as a pattern of affinities and disaffinities with all the other words in the language with which it is capable of contrasting semantic relations in grammatical contexts" (Cruse:16).

The basic lexical unit is the union of a lexical form and a single sense. This definition lays the foundation for the definition of a lexeme, which is given below (see 7.2.5).

7.2.4 Senses arrays and sense spectra

A sense array consists of the possible full range of discrete senses which are recognised for any one lexeme.

7.2.4.1 Sense arrays

The sense array which may be recognised for the Kiriwina stative verb **-kasai** 'to be hard' shows a set of discrete senses which may be viewed as points in a related sequence. The sense array of this lexeme has three foci; they are set down here in the order of their semantic primacy:

-kasai (vb 1) 'to be hard'

1. Negative or "dark" sense - difficult, hard, harsh, severe, tough, unjust (subject is any situation which affects the speaker adversely)

Nanamsa	**ma<kwai>na**	**b-i-kasai.**
thought	that-cl.concept	ir-3sg-harsh

That (way of treating him) would be harsh. (Leviticus 25.54)

2. Positive or affirmative sense – firm, unyielding, resolute, hard (subject is physically hardened; an action is applied strongly)

Mi =pwaipwaia	**kala=kasai**	**makawala**	**tanumnumta.**
2pl.poss earth	its-hardness	like	iron

Your soil will be as hard as iron (no rain). (Deuteronomy 28.23)

Magi-gu	**b-i-yosa-si**	**b-i-kasai**	**baisa**	**yeigu.**
desire-1sg	ir-3-hold-pl	ir-3sg-be.firm	to	me

I want (them) to hold onto me firmly.

3. Temporal sense – be slow, be late, delayed (an action which is slow to happen)

Saina	**kasai**	**mi=dubumi.**
Very	slow	2pl.poss=belief

How slow you are to believe (these things). (Luke 24.25)

The sense array of this lexical unit is consistent, showing a total array which has a variety of possible contexts, the examples given showing how the context functions as a semantic delimiter for senses of the verb form or for the derived nominal form. A more detailed examination of this word which includes consideration of permissible paradigmatic relations is undertaken below (see 7.3.6).

7.2.4.2 Sense spectra

Besides arrays of discrete senses, in some cases a lexical form may show a pattern of senses which is more easily visualised as a continuum of meaning without distinct boundaries, which Cruse terms a sense-spectrum: “a seamless fabric of meaning with no clear boundaries” (Cruse: 71). The senses are “examples of gradual variation which cannot be made to share a superordinate” (Cruse: 71). He likens sense spectra to a dialect continuum where speakers from adjacent dialects communicate with ease but those from extreme ends of the continuum cannot communicate.

Cruse suggests that in some cases a sense spectrum may be a valid way to view the allotment of a continuum of senses to one lexical unit. This viewpoint however holds some difficulties for the lexicographer, as it is easier to define a set of discrete senses than to define a continuum. To construct over-arching definitions that will cover a spectrum is difficult, and likely to produce unsatisfactory outcomes. But Cruse proposes that even sense spectra can conveniently be broken down into distinct sense units.

> A full sense-spectrum is not a satisfactory lexical unit ... Individual points along a spectrum seem at first sight to be insufficiently distinguished from one another. However, there are reasons for believing that these are the most appropriate lexicological units. Although when viewed as part of a spectrum their distinctness is questionable, they typically function in widely different semantic fields, and within these their discreteness and stability are not in question (Cruse: 73).

That is to say, it is convenient for the lexicographer to be a 'splitter' rather than a 'lumper'.

When a lexical form shows senses which are closely similar these are treated as a sense spectrum, an array belonging to a single lexeme. An example of this is seen in the various senses which are identified for the Kiriwina form **taitu:**

taitu (n 3) yam

1. The staple yam, planted once each year
2. True food, the only food that satisfies hunger[2]
3. The main food garden, predominantly planted with **taitu** yams
4. A year in the gardening cycle, marked by planting and harvesting of **taitu** crop
5. A calendar year (an adaption to modern calendars of the old gardening cycle)
6. A person's age reckoned in calendar years

As each of the listed senses 2 to 6 has a semantic relation to the staple yam **taitu,** they are included as a sense array within the one dictionary entry. The full form of this dictionary entry is shown here.

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[2] See footnote 17 in Chapter 1.

TAITU (n 3)

1. The staple yam, produced as an annual crop. The tuber has a prickly exterior, and its vines are very thorny. Planted about December, harvested July to October and stored in **bwaima** 'yam house' for use in coming year. Varieties include **taitulowia**, **tomwaguba**, **topilakum** (also termed **gidavakaveka**, **yovila** and **dovana**, ordered from long to short), **salutu**, **bomatu**, **moguruna**, **kwaimwasia**, **udowada**, **kausiusigelu**, **karasamwaina**, **taitukulu**, **mnalawa**, **mwaredi** and **mwayeditaitu**. The **taitu** is highly regarded because it may be used for up to seven months, and does not deteriorate or rot quickly like the **kuvi** yam, q.v.

(Note: two varieties of **taitu**, **kasinamwa** and **tokuluwadi**, are used exclusively by men, who plant them in a special position in the garden. There is also a species of wild yam, **kasiyena,** which has a special place in the magic associated with felling a tree for use as a canoe.)

2. True food, the only food which allays hunger. Syn **kála**, **kaulotoula**. Tubers of **uri** 'taro' sometimes included in this category. (Note: Other things are eaten, such as **simsimwai** 'sweet potato' or **kasava** 'tapioca'; these are collectively referred to as **kalaga** 'food'; meat or fish are side dishes collectively termed **gwaba** 'morsel, treat', something included in the cooking pot to flavour the food.)

3. The main food garden, predominantly planted with **taitu** yams. This garden is trellised as it grows, because the vines are very thorny, and the gardener needs to attend to each yam mound during growth, because each yam produces a cluster of 12 or more tubers, so each is dug, pruned to 2–5 tubers, and replanted, to control size of each yam; most grow from half to two kilos per tuber, and some of the largest are needed for use in decorative harvest display heaps.

4. A year, which terminates in the festive season of **milamala**, the annual celebration of harvest when harvest heaps are displayed, and there is dancing and holiday in the village. Months of the year are named, but do not relate to English month names – see appendix on the Kiriwina year, which may span from October to September in the following year.

5. A calendar year. Modern Kiriwina has adapted the concept of a gardening year to apply to the European calendar year.

6. A person's age in calendar years. See following phrases which are used with modern calendar year reference:

taitu makwaina (phr)	this (current) year
taitu leiwókuva (phr)	last year
kala taitu (phr)	his age
taitu kwaitala kwaitala (phr)	each year

Another example of a sense spectrum is seen in the dictionary entry for the lexeme **waga** in 7.2.5 below, where an array of senses is given for the subheadword **toliwaga**:

1. Owner of canoe
2. Someone with authority in a canoe voyage
3. Captain of a vessel (canoe, Government trawler, etc.)
4. Person steering a vessel
5. Title given long ago to a chiefly family by **Tabalu** chiefs as mark of favour (a detailed cultural note added)

A comment on these five senses is given showing that they are in fact a sense spectrum, and are properly included within the entry for this lexeme.

Sense 1 is the basic sense of ownership or authority over something, and is seen in other lexical forms prefixed with **toli-**:

toli-baku (**baku** 'village area') 'a village official'
toli-bwala (**bwala** 'house') 'house-owner'

The suggestion that the listed senses 2–4 could be conflated and glossed with an over-arching definition as 'person in command or control of a vessel' has some merit, but has the difficulty that it gives a modification of the meaning which is adapted to the target language, ignoring differences that are significant for the source language. I think it is better to split the senses identified for **toliwaga** in a way which acknowledges the cultural complexity inherent in this lexical form. These differences are considered here.

Sense 2: The person in charge for a canoe voyage is frequently not the canoe's owner; this is especially true for **kula** trading voyages in the large **masawa** canoe, when the chief is usually the true canoe owner, but he delegates his chiefly authority to one person for that voyage. This delegation of status equal to ownership is a chiefly act, which is also a part of sense 5. The delegation of chiefly authority is one of the features of chiefliness seen in other areas of Kiriwina culture, where a chiefly symbol or a chiefly title is "lent" to a person or a project for a period to show that chiefly authority is exercised for a period on behalf of the higher chiefly figure or with his approval.

Sense 3: The Kiriwina translation equivalent of the English term captain as **toliwaga** is made within the source language, referring to the person in charge of any European vessel, and is a Kiriwina concept for the working of a foreign authority; the borrowed form **kapten** is also used. An implication of the use of **toliwaga** here is that a captain's authority comes from someone above him, which is a recognised feature of Government, trading and mission vessels as seen by Kiriwina people.

Sense 4: 'person steering a vessel, steersman' is not a common use of **toliwaga** but it is sometimes applied to steersmen of smaller canoe types when under sail. (Steersman of the larger canoe is **to-kabi-kúliga** 'person-doing-steering', which is also a synonym for **toli-waga.** The **kúliga** is the 3 metre long steering paddle used on the large **masawa** canoes.)

Sense 5: The honoured title **toliwaga** recognised for one chiefly **dala**[3], marking a delegation of chiefly authority similar to that seen in sense 2 in that it was conferred in the distant past by a higher chiefly authority, so that the term **toliwaga** is used as an idiom for village authority. The reason for its conferral is lost in history, but the right to possess it and exercise authority through it has been jealously guarded. A dictionary appendix is added to state details relevant to it. The distinction of being a **toliwaga** chief is that he has an authority conferred from a high chief. Because of the difference in area of authority from sea-going activity, this term becomes a headword for a different

[3] The chiefly family line which originally received this honour was the **Sakapu dala** of **Lukosisiga** clan. During my time in Kiriwina this family line was approaching extinction, and a lower-ranked chiefly family line, the **Wabali**, was trying to succeed to the title of **toliwaga**. I do not know if they have been successful. See Lawton 1998: 109.

dictionary entry, but the similar semantic components are noted in both entries.

In all these senses identified for **toliwaga** it is acknowledged that there is one basic component of ownership or control, with frequently a semantic component of authority delegated from on high, which confirms the status of this array of senses as a continuum or sense spectrum for the lexeme **toliwaga**.

7.2.5 Lexemes

Let us now turn to the third unit used in the discussion of lexical semantics, the lexeme. Where the lexical unit is "the union of a lexical form and a single sense", the lexeme is "a family of lexical units" (Cruse: 76). In discussing the possible number of senses found within the lexical unit and the lexeme, Cruse says,

> Senses need to represent unitary 'quanta' of meaning, but they do not need to be finite in number ... A lexeme, on the other hand, may well be associated with infinitely many senses, but the set of lexemes must be finitely enumerable (Cruse: 49).

The senses associated with a lexical form are unlimited in number, being an open group to which the addition of new senses is always possible, whereas the lexeme is the finite set in the language's dictionary which is empowered through the language's grammar to produce an unlimited number of sentential statements.

However, in suggesting that the set of lexemes must be finitely enumerable, Cruse is bowing to the practical limits which circumstances impose on the lexicographer, and it must be said that he is adopting an over-simplistic view of the lexicon. For it is always possible to add new lexemes to the lexicon; and the fact that lexicalisation is a matter of degree has been noted elsewhere (see 6.1.4).

The lexeme as a family of lexical units[4] corresponds to a headword and its senses. The lexical entry for **waga** 'canoe' is given as an example, with details abbreviated. The lexeme used as headword of the entry is in upper case, and subheadword lexemes are indented and in lower case.

WAGA (n 3)

1. canoe, the hull carved from a single log, with outrigger log on left side of paddler (when he faces **odógina** 'towards bows') This is a generic for six types of locally built canoes (**kewou, kaimolu, ligataya, kaiuvasaki, masawa, nagega**) which have a range of sizes and functions in this society.
2. toy canoe used in racing game by children
3. model canoe for tourist trade
4. hollowed-out hull of canoe (part-whole relationship)

(The modern world of Kiriwina has added many other senses, as:)

5. any sea-going vessel (as trawler, cutter, steamer)
6. land vehicles for carriage of people or goods
7. aeroplanes, usually described in phrase:

waga	**kai-yo.yowa**
canoe	cl.long/rigid-flying
an aeroplane	

The lexeme **waga** also occurs as a constituent of other morphologically complex lexemes, some of which are themselves polysemous, as in:

didawaga (n, borrowed form)

1. The name given to trunks loaded with 'trade' brought by returning labour-line workers (Note: Although regarded as a borrowed form, and found in some other Papuan Tip languages, it seems to be an elided form of the Kiriwina sentence **i-didagi waga** he loads the canoe.)

2. Any box of tools carried and used by a tradesman

[4] It is to be noted that in this thesis the concept of 'family' is applied both to the 'family of lexical units' (the lexeme) and the 'family of lexemes' (the lexical entry with a number of subheadwords); see especially 5.4.5.

toli-waga (der n, with prefix **toli-** 'owner')

1. Owner of canoe
2. Someone with authority in a canoe voyage
3. Captain of a vessel (canoe, Government trawler, etc.)
4. Person steering a vessel
5. Title given long ago to a chiefly family by **Tabalu** chiefs as mark of favour (a detailed cultural note added)

-ko.waga (vb 4, 1st component **-kau-** take)
To form canoe hull by carving out and shaping log (reference is to the shaping of the main log only)

-tai.waga (vb 4, 1st component **-teya-** cut; transitive **-tai**)
To build a canoe (reference is to the cutting of timbers for various canoe parts) Syn **–yo.waga**

to-tai.waga (derived n, with prefix **to-** person and **–tai.waga**) A canoe-builder

-yo.waga (vb 4, combining form **-yo-** do vigorously)
To build a canoe (reference is to construction of entire vessel, including lashing, rigging, mast etc) Syn **–tai.waga**

kai.waga (n 3, 1st component **kai** wooden item)
animal's feeding trough (portion of old canoe hull)

kaito.waga (n 3, 1st component **kaito-** opposite)
a fine-looking vessel that is no good for work (Note: the prefix **kaito-** attaches to anything that is the opposite of its appearance.)

waga-toula (n 3, 2nd component **-toula** (adv) 'true, genuine')
A very fine canoe (sails well, carries goods effectively, etc.)

-ugo.waga (vb 2, redupl form of stem)
to travel by vessel (Note: the simple stem ***-waga** never used as a verb)

ugo-waga (derived n formed as previous lexeme)
A collective term for visitors arriving or travelling by vessel

7.2.6 Polysemy and homonymy in lexemes

A lexical form may have multiple senses. The dictionary maker must decide which, if any, of the senses are related synchronically, i.e. in the mental lexicon of native speakers. Polysemy describes the possession by a form of distinct senses which are felt to be related in some way, while homonymy describes a similar phenomenon in which the senses associated with the one lexical form are semantically unrelated. This is illustrated for Kiriwina by the examination of five senses of the form **boda** which are related historically but are synchronically distinct, and which therefore should be treated as homonyms. Four are verbs and one is a noun.

-boda¹ (vb stem component) (subj person) to hinder, prevent s.o, sthg
This form supports senses with negative polarity, and only occurs as a second component of compound verb stems. It is of high frequency, occurring in 29 lexemes, such as:

> **-kanu.boda** (from **-kenu-** to lie down) 'to hinder by lying in the path'
> **-ka.boda** (from **kawau** to call out) 'to oppose by speaking against sthg'

-boda² (vb 3) (subj person) to go and meet s.o, to meet and deal with trouble

Occurs either as a monomorphemic form or in compounds, occurring in six forms, such as:

> **-ka.boda** (vb 3) (from **-ka-¹** 'do by speaking') to reconcile two people or two groups arguing
> **-va.boda** (from **-vala** 'do by foot action') 'to meet s.o by or while walking'

-boda³ (vb 4) (subj objects counted, obj usu numeral) to add up to, to total

This form alone does not relate primarily to people but functions as a numerical term stating how many items (either animate or inanimate) are included in a group.

boda (n 3) a group, crowd (people); school (fish), cluster (lights)

This fourth example is a subheadword of **-boda³**. Its use in reference to groups of people is its most frequent use and is of high frequency; groups of living beings (which may be people or animals) are frequently so designated.

The sense of 'a cluster of lights' has a historical connection with spirit beings or with fish causing phosphorescence to sparkle in dark water.

-boda⁴ (vb 3) (subj situation, obj usually person) to suit s.o

The transitive form of this lexeme **-bodi** 'to be suitable, acceptable' functions as a modal verb in a Serial Verb Construction.

The first four of these five **boda** forms listed have a basic sense relating to people or things in groups. The first three are verbs which occur either as intransitive or transitive forms, and a case can be made to treat them as polysemous forms of one lexeme **-boda**. But because their meanings are unrelated in the native speaker's mental lexicon they are treated in the dictionary as distinct lexemes. The fourth is a derived noun placed as a subheadword within the entry for **-boda¹**. The fifth listed, **-boda⁴** is a class 3 verb which alone does not relate to groups but to the suitable or acceptable mode of an action. For this reason it is seen to be yet another homonymous lexeme, distinct from **-boda¹** et al.

7.3 Lexical units and semantic relations

7.3.1 Introduction

Sense discriminations between lexical units are made in two fundamental ways, paradigmatic and syntagmatic. In a paradigmatic contrast, words may substitute meaningfully for other words in a particular construction, such substitutions being in a compatible semantic relationship. Cruse defines this as a relationship of cognitive synonymy, where a second word is a syntactically identical unit having equivalent truth conditions, such as the two words *fiddle* and *violin* (Cruse: 270). Alternatively these words may show some other relation such as some types of difference, class inclusion, compatibles or part-whole relations. Lexical units that substitute in this way are those which may be validly chosen as alternatives which have a compatible meaning.

The second way, syntagmatic sense discrimination between lexical units, is by the recognition of acceptable sequences in a syntactic chain in a

sentence. The relation between a subject and a verb in a sentence is syntagmatic, where certain subjects must occur in sequence with particular verbs, or a transitive verb must be in sequence with a direct object. Syntagmatic relations and related matters such as semantic fields and the thesaurus lie outside of the concern of this thesis. The "rather more daunting problems of differentiating lexical units paradigmatically" (Cruse: 49), are my concern here.

Lexical units in a paradigmatic relationship are those that may acceptably substitute grammatically in a relation of sameness, oppositeness, or as units related in taxonomies as hyponyms in a hierarchy of class relations, or in part-whole relations, etc. The relation of sameness or synonymy together with some types of oppositeness is my first concern.

7.3.2 Synonymy

The term synonymy relates lexical units which may substitute for one another in a context with little or no change in the meaning of that expression. Cruse suggests that such a relationship includes recognition of a scale of synonymy, as "some pairs are more synonymous than other pairs" (Cruse: 264). His definition of synonymy gives a basis for the recognition or rejection of absolute synonymy. He says,

> Synonyms then are lexical units whose senses are identical in respect of 'central' semantic traits, but differ, if at all, in respect of what we may provisionally describe as 'minor' or peripheral traits. (I)t would seem better to make absolute synonymy the zero point on our scale; the scale will therefore be one of semantic difference rather than one of synonymy ... two lexical units would be absolute synonyms (i.e. would have identical meanings) if and only if all their contextual relations ... were identical ... The falsification of a claim of absolute synonymy is in principle very straightforward, since a single discrepancy in the pattern of contextual relations constitutes sufficient proof (Cruse: 267).

Cruse's scale of synonymy is based on an initial zero point of absolute synonymy, and moves through varieties of partial synonymy to a final state of non-synonymy. "Within each region of the scale, degree of synonymity varies continuously" (Cruse: 267). In Cruse's terms the scale is marked initially with absolute synonymy, through cognitive synonymy and plesionymy to non-synonymy. These four stages are now examined.

7.3.3 Absolute synonymy

Two lexical units have absolute synonymy if their meaning or range of senses is identical in every respect, two minimal lexical units with the same sense, so that one will substitute for the other in every possible context without effecting any variation of meaning for the whole statement. Zgusta (1971: 34) defines absolute synonymy as "occurring when two terms correspond in all three aspects of designation, connotation, and range." Designation includes the features by which we recognise something, connotation the features which contrast it with others, and range of application the variety of contexts in which each may occur.

Cruse examines pairs of words in English as *violin* and *fiddle,* or *sofa* and *settee* as two lexical items which may well be candidates for absolute synonymy in English, but comments that if absolute synonyms exist at all, "they are extremely uncommon" (Cruse: 270).

The likelihood of absolute synonymy seems remote[5] in non-technical language. Many informants may declare firmly that no discernable difference in meaning is to be found between two forms, but a close examination of contexts may show differences the informants themselves are not aware of. My findings on the lexemes **-bodi** and **-kwani** are an example:

The two modal verbs **-bodi** and **-kwani** can each be glossed 'to be acceptable, be fitting', and superficially appear to be in a relationship of absolute synonymy. I have been assured by Kiriwina speakers that there is no meaning difference between them, and certainly they are used in sentences which appear to be synonymous, for example:

I-bodi	**bi-ta-vagai-si.**
I-kwani	**bi-ta-vagai-si.**
3sg-be.fitting	ir-1in-do-pl

We ought to do (this).

[5] Landau (1984: 105) says however that it is common in technical terms, especially medical terminology.

I-bodai-m	**bu-ku-kwatupoi.**
I-kwanai-m	**bu-ku-kwatupoi.**
3sg-be.fitting-2(sg)	ir-2sg-ask

You ought to ask (him).

Gala	**b-i-bodi**	**b-i-nikolai-si.**
Gala	**b-i-kwani**	**b-i-nikolai-si.**
Not	ir-3sg-be.fitting	ir-3-know-pl

It won't be acceptable for them to know about (this).

However, I have noted in 3.5.2.3 part i) that the two verbs may occur together as a restricted collocation, as in this example taken from a public speech:

I-bodai-dasi	**i-kwanai-dasi**	**bi-ta-vagai-si**	**makawala.**
3sg-befits-1inpl	3sg-befits-1inpl	ir-1in-do-pl	thus

It is fitting, it is proper, that we should do the same.

The additional information needs to be given that when either one is used in isolation, **–bodi** is more frequently found than **–kwani**.

Thus a dictionary entry for either of these would include the following information:

-bodi vb.mod 'be.fitting' syn. **-kwani** See also **RC -bodi -kwani**
(note ordering restriction.)

One datum which places a distinction between these two lexical units is their differing morphemic origins. The form **-bodi** originates in **-boda** 'to encounter', which has a sense array predominately relating to behaviour which is applied to groups of people. The form **-kwani** originates in **-koni**[6] 'to bear (a burden, responsibility)' which is an individual act, and is one of the specific qualities of chiefliness translated as 'chiefly privilege', designating the sorts of behaviour expected of a good chief, or the privileges he enjoys. In a study of text occurrences, the two forms are both used as modals for acceptable behaviour of groups and individuals, but there is a statistical (not an absolute) predominance of **-kwani** when acceptable behaviour of a chief or king is

6 The verb **-kwani** is the Kilivila dialect form of the Kavataria dialect word **-koni** 'to bear (burden)'; but the form **-koni** is never used in Kavataria as a modal; invariably the form **-kwani** is used.

described, or when a purpose of God is stated. This information is added to the dictionary definition as an additional note.

7.3.4 Partial synonymy

We now move on to partial synonymy. There are degrees of partial synonymy, ranging from a high degree to lesser degrees of sameness. Cruse identifies two points in this continuum, which he calls 'cognitive synonymy' and 'plesionymy'.

Cruse's term 'cognitive synonymy' is sometimes expressed simply as 'partial synonymy', which is the term I shall use here. He is stating areas of semantic overlap between pairs of lexical units which differ in various ways. Semantic co-occurrence restrictions are grouped by Cruse under two headings, presupposed meaning and evoked meaning. Presupposed meaning includes semantic traits where *drink* presupposes a liquid, and *die* presupposes something organic and alive. Differing collocational restrictions impose restrictions on their synonymity, as the "primary function of these semantic properties is ... to place restrictions on what linguistic items can occur together normally within the same sentence" (Cruse: 277).

This range of differing collocational restrictions "can only be described by listing permissible collocants" (Cruse: 281), and the listing of such collocational features is a necessary feature of dictionary entries.

Evoked meaning however does not have a direct influence on meaning, as here we are dealing with "discourse cohesion", found in such features of speech as rhetoric or abuse, or the use of different dialect alternatives typical of one particular speaker. Cruse (282) comments that "it is debatable whether idiosyncratic restrictions are a matter of semantics at all." By idiosyncratic restrictions he is referring to the different word choices a particular speaker may make to state the same meaning of an utterance in accordance with his own idiolect.

7.3.5 Primary and secondary senses

Degrees of partial synonymy become clearer when the primary senses of lexical units are separated from other senses which may be later developments as idioms or extensions of basic meanings. Cruse points out that

> it is possible to distinguish some [lexical units] that are more basic, or central, and others that are less so. It is clear that established units ... are more central than unestablished ones; an ideal dictionary would be expected to define all the established senses within a lexeme (Cruse: 79).

These more central senses Cruse terms the primary lexical units of a lexeme. An example is shown here where these primary senses are the ones which stand first in the mind of the speaker.

The two polysemous Kiriwina stative verbs **-gagábila** and **-pwapwasa** have sense arrays that overlap, as is shown by a listing of the array of senses of each. The form **pwapwasa** is derived from the stative verb **-pwasa** 'to be soft (subject any physical item)', so that its basic or primary lexical units relate to physical softness, with non-physical reference senses being secondary. The form **gagábila** is derived from the verb **-gagábila** 'be easy to do (something)' so that its primary reference is to the manner of performance of actions, with its reference to physical weight being secondary. These primary senses influence the kinds of secondary senses associated with these two lexemes.

A summary of the sense arrays identified for each in the dictionary is shown. The development of an array of senses is based on the frequency of use of each sense within an array.

-pwapwasa

Primary senses:

1. to be soft (of fruit, yams)
2. to be ripe (of some fruits)
3. to be rotten (of yams, some fruit)
4. to be workable, tillable (of earth)
5. to be tender, easily chewed (of meat)
6. to be pliable, flexible, workable (of fabric)

Secondary senses:

7. to be easy to use (of any substance or instrument)
8. to be possible, achievable (of any task)
9. to be clear (of explanation, or words in book)

-gagábila

Primary senses:

1. to be easy (work)
2. to be possible (of any task)
3. to be light to carry (of burden)
4. to be easy to paddle (of small canoe)

Secondary senses:

5. to be cheap (cost of purchase)
6. to be easy to get, attainable

It can be seen that the primary senses of these two lexemes are only marginally similar. However there is a measure of synonymy found between the primary senses of **gagábila** and the secondary senses of **pwapwasa.**

Their meaning difference becomes clearer when we note that their respective negations **gala pwapwasa** 'not easy' and **gala gagábila** 'not possible' differ, as in the two sentences:

Nanamsa	**ma<kwai>na**	**gala**	**pwapwasa.**
thought	that-cl.complex	not	easy/practicable

That is a difficult idea.

Nanamsa	**ma<kwai>na**	**gala**	**gagábila.**
thought	that-cl.complex	not	possible

That idea is impossible.

7.3.6 Definition of synonymy aided by antonymy

The sense arrays of synonymous lexemes may be made clearer by a study of the relations of antonymy that hold between them. Here I set out the array of senses given to a group of four lexemes, observing the relations of

antonymy between them. I list the stative verbs **-kasai** 'to be harsh', and **-mwau** 'to be heavy', and their antonymous forms the two lexemes already examined, the terms **-pwapwasa** 'to be light, easy', and **-gagábila** 'to be easy, possible'. The sense arrays of these four lexical forms are shown here only in a condensed form, giving for each group a basic sense followed by a number of subsenses. Where any of the four is used as an antonymous form, it is shown in my example against the relevant sense, but other antonymous forms are not added.

-kasai

1. 'to be harsh' (only has negative or dark senses which relates to mental or emotive meanings, as severe or unjust decisions, difficult or tough situations, or stingy behaviour) Synonym **-mwau**, antonym **gagábila**
2. 'to be hard, firm' (of physical objects; may also affirm situations that are set firmly in place, or behaviour that is commendable or consistent) Antonym **pwapwasa**
3. 'to be slow, late, delayed' (temporal sense) Antonym **nanakwa** 'quick'

-mwau

1. 'to be heavy' (physical reference; also solid, hard, bulky, awkward; may also specify task) Antonym **-gagábila**
2. 'to be sad, angry' (emotive state of grief or anger; also specifies a serious matter, esp unjust, and social behaviour considered to be in poor taste) Synonym **-kasai**

-pwapwasa

1. 'to be soft, tender' (physical reference) Antonym **mwau**
2. 'to be possible' (task or situation; may also indicate sthg practicable, sensitive, easy) Synonym **gagábila**, antonym **gala pwapwasa**
3. 'to be alert, sharp' (bodily senses, as sight or hearing; may also specify personality, as generous) Antonym **-kasai**

-gagábila

1. 'to be easy, possible (of any task)' Synonym **pwapwasa,** antonym **gala gagábila**
2. 'to be clear, plain, easy to understand (speech, light)' Synonym **pwapwasa,** antonym **mwau**
3. 'to be light (weight), easy (to carry)' Antonym **mwau**

The sense arrays which are outlined for these lexemes show semantic overlap, and it is difficult to state precise senses where an array is specifying a continuum which may apply to a number of apparently different circumstances. For example the gloss 'harsh' given for **-kasai** may be a single emic judgement applied to a number of dark senses with little differentiation. The senses identified for each are those which occur in a number of different situations. When **-kasai** has a non-objective reference, **-mwau** with non-objective reference is acceptable as a synonym, and both lexemes accept the same antonym **gagábila**. These synonymous terms appear acceptably in these sentences:

Mi<na>na	**la=uvalam**	**saina**	**kasai.**
Mi<na>na	**la=uvalam**	**saina**	**mwau.**
That-cl.woman	3sg.poss=crying	very	heavy

How sad is her grief.

Alternatively **-kasai** used with reference to 'hard (soil}' has the clear antonymous form **pwapwasa** 'soft (soil)', but not the antonym **-gagábila** which means physical lightness of weight, not softness of texture.

The senses which apply to **mwau** are seen to be more specific when antonyms are considered, in that only its physical references will accept the antonym **gagábila**, whereas emotive senses accept the synonym **kasai** but none of the antonyms of **kasai** apply to these senses of **mwau**. The non-admission of antonyms for grief-related senses show them to relate more precisely to sadness or anger than the broader term **kasai** does.

These lexemes have senses that represent either a physical reference to objects, or a non-physical reference to situations, sensations or emotions, and contextual information shows that a particular sense is designated within a statement, so that a meaning relation exists between them. The relation exists not between two lexemes but between certain senses identified in the sense arrays of the lexemes.

7.3.7 Plesionyms and non-synonymy

I turn now to the category of synonym that Cruse calls plesionym. Synonyms of this type fall at one extreme end of his scale, being partial synonyms which need to be qualified with different contextual information, and which often fade into non-synonymy.

> Two sentences which differ only in respect of plesionyms in parallel syntactic positions are not mutually entailing, although if the lexical items are in a hyponymous relation there may well be unilateral entailment. There is always one member of a plesionymous pair which it is possible to assert, without paradox, while simultaneously denying the other member (Cruse: 285).

Amongst examples of this type of synonym he contrasts the senses of *murder* and *execute,* with the sentence "*He was not murdered, he was legally executed.*" The two terms are related as hyponyms of *kill*, but are themselves incompatibles, either describing a synonymous relation as two ways in which a human may be killed, or else seen as non-synonyms as one represents criminal killing and the other legalised killing. Their relationship as synonyms can only stand by the senses entailing killing, yet have an incompatible contrast of legal killing which does not entail a criminal act. Cruse clarifies this contrast by employing a distinguishing term *not exactly*, as he says,

> If one of the lexical items is a hyponym of the other, only *not exactly* will collocate normally, and then only if it qualifies the hyponym.
> A- Was he murdered?
> B- Not exactly, but he was killed (Cruse: 286).

Cruse refers also to a superordinate and its hyponyms as possibly showing a plesionym relationship.

> It sometimes happens, in a set of items consisting of a superordinate and two or more mutually incompatible hyponyms, that the superordinate is close enough to its hyponyms to be considered a plesionym, but the hyponyms, because of their disjunct relation, are too distant to be plesionyms of each other (Cruse: 290).

This may be seen in the relation of the Kiriwina superordinate **waga** 'canoe' to the six canoe types **kewou, kaimolu, ligataya, kaiuvasaki, masawa** and **nagega**. The canoe types are incompatibles, representing a range of sizes and functions, but their superordinate is an acceptable partial synonym for any

one of its hyponyms, provided that the contextual information asserts the prime sense and not the specific functions of any one type.

This raises the question of whether class relations should acknowledge this marginal type of partial synonymy in Kiriwina dictionary entries. As its relevance to meaning has to be argued on a word-by-word basis, it is better not to burden dictionary definitions with this fringe area of synonymy. Further attention is given to this under hierarchies in 7.5 below.

7.4 Antonymy

7.4.1 Introduction

Some mention of antonymy has already been made above when it was observed that some antonymous forms were like negative synonymy, and from this point of view synonymy could be supported by the concept of oppositeness in some lexeme definitions. However antonymy must be seen as much more than merely opposite; or rather, the concept of oppositeness is found to work in various ways, such as in gradable and non-gradable antonyms, and in converse terms, incompatibility, or forms in mutually exclusive contexts.

Here I will categorise the types or degrees of oppositeness as categories of antonymy. The listings used by Crystal (1986: 105f) I have found helpful, although he lists only some categories as antonyms; however I give consideration to his categories of incompatibility (including colour lexemes) as being possibly considered types of antonymy.[7]

At this point I turn to the various forms of antonymy which are parts of this study of paradigmatic relations in Kiriwina. I will comment on complementary terms, both as non-gradable and gradable forms of antonymy. Then I will consider directional opposites, relational opposites, polarities, and opposite psychological states as shown in stative verbs.

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[7] The Oxford concise dictionary of linguistics adds, "For types of opposites, which may or may not be classed as antonymy in particular treatments, see complementarity; converse terms; – gradable antonymy" (Matthews 1997: 20).

7.4.2 Gradable antonymy

Complementary terms may be divided into two types of antonyms, which are gradable and non-gradable. Gradable antonymy is that form of opposite where the oppositeness is not only direct, as in *big/small* or *loud/soft*, but where two other qualifications must be added; first, that the bigness or loudness may be qualified into degrees (*bigger than, loudest*, also in other degrees of comparison as *slightly, very, extremely* etc); secondly that the bigness or loudness of one thing may in another set of comparisons become smaller, so that this car is louder than that motorbike, but softer than a jet plane.

Sense discriminations are an aid to definition, and this may be aided by opposites. The various senses of the English forms *good/bad* are used here as an example. One sense of *good (right morals)* may be understood in terms of its antonym *bad (behaviour)*, whereas another sense of *good (food)* may need the antonym *junk (food)*, and yet another sense of *good (student)* may carry different antonymic relations expressed as *poor (student)* or *unsuccessful (student)* depending on the particular sense of *good* being defined.

In these Kiriwina examples the terms with which the synonyms of senses of **bwaina** 'good' are paired show the forms which are acceptable as antonyms of particular senses. Different forms of gradable antonymy are listed, where items are modified by degree, as in:

bwaina 'good' and synonyms of particular senses		antonymous forms	
bwaina	good	**gaga**	bad
duwosísia	straight (thing, character)	**doudoga**	crooked (thing, character)
-mbwaili-	loved (person, thing)	**-kukoli-**	hated (person, thing)
-toula	genuine (food)	**gogova**	bad, inferior (food)
pu.pwaitúkula	persistent, keen (worker)	**mata**	weak, exhausted (worker)

salau	diligent, energetic (worker)	**nunu.mata**	tired, exhausted (worker)
		tuli	deaf, disobedient (worker)
pa.peula	strong (person)	**ma.mama**	weak (person)

In describing gradable antonymy for the Kiriwina to English dictionary the means by which degrees of antonymy are shown becomes part of the definition process. Not only do **–kékita** 'small' and its antonym **–veka** 'big' state the opposite relationship, but also each lexeme of the pair is further gradable in terms stating 'rather big, extremely large, very very small', etc.[8] The morphemes of degree which grade lexemes are usually the terms:

sitana slightly, moderately

saina very (big or small etc, placed before the modifier)

sainela very very, extremely (big or small etc, always placed after the modifier)

saina ... sainela very much indeed (a superlative degree of smallness or bigness etc when used with modifier placed between them)

These modifications of degree are illustrated below.

But even these extremes of contrast are capable of expansion into a yet greater or smaller degree of contrast. Two other degree indicators **-gaga** and **-vagasi** synonymous with **saina** ... **sainela** occur as suffixes, either with modifiers, nouns or verbs, indicating only the large or upper extreme superlative of one side of the antonym pairs, modifying 'big, loud, thick' etc. These are:

-gaga very (which is suffixed to verbs or adjectives)

kwaiveka-**gaga**	extremely big, monstrous
bwaini-**gaga**	very good, the best
-*si*-**gaga**	to stay a very long time

-vagasi very much indeed, unendingly (which occurs only as a verbal suffix, having a greater superlative connotation than **-gaga**)

-*si*-**vagasi**	stay permanently (of a person's village residence)
-*to*-**vagasi**	to stand permanently there (of a memorial stone)

[8] See 3.7.4.3 where degrees of adjectives are detailed.

In the following example the intermediate degrees and higher degrees are shown, grading the sizes of items to which they attach:

Waga	**ma<kai>na**	**sitana**	**kai-kékita,**
canoe	that-cl.long/rigid	slightly	cl.long/rigid-small

mitaga	**ma<kai-we>na**	**saina**	**kai-veka**	**sainela.**
but	that-cl.long/rigid-other	very	cl.long/rigid-big	very much

This canoe is little, but that one is very large.

Some other pairs of gradable antonyms are given here (shown with **kwai** 'cl.complex' where applicable).

kwai-bogwa	old	**kwai-vau**	new
kwai-kékita	small	**kwai-veka**	large
kwai-kukupi	short	**kwai-wonaku**	long
kakalaia	thin	**bidubadu**	thick
yuviyavi	hot	**tula**	cold
ma.mama	weak	**pa.peula**	strong

Occurrences of lexeme pairs having the relationship of gradable antonymy are noted in the text of the dictionary by cross-referencing only, using the abbreviation **gr.ant.**

7.4.3 Non-gradable antonymy

Antonyms which are non-gradable are sometimes described as complementary terms. Here we refer to a meaning that presupposes, but cannot be, the other, such as male/female, come/go, live/die etc. These antonyms do not accept the qualification of degrees, and they stay rigidly with their meaning which does not alter as do the gradable antonyms which may be *big* in one comparison or *small* in another.

Examples of non-gradable antonyms include:

na-mwala	**na-vivila**
cl.animal-male	cl.animal-female

kai-mwala	**kai-vivila**
cl.tree-male	cl.tree-female
guyau	**tokai**
chief	commoner
-mova	**-mata**
to live	to die
pwaipwaia	**bolita**
land	sea
-bogwa	**-vau**
(do) first	(do) again
yam	**bogi**
day	night

Many non-gradable antonyms show a converse quality that shows each one as presupposing different forms of antonymy. These are sometimes grouped separately under the name of converse antonyms, but I have listed them here as a subtype of the non-gradable antonyms; where different forms of contrast instead of only one contrast may be distinguished. Either one of a pair may occupy either side of the contrast. Such pairs include *mother: son, come: go, speak: be silent*. A large number of Kiriwina lexemes showing this relationship in different word classes are listed here, showing the need to identify multiple groups or synonymous terms with different types of converse antonyms.

inala	his/her mother	**latula**	her son/daughter
inala	his/her mother	**tamala**	his/her father
tau	adult	**gwadi**	child
tau	adult (not elder)	**tomoya**	senior in group, old man
kabimoya	good garden soil	**kabigaga**	bad garden soil
dúmia	wet soil (good for taro)	**yabala**	dry soil (no good for taro)
niwávila	calm weather	**yágila**	wind
numla	gentle breeze	**utu.yágila**	gale

-saiki	give	**-kau**	take
-se.makavi	give freely	**-yusi**	withhold
-ma	come (here)	**-wa**	go (from here)
-ma	come (here)	**-la**	go (there)
-suvi	enter	**-sunápula**	exit
-mwena	ascend	**-busi**	descend
		-pela	cross, move sideways
odógina	on top	**ouula**	at base
		osikowala	underneath
olumoulela	inside	**otuboulola**	outside
emaima	on this side	**ewaiwa**	on the other side
walakaiwa	over	**watanawa**	under
duwosísia	straight	**doudoga**	crooked
bóbuta	even, level	**gegedu**	awkward, distorted

Some other pairs of lexemes appearing to be opposites are actually extremes of a continuum, and so may not be non-gradable. If only the extremes are listed, they look like antonymous pairs, as in:

geguda	green (timber)	**matuwa**	mature (timber)
matuwa	mature, hard (veg. food)	**pwasa**	soft, bad (food)[9]
		pwasa.wókuva	completely soft (i.e. rotten throughout)
rarana	hard, unripe (fruit)	**monogu**	ripe (fruit)
bubuwana	immature (betelnut)	**monogu**	ripe (betelnut)

However, these oppositions may also be expressed by naming in an ordered succession the features of a continuum, as in those applied in 7.5.4.3 to the stages of maturity of fruit or timber from unusable immaturity to maturity, and then back to a rotten or useless state. This relation is better viewed as lexical units standing in a chain-like series, a hyponymous relationship with

[9] "Soft" may be "good" for some foods, as bananas, or "bad" for others, as yams.

no superordinate term. These are examined in the discussion of non-branching hierarchies in 7.5.4 below.

Non-gradable antonyms are identified on a one-by-one basis within the text of the dictionary by cross-referencing, using the abbreviation **non-gr.ant**. For some, however, it is better to group categories of non-gradable antonymy in a thesaurus listing semantic categories, as oppositeness is frequently more complex than a pair of lexemes.

7.4.4 Directional opposites

Other forms of antonymy are found in directional and relational terms, and in terms which show opposition of mental or psychological states. With some of these it may be an open question whether they are gradable or non-gradable, as in the case of opposite states of vegetable maturity where a relation to a sequential ordering was found. These are examined in 7.5.4.3 below.

Directional oppositions[10] show antonymous relationships of physical movement which are not gradable but which include possible different relational oppositions, where the movement relates to a single point, as in

-ma to come (here)	**-la**	to go (away)
	-wa	to go (to there)

where **-ma** specifies motion towards a point, while both **-la** and **-wa** specify motion away from a point. There is however inconsistency in **-la** which is used both to state motion away from here and motion towards some other point, whereas **-wa** is only for motion towards some other point, which of course entails leaving this point.

Another group specifies movement with no directional component contrasted with that involving direction. as in

-m to move, change position	**-ma** to come (here)
	-la to go (from here)
	-wa to go (to there)

[10] See also Senft (1999, 2000) for his discussions on directional oppositions in Kilivila motion verbs.

where **-m** specifies the initiation of movement, while the three verbs **-ma**, **-la** and **-wa**, which state or imply directions of motion relative to a point, arriving, leaving and going away to a named destination. An example of this contrast is given here, a co-ordinate sequence of two sentences:

Ku-m **bi-ta-la.**
2sg-move ir-1indl-go
lit. You move we will go
Come on, let's go!

which is a common speech formula which a speaker uses to address his companion(s) when they wish to leave a group.

Other examples of directional oppositions are generally non-gradable. I have added other possibilities of places between two extremes, placed in brackets with each pair.

watanawa	below	**walakaiwa**	above
		(**olumoulela**	in the middle)
o-sikowala	underneath	**o-dabala**	on top of something
		(**o-lopola**	inside,
		olumoulela	in the middle, between)
-va.kaiwa	go by highest way	**-va.busi**	go by low way, descend
		-va.kana	go by middle way
		-va.yali	go along the beach
-suvi	to enter	**-sunápula**	to exit
		-sisu	to stay
uula	base of tree, stern of canoe	**dógina**	topmost tree branch. nose of canoe

7.4.5 Either/or relations

There are other relational opposites such as those of the *either/or* type which generally do not show midway categories. As an example, there is no Kiriwina relational opposite expressed as *buy* vs *sell*, both being seen as the one act **-gimwala** to trade/exchange. However the exchange category for **-gimwala** may be qualified by a context added to the transitive form **-gimoli** which specifies whether the trade action has a directional component for giving or reception of goods, as shown here:.

-saiki	to give	**-kau**	to take
-semakavi	to give	**-kaimali**	to return sthg
(not expecting payment)		**-gimwala**	to trade (buy or sell)

-gimwala to trade

-gimoli baisa ma<tau>na
trade to that-cl.person
to trade to him

-gimoli metoya baisa ma<tau>na
trade from to that-cl.person
to trade from him

(Note: These are translatable as sell and buy.)

Some other relational opposites, including reversive terms, opposite polarities (where an opposite may be marked with a negative), and opposite mental or psychological states such as those expressed with stative verbs, are shown here.

Reversive terms:

-saili	to put	**-kau**	to take
-bia	to pull	**-tupi**	to push
-ulaim	to open	**-patu**	to close, block off
-livala	to talk	**-kapatu**	to be silent (lit. shut mouth)

Opposite polarities:

-gagábila	be possible	**gala gagábila**	to be impossible
-pwapwasa	be easy	**gala pwapwasa**	to be difficult
		-mwau	to be difficult

Psychological opposites:

mbwaili-	loved item	**kukolo-**	hated item
yebwaili	love	**kowolova**	hatred
mwasawa	happiness	**nina.mwau**	sadness (lit. mind-heavy)
tuvaluwa	brave	**kokola**	afraid

The dictionary does not label these various types of antonyms, but antonymous forms are added to entries as a cross-reference to the entry where each antonym is found as a headword and defined. The entries for the first pair of psychological opposites **mbwaili-** 'loved item' and **kukolo-** 'hated item' are shown as an example:

MBWAILI(la) (adj 2)

1. (His) loved item; the one he prefers above others. The suffix is a class 1 possessive pronoun.
(Note - May be used without a prefix, when the nature of the loved item is not stated; otherwise may bear a classifier prefix which would thus specify the loved item.) Ant **kukolo(la)**

Gudi-mbwaili-dasi
Cl.child-loved.item-1inpl.poss
lit. our loved child
the child that we all love (or) our favourite child

KUKOLO(la) (adj 2)

1. (His) hated item; the thing or person he hates above all others. The suffix denotes possession.
(Note – if prefixed with classifier this specifies the nature of the hated item.) Ant **mbwaili(la)**

Nanamsa	**ma<kwai>na**	**kwe-kukolo-m.**
thought	cl.complex-that	cl.thing-hated-your(sg)

lit. that thought your hated thing

That is the idea you hate most.

7.4.6 Incompatibility and contrast

Incompatible lexical units are those which are mutually exclusive within a class or group, as in colour terms where a red item cannot be blue, or in plant names where a carrot cannot be a turnip. While complementarity may be seen as having the same sort of contrast, the special quality of incompatibility is not opposites, but contrasts within a group. *Blue* is not opposite to *red*, or *whale* to *dolphin*, but each pair has membership within a class of things.

Incompatible lexical items may include those which are types of a class, as *wasp/beetle* or *gull/albatross* or *lily/orchid,* and may be classified in a relation of hyponymy, as members of a set included under a superordinate category, as *'kind of insect', 'kind of bird'*, or *'kind of flower'*. Members of such a group may be incompatible with one another but have a hyponymous relation with their superordinate, in a '*X is a kind of Y*' category. This may be a marginal form of synonymy which was examined in 7.3.4 and 7.3.7 above. Thus for these lexemes with a relation of such contrasts it is best to recognise them as incompatibles with a foot in the two camps of synonymy and hyponymy.

Further mention of incompatibility is made in 7.6 below.

7.5 Hierarchies

7.5.1 Introduction

My next concern is with the relations shown between lexical units in hierarchies. Three main sorts of hierarchies are found:

1. a taxonomy, a system of hierarchical (class-inclusion) relations of the type '*X is a kind of Y*';

2. partonymies, showing a relationship of part to whole, where '*X is a part of Y*';

3. non-branching hierarchies which show items that are related by being in a set order or series usually having a beginning and an end, where '*X is succeeded by Y*'.

These three categories are detailed below, with illustrations from Kiriwina text and dictionary entries. Hierarchical trees may be used to illustrate these types of relations.

7.5.2 Taxonomies

7.5.2.1 Introduction

Taxonomies consist of classes of lexical items representing semantic categories arranged as hyponyms under a superordinate; these are items that are related within a class of things, where the hyponym X is a kind of Y, the superordinate. One may refer to superordinates as 'generic taxa' and hyponyms as 'subtaxa' of the generic. A taxonomy may have more than two levels, e.g. in English terriers, labradors, poodles and dachshunds are kinds of dog, but dogs, cats and rabbits are, in turn, kinds of animal.

Among the largest taxonomies in the lexicon of Kiriwina are those of plants and animals, but there are taxonomies of many other domains, such as kinds of canoes, kinds of drums, etc. Some examples follow.

7.5.2.2 A taxonomy for dancing drums

The classification of drums used for dancing is a simple arrangement with **kaisousau** 'dancing drum' as a superordinate with three drums in order of size, **kaiula** 'large drum', **kaibela** 'mid-sized drum' and **katunénia** 'small finger drum'. The three are of identical design and carved detail, each with a drumhead of **kailavásia** 'lizard skin', and all are used as hand-held

instruments. (Surprisingly, the little one is the leader, setting rhythm and changes with its high note; I liken its function to that of the oboe in an orchestra.)

The dictionary entry for the superordinate **kaisousau** records the primary senses, a general term for all drums and a specific reference to the class of three drums for dancing. Under the sense of the class of drums used for dancing there is included the names of the three hyponyms, and their identical design (a picture helps). Then each hyponym becomes a cross-reference to the three entries which describe the differing functions of each drum.

The dictionary entries for **kaisousau** 'drum' and **katunénia** 'small finger drum' are shown here.

KAISOUSAU (n 3)

(Variant forms **kasosau, keisosau**)

1. drum (superordinate term) May be used to specify any drum, as traditional dancing drum, also any bell or hollow log used for signalling, or different types of musical instruments, as bodhran, tambourine, etc.

2. Superordinate for dancing drum Three hyponyms **katunénia, kaibela, kaiula** (ordered from small to large, 30cm, 60cm and 72cm approx. in length).

(Note: – the three drums are straight cylinders usually made from **meku** a hardwood timber, and are regarded as important personal items, being passed down from one generation to the next. They are carved with identical designs, including a handle placed centrally, even though the handle of the little **katunénia** is never used, the drum being gripped in the hand at apex close to the drumhead. The usual drum-skin for all three is the **kailavásia** lizard. A group comprising six or more **kaiula** and one **katunénia** plays for any dance, sometimes with the addition of one or two **kaibela**.)

KATUNÉNIA (n 3)

The smallest of three drums used for **kaiwosi** communal dancing See also **kaibela, kaiula**, and superordinate **kaisousau**.

(Note: – only one **katunénia** is used in the group of **kaisousau,** as it is the voice of authority, its high-pitched note setting the rhythm, signalling changes etc. The **katunénia** measures 30cm x 5cm, and is played with one finger.) [Picture of **katunénia** included in text.]

7.5.2.3 A taxonomy for canoes and other watercraft

A more complex taxonomy is that of vessels used to carry people and cargo. This has three levels, as shown in Figure 7.1:

waga

'any vessel for carrying people or cargo'

↓

wagatoula	**waga dimdim**	**wagela mwasawa**
traditional canoe	white man's vessel	model canoe
six taxa	seven taxa	two taxa
(see fig. 7.2)	(see fig. 7.3)	(see fig. 7.4)

Figure 7.1 Taxonomy of vessels

Each of the kinds of vessel then becomes a superordinate with the kinds placed in order underneath. The **wagatoula** are in order of size from small to large, as shown in fig 7.2 below.

Figure 7.3 shows the taxonomy of white men's vessels. There is no specific order in the hyponyms of this taxonomy.

While terms relating to canoes and other water-craft are widely distributed throughout the whole dictionary, the corpus of related vocabulary needs to be placed in a single appended entry, approaching encyclopaedic detail, as canoe skills and management are a prominent feature of Kiriwina culture. The operation of a thesaurus may assist this, but even here related semantic fields are divided, and a single appendix relating relevant semantic fields is better. Accordingly the full taxonomy of traditional vessels is detailed in a dictionary appendix, which includes illustrations of each kind, with part-whole hierarchies for each major component, and other groups of detail

related to the making and operation of canoes, sailing terminology, different patterns of wind and weather, etc. Finally Figure 7.4 is a small group of two types, one for sale and one for play:

wagatoula

'traditional canoe'

↓

kewou	**kaimolu**	**ligataya**	**kaiuvasaki**
small canoe, works in shallows, one man paddles	slightly larger, two paddlers	small sailing canoe for shallow water fishing	larger fishing canoe for deep sea or group fishing, gunwale and prow boards, 3-6 men

masawa	**nagega**
large canoe, with gunwale high boards, carved prow-boards etc., long distance trips and **kula** voyages, 6-15 men	very large canoe, built Eastern border of Massim, with 10 – 20 crew

Figure 7.2 Taxonomy of traditional canoes

waga dimdim

'white men's vessels'

↓

waga kainum	**kata**	**waga kaikékita**	**sitima**
trawler, engine-driven vessel (for traders, missions, Government)	locally-built, any yacht or sailing vessel	dinghy or any small boat, driven by outboard or rowed	large vessel (seen on horizon)

turaki	**waga kaiyoyowa**	**elikopta**
any road vehicle for carriage of goods or people	aeroplane (Lit. flying canoe) conveying people, esp tourists, also mails and cargo	helicopter (rarely seen)

Figure 7.3 Taxonomy of white men's vessels

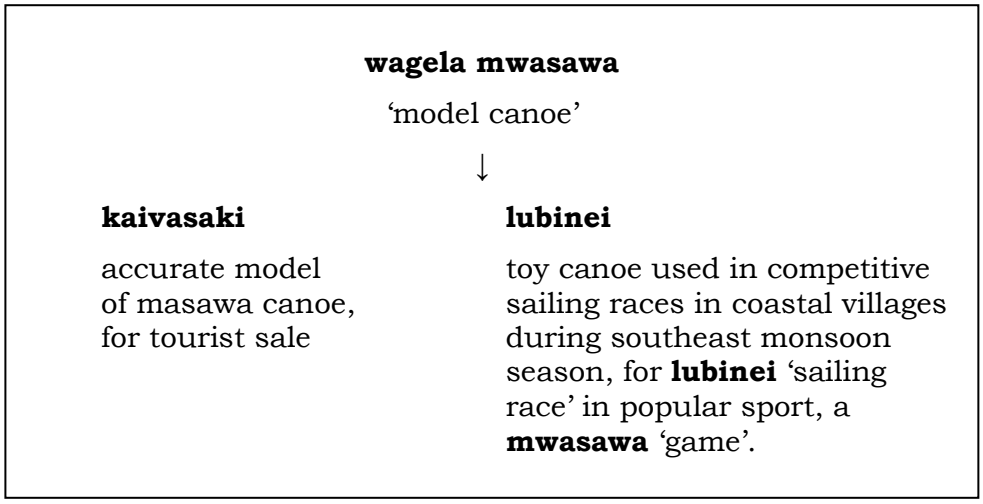

Figure 7.4 Taxonomy of model canoes

7.5.2.4 A taxonomy of living things

In classifying living things, the question of relating the Kiriwina classifiers to this role may arise. Certainly living things are included in the domains which the classifiers specify, but those domains do not include specification of the quality of being alive as part of their function. Rather their classification is based on physical form. The domains of the classifiers **na-**, **kai-** and **ya-** illustrate this:

> **na-** specifies all animals, birds, insects and sea life (except shellfish), and does not further differentiate between them. But the domain of **na-** includes also any carved items either of animals or people, and also human corpses.
>
> **kai-** specifies all long and rigid items, which includes trees, bushes, and long grasses, but also may specify flowers, dead trees, any timber, plus steel items such as crowbars or carpentry tools.
>
> **ya-** specifies all thin and flexible items, which includes many grasses and creepers, but also nonliving items such as string, rope, paper and cloth.

Kiriwina people see **momova** 'life' as a quality which belongs to three separate groups in their world, being possessed by **tomota** 'people', **mauna** 'animals' and **kai**[1] 'vegetation'. These three taxa are in turn superordinates for subtaxa of different kinds of living things. In general conversation about the

natural order it is apparent that a Kiriwina speaker is aware of an ordered relation between living things, and he relates some of them in terms of the usefulness they have for his work as a builder, gardener or fisherman. His grouping of some items may be on the basis of those he fears or regards with suspicion, others on the basis of the way they move around. There is not a structured order in his mind which sets everything into a pattern; rather his structures are directly related to his world of needs, fears of the unknown, and his observation of their movements.

Thus I have not attempted to relate these 'folk taxonomies' to any formal classification system, but simply show the taxonomies which are apparently assumed in conversation. In presenting their taxonomy of living things I will show how two (**kai**[1] 'vegetation' and **mauna** 'animals') are shown as superordinates, taken from conversation over a number of occasions.

i) The world of vegetation *kai*[1]

Vegetation is divided in two major ways. The first taxonomy is a view of the world of natural or wild growth, which is divided according to its different patterns of growth, and subtaxa are further grouped according to their usefulness for people; this group is the one which is represented as a taxonomy in figures 7.5 and 7.6. No garden crops are included in this group.

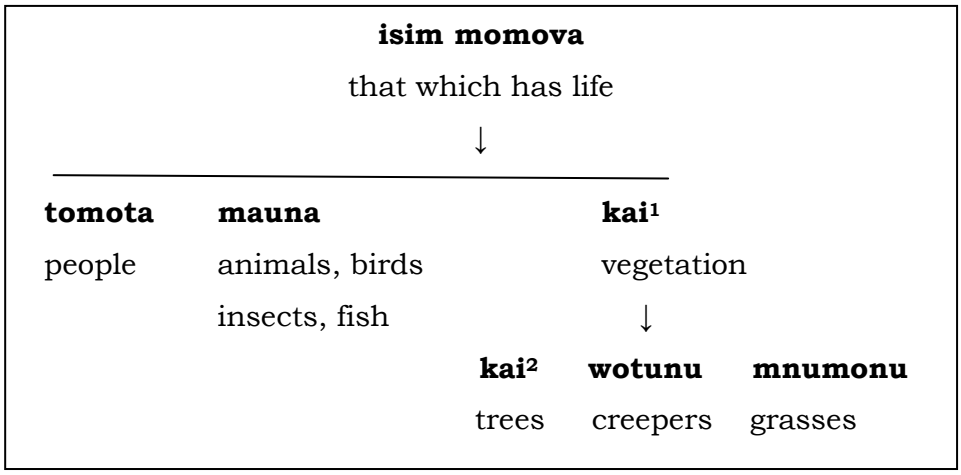

Figure 7.5 Taxonomy of living things

A second division (not shown here) is of cultivated things and other growing things, which includes garden produce and wild vegetation which may be useful as food. This second taxonomy shows some cross-cutting with the

first. In Figure 7.5 the basic division of living things is shown, and the initial branched taxonomy of vegetation.

Each of the three members in the taxonomy of **kai[1]** vegetation is a superordinate for several subtaxa, which are further divisible. This must be shown here in three different figures (7.6, 7.7 and 7.8), representing the branching of this taxonomy. The branch for **kai[2]** is shown in Figure 7.6. Several different kinds of trees are shown, which represent different degrees or kinds of usefulness, and there is sometimes division between informants as to the different categories to be named, e.g. canoe trees, trees for fencing, housebuilding timber. I have named the most frequent:

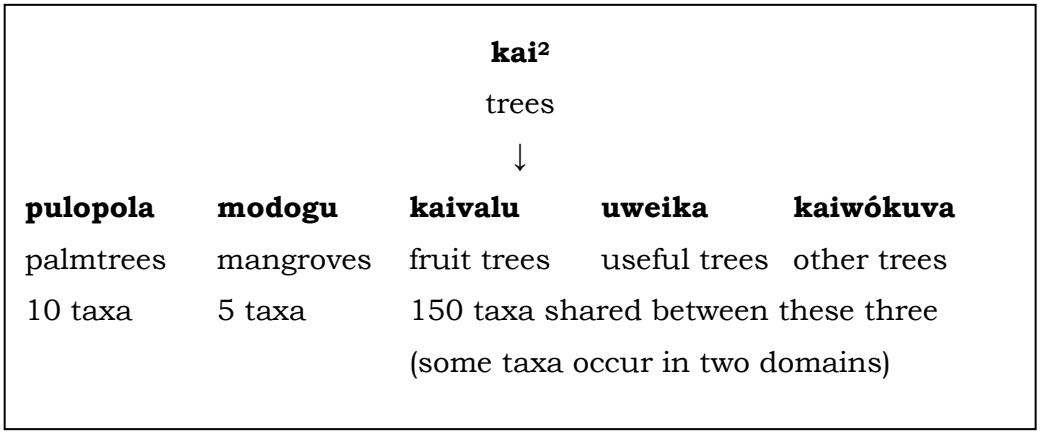

Figure 7.6 Taxonomy of trees

The second branch shows the kinds of creeper that are referred to. The word **wotunu** describes a compact group of different kinds, as are set out in Figure 7.7:

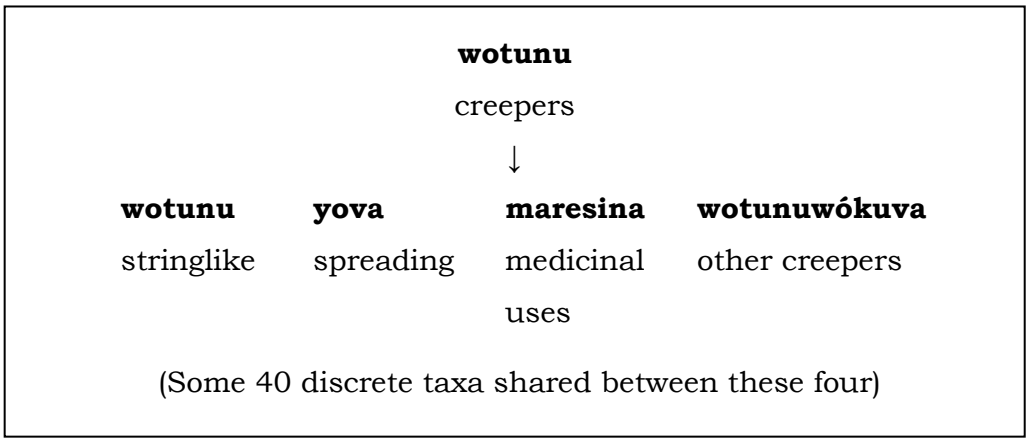

Figure 7.7 Taxonomy of creepers

Then in Figure 7.8 the different kinds of grasses are shown. There is some division between speakers regarding grasses, as some say medicinal uses should be included, a few reeds and swamp grasses are valued for thatching, and some fungi are (or seem to be) sacrosanct as they may have a place in some sorcery poisons. Various uses are noted in dictionary entries for each taxon. The four kinds of grass shown in this taxonomy are divided only on their different appearances.

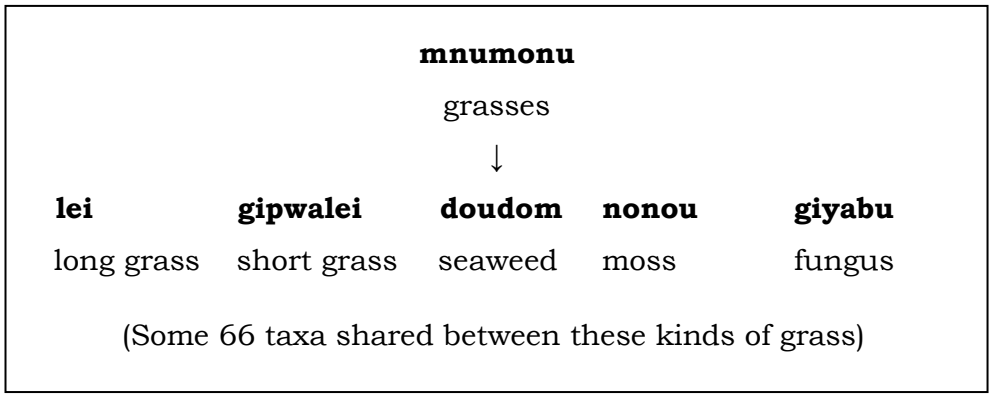

Figure 7.8 Taxonomy of grasses

ii) Animals, birds and fish – *mauna*

This major division of living beings shows a more complex treatment by Kiriwina speakers. Speakers may divide different kinds of living beings according to the way they move about, or they may be grouped according to the attitudes that people adopt towards them. A consequence of this is that there are many different domains which crisscross, and some kinds of **mauna** will have a place in several different domains. I will sketch out some of the different taxonomies that are presupposed in conversation.

Some taxonomies differentiate **mauna** 'animal' using the adjective which describes their means of locomotion as generic names for major classes. For example, one class is shown in Figure 7.9 which specifies the class of flying animals using the adjective **nayoyowa** which abbreviates the phrase:

mauna	**nayoyowa**
animal	cl.animal-flying
flying animal(s)	

Thus in Figure 7.9 two major classes of **mauna** have as their generic names the adjectives **na-yoyowa** 'cl.animal-flying' and **na-sigiságina** 'cl.animal-creeping' and these adjectives[11] are the only terms used for these two kinds of animals. See Figure 7.9 following, in which **nayoyowa** 'flying animal' includes all birds and bats, and also large winged insects, and **nasigiságina** 'crawling animal' includes all other animal life (pigs, dogs, centipedes, snakes, snails, etc). All marine life is included in this taxonomy under **yena** 'fish'. In another taxonomy the genus **yena** 'fish' is sometimes replaced with **maunela bolita** 'sea animals' and further differentiated different kinds of sea life.

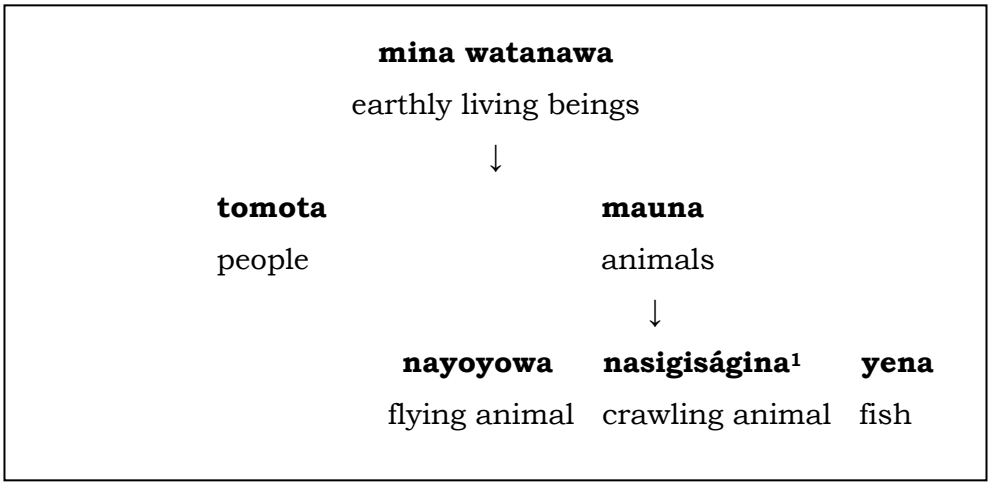

Figure 7.9 Taxonomy of animals

Yet another taxonomy uses **nasigiságina** as a superordinate term for animals other than **nayoyowa** and **yena**, with four different hyponyms having domains as shown in Figure 7.10:

Three of the four generic names used in Figure 7.10 are the adjectives used as abbreviated forms of the phrases **mauna na-liloula** 'walking animals' *et al*; the fourth generic **minu.mauna** is a reduplicated form of the noun **mauna** 'animal', and uses this plural form to specify tiny animals that cluster in swarms or clouds, as gnats.

[11] The two adjectives are abbreviated forms of the phrases **mauna nayoyowa** and **mauna nasigisagina**; they are class 2 adjectives derived from the verb stems **-yowa** 'to fly' and **-sagina** 'to creep', as shown in 3.7.4.3 part ii b).

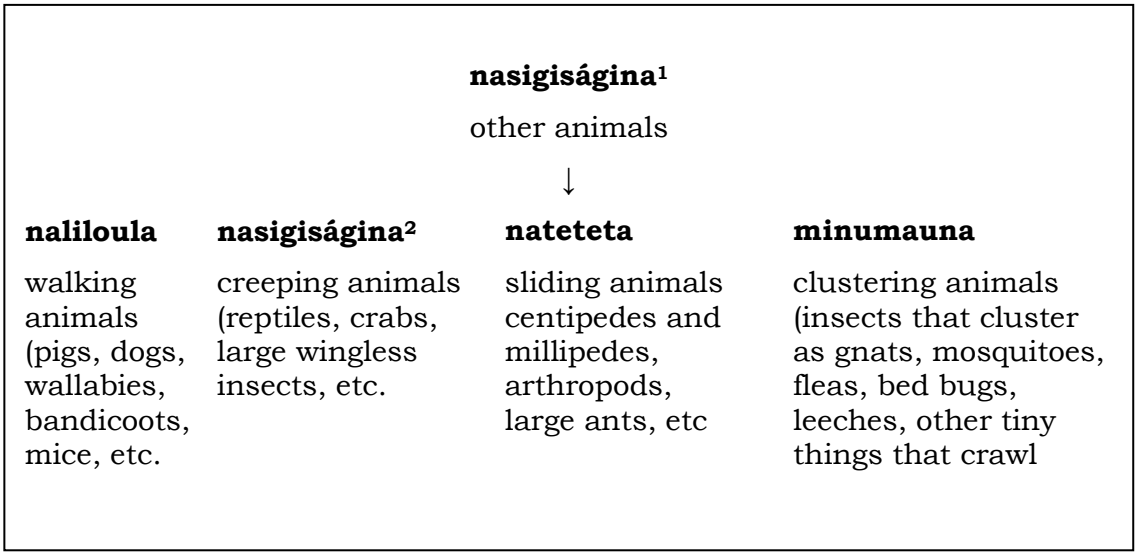

Figure 7.10 Kinds of other animals

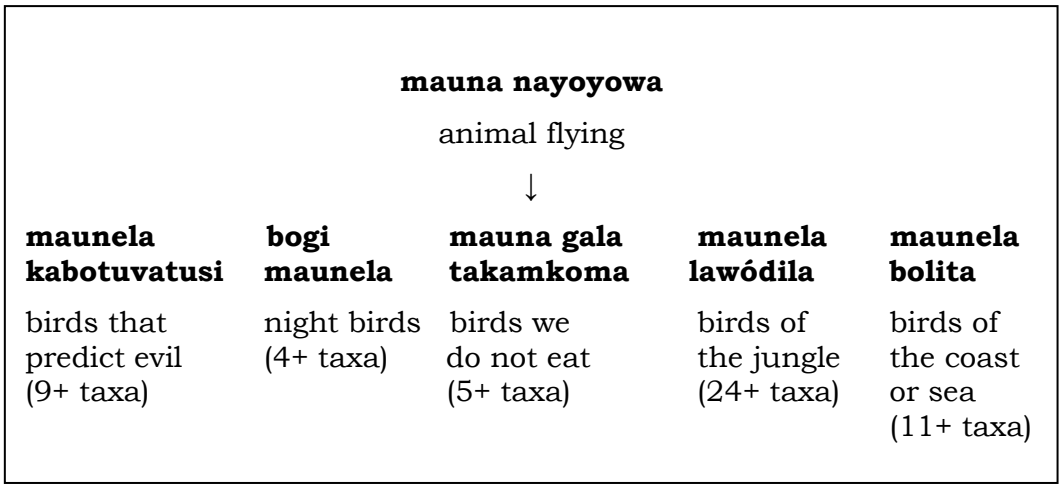

Figure 7.11 Kinds of flying animals

Flying animals may be divided by descriptive phrases which state either the reaction they engender in people, or their place in the environment. This taxonomy specifies domains using a descriptive noun phrase for each class, but no attempt is made here to list all taxa in a domain, only noting approximate numbers of taxa which illustrate each domain. Hyponyms in this taxonomy have descriptive titles rather than names. There is also much overlapping of domain membership. Figure 7.11 shows this taxonomy:

One genus named in Figure 7.9 as **yena** 'fish', has been described by Kiriwina speakers using more than one taxonomy. I detail here the particular

taxonomy which I have used in the dictionary definition of sea life. The kind of fish named by speakers as each kind's superordinate is identified[12] by its English name, which is used in naming the kinds of fish in Figure 7.12 below. Because of the number of subtaxa it cannot be set out fully here, so the taxonomy shown in Figure 7.12 is outlined only, and the names of different kinds of **yena** are added in a numbered series under the figure. These are open classes, and the stated number of taxa for each group is an 'at least' statement; this field is continually being researched, and taxa are added to each group when verified.

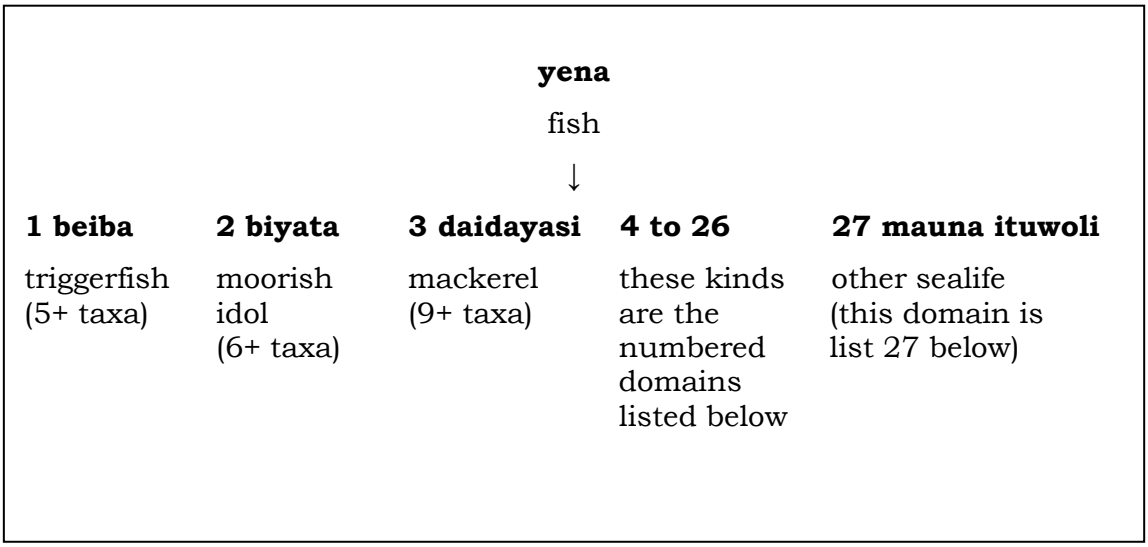

Figure 7.12 Taxonomy of sealife

Note to fig. 7.12: Other kinds of fish include the following domains:

4 dubasímila 'emperor', 11+ taxa
5 kaleta 'bass', 7+ taxa
6 kaisova 'unicornfish', 4+ taxa
7 kibolu 'seaperch', 7+ taxa
8 kiyaula 'spinefoot', 8+ taxa
9 kwaduva 'seapike', 8+ taxa
10 kwaku 'mudskipper', 3+ taxa
11 kwau 'shark', 7+ taxa
12 lou 'stonefish', 8 taxa
13 madolu 'trevally' , 8+ taxa
14 mámila 'leatherjacket', 10+ taxa
15 mawa 'surgeonfish', 4 taxa
16 mitukunápula 'rock cod', 5+ taxa
17 tala 'squirrelfish', 4+ taxa
18 tauya 'cod' 14+ taxa

[12] Identification has been by reference to authorities on the fish of Papua New Guinea, such as Ian S. R. Munro (1967) *The fishes of New Guinea*, or Allen and Swainston (1993) *Reef fishes of New Guinea*.

19 **tomadawa** 'dugong', only one taxon
20 **toma** 'mullet', 11+ taxa
21 **urigova** 'crocodile', only one taxon
22 **utuwawa** 'goatfish', 5+ taxa
23 **vai** 'ray', 7+ taxa
24 **vaya** 'herring', 5+ taxa
25 **wonu** 'turtle' 6 taxa
26 **yudigaga** (no English gloss), 6+ taxa
27 **mauna ituwoli** (lit. 'different animal(s))

This last category includes all other living beings either in the sea or in the littoral zone. They may be treated either as one complex group or subdivided into about 12 subtaxa, each a superordinate with several taxa as shown below. But this would be a taxonomy of the lexicographer's making, as Kiriwina speakers do not conceptualise them as an interrelated system of subtaxa. Included are:

bosu 'whale' and **suyusayu** 'dolphin'
keiyuna 'seasnake' 7+ taxa, and **buliwada** 'eel' 10+ taxa
mwagoru 'beche-de-mer' 6+ taxa
lakum 'crab', **kuiga** 'crayfish', **kiu** 'prawn' etc., 11+ taxa
siwai 'squid, cuttlefish' and **kwita** 'octopus'
vigoda 'shellfish' (either living, or dead shells). 25+ taxa
vatu 'coral' 7+ taxa
toulom 'jellyfish', **sanana** 'sea urchin', 'starfish' and 'brittle star'
lamam 'sea anemone', **mwata** 'seaworm', etc.

iii) These taxonomies examined

Some of the assumptions or choice bases which underlie these taxonomies need closer examination. The divisions between groups of animals shown in figures 7.9 and 7.10 have been labelled according to the way they move about. The group of entities termed **mauna nayoyowa** 'flying animals' cuts across any Western or white man's idea of order, as this domain includes every living thing that moves by flying, what the white man calls birds, but also winged mammals or bats, and any of the orders of insects such as the larger butterflies and moths, also locusts and beetles - all these are members of the same domain. There is no sign of any cross-culture acquisition of foreign means of dividing such living beings, as the perceived winged means of locomotion is the sole basis for their inclusion in this domain. It is probably

misleading to gloss them all as some sort of animal, which is a meaningful term for the Western mind familiar with Linnaean classification; it may be better to gloss them each as 'living being that moves by flying', except for the fact that this gloss is cumbersome; perhaps 'flying creature' would suit.

Looking further into other domains shown in figure 10, the means of movement employed by the various living beings is seen as the basis for their inclusion in the domain of living beings that walk, creep, or slide, while living beings that cluster are all grouped on the basis of their frequent habit of appearing in swarms, or on the tiny size of each one. Throughout the whole of this taxonomy, domain classification relies solely on visual perception of a common trait of movement in each domain member.

In relation to the domains described in Figure 7.12, what the Western mind perceives as fish are broadly grouped on the sole basis of their environment in the sea or the littoral zone, and species which minds set in a different culture see as unrelated, such as crocodile, dugong and turtle, occupy places in the Kiriwina domains of different sorts of **yena** 'fish'. Other smaller domains such as **bosu** 'whale', **lakum** 'crab', **buliwada** 'eel', etc. are still placed in the domains of sea-related living beings, although some of these hold membership in different domains, such as crabs which are seen either as creeping animals or as sea-dwelling living beings in the littoral zone. **Vigoda** 'shellfish' are not seen as fish, but are included in group 27 as **mauna ituwoli** 'different animals'; this living entity alone is not classified with cl.**na-** 'animal' but with **kwai-** 'shapeless", which is used for both the living animal and the empty shell. (See 3.7.3.1.)

The classification of vegetation has a different basis. The domains shown in Figure 7.6 are based on the degrees of usefulness for people. Palm trees rank highly in a scale of utility, based on the straight grain which palm tree timbers have. Thus one kind of palm tree is the traditional source of the best spears, while another is used for flooring timber in dwellings. Another palm tree bears **buwa** 'betelnut' which is high in the culture's social scene, and yet another, **luya** 'coconut', has a prominent dietary use, while its fronds have many uses, as in thatching, or in the manufacture of baskets. Other palms such as **kaibwibwi** 'pandanus' are essential, its roots being used for the

manufacture of string or rope, and its fronds for the manufacture of fine mats. Utility is the basis for separation of palm trees into one domain.

Turning to other domains in Figure 7.6, **modogu** 'mangrove timbers' are important in house-building. The domain **kaivalu** 'fruit trees' is interesting. The word translates literally as 'village tree', and is used for fruit trees planted in or near a village. Although they are owned by the planter, these trees are also seen as in some measure public property, which often leads to village disputes. Their inclusion in the taxonomy of trees is a crossover feature, as usually only jungle trees are included. But because of the place they hold as useful or desirable they do form part of the Kiriwina speaker's perceived taxonomy of timbers. The category of **uweika** 'useful trees' covers the inclusion of timbers good for building, for **kamkokola** 'yam stakes', or for fencing to protect gardens from wild pigs. The last group **kaiwókuva** 'other trees' is an 'anything else' category, and sometimes other timbers are named from this large group on the basis of particular uses for which they are prized, such as suitable for canoe hulls or for carving.

The full taxonomy of living things is set out in a dictionary appendix, which is used as a reference point for the dictionary entries. Those taxonomies which are set down in the text above are partial because of the limitations of space, but it is important to emphasise that they reflect an attitude of general agreement which holds between mature speakers of Kiriwina that they state how items in the natural world of Kiriwina relate to one another and to people's needs. Cross-references are made from dictionary entries, such as notes from individual timbers relating each tree to domains in a full taxonomy of growing things which is appended to the dictionary.

7.5.3 Partonymies

7.5.3.1 Introduction

The relation between lexical items that are parts of a whole may be expressed as *'X is a part of Y'*, their relation to one another being that a group of things that together constitute a larger entity.

Although this relationship of partonymy (termed by Cruse meronomy) may be illustrated by a hierarchical tree diagram, the *X is a part of Y* relationship is not a hierarchy of classes. Cruse (159f) defines the relation between parts as having three characteristics, "autonomy, non-arbitrary boundaries, and determinate function with respect to the whole." A part is uniquely identifiable as an item within a whole; its boundary or boundaries are a recognisable point of discontinuity, as with the termination of a table leg or leg of an organic whole; and each part plays a specific role in the function of the whole. These three characteristics are observable in some of the Kiriwina examples which follow.

7.5.3.2 Two varieties of partonymy

Two major varieties of partonymy are noted here. The first is when the part-whole relation belongs to an organic entity, when a part is separated conceptually as an item which is contained within the larger part, when a head, arm or leg is part of a body, or a fish's scales or fins or tail are part of the fish. The lexical units grouped in this partonymy show a contrastive feature of incompatibility.

The partonymy of the whole fish and its external parts shown in Figure 7.13 illustrate this variety of partonymy:

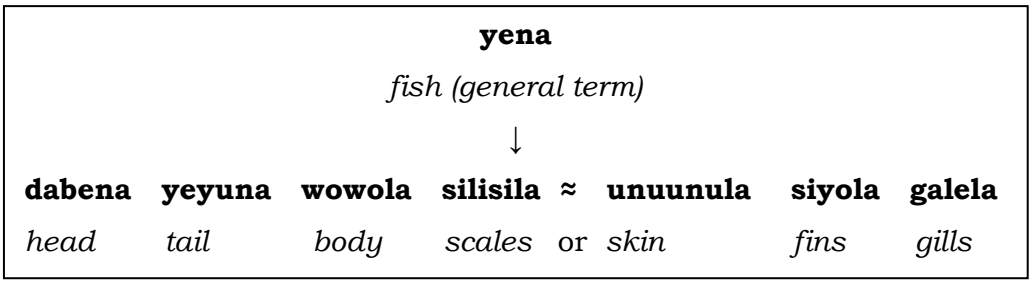

Figure 7.13 The parts of a fish

Note to fig 7.13: Some fish do not have scales but their rough skin is a recognised equivalent part, as both must be removed before consumption.

A partonymy similar to this names the various parts of a pig's carcass when it is butchered and shared, with traditional rights attaching to certain pieces. These parts however would not satisfy Cruse's three criteria (see 7.5.3.1), as they are cut from a carcass with a view to their practical use as a

food item. Cruse (159) makes the point that *part* is not a hyponym of *piece*, contrasting the difference as that between a dis-assembled typewriter and one that is cut up with a hack-saw.

This is a partonymy only when a carcass is viewed as a possible source of pieces, and when the carcass is butchered it ceases to be a whole with parts but becomes a number of discrete portions whose only relation is in their common origin. There is also an essential incompatibility between the pieces as the different portions mark traditional rights which apply to some specific cuts, as when a particular cut from the flank is automatically set aside as the chief's portion.

The dictionary shows this partonymy as a diagram showing each part *in situ* on the carcass, each cut of meat being a headword describing its position on a carcass and possible cultural rights associated with that cut.

The second of these two varieties of partonymy is when Y is a manufactured or constructed whole, and *X is part of the structure of Y*. In this case X is not a functioning part of an organic whole, and the separation of X for any purpose (such as repair or replacement) does not alter the conception of Y, which is still viewed as a whole with detachable parts. In a society where complex items are constructed, things are put together to form the larger item, as the parts of a canoe, seen in the partonymy shown in Figure 7.14:

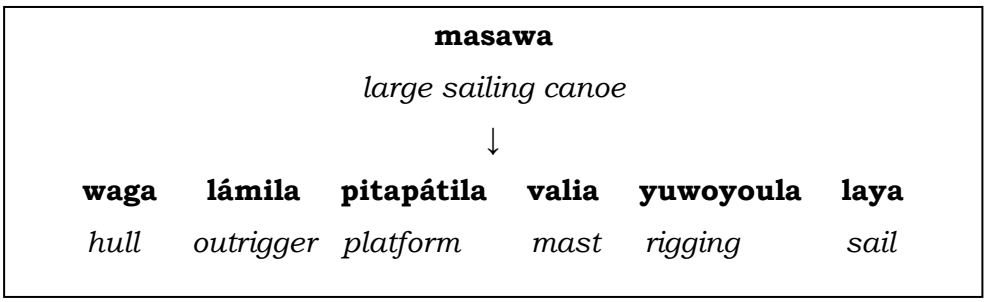

Figure 14 The parts of a large canoe

Each part could be separated but would then still hold its identity as a part; the boundaries of each part are distinct, and each has a function in the operation or the conceptualised wholeness of the total unit. Each of these

major parts could also serve as a superordinate with a taxonomy detailing the various parts for each.

The parts of these wholes in these two types of partonymy are incompatibles, as they stand apart as different items, yet in their hyponymous relation to the whole they are compatible, as parts which are necessary for the forming and working of the whole. They may be simply described as parts of a whole item.

7.5.3.3 A partonymy of inclusion

A third variety of partonymy is found in items which stand in an inclusory or containing relation, with smaller units each contained within a larger unit. One such partonymy is the class of garden plots within a communal food garden, where the succession of sizes describes a relation between smaller contained units and larger containing units. The whole is a complex arrangement of responsibilities, as the whole plot is communally owned and guarded by a communally-built pig fence, yet smaller divisions are specifically for family groups, and in the smallest sizes individual work responsibilities are specified. The pattern of this relationship is shown in Figure 7.15.

This partonymy will be shown in the dictionary appendix as a diagram of a series of rectangles successively enclosing from the smallest to largest, but here available space precludes this.

The succession of plot sizes shows each size from the smallest totally containable within the next larger unit, up to the level of **baleku**; and each of the units from **baleku** downwards can be seen as individual plots owned by the families that cultivate them. But above the level of **baleku** the ownership of the land is seen as communal, and all are enclosed within the pig fence which is built as a communal work project under the chief's authority. The Kiriwina dictionary records this *X is contained within Y* relation by describing the specific sizes and work responsibilities associated with each taxon, with a reference to other plot sizes and a reference to a hierarchical diagram illustrating the whole partonymy.

kwábila large tract of land (for gardening, c 5 hectares)
(All Kiriwina's arable land is divided into **kwábila,** which are used in rotation for the year's communal garden)

buyagu the area set aside for village gardens
(This is the particular **kwábila** selected by chief for the year's communal garden site. **Kwábila** and **buyagu** are equal in size

bágula Smaller family plots within **buyagu** *(* Different deictics specify the sizes of the garden plots below this point in the series)

baleku *ma*<**kwai**>*na* The largest division of *bagula*
(Area for one family garden, fifth to half hectare)

bágula *ma*<**kalivisi**>*na* The division of *bagula* into 2 or 3 parts

bágula *ma*<**gubo**>*na* *S*ubdivision of *makalivisina* into halves

bágula *ma*<**vala**>*na* A subdivision smaller than *magubona*

bágula *ma*<**lupo**>*na* A very small garden subdivision

bágula *ma*<**kadida**>*na* A yet smaller garden subdivision
(also a task divided between several workers)

ma<**pulu**>*na* **simsimwai** A garden mound for one item to be planted, as **simsimwai** sweet potato

Figure 7.15 A partonymy of garden plot sizes

The sizes of garden plots are specified by classifiers, and I give as examples the dictionary entries for the two largest subdivisions, ma<**kalivisi**>na and ma<**gubo**>na:

KALIVISI- (cl)

Also found as **kaluvisi-**

Specifies the division of a **bagula** 'garden plot' into two or three large plots. For next smaller division see **gubo-**. (Note: See diagram of garden divisions in appendix, with set of senses from largest to smallest part listed. This cl is the first or largest division of a family plot.)

GUBO- (cl)

Also found as **gubu-**[1]

1. a garden subdivision smaller that **kalivisi-**, q.v.

*Ma<**gubo**>na bagula* That garden subdivision

(Note – see appendix diagram of garden subdivisions.)

2. a place where any food plant is growing

3. a small share of work allotted to s.o. from a total task; used with **paisewa**, **wotétila**, etc.

It may be argued that the hierarchy above **baleku** is in reality a different partonymy of land division unrelated to gardening, but in the interests of clarity I keep them here as one group. This type of partonymy is found in Kiriwina society in other areas such as village layout, areas of traditional fishing rights, and non-material organisation of both old and new community activities such as mortuary customs or cricket matches.

The status of the parts in a relation of inclusion has some similarity to chain relationships described below under non-branching hierarchies (see 7.5.4).

In some cases the dictionary treatment of this type of series includes cultural detail that is encyclopaedic. As the size of dictionary entries is kept small, such detail becomes part of the dictionary appendix which includes detailed notes on any single theme. An example of this is in the listing of a series of lexical units which note the growth stages of a child from helpless infancy to a measure of maturity, which is detailed in the following section (7.5.3.4).

7.5.3.4 Non-material wholes

Another kind of partonymy consists of part-whole relations in non-material wholes, such as life cycles, diurnal cycles, and annual cycles, where each part is a stage in a series. Some Kiriwina examples follow.

i) Segments in a series

Some part-whole relations are seen in those non-material wholes where the parts are separate segments or stages of the larger whole, each segment being an isolate but with a serial relation to the next in the series, the whole

series having a superordinate which is the whole item made up of its segments. Such a segmented series is seen in the Kiriwina cycle of human life from birth, through childhood, adolescence, married adult and age, to death, as shown:

Superordinate	**la momova**
	his lifetime
Segments:	
valulu	birth
pwapwawa	baby
gwadi	child
toulatila, vilakapúgula	
	post-pubescent boy, girl
kwábuya	unmarried adult
vaia	marriage
tau, vivila	man, woman
tomoya, numoya	old man, old woman
kaliga	death

Possible additions could be made to the beginning and end relevant to Kiriwina thinking relating to spirit origins before birth and a future life as understood by "old" and "new" ways of thinking:

baloma	spirit life before birth
tuma, labuma	village of the dead, place in the sky

This series contains segments that are in a relation of incompatibility with each other; their superordinate term delineating the series whether it is experienced in full or whether later segments before death are not part of one particular life. The superordinate is both a label for each segment and the name of the complete series. Each segment is also a superordinate term with a class of hyponyms, delineating a number of compatible lexical units with the contrasting features found in that segment. Series such as these are stated to me in the form I give them, and the dictionary entry which includes that superordinate (which may be the beginning of a series) includes the series as an additional note within the entry. Certainly many other terms describing a

succession of events could be added, but I try to limit an entry to such words that have been stated to me as salient points in that series.

A similar partonymy enumerating the stages of physical/social development of a little child illustrate this, where **gwadi** 'child' from the previous list becomes the superordinate with a partonymy detailing the stages of growth towards the next stage above **gwadi**. I should add that this entire partonymy of growth stages was given to me one day by a parent, showing a clear emic perception of the growth stages a parent would expect in any child. The example follows, first noting the reference within the dictionary entry, and then showing the related information in the dictionary appendix.

First, there is a bracketed note within the entry for **gwadi** (n 3) 'child of either sex': (Note: The age of a child is measured not in months/years, but in verbs describing stages of a child's development both physical and social. See Appendix 17 "A child's development".)

That appended list is "A child's development".

-kenu to lie down
-kanu-kova to roll over
-sili to sit up (usually an assisted act)
-sili-molila to sit-truly (sits unaided, sits securely)
-kavágina to crawl
-to.malaula to stand erect
-vakila to toddle (tries to walk and often falls)
-loula to walk about
-va.molila to walk truly, walk very well
-sakaula to run
-sakauli.molila to run excellently, never falling
-kika wákala o-kuvalila to place string belt on his waist (boys)
-sikam vivia titoulela to don his own pubic leaf (boys)
-sikam doba titoulela to don her own grass skirt (girls)
-kabi kaiyala to hold a spear (poised to throw)

ii) A temporal cycle repeating

Another non-material series is the temporal cycle of day and night, but it is a succession which differs from those already described. The succession of events marking a day from first light to the last light of early evening shows

a series in incompatible relationship; likewise the progress of events in the night. The verb **-yam** 'to be day' may be a superordinate for two different cyclical wholes. It may set the speaker midway (or at some other position) in a series of events. The present day may be midway in a series of days as is shown here:

yam	any day (a superordinate for this series)
Series of days:	
silovala	day before yesterday
lova	yesterday
yam lagaila	today
nabwaia	tomorrow, next day
bugi-yu	day after tomorrow (lit. two-nights)

In the dictionary a segment of the cycle of temporal events is described in terms of its characteristic phenomena, with association of periods that precede and follow it. The dictionary lists temporal series of day and night, days in a month, phases of the moon, periods such as years or harvests, and ages, wherever these are part of the meaning of any temporal term.

The same headword may also be a superordinate for the diurnal cycle. The dictionary entry for **yam** 'day' is an illustration of the complexity involved in recording a day as a member of a cyclical series:

-YAM (vb 1)

1. To be daytime Ant **-bogi**
2. To dawn, get light enough to see clearly (at the beginning of morning before sunrise)
3. To become fully day, when sun has risen

E-i-yam.[13]

rl-3sg-be.day

Daytime has come.

(Note – context may relate this to 'tomorrow', as in phr

Iga i-yam

when 3sg-be.day

And when the (next) day came … (syn **nabwaia**)

[13] In dictionary text, this is an example, which would be in italics.

iyumki (Temp. lit. it-days-on.to.later)
(A complex form from **-yam** and locative suffix **-ki**)
(variant form **iyamki**)
1. all night until dawn

I-yosi-si	**mi<na>na**	**bogi**	**komwaidona**	**i-yam.ki**.
3-seize-pl	that-cl.woman	night	all	it-day-later

They abused her all night long. (Judges 19.25)

-yam.bwabwaila (vb 1)
Compound from -**yam** be.day and **bwaila** good
1. To be clearly light
2. To be bright daytime (of the clear light just before sunrise)

I-bodi	**bu-ku-tokaia-si**	**avai=tuta**	**b-i-yam.bwabwaila**.
3-befits	ir-2-get.up-pl	what time	ir-3-clearly.light

You must get up as soon as it's light. (1 Samuel 29.10)

yam (n 3)
1. Daytime (distinct from night) Ant **bogi**
2. a single day (plural shown in noun modifiers)

(Note - The cl **kwai-** usually specifies periods of time, as day or night; but uses of the sub-classifier **yam-** are noted below.)

yam- (cl)
This classifier is used only in noun-free temporal phrases to specify a day or group of days in the past; found in deictics and numerals, e.g.
ma<yam>na (deictic word)
on that day (long ago) Also occurs as variants or synonyms in **masimna**, **mesiyumna**, **masivana**, **malilouna**.

ma.si<yam>na (deictic pl form)
In those days (long ago). Used in legends.
(Note - This form of the deictic is an exception to all other deictics, which show the position of the plural -**si-** following the classifier.)

yamtala (cl + num)
one day, a single day Syn **bogitala**
Occurs as a component of phr **kala yamtala**
(Note: only occurs with the numeral **-tala** one; there are no occurrences with other numerals.)

kala yamtala (phr lit. its one-day)
in a single day (Used of a catastrophe which strikes quickly)

E	**kala**	**yamtala**	**Guyau**	**b-i-mipuki**	**Isireli**
well	3sg.poss	day-one	Lord	ir-3sg-punish	Israel

In a single day the Lord will punish Israel. (Isaiah 9.14)

yam kwaitala kwaitala (phr lit. day day-one day-one))

1. daily
2. each day (in succession)

yam eiyam (temp phr lit. day it-has-be.day)
day after day Syn **yumyam**
yambwata (temp)
continually, of something which happens again and again
yumyambwata (temp)
always, never-ending, forever
yumyam bugibogi (also **bugibogi yumyam)** (temp)
a never-ending succession, day and night without ceasing

Bu-ku-vagai-si	**makawala**	**yumyam**	**bugibogi.**
ir-2-do-pl	thus	daily	nightly

You will go on doing this day and night continually.

7.5.3.5 Groups of things

The relation of items in groups is a marginal form of partonymy in that *many X (more or less identical) together comprise Y* – stones in a heap, fish in a school, children in a school grade, players in a team. Cruse says that

> Entities such as groups, classes and collections stand in relations which resemble meronymy with their constituent elements. These entities are essentially collectivities, in that their ultimate parts ... are independent wholes of the more basic sort (Cruse 1986: 175).

Group names usually describe groups of one sort of item, so that a heap of stones specifies only stone as X, in the statement '*A number of X comprises Y*'. The group names are the Y coordinate and include relationships like:

a group of people	**boda**	**ma<budo>na boda**	**gu.gwadi**
		that-cl.group group	pl child
		that group of children	
a flock (birds, fish)	**yawa**	**ma<kwai>na**	**yawa** **sina**
		that-cl.complex	flock starling
		that flock of starlings	
a heap of stones	**gulo**	**ma<gulo>na**	**dakuna**
		that-cl.heap	stone
		that heap of stones	
a fleet of canoes	**patila**	**patila** **ma<kwai>na**	**ligataya**
		fleet that-cl.complex	fishing canoe
		that fleet of fishing canoes	

The classifiers have a major role in specifying groups of different kinds. The 56 classifiers with this function are described in the grammar statement (see 3.7.2.5). The function of these lexemes is outlined there; seven of them specify inherent arrangement, 27 show ways groups are formed, eight specify arrangements like rows and coils, and 14 state exact numbers of some groups. The classifier is thus functioning as a superordinate category in this type of relation, grouping things which largely have a compatible relation under the classifier which is their superordinate term.

The dictionary provides a detailed statement of these classifier functions in an appendix devoted to the whole class of classifiers. Each classifier is a headword of a main entry where the detail of its specific grouping of items is set out. For many items the only possible description of a group in Kiriwina is by means of a noun modifier with a classifier as its core specifying the particular type of group.

A group of non-material wholes which is not considered here is the series of measurements set against the dimensions of the human body as a superordinate. They have a better place within non-branching hierarchies, which are considered below (see 7.5.4).

7.5.4 Non-branching hierarchies

7.5.4.1 Introduction

Under this heading I confine my discussion to groups of lexical units in a closed serial relation but with no superordinate. This is the hierarchy of the type *'X is succeeded by Y'*. The sense units in a series differ from taxonomies and partonymies both of which involve entities grouped under high-order categories. Cruse describes non-branching hierarchies as follows:

> All that is needed for a non-branching hierarchy is a principle of ordering which will enable the terms of the set to be arranged in a unique sequential order with a first item and a last item (i.e. not in a circle) (Cruse: 187).

In non-branching hierarchies there is a principle of an ordered sequence which has a beginning and an end, but no hierarchy, no higher order category. Parts are discrete items within the sequence but all belong together to describe a sequential order of items. The series may be describable by a single lexeme, but this description is not a superordinate term, but a descriptive title for the items within the series.

Non-branching hierarchies may be defined as chains consisting of a series of discrete lexemes arranged in a set order having a first item and a last item.

7.5.4.2 Chiefly ranks

The chains of rank in chiefly families is an illustration of this ordered sequence. Generally proper names are not part of the lexicon, but an exception is made for clan and family line names as they are a major feature of Kiriwina society.

The ranking was defined for me by members of the highest ranking family, describing the level of **koni** 'chiefly privilege' and **karaiwaga** 'chiefly authority' which each family possesses[14]. Each **dala** 'family line' is firmly placed as a wedge or segment in this order, and cannot move up or down. The descriptive title of the series is **gumgweguya** 'the aristocracy'.

[14] The **koni** for each chiefly family is tabulated in Lawton 1998, but is too extensive to include here..

Gumgweguya the aristocracy

Tabalu	the family of the paramount chief, which exceeds all other chiefly families both in privileges and authority
Mlobwaima	a high-ranking chiefly family, less authority than **Tabalu**
Osusupa	a chiefly family with less authority than **Mlobwaima**
Mwauli	a chiefly family with less privilege than **Mlobwaima**
Kwainama	a chiefly family with less authority than **Mlobwaima**
Wabali	a chiefly family with less authority than **Kwainama**
Tudava	a chiefly family with less authority than **Mwauli**
Kaitotu	a chiefly family with less authority than **Tudava**
Kailai	a chiefly family with less authority than **Kaitotu**
Kulutula	a chiefly family with less authority than **Kaitotu**
Bwaitaitu	a chiefly family with less authority than **Kulutula**

Figure 7.16 The hierarchy of chiefly rank

There is no definition that can be easily given for each chiefly family beyond 'a chiefly family', as the respective social levels of the privilege and authority of each **dala** 'family line' are not easy to state, but do function to place each **dala** in the position shown in this hierarchical order. The series is a closed group, ordered in this figure from highest rank to lowest. Each family group is discrete, and the chain of lexical units constitutes a series that shows a contrasting feature of incompatibility. This hierarchy of chiefly rank commences with its highest rank X and descends to Y as its lowest point.

In the dictionary a description of this non-branching hierarchy is given in the entry for **guyau** 'chief', where the chiefly families are listed but not defined. In the entry for **tabalu** which is the highest ranking family, the chiefly powers and rights of the **tabalu** are detailed. Each chiefly family line is the headword for a separate entry, where the qualities of chiefly authority and chiefly privilege for that family are detailed, with a cross-reference back to the **guyau** entry to enable the reader to see that **dala**'s position in the chain of rank. The two dictionary entries for **guyau** and **tabalu** (somewhat abbreviated) are shown here:

GUYAU (n 3)

1. Someone who holds authority in a village community by reason of his high place in the genealogy of a particular family line. He is a chief partly by hereditary right, and partly by a process of selection exercised by the previous chief and his council. Almost always a man; there are some occasions when a woman has held the position of a **guyau**. Syn **tokaraiwaga** Ant **tokai**

2. A chief has power to work magic and sorcery through his relation with **bubogau** 'evil spirits'. This is not so evident today, as chiefs who have become Christians have renounced this power.

(Note: There are eleven chiefly family lines ranked in this order – **Tabalu, Mlobwaima, Osusupa, Mwauli, Kwainama, Wabali, Tudava, Kaitotu, Kailai, Kulutula, Bwaitaitu**. Their **liliu** 'legendary origins' trace the family line ranking to a mythical beginning when that family line issued from its **bwala** 'point of origin'. (Other details added)

TABALU (n 3)

The name of the **dala** family line of the highest-ranking Kiriwina chief. This **dala** is the highest rank within the **Malasi** clan, and also stands higher in terms of **karaiwaga** 'authority' and **koni** 'privilege' that any other chiefly **dala** in the other three clans. Thus it is from this **dala** that the so-called 'paramount chief' comes. The **Tabalu** traditionally rule as village chief in the villages of Omarákana, Mlosaida, Kavatária, Tukwaukwa, Gumilababa, Sinaketa and Vilalima.

(Note: Chiefly rank is determined in two traditional ways, **karaiwaga** and **koni**.)

Karaiwaga 'authority' for the **Tabalu** was understood to give them power over the rising and setting of the sun, and movements of the moon and stars. All weather was under their control, which made them responsible for the annual gardening cycle. Sickness and death was ruled by them, and their most feared power was in the manipulation of the powers of the spirit world. Of these ancient powers only this last is still believed by many Kiriwina people to be a current power; modern chiefs who have renounced this power still rule using wisdom and discretion in the control of village affairs, gardening, etc.

Koni 'chiefly privilege' is seen in the body ornaments a chief can wear publicly, or the ornaments with which he decorates his house and yam store-house. There are also special privileges which a chief has in relation to certain parts of any butchered pig, or to certain fish caught, etc., and chiefly behaviour is marked by certain features which a commoner cannot perform. (See appendix on **karaiwaga** and **koni.**)

Another view of this series would present it as a taxonomy similar to the taxonomy of drums given in 7.5.1 above. The reason why it is presented here as a chain is that the autonomy of the chiefly families and the clear identification of beginning and termination makes this more firmly a non-branching chain, whereas the taxonomy of drums could have shown other branches to include other drums or instruments.

7.5.4.3 The stages of plant maturation

The stages of plant maturation show a chain relationship where each lexeme is autonomous but with a place in the series of terms of maturity.

It could be argued that there is a covert concept implied in such a series, where the life of a fruit or tree was being likened to the life of a person or animal. However it has to be recognised that each lexical item in this chain is discrete and may be used at any time according to the need of the person choosing to do so. Timber is cut and used whenever occasion demands its use, and the appropriate lexeme describes it, condemning or commending its suitability. Fruit is seldom "owned", but is picked, described and consumed by whoever is fortunate enough to get there first. Yams are 'soft' usually because they have been damaged in harvesting and have begun to rot. Such terms are not used to delineate stages in animal or human life; and while each sense unit in the series of vegetable maturity is similarly a segment as described for life in 7.5.2.4 above, there is no superordinate for the series of vegetable maturity.

In this series some of the terms are equally applicable to both fruit and timber, and some are applied to one only. But it seems best to present all terms from immaturity through usefulness to its terminal rotten or useless state. The beginning point and end point of this series both mark a stage of

utter uselessness, with the centre point of the series marking the stage when it is at its best.

geguda	green, immature (timber too soft to use, fruit hard)
genata	green (timber, fruit, firm enough to use)
lalava	getting ripe (fruit)
siguni	half-ripe (fruit)
matuwa	mature (timber or fruit)
matutila	**f**ully mature (timber only)
monogu	ripe (fruit at its best)
tulutulu	over-ripe, spotted, past its best (fruit)
tulu.pwasa	getting soft, nearly useless (fruit)
pwasa	soft (fruit; if banana, edible, if yams or timber, rotten)
pwasa.wókuva	completely soft, useless (all fruit)

Figure 7.17 The hierarchy of vegetable maturity

The relation between these sense units in a chain-like relation is similar to that seen in the chiefly orders, where each lexical unit is isolated from the stage above or below it, with the exception that in this second set of examples of maturity that an item moves in one direction through the chain of stages. The contrast of incompatibility is seen here.

The dictionary approach to these lexemes is to include the whole series with the headword specifying the most desirable period, **matutila** for timber and **monogu** for fruit. But each of the other terms in the series is placed as a headword, associating it with an adjacent form, and with a cross-reference to the central terms where the whole of both series (for timber and fruit) are listed.

7.5.4.4 Measurements

A group of lexical units for measurements provides an example of a chain of relations. There is a difference however in the relation of units within the series, stated below. The two sets of measurements, one used for horizontal measurements and the other for vertical or depth measurements are scaled against the dimensions of the human body, which can be used to illustrate this series.

The horizontal measurements specify lengths across the outstretched arms, each measure stating a precise terminal position, first from finger tip to base of fingers at centre of palm, second measure including the first and measuring from finger tip to centre of palm, and so on, until the largest measure from finger tip to opposite finger tip incorporates all the prior smaller measures. Each measure is unique, and none is used in multiples to measure, for example, two "finger-tip to elbow" units. Thus this chain gives a succession of sizes up to one span. Larger measures above a span are accommodated by multiple uses of the span unit, and the residue for a length which terminated, say, between two and three spans, is done with the appropriate smaller measure from this series. I give the series in Figure 7.18 as a numbered list arranged from the smallest up to the full span measure of outstretched arms.

1. kweyatala sikwékula	finger tip to finger base
2. okwaipolola yámila	finger tip to centre of palm
3. okabotákuwa	finger tip to wrist
4. omituwetuwa	finger tip to centre of forearm
5. okatupoi	finger tip to elbow joint
6. oyumakwasi	finger tip to centre of arm
7. yumatala	full length of arm
8. isividoga	finger tip to centre of chest
9. tomwaidona	left finger tip to right armpit
10. ikoma imoi oyumakwasi	left fingertip to centre of right arm
11. ikoma imoi okatupoi	left fingertip to right elbow joint
12. ikoma imoi omituwetuwa	left fingertip to centre of right forearm
13. ikoma imoi okabotákuwa	left fingertip to right wrist
14. ikoma imoi okwailopola yámila	ditto to centre of right palm
15. ikoma imoi kweyatala sikwékula	ditto to right finger base
16. uva-tala	fingertip to fingertip (lit. span-one)

Figure 7.18 A hierarchy of horizontal measure

These units of measure are of great cultural importance, especially at harvest time when long yams and harvest heaps are measured competitively,[15] and personal prestige leans heavily on this public measurement. Each village has one man who is the "official" measurer, and accuracy is his responsibility. Each unit of measure is a lexical unit, and there is a contrast of incompatibility between these units. They enable particularly fine yams to be compared accurately over the breadth of the island group, and some fine yams are remembered as special for many years. The reader is referred to 3.7.4.2 where I quoted the measurement given to a famous long yam which I personally checked, in the village of Tubowada in 1968.

There is a similar scale of depth measurements scaled against the height of a human body, consisting of a smallest measure **okwaibakwai** (lit. 'at his foot-sole') 'no depth', then **okwaibunela** (lit. 'at his ankle joint') 'from the sole of his foot to his ankle', the next **wa kwapa** (lit. 'at the calf muscle') 'from sole of foot to mid-calf', and so on to the deepest measure used in this series, **okuluwotala** (lit. 'at top ridge of his head') 'from the sole of his foot to the top of his head'. As with the horizontal measurements, these units of measure are not added to a smaller measure unit, but each new measure includes the previous, so that a diagram of these units of measure would be like a bar graph, each column representing the whole of one unit incorporating previous units.

The lexical units which comprise these series are in a relation of incompatibility, each specifying a different unit of length. They have a similarity to the units of garden size cited in 7.5.3.3 above, as each measuring unit includes the measure(s) made prior to it; they do not relate to the segmented series of terms described for chiefly rank.

These units of horizontal and vertical measurements are shown in the dictionary as a full page illustration of a human body standing with outstretched arms, each measure a point on the body. Each separate unit of measure is entered also as a subheadword in the appropriate main entry, with a cross-reference to the illustration. Each of these series has a beginning and an end point, as has been specified for this type of chain relationship.

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15 See for example 3.7.4.2 where the measurement of a harvest heap is detailed.

An example of a dictionary entry including a measurement term is **kuluwota** 'top of head', with the depth term **okuluwotala** as a phrase derived from it. Note also two cross-references in the entry which connect this lexeme, first with its part-whole relation to a human head, and second to the illustration showing the measure in relation to other measuring points on the human body.

KULUWOTA(la) (n 1)

1. (His) head-top (of a human body)

This point on top of skull is identified as the topmost bony ridge. Cf **daba(la)**

2. The head part of any carving of a human figure; may refer either to the topmost part or to the whole head.

Kuluwota-la	**mi<na>na**	**tokolu ...**
head-its	that.cl.carving	idol

The head of the idol ... (1 Samuel 12.30)

o=kuluwota-la (phr lit. 'at head-top his')

1. A unit of depth or height measure, from the sole of his foot to the topmost point of his head. See illustration of height measuring units in appendix. Note - word inflects to refer to the person whose body is being used for the height or depth measure.

Baisa	**b-i-la**	**o=kuluwota-m.**
this	ir-3sg-go	to head.top-2sg.poss

This (measured item) will go as high as you are.

A similar entry is used for each of the measures identified in the illustration of this non-branching hierarchy.

Groups of units which are in a cyclical arrangement, such as days of a week which occur and reoccur, times of day overlapping with times of night and repeating, show a similarity to the non-branching chains described here. But the former were classified as a marginal form of partonymy, as they do not have end points and may be placed under larger whole units which are themselves cyclical within other successions. For these reasons they are not included with the groups of chain-like hierarchies which describe a closed series having end points and no superordinate term.

7.6 Incompatibles in hierarchies

Contrast is a feature of lexical relations in taxonomies and partonymies, but different sorts of contrast are found. In taxonomies the members of a class are in a hyponymous relation to a superordinate term, and have an incompatible relation with one another. The contrast between members of a class shows incompatibility with one another, as with varieties of *beche-de-mer*, or compatible with their superordinate, as being a particular kind of sea animal, namely, a *beche-de-mer*.

Birds (classified as **mauna nayoyowa** 'flying animal') may be categorised as **yam maunela** diurnal birds, and **bogi maunela** nocturnal birds, and their hyponyms are incompatible, as different members of that class. Their contrast within a class of things is seen in their association with day only or night only flight, as listed below:

yam maunela	diurnal flying creatures (a few only given)
mluveka	eagle
bubuna	dove
kabwaku	small magpie (used as an idiom for boastfulness)
beba	butterfly
bogi maunela	night birds:
kuru	owl
magiaweda	fruit bat
tutuwa	nightjar
polaulau	hawk moth

A different form of contrast is observed in another classification of birds.

Birds of ill-omen, classified as **maunela kabo.tuvatusi** 'birds which are a sign of something', include a group of diurnal and nocturnal flying creatures, which come from either of the two classes listed above, but what distinguishes them as a class is their undesirable properties.

maunela kabo.tuvatusi flying creatures of ill omen:

kawokawo	crow (its cry foretells bad news)
kuru	owl (its cry announces death)
tutuwa	nightjar (its cry causes fear)
polaulau	hawk moth (attracted to light; its dust harms eyes)
kwanekwana	firefly (its light marks the flight of **mlukwausa** the 'flying witch'; children are terrified by its near flight)

7.7 Concluding comment

In the non-branching hierarchies discussed, two forms of contrast are evident. In one type, characterised as a series of wedges, each member is totally incompatible with serial items above or below it. A second, described as an inclusive relationship, is based on the inclusion of a lower member of the series in the next higher unit, yet both are incompatible.

Another difference in contrastive features in the non-branching hierarchies is the lack (or questionable presence) of a superordinate, so that contrast is confined to the relationships between the members of a series. This difference may be seen if a reconsideration of the ranking of chiefly orders is made. If a listing of the members of a **kúmila** 'clan' is made, then each **dala** 'family line', which includes chiefly and commoner families, is in a part-whole relation to the clan name which is the superordinate. But in the list given in 7.5.4.2 the title of **gumgweguya** 'the aristocracy' was given to the series of chiefly families, which come from various clans. However this cannot be taken as a superordinate term, as there is no compatibility between any rank and the title, as it applies equally to all lexical items in the series.

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