Spatial Reference in Kilivila:
The Tinkertoy Matching Games–A Case Study*

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1   Introduction

"Imagine yourself suddenly transported on to a coral atoll in the Pacific" (Malinowski 1936: 300). Let us assume further that you are confronted by someone from the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group who was asked to elicit some speech data using the kit the members of this group developed for their 'space' research program (Levinson 1992). What would you do if this researcher asked you to describe to someone you cannot see how to build the object presented in Figure 1?

In this paper I would like to present what my informants on the Trobriand Islands did in exactly such a situation. However, before I describe and discuss how the Trobriand Islanders structured these descriptions and what verbal means and strategies they used in such a matching game situation, I would first like to briefly introduce the Trobriand Islanders and their language and then to describe the session and the task given for this matching game.

2   Kilivila and its Speakers

Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders, is one of 40 Austronesian languages spoken in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. It is an agglutinative language with a general word order of VOS (Senft 1986). It is classified as a member of the 'Papuan Tip Cluster' and the Kilivila language family (Ross 1988:25). The Kilivila language family includes
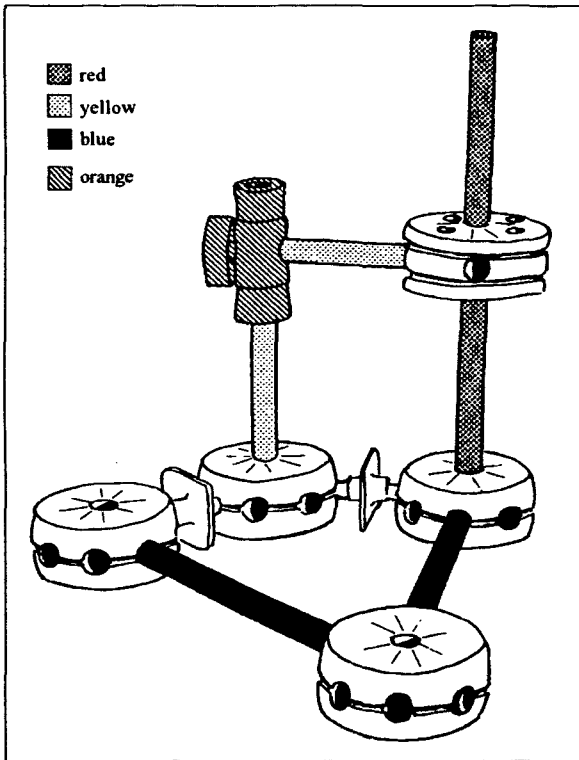
FIGURE 1:
THE TINKERTOY FIGURE

the languages Budibud (about 160 speakers), Muyuw (about 3,100 speakers) and Kilivila (about 25,000 speakers).

The Trobriand Islanders have become famous, even outside of anthropology, because of the ethnographic masterpieces on their culture published by the famous anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, who did field research there between 1916 and 1920. The Trobrianders belong to the ethnic group called 'Northern Massim'. They are gardeners, practicing slash-and-burn cultivation of the bush; their most important crop is yams (*Dioscorea alata*). Moreover, they are also famous for being excellent canoe builders, carvers, and navigators, especially in connection with the ritualized 'Kula' trade, an exchange of shell valuables that covers a wide area of the Melanesian part of the Pacific (Malinowski 1922; Weiner 1976, 1988). The society is matrilineal but virilocal, and socially stratified into four hierarchically ordered clans: the Malasi, Lukuba, Lukwasisiga, and Lukulabuta clans.

3   The Tinkertoy Matching Game on the Trobriands

Tinkertoy is an American game that is advertised as 'the easy building system for...people with big imaginations'. The builder set includes wooden spools and rods, square panels, plastic connector pieces, bases, wheels, caps, swivels, and a little figure called the 'Tinkertoy character'. With this system one can build constructions in three-dimensional space.

The members of the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group built eight constructions and photographed them. Fourteen photographs, some of which show the same object shot from two different angles, are part of the elicitation set.

There are two types of constructions: representational and non-representational. Each has different advantages. Representational constructions give a clear goal in construction and speakers may have readily available (body-)part terms for reference. This should make the task of describing the construction easier for most people. However, the representational constructions are fairly complex. Non-representational constructions are more likely to make the informants rely on 'abstract' descriptions which may involve concepts such as angles and planes. This task is typically an 'unnatural' task and may be quite challenging for many speakers.

Using this game as a device to elicit data on spatial reference in Kilivila, I proceeded as follows. Like all the matching games, this one involved two informants, a 'director' who described the construction and a 'matcher' who built the construction. The informants were separated by a pandanus mat that made it impossible for them to see each other. Thus, the director could not see what the matcher did. The informants were sitting at a place close to the church at the edge of the village looking into the same direction, north-west. I let the informants play the game in two ways. Sometimes, following the general outline given by the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group, I gave the director the photograph(s) of a construction to describe as exactly as possible. In other cases I gave the director the actual Tinkertoy configuration, which I built on the basis of the respective photo(s), and asked the director to for a detailed description of the configuration. The matcher was always encouraged to ask the director for further particulars if in doubt as to what to do.

During the exploratory phase of my field research in Tauwema village on Kaile'una Island in 1992 I did these games with eight male informants; I could not motivate girls and women to participate in this test. In the following case-study I report on how Keda'ila (approximately 25 years of age, Malasi clan) described the Tinkertoy configuration shown in Figure 1 to Moyadi (approximately 27 years of age, Malasi clan).

4   What the Informants Did

In this section of the paper I would like to do two things: First, I will briefly describe how the two informants constructed the non-representational Tinkertoy configuration. Then I will describe what verbal means the director and the matcher used to achieve their respective aims, that is to describe and to actually build the configuration. The actual text of the interaction between the director and matcher is given in the Appendix.

4.1   How the informants built the configuration

In this section I will describe the order in which the director had the matcher build the configuration. The actual terms used in this summary are not necessarily the terms the director used. Thus, when I use terms like 'left' and 'right' or 'centre' or 'wheel with five holes', this does not necessarily reflect the actual directions used in building the configuration. These directions simply reflect the order in which the director had the matcher build the configuration.

The director started his description with a wheel and told the matcher to put two blue sticks in two adjacent holes on the tread of the wheel. Then he told the matcher to put the ends of the two blue sticks into the holes of the treads of two other wheels, and to connect a third wheel with these two wheels using the white plastic connector pieces. Next he told the matcher to put a yellow stick into the hole in the middle of the wheel in the centre and then to put a big red stick into the hole in the middle of the wheel that is to the right from the matcher's point of view if the wheel with the blue sticks is pointing towards him. After this the matcher was told to put the orange plastic piece with a hole in its middle on top of the yellow stick in the centre and to put another yellow stick horizontally through the hole in the centre of this orange plastic piece. Then the director asked the matcher to put a wheel with five holes through it onto the red stick so that it is centered on the stick. The centre hole of this wheel is bigger in diameter than the diameter of the stick and thus is moveable on this stick. Next the matcher was told to put a yellow stick through the hole in the orange plastic piece and into one of the holes on the tread of the moveable wheel Finally, the matcher was told to put a small round orange plastic cap at the end of the horizontal yellow stick that protruded through the hole in the middle of the orange plastic piece on top of the vertical yellow stick.

This description may be used as an example of linguistic means that could be used in English to describe this configuration. In the next section I would like to describe the linguistic means in Kilivila the informants used in their interaction during this matching game.

4.2   Means of spatial reference used in the matching game

Before I analyse the actual linguistic means the informants used in this game I want to make two comments of a more general nature. First, the informants observed the material they were playing with very carefully with respect to any intrinsic features. For example, in the game session I am discussing, the director not only specifies that a wheel has to be laid down, he also refers the star-like pattern on one of the sides of the wheel pointing out that this side will be up. I will refer back to this observation below. Second, playing this matching game requires verbal interaction between the director and the matcher. Either the director asks the matcher for some feedback or the matcher himself provides the director with information about what he has already done. On the basis of this feedback, the director can modify, correct or confirm the matcher's actions. The matcher can also ask for confirmation or correction of what he just has done.

Turning now to the linguistic means used by the informants, the first area I will discuss is that of the complex system of numeral classifiers or 'Classificatory Particles' (CPs) as Malinowski (1920) called them. This is clearly one of the most important and extraordinary means of reference in Kilivila

The system of numeral classifiers is an important means of word formation involving all but one of the demonstrative pronouns, one form of numerical interrogative pronouns/adverbs, two classes of adjectives, and numerals. These word classes must be in concord with the class of the noun they refer to. This concord is secured by the CPs that are infixed or prefixed to the respective word frame or word stem. I have described these processes of word formation and syntactic aspects of constituents with CPs in detail elsewhere (Senft 1985:374-379, 1986, 1991a), therefore I do not want to go into more detail here other than mentioning that up till now 177 (numeral) classifier types have been documented. For present purposes it suffices to finish this brief descriptive and very general account with the presentation of two sentences with representatives of all of the four word classes involved in the system of noun classification (see Senft 1991a:133). In the examples *(-)ke(-)*, the CP, is in bold:

> *Kevila*   *waga* *lekotasi?*
> **ke***-vila*   *waga* *le-kota-si*
> CPwood-how.many canoe 3.PST-arrive-PL
>
> 'How many canoes arrived?'

Keyu	*waga*	*makesina*	*kemanabweta*
ke-yu	*waga*	*ma-ke-si-na*	*ke-manabweta*
CPwood-two	canoe	DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM	CPwood-beautiful

(lekotasi).
le-kota-si
3.PST-arrive-PL

'These two beautiful canoes (arrived).'

In these sentences the speakers refer to 'canoes'; therefore they have to indicate the noun class of 'canoe' with *(-)ke(-)*, the CP for 'wood, wooden things', in the interrogative pronoun, the numeral, the demonstrative pronoun, and the adjective.

After this brief excursus let us return to the Tinkertoy matching game. Here the informants use the following CPs:

-    *-kwe-* and its variant *-kwa-*, the general CP for inanimate referents, to refer to the wheels and to the small orange cap,

-    *-pwanana-* and its variants *-pwonina-*, *-pwona-* and *-pona-*, the quality-describing CP for '(punctured) holes' as referents, to refer to the holes in the wheels and in the plastic parts,

-    *-utu-*, the quantity-indicating CP for 'parts, small particles' as referents, to refer to the small orange plastic Tinkertoy parts,

-    *-ke-*, the CP for 'wooden things, rigid/long objects' as referents, to refer to the wooden sticks,

-    *-pila-* and its variant *-pa-*, the quantity-indicating CP for 'parts, pieces' as referents, to refer not only to a wheel, but also—in their function as numeral constituting morphemes that count portions of a subdivided whole—to form ordinal numbers,

-    *-kabulu-* and its variant *-kabula-*, the place and shape indicating CP for 'protuberances' as referents, to refer to the end of the horizontal yellow stick that protrudes through the hole of the orange plastic piece on top of the vertical yellow stick.

These CPs also serve the function of focusing devices. With them the informants have a verbal means for fast and unequivocal reference to parts of the non-representational spatial configuration. The following is an example from my transcription of this session that illustrates the use of the CPs *-kwe-*, *-kabula-*, and *-ke-*.

K: ... *e*   *kwau*   *manakwa*   *kwebweyani, ka.*
      e   *ku-kau*   *ma-na-kwa*   *kwe-bweyani ka*
      and   2-take   DEM-DEM-CPthing   CPthing-red   ok

'...and take this red thing (= the orange cap). ok.'

M: *E*

'Yes'

K: *Makabulana*   *okuvasuva*   *kebweyanila*
      ma-kabula-na   *o-ku-vasuva*   *ke-bweyani-la*
      DEM-CPprotruding-DEM   LV-2-put.through   CPwood/rigid-red-EMP

      makena   *kevanaku*   *ake*   *e*
      ma-ke-na   *ke-vanaku*   *ake*   *e*
      DEM-CPwood/rigid-DEM   CPwood/rigid-long   oh   eh

      makenaga   *kai*   *kekwinini*   *okuvisuvi*
      ma-ke-na-ga   *kai*   *ke-kwinini*   *o-ku-visuvi*
      DEM-CPwood/rigid-DEM-EMP   stick   CPwood/rigid-yellow   LV-2-put.through

'This protruding (end of the stick which) you put through (it), this red long (stick)–oh, eh (wait a minute) this stick, (the) yellow (one) you put (it) through (the hole of the orange plastic part),'

M: *E*

'Yes'

K: *omatala kuvisuvi*   *manakwa*   *kwebweyani*   *biva*
      omatala ku-visuvi   *ma-na-kwa*   *kwe-bweyani* *bi-va*
      in.front   2-put.through   DEM-DEM-CPthing   CPthing-red   3.FUT-go.to

      ikanava.
      i-kanava
      3.-lie.down

'You put this red (cap) through at the front (of the stick), it will go to (the stick and) it rests there.'

The informants also have to use these CPs as a means of reference when they discuss the exact position of the blue sticks and the white plastic connector pieces in the respective wheels. In this case they just count the number of holes that have to be left empty till the next piece has to be inserted into the matching holes on the tread on the wheels.

In the brief excerpt of the transcription above the informants also use other means of reference, of course. First, they make extensive use of colour terms. I will not go into more detail

here; interested readers may refer to Senft (1987). Second, in this brief transcription we find motion verbs, positional verbal expressions, and a preposition. I will first briefly present the directional and positional verbal expressions the informants used in this matching game:

With regard to positionals, the informants use the following verbal expressions during this matching game:

-kanakela-	'to lie (down) on someone/something'
-kanava-	'to lie down, to lie off (the way)'
-kanubilabala-	'to lie down at right angles'
-kanukwenu-	'to lie down'
-kanuvadulu-	'to lie together, to lie close to one another'
-kenu-	'to lie down'
-kibilibali-	'to hold (something./someone) sideways'
-yomilivali-	'to hold (something./someone) straight'
-seli-	'to place, to put'
-tomalaula-	'to stand upright'
-towa-	'to stand (away)'
-tovelu-	'to stand apart'
-visasu-	'to join, to connect'
-vitau-	'to set up, to put up'
-wayai-	'to stick (in)'

With regard to motion verbs, we observe the use of the following expressions:

-ma-	'to come'
-mwa-	'to come to'
-la-	'to go'
-loki-	'to go to'
-va-	'to go to, to accompany'
-dademi-	'to fall down'
-ekuliwa-	'to follow'
-katukwevivila-	'to turn (round, around)'
-kivili-	'to turn'
-lola-	'to walk'

-meki-	'to move to and fro and up and down, to meet'
-seboda-	'to encircle, to close a circle'
-suki-	'to go off to, to take the road to'
-veki-	'to follow, to go to, to meet'

Kilivila seems to have an immensely rich vocabulary of positional and motion verbs. However, at the moment I will not, and cannot, attempt to delve into this vast field without sound semantic analyses of my data.

With regard to prepositions, we find *omatala* 'in front of, before', in the excerpt above. The informants also used three other prepositions during this matching game:

otinava	'below, under, on the ground'
olakeva	'above, up, over, on top of'
oluvala	'in the middle of, between'

Of these four prepositions, *omatala* is the most interesting since it is apparently the result of grammaticalisation processes.[1] In this case, the preposition is based on the body part *mata-* 'eye'. This same body-part term, *matala* is also used metaphorically as a noun to refer to a particular object, as illustrated in the following question the matcher asked the director.

M: *Matala   makena   kai ambeya, yokwa?*
     mata-la   ma-ke-na   kai ambeya e-mwa   yokwa
     eye-his/her DEM-CPwood/rigid-DEM stick where 3-come.to you

'The tip of this stick where (is it), does it come to you?'

In this last sentence the matcher asks for some information about a certain direction. To indicate directions or locations, Trobriand Islanders have three options. First, they can specify the goal or location with a proper noun specifying a person or place, in which case they do not use any preposition whatsoever.[2] Second, they can specify the goal or location as a specific place, but without a place or proper name, in which case they use the preposition *o*. This preposition gets a function that can be compared to that of a definite article, that is, the preposition incorporates a feature for definiteness for the governed noun-phrase. Third, they can refer to the goal or location with a general term, in which case they use the preposition *va*.

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[1] Kurylowicz (1965:52) defines the concept of 'grammaticalisation' as follows: '[Grammaticalisation]...consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status.'

[2] During my last stay in the field in 1992 I realized that I always violated this rule, producing sentences like *bala va Losuia* instead of *bala Losuia*. I also learned that my informants, who in general (almost) always corrected mistakes I make while speaking Kilivila, intentionally did not correct this mistake because it served them as a basis for a kind of nickname for me: I am, or was till then, *mtona ela ekakaya *va Bugei, 'the one who always goes to to [sic] the Bugei (i.e. the fresh water grotto close to Tauwema) to take his bath'.

If the goal or location is a body part the speakers seem to take it as something more specified and thus use the preposition *o* as in the second option.

The following examples from the transcription of this matching game illustrate two of these rules. In Keda'ila's first two statements the preposition *o* is used because the goal is a specific place, while in his last statement no preposition is used because the goal is specified with a proper noun.[3]

K: *Kwetala   wili   ela   o   laodila.*
    kwe-tala   wili   e-la   o   laodila
    CPthing-one wheel 3.-go Prep bush

    'One wheel goes (points) to the bush.'

M: *E*

    'Yes'

K: *E   kwetolu   wili   ela   o   bwalita.*
    e   kwe-tolu   wili   e-la   o   bwalita
    and CPthing-three wheel 3-go Prep sea

    'And wheel number three goes (points) to the sea.'

M: *E*

    'Yes'

K: *E   mpana   Tuyabwau ela,*
    e   m-pa-na   Tuyabwau e-la
    and DEM-CPpart/piece-DEM Tuyabwau 3-go

    'And this piece goes (points) to the Tuyabwau (the name of the fresh water well where the men usually take a bath in the afternoon)'

The way the director checks the correct position of the three wheels illustrates the way the Trobriand Islanders use landmarks and place names as a means to clarify the direction and orientation of objects (as well as (living) beings, as documented by data I gathered using other

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[3] For the sake of completeness I would like to give examples from my other Kilivila data corpus to illustrate the other two options. In the first example the preposition *va* is used because the goal is *bagula*, the general, unspecified expression for 'garden' while in the second example the preposition *o* is used because the goal is a body part.

   Bala   va   bagula.
   ba-la   va   bagula
   1.FUT-go to   garden
   'I will go to the garden.'
   Gidageda o   lopola   sena   gaga.
   gidageda o   lopo-la   sena   gaga
   pain   in   stomach-her/his very   bad
   'Pain in one's stomach is very bad/A stomach ache is very bad.'

methods of elicitation). To describe the orientation of the objects used in the matching game as unequivocally as possible, my informants used expressions like 'the eyes look to (in the direction of) the village', 'its front goes to (in the direction of) the Bugei (the name of the fresh water grotto in the bush where boys, men, and girls go for a bath)', 'its back goes to the church', 'its right hand points to the house of the missionary / to X's house'. Most of the Trobriand Islanders' place names are proper nouns, but there are also some names that are more descriptive like *vadom* (= *va dom*) 'to where it is sandy' and *vanuma* (= *va numa*) 'to where it is rocky'.

I would like to emphasize, however, that this means of spatial reference is not at all comparable to cardinal point orientation systems. Although, being excellent sailors, the Trobriand Islanders do have expressions for cardinal point directions (most of which are names for winds or currents), I never observed the use of cardinal point expressions in my informants' elicited reactions to the stimuli I used. Instead, the informants used expressions like *okakata* 'at/to/on the left (hand side)' and *okikivama* 'at/to/on the right (hand side)' in their descriptions of the spatial configurations they were asked to describe. The expressions *kikivama* 'left' and *kakata* 'right' were also used whenever the informants could find some intrinsic features that allowed a clear front and back to be assigned to an object. This, in turn, had severe consequences with respect to the perspective the informants used. The Trobriand Islanders seem to be quite consistent with respect to their perspective. They use deictic perspective, that is, perspective dependent on the observer/speaker, unless the object (including people) they refer to has intrinsic features that allow the assignment of a clear front and back. If the referent has such intrinsic features, they use intrinsic perspective, that is, perspective independent of the observer/speaker.

Finally, in a kind of apercu, I would like to draw attention to two phrases produced during the matching game that identify this session as one in which Trobriand Islanders were involved. First, the director once refers to the hole in the wheel in which the matcher has to put a stick as *...makala la kabowaiyaiyu...* , '...like the place close to the growing yams where one puts a stake into the ground for the tendril of the plant to creep.' This simile is a nice piece of evidence that the data presented here are produced by the gardeners that have become famous because of their 'Coral Gardens and their Magic' (Malinowski 1935).

The second phrase is when Keda'ila referred to the hole in the middle of one of the wheels with *pwananela oluvala* 'the hole in the middle', and then sang this line in the rhythmic pattern that is quite typical for the verses that go with string figures. As we have already documented elsewhere (Senft and Senft 1986, Senft 1991b), the Trobriand Islanders enjoy every opportunity where they can break taboos verbally. The general and sociological taboos Malinowski (1929) listed and described are still valid for all Trobriand Islanders. To secure its members' observation of the taboos that are especially important for its social construction the Trobriand society

has developed so-called 'safety valve customs' (Heymer 1977:187) that allow its members to imagine the ignorance of taboos–in a fictitious way, of course. The Kilivila metalanguage even provides a name for a special register, or 'situational-intentional variety' as I call it (Senft 1986:124ff, 1991b), that allows the speakers to talk about something 'one does not talk about' otherwise. This register is called *Biga Sopa* 'Joking or Lying Language/Indirect Language.'[4] We first discussed this register in more detail (Senft and Senft 1986) in connection with the string figures ('cat's cradle') we collected in 1983. With reference to the quite 'obscene' verses that accompany these string figure games, we mentioned that there were some more figures and verses our informants were too 'shy' to play and recite for us. The phrase *pwananela oluvala* is the name of one of these string figures. This time I managed to convince another young man to play the respective string figure for me and to give me the verses that accompany it. The verses run as follows (Kwikwiya and Kebilabala are girl's and boy's names, respectively):

> *Kwikwiya som   Kebilabala girigiri yam girigiri bogi   vakeke*
> Kwikwiya with.you Kebilabala it.goes   day it.goes   night oh
> *sibum   sigi l idedetutu   kwatukoimeee mwaga   kweokwa.*
> their.asses their.hips.move.to.and.fro you.turn.over your.canoe it.is.empty
> *E bwadagu kuvisuvi   yamam   pwananela oluvala   mweta*
> Yes   my.brother you.put.in your.hand the.hole   in.the.middle string
> *mweta mwetayarayara   silibwe kaikem silibwe yamam   silitutina.*
> string string.moving.to.and.fro cut.cut your.leg cut.cut your.hand cut.it.off[5]

I would like to take this observation–together with the laughter and the hilarious mood with which the informants played this matching game–as an indication that the Trobriand Islanders enjoyed playing these matching games despite the fact that they obviously constituted a rather 'unnatural' task.

5   Summary

I would like to summarize the observations presented in this case-study as follows.

[4] The Trobriand Islanders distinguish a number of registers that are used in special situations and to pursue (a) certain intention(s). Therefore I call these registers 'situational-intentional varieties'. In *biga sopa (biga* 'language', *sopa* 'joke, lie, trick, something one does not really mean'), the speaker uses the vagueness and ambiguity inherent in language as a stylistic means to avoid possible distress, confrontation and too aggressive directness in certain speech situations. It also opens room and space where behaviour can be tried out playfully without any fear of possible social sanctions because the speaker can always recede from what he has said by labelling it as *sopa*, that is, something he did not really mean to say.

[5] To make sure that I really got the meaning of this song, my informants told me to read 'ejaculate' for 'turn over the canoe', 'penis' for 'string', and 'stop sexual intercourse' for 'cut it off'. The cuts mentioned in the last line of this song refer to scratches with which lovers on the Trobriands mark each others' skin. The marks are called *kimali*.

1) Although the Tinkertoy matching game constitutes a rather unnatural task, the informants not only enjoyed playing this game, they also did extremely well in the describing and matching task.

2) The informants did the task highly interactively, collaborating with each other.

3) One of the more language specific means for spatial reference is certainly the complex system of Classificatory Particles. The CPs are an important and necessary means of word formation for one form of an interrogative pronoun/adverb, adjectives, demonstratives and numerals. Since the CPs are understood as indices for typical features or qualities of their respective referents they allow for fast and unequivocal reference to the objects used in the spatial configurations.

4) In order to make their reference unequivocal, the informants also use color terms in their description of the spatial constructions.

5) Kilivila seems to be quite rich with respect to its lexical inventory of motion verbs and positional verbal expressions. However, since I cannot as of yet present sound semantic analyses of my data, I cannot delve into this vast and interesting field.

6) Body-part terms are used both as locatives as grammaticalised prepositions and metaphorically.

7) To indicate directions and locations, the Trobriand Islanders seem to follow the following rules with respect to the use of the prepositions *o* and *va*:
To refer to the goal or location with a proper noun specifying a person or place, they do not use any preposition whatsoever.
To refer to the goal or location as a specific place, they use the preposition *o* which incorporates a feature for definiteness for the governed noun phrase.
To refer to the goal or location with its most general term, they use the preposition *va*.
If the goal is a body part, the speakers seem to take it as something more specified and thus use the preposition *o*.

8) The Trobriand Islanders use the Kilivila expressions for 'left' and 'right'; they also refer to landmarks and place names in their spatial descriptions. However, they do not use a cardinal system of orientation in everyday, ordinary speech situations, although they can use expressions for winds and currents when they do want to refer to the cardinal points.

9) Trobriand Islanders seem to be quite consistent with respect to their perspective. They use deictic perspective, that is, observer/speaker dependent perspective, unless the object or person they refer to has intrinsic features that allow a clear front and back to be assigned. In this case, they use intrinsic perspective, that is, observer/speaker independent perspective.

10) Although the matching game asks for rather abstract descriptions of abstract configurations, the informants manage nevertheless to liven their descriptions with culture specific expressions, allusions and innuendos. They mark these matching games as having been played by Trobriand Islanders, indeed.

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Appendix

Tinkertoy elicitation - Tape TT3 (video) 25:54:00 - 21.08.1992
Keda'ila (K) and Moyadi (M) build the construction documented in photographs 4 and 5; however, the example given is the 'real' configuration and not the two pictures showing it. K is the director; M is the matcher.

K: *Wili,*

    '(A) wheel.'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *wili   mna   kwetala,*
    wili   mna   kwe-tala
    wheel hm   CP:thing-one

    'a wheel, hm, one (wheel).'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *e   kwau   kuseli...*
       e   ku-kau ku-seli
       yes 2.-take 2.-put

       'yes, take (it and) put (it)...'

M: *Ke kwetarokwa   wala?*
      ke kwe-tarokwa wala
      ah CPthing-one only

      'Ah, one (wheel) only?'

K: *kwetarokwa kuseli igau...*
      kwe-tarokwa ku-seli igau
      CPthing-one 2.-put then

      'one (wheel), put (it down and) then...'

M: *Bavitauwa   makala esakaula?*
      ba-vitauwa   makala e-sakaula
      1.FUT-set.up like   3.-run

      'I will set it up as if it runs...?'

K: *Gala.*

      'No.'

M: *Taga...*

      'But...'

K: *Bikenu   pwananela   pwanatarokwa bikanakela,*
      Bi-kenu   pwanane-la pwana-tarokwa bi-kanakela
      3.FUT-lie.down hole-its   CPhole-one   3.FUT-lie.on

      'It will lie down, it will lie on its one hole,'

M: *M bogwa.*

      'Hm, ok.'

K: *beya gala ginigini.*
      beya gala ginigini
      here no   ornament

      '(where) there (is) no ornament.'

M: *E.*

      'Yes.'

K: *Bikanakela   beya tunutunu bima   olakeva.*
    Bi-kanakela   beya tunutunu bi-ma   olakeva
    3.FUT-lie.on   here dot   3.FUT-come   up

    'It will lie on (the ground and) here (the) dot will be up.'

M: *Bogwa.*

    'OK.'

K: *Bogwa, makesita   kai   kebwabwau   keyu,*
    Bogwa ma-ke-si-ta   kai   ke-bwabwau   ke-yu
    OK   DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM   stick CPwood-black CPwood-two

    'OK, these two blue sticks,'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *keyu   kai   kebwabwau,*
    ke-yu   kai   ke-bwabwau
    CPwood-two   stick CPwood-black

    '(the) two blue sticks,'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *e   makesina.   Makesita   ka   kuyosi* (you hold)
    e   ma-ke-si-na   ma-ke-si-ta   ka   ku-yosi
    yes   DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM   DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM   see 2.-hold

    makwena   makwena   wili,
    ma-kwe-na   ma-kwe-na   wili
    DEM-CPthing-DEM   DEM-CPthing-DEM   wheel

    'yes, these these (sticks), see, you hold this this wheel,'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *e   mpanaga   esuki   emwa   o kwadeva o bwalita.*
    e   m-pa-na-ga   e-suki   e-mwa o kwadeva o bwalita
    and   DEM-CPpart-DEM-EMP   3.-go.off 3-go.to to beach   to sea

    'and this (part here), it goes off, it goes to (the) beach, to (the) sea.'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *Pwanana mpwonasita*   *pwonatala pwonayu   edanuvadulusi,*
    pwanana m-pwona-si-ta   *pwona-tala pwona-yu   e-kanuvadulu-si*
    hole   DEM-CPhole-PL-DEM   CPhole-one CPhole-two   3-lie.together-PL

    pwonayuwa   kuwai keta   matala bila   o la...
    pwona-yu-wa   ku-wai ke-ta   mata-la bi-la   o la...
    CPhole-two-only 2-hit CPwood-one   eye-its 3.FUT-go to bu...

    keyuwa   matasi   bimwa   o bwalita taga ka...
    ke-yu-wa   mata-si bi-mwa   o bwalita taga ka
    CPwood-two-only   eye-their 3.FUT-come.to to sea   but see

    keta   matala bisuki   bimwa   makala o o
    ke-ta   mata-la bi-suki   bi-mwa   makala o o
    CPwood-one   eye-its 3.FUT-go.off 3.FUT-come.to like   to to

    Nunulia,   keta   matala bisuki   bimwa   beya
    Nunulia   ke-ta   mata-la bi-suki   bi-mwa   beya
    Nunulia.tree CPwood-one   eye-its 3.FUT-go.off 3.FUT-come.to here

    Topiesi taga gala beya Topiesi beya Moketubasi.
    Topiesi taga gala beya Topiesi beya Moketubasi
    Topiesi or   not here Topiesi here Moketubasi

    'These holes, one (hole), two (holes), they lie together, the two (holes), put in
    (the sticks) one tip will point to (the) bu...two tips, (one) it will point to (the)
    sea, but see... one tip will go off, it will come to, like, to to (the) Nunulia tree,
    and one (stick), its tip will go off, it will come to (where) Topiesi (lives), or not
    here (where) Topiesi (lives), here (where) Moketubasi (lives).'

    Keta   bima   beya Moketubasi keta   bimwa
    ke-ta   bi-ma   beya Moketubasi ke-ta   bi-mwa
    CPwood-one   3.FUT-come here Moketubasi CPwood-one 3.FUT-come.to

    beya mtone...   Mogudaya.
    beya m-to-ne   Mogudaya
    here DEM-CPman-DEM Mogudaya

    'One stick will come here (to where) Moketubasi (lives and) one (stick) will
    come to (where) this (one), Mogudaya, (lives).'

M: *E   bogwa bogwa lakamdi. Bogeokwa.*
    E   bogwa bogwa la-kamdi bogwa-e-vokwa
    Yes OK   OK   1.PST-fix already-3-finish

    'Yes, OK, OK, I fixed it. Its finished already.'

K: *Pwanina pwanana mpwanasita*   *oluvala   pwanayu   wala,*
    pwanina pwanana m-pwana-si-ta   *oluvala   pwana-yu   wala*
    hole   hole   DEM-CPhole-PL-DEM in.middle CPhole-two only

    '(A) hole, (another) hole, these (holes) in the middle two (holes) only,'

M: *Bogwa.*

    'OK.'

K: *kusepituki.*
    ku-sepituki
    2-put.together

    'put (them) together.'

M: *Bogwa.*

    'OK.'

K: *M   kwau   kwetala,*
    m   ku-kau kwe-tala
    hm   2-take   CPthing-one

    'Hm, take one (wheel),'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *kwau   kwetala   kuma   kubabi   omatala...*
    ku-kau kwe-tala   ku-ma   ku-babi omatala
    2-take   CPthing-one 2-come   2-poke   in.front.of

    'take one (wheel) come (and) poke it in front of...'

M: *... omatala   sola?*
    omatala   so-la
    in.front.of   friend-its

    '...in front of its counterpart?'

K: *... oma... omatala   makesita*   *kebwabwau   ka, wili*
    oma... omatala   ma-ke-si-ta   *ke-bwabwau   ka   wili*
    in.f...   in.front.of   DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM CPwood-black   see wheel

    kwetala
    kwe-tala
    CPthing-one

    '...in f...in front of these black (sticks), see, one wheel'

(<a little boy farts - everyone is laughing and Keda'ila comments>

> *Kuseli bulagala paka.*
> *ku-seli bulagala paka*
> 2-end   news   ceremony
>
> 'Finish your news ceremony.'

<Then the informants continue the matching game>)

> M: *Ke bogwa makala bakibilibali.*
>   *ke bogwa makala ba-kibilibali*
>   oh OK   like   1.FUT-hold.sideways
>
>   'Oh, OK, like (this), I will hold it sideways.'

> K: *E   bogwa makala kukibilibali...*
>   *e   bogwa makala ku-kibilibali*
>   yes OK   like   2.-hold.sideways
>
>   Yes, OK, like (this), hold it sideways...

(<Now Moyadi comments on the little boy's misbehavior>

> M: *A bwada bogina popu...*
>   *a bwada bogina pupu*
>
>   'Ah brother, (this) bad smell (of) shit...')

> K: *Ke bogwa   kukibilibali?*
>   *ke bogwa   ku-bilibali*
>   so already 2-hold.sideways
>
>   'So you are holding (it) sideways already?'

> M: *E.*
>
>   'Yes.'

> K: *Makala manakwa   lalukwem   okuseli la kabokenu?*
>   *makala ma-na-kwa   la-lukwe-m   o-ku-seli la kabokenu*
>   like   DEM-DEM-CPthing 1.PST-tell-you LV-2-put its place.to.lie.down
>
>   'Like I told you to put this (wheel) in its place (where it has to lie)?'

> M: *E   bogwala   makala.*
>   *E   bogwa-la   makala*
>   yes already-EMP like
>
>   'Yes, (its) already (done) like (you said).'

K: *E   taga ginigini   bikanakela.*
    E   taga ginigini   bi-kanakela
    yes but   ornament   3.FUT-lie.on

'Yes, but it will lie on (the ornament).'

M: *Bogwa.*

'OK.'

K: *M kweyuvela   kula kuwai m   mna kabuluyuvela*
    m kwe-yu-vela   ku-la ku-wai m   mna kabulu-yu-vela
    hm CPthing-two-EMP 2-go 2-hit   hm hm CPprotruding-two-EMP

    keyuvela   kai   omatala   makalawa la kabokanukwenu makala
    ke-yu-vela   kai   omatala   makala-wa la kabokanukwenu makala
    CPwood-two-EMP stick in.front.of like-only   its place.to.lie.down like

    la kabowaiyaiyu bukuwai...
    la kaboaiyaiyu   buku-wai
    its place.for.stake 2.FUT-hit

'Hm, a second wheel, you go (and) put in, hm, hm, (the) two protruding sticks in front of–like (what is)–its place to lie down, like its place close to the growing yams where one puts a stake into the ground for the tendril of the plant to creep you will put it in…'

M: *E bogwa.*

'Yes, OK.'

K: *Bogwa.*

'OK.'

M: *E.*

'Yes.'

K: *E   e   kweta   tuvela wili,*
    e   e   kwe-ta   tuvela wili
    and and CPthing-one again   wheel

'And, and again a wheel,'

M: *E.*

'Yes.'

K: *oluvala   kuseli.*
     oluvala   ku-seli
     in.middle 2-put

     'put it in the middle.'

M: *Ke   manakwa   pwanana budubadu?*
     ke   ma-na-kwa   pwanana budubadu
     ah   DEM-DEM-CPthing hole   many

     'Ah, this (wheel) with the many holes?'

K: *Gala   manakwesi   wala.*
     gala   ma-na-kwe-si   wala
     not   DEM-DEM-CPthing-PL only

     'No, only these (normal wheels).'

M: *Ke   oluvala   kena?*
     ke   oluvala   kena
     ah   in.middle or

     'Ah, in the middle, is it?'

K: *Kwetala   kweyu   oluvalesiga   beya esasa   gala ka'ila.*
     kwe-tala   kwe-yu   oluvale-si-ga   beya e-sasa   gala ka'ila
     CPthing-one CPthing-two in.middle-they-EMP here 3-space no   stick

     'One (wheel), two (wheels)–(and) in the middle of them here (there) is space,
     (but) no stick.'

M: *E*   .

     'Yes.'

K: *E   kuseli   igau.*
     e   ku-seli   igau
     yes 2-put   then

     'Yes, put it (down there) then.'

M: *Bogwa makala si   kabokanukwenu?*
     bogwa makala si   kabokanukwenu
     already like   their place.to.lie.down

     '(Is it) already like their place (in the construction)?'

K: *Makalawa   si   kabokanukwenu.*
    makala-wa si   kabokanukwenu
    like-only   their   place.to.lie.down

   '(It is) already like (that), (its) their place.'

M: *E   bogwa   laseli.*
    e   bogwa   la-seli
    yes   already   1.PST-put

   'Yes, I already put them (down).'

K: *Bogwa   kuseli. Kwau   keta   kepwakau   makesina*
    bogwa   ku-seli ku-kau ke-ta   ke-pwakau   ma-ke-si-na
    already   2-put   2-take CPrigid-one CPrigid-white DEM-CPrigid-PL-DEM

    kekekita,
    ke-kekita
    CPrigid-small

   'OK, you put (them down). (Now) take one white (thing) (from) these small
   (things),'

M: *E.*

   'Yes.'

K: *e   kuwai   biloki   manakwa   wili... bivisasuwa.   E*
    e   ku-wai bi-loki   ma-na-kwa   wili   bi-visasu-wa   e
    bu   buku-wai   bi-tovelu
    and 2-put   3.FUT-go.to DEM-DEM-CPthing wheel   3.FUT-join-only and

    bu...   bukuwai   bitovelu.
    bu...   buku-wai   bi-tovelu
    2.FUT   2.FUT-hit 3.FUT-stand.apart

   'and put (it so that) it will go to this wheel... it will join (them). And you put it
   (together), it'll stand apart.'

M: *O.*

   'Oh.'

K: *Bukuwai   mna o   pwanana,*
    buku-wai   mna o   pwanana
    2.FUT-hit   hm   in   hole

   'You will put (it) hm in (a) hole,

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *makena*   *kebwabwau*   *okuwai*   *ake!*
    ma-ke-na   *ke-pwakau*   *o-ku-wai* *ake*
    DEM-CPrigid-DEM   CPrigid-white LV-2-hit right

    'this white (rigid piece), put (it in), right!'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *E*   *pwoninatala* *bukuligemwa* *bukumwekiga*   *pwoninatala*
    e   *pwonina-tala* *buku-ligemwa* *buku-mweki-ga* *pwonina-tala*
    and CPhole-one   2.FUT-forget   2.FUT-meet-EMP CPhole-one

    bikanamwa   *pwoninayuvela*   *mponana*   *bukuwai.*
    bi-kanamwa   *pwonina-yu-vela* *m-pona-na*   *buku-wai*
    3.FUT-leave.out CPhole-two-EMP DEM-CPhole-DEM 2.FUT-hit

    Makena   *kepwakau*   *bukuwai.*
    ma-ke-na   *ke-pwakau*   *buku-wai*
    DEM-CPrigid-DEM   CPrigid-white 2.FUT-hit

    'And one hole, you will forget it (and) you will come to one hole, it will be left out, the second (hole) this (hole) you'll put (it in). This white (thing), you'll put (it in).'

M: *E* *ke* *bababi*   *manakwa*   *wili,* *ke.*
    e *ke* *ba-babi*   *ma-na-kwa*   *wili* *ah*
    yes so 1.FUT-poke DEM-DEM-CPthing wheel ah

    'Yes, so I will poke (it into) this wheel, ah.'

K: *O* *so,*   *gala* *manakwa*   *wili* *igau* *kukwau* *kusemwa.*
    o *so*   *gala* *ma-na-kwa*   *wili* *igau* *ku-kwau* *ku-semwa*
    oh friend not DEM-DEM-CPthing wheel then 2-take   2-put.aside

    'Oh my friend, not this wheel, later, take it (and) put it aside.'

M: *Bogwa* *lasemwa*   *omakava.*
    bogwa *la-semwa*   *omakava*
    already 1.PST-put.aside outside

    'I already took it off and away.'

K: *M   manakwa   okuseli   oluvala.*
    m   ma-na-kwa   o-ku-seli oluvala
    hm   DEM-DEM-CP-thing LV-2.put   in.middle

    'Hm, this (wheel), put (it) in the middle.'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *E   kwau   igau   kusemwa.*
    e   ku-kau igau   ku-semwa
    yes 2-take then   2.put.aside

    'Yes, take (it and) then put (it) aside.'

M: *Bogwa   lasemwa.*
    bogwa   la-semwa
    already 1.PST-put.aside

    'I already put (it) aside).'

K: *E   makenaga   kepupwakau*
    e   ma-ke-na-ga   ke-pupwakau
    and DEM-CPrigid-DEM-EMP CPrigid-white

    'And this white'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *kekekita   kwau   kuwai igau, ka, makena   kepwakau*
    ke-kekita   ku-kau ku-wai igau ka   ma-ke-na   ke-pwakau
    CPrigid-small 2-take 2-hit   then see DEM-CPrigid-DEM CPrigid-white

    okuwai   manakwesi.
    o-ku-wai ma-na-kwe-si
    LV-2-hit   DEM-DEM-CPthing-PL

    'small (thing), take (it and) put (it in) then, see, this white (thing) put it (into) these (wheels).'

M: *M e   kwetala   baligemwa   kewtala   bawai?*
    m e   kwe-tala   ba-ligemwa   kwe-tala   ba-wai
    hm and CPthing-one 1.FUT-forget CPthing-one 1-FUT-hit

    'Hm, and I will leave out one (hole and) I'll put it in the other?'

K: *E   kutakaka   kuma   kugisi   kwetala   kuligemwa*
    e   ku-takaka   ku-ma   ku-gisi kwe-tala   ku-ligemwa
    and 2-look.carefully 2-come 2-see   CPthing-one 2-forget

    kweyuvela   kuma   kuwai manakwa   kwepwakau,
    kwe-yu-vela   ku-ma   ku-wai ma-na-kwa   kwe-pwakau
    CPthing-two-EMP 2-come 2-hit   DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-white

    'And look carefully, come (and) see one (hole), leave it out, the second (hole)
    you come (to), put (in) this white (thing).'

M: *E bogwa.*

    'Yes, OK.'

K: *manakwa   kwepwakau.   E   kwau   manakwa   wili*
    ma-na-kwa   kwe-pwakau   e   ku-kau ma-na-kwa   wili
    DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-white and 2-take DEM-DEM-CPthing wheel

    kuwai, lalukwem   okusela   gala okuligemwa.
    ku-wai la-lukwe-m   o-ku-sela gala o-ku-ligemwa
    2-hit   2.PST-tell-you LV-2-put not   LV-2-forget

    'this white (thing). And take this wheel (and) put (it in), I told you to put (it in
    and) not to forget (it).'

M: *E bogwa.*

    'Yes, OK.'

K: *Bogwa, e   kwau   ketala   kepwakau   kuwai.*
    bogwa e   ku-kau ke-tala   ke-pwakau   ku-wai
    OK   and 2-take   CPrigid-one CPrigid-white 2-hit

    'OK, and take one (of the) white (things and) put it in.'

M: *Ambe   bawai?*
    ambe   ba-wai
    where 1.FUT-hit

    'Where will I put it in?'

K: *Kuwai   piliyuvela   piliyuvela   bila   iyo...   biloki*
    ku-wai pili-yu-vela   pili-yu-vela   bi-la   i-yo...   bi-loki
    2-hit   CPpart-two-EMP   CPpart-two-EMP   3.FUT-go 3-ho...   3.FUT-go.to

    sola   iyosi... Bogwa kuwai makala e   kuwai, iga bikatukwevivila
    so-la   i-yosi bogwa ku-wai makala e   ku-wai iga bi-katukwevivila
    friend-its 3-hold already 2-hit like   yes 2-hit   then 3.FUT-turn.around

    bila   ikikola   mna kweyuvela.
    bi-la   i-kikola   mna kwe-yu-vela
    3.FUT-go   3-hold.on   hm CPthing-two-EMP

    'Put it in the second (part, in) the second part, it will go, it ho... it'll go to its
    counterpart to hold it... You put it in already like this, yes, you put it in, then
    it'll turn around, it'll go and hold, hm, the second (wheel).'

M: *Makala sola?*
    makala so-la
    like _. friend-its

    'Like (a) counterpart?'

K: *E   makala sola   beya okuwai, bikau   kwevivila   bila*
    e   makala so-la   beya o-ku-wai bi-kau   kwe-vivila   bi-la
    yes   like   friend-its here LV-2-hit 3.FUT-take CPthing-shining 3.FUT-go

    iwayai   beya. Makala okuwai   manakwena   ala bububula
    i-wayai beya makala o-ku-wai ma-na-kwe-na   ala bububula
    3-stick here like   LV-2-hit DEM-DEM-CPthing-DEM   its shape

    makala e   makala, bukuwai   manakwa   ala bububula. Bila
    makala e   makala buku-wai ma-na-kwa   ala bububula bi-la
    like   yes like   2.FUT-hit DEM-DEM-CPthing its shape   3.FUT-go

    bikikola   boda   kwetala...
    bi-kikola   boda   kwe-tala
    3.FUT-hold   group CPthing-one

    'Yes, like (a) counterpart there, you put it in, it'll take (this) shining (thing), it'll
    go and stick there. Put it in like (this), this (thing), its shape (is) like (this), yes
    like (this), you will put in this (thing), its shape. It'll go and hold one group (of
    the configuration)...'

M: *E bogwa.*

    'Yes, OK.'

K: *Bogwa.*
    'OK.'

M: *M.*
    'Hm.'

K: *Ke bogwa   katukwevivila eseboda?*
    ke bogwa   katukwevivila e-seboda
    so already turning.point 3-encircle
    'So it already encircles the turning point?'

M: *Bogwa.*
    'Already (done).'

K: *E   e   kai   kekwinini,*
    e   e   kai   ke-kwinini
    and and stick CPwood-yellow
    'And, and (a) yellow stick,'

M: *M.*
    'Hm.'

K: *kekwinini   kai   ketala   kuwai manakwa   oluvala...*
    ke-kwinini   kai   ke-tala   ku-wai ma-na-kwa   oluvala
    CPwood-yellow stick CPwood-one 2-hit   DEM-DEM-CPthing in.middle
    'one yellow stick, put it into the middle of this (wheel).'

M: *Pwananela   oluvala?*
    pwanane-la   oluvala
    hole-its   in.middle
    'The hole in the middle?'

K: *Pwananela   oluvala   (pwananela oluvale...), bogwa?*
    pwanane-la   oluvala   pwanane-la oluvale   bogwa
    hole-its   in.middle hole-its   in.middle   OK
    'The hole in the middle (<sings:> the hole in the middle…), OK?

M: *E.*
    'Yes.'

K: E   kebweyani   kuweya   mpana   eveki   manakwa
     e   ke-bweyani ku-weya m-pa-na   e-veki   ma-na-kwa
     and   CPwood-red 2-hit   DEM-CPpart-DEM   3-go.to DEM-DEM-CPthing

     evekeya   Tuyabwau.
     e-vekeya   Tuyabwau
     3-follow   Tuyabwau

     'And you put the red (stick) into this (part) it goes to, this (wheel) follows (the
     direction of) Tuyabwau [name of a well].'

M: Matala   makena   kai   ambeya, emwa   yokwa?
     mata-la ma-ke-na   kai   ambeya   e-mwa   yokwa
     eye-its DEM-CPwood-DEM   stick where   3-come.to you

     'The tip of this stick where (is it), does it come to you?'

K: Yegu kwetala   wili   ela   o   laodila, kwetolu   wili   ela   o
     yegu kwe-tala   wili   e-la o   laodila kwe-tolu   wili   e-la o
     I   CPthing-one   wheel 3-go to bush   CPthing-three wheel 3-go to

     bwalita. Kwau   makala kuseli.
     bwalita ku-kau   makala ku-seli
     sea   2-take   like   2-put

     'I [from my point of view], one wheel goes to (the) bush, (and) wheel number
     three goes to (the) sea. Take (this) and put (the stick) in (it) like this.'

M: E bogwa.

     'Yes, OK.'

K: Bogwa makala okuseli?
     bogwa makala o-ku-seli
     already like   LV-2-put

     'You put (it) in like (this) already?'

M: E

     'Yes.'

K: Kwetala   wili   ela   o   laodila.
     kwe-tala   wili   e-la o   laodila
     CPthing-one   wheel 3-go to bush

     'One wheel goes to (the) bush.'

M: E

     'Yes.'

K: *E   kwetolu   wili   ela   o   bwalita.*
    e   kwe-tolu   wili   e-la o   bwalita
    and CPthing-three wheel 3-go to sea

    'And wheel number three goes to (the) sea.'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *E   mpana   Tuyabwau ela,*
    e   m-pa-na   Tuyabwau e-la
    and DEM-CPpart-DEM Tuyabwau 3-go

    'And this piece that goes to (the) Tuyabwau (well),'

M: *M.*

    'Hm.'

K: *kwau   makena   kebweyani   kuseli.*
    ku-kau ma-ke-na   ke-bweyani ku-seli
    2-take   DEM-CPwood-DEM   CPwood-red 2-put

    'take this red (stick and) put it in.'

M: *Bogwa.*

    'OK.'

K: *Bogwa kuvisilili   ela   itowa.*
    bogwa ku-visilili   e-la i-towa
    already 2-put.in   3-go 3-stand

    'You put it in already, it goes (there) and stands (there).

M: *Bogwawa.*
    bogwa-wa
    already-only

    'OK, OK.'

K: *E   kedigadegila   makena,*
    e   ke-digadegila   ma-ke-na
    and CPwood-yellow DEM-CPwood-DEM

    'And this yellow (stick),'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *kwau   ku... oluvalawa   manakwa   kuvisilili.*
    ku-kau ku-   oluvala-wa   ma-na-kwa   ku-visilili
    2-take 2-   in.middle-only DEM-DEM-CPthing 2-put.in

    'take it, pu... into the middle of this (wheel) you put it.'

M: *Bogwa.*

    'OK.'

K: *Bogwa.*

    'OK.'

M: *E   ketalaga   kedigadegila   esisu.*
    e   ke-tala-ga   ke-digadegila   e-sisu
    and CPwood-one-EMP CPwood-yellow 3-exist

    'And there is another yellow (stick).'

K: *E   makena   kedigadegila.*
    e   ma-ke-na   ke-digadegila
    yes DEM-CPwood-DEM CPwood-yellow

    'Yes, this yellow (stick).'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *Igau   lapaisewa   esisu. Kwau   manakwa   kwebweyani*
    igau   la-paisewa   e-sisu ku-kau ma-na-kwa   kwe-bweyani
    before 1.PST-work 3-exist 2-take DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-red

    kwesisikwa
    kwesisikwa
    CPthing-thin

    'I worked (it out) before, it's there. Take this red thin thing

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *kedigadegila   omatala   kuwai.*
    ke-digadegila   omatala   ku-wai
    CPwood-yellow on.top.of 2-hit

    'and put in the yellow stick on top of it.'

M: *Ke e.*

    'Ah, yes.'

K: *Kwevanaku.*
     kwe-vanaku
     CPthing-new

     '(The) new (thing).'

M: *Oluvala   manakwa   pwananela?*
     oluvala   ma-na-kwa   pwanane-la
     in.middle DEM-DEM-CPthing hole-its

     '(In) this hole in the middle?'

K: *E   oluvala   manakwa   pwananela.*
     e   oluvala   ma-na-kwa   pwanane-la
     yes in.middle DEM-DEM-CPthing hole-its

     'Yes, (in) this hole in the middle.'

M: *Bekanubilabala?*
     bi-kanubilabala
     3.FUT-lie.down.at.right.angles

     'Will it lie down there at right angles?'

K: *Gala, kuwai   bitomalaula.   Biekuliwa   makena*
     gala   ku-wai bi-tomalaula   bi-ekuliwa   ma-ke-na
     no   2-hit   3.FUT-stand.upright 3.FUT-follow DEM-CPwood-DEM

     kai   bitomalaula.   Bogwa   etomalaula.
     kai   bi-tomalaula   bogwa   e-tomalaula
     stick 3.FUT-stand.upright already 3-stand.upright

     'No, put it in, it'll stand upright. It'll follow this stick, it'll stand upright. It's
     standing upright already.'

M: *E.*

     'Yes.'

K: *Ema   mapwonanaga   pwanana olu...   kudoki*
     e-ma   ma-pwona-na-ga   pwanana olu...   ku-doki
     3-come DEM-CPhole-DEM-EMP hole   in.mid... 2-think

     bikanubilabala?
     bi-kanubilabala
     3.FUT-lie.down.at.right.angles

     'It comes into this hole, in the mid... you think it'll lie down at right angles?'

M: *E bogwa.*
     'Yes, OK.'

K: *Bukuvisuvi   e   kwau   manakwa   m   wili   pwanana*
    buku-visuvi   e   ku-kau ma-na-kwa   m   wili   pwanana
    2.FUT-put.through and 2-take DEM-DEM-CPthing hm wheel hole
    budubadu,
    budubadu
    many
    'You'll put it through and (now) take this, hm, wheel (with) many holes,'

M: *E.*
     'Yes.'

K: *kebweyani   kuvisuvi.*
    ke-bweyani   ku-visuvi
    CPwood-red   2-put.through
    '(and) put it through (the) red (stick).'

M: *Bikanubilabala?*
    bi-kanubilabala
    3.FUT-lie.down   at.right.angles
    'Will it lie down there at right angles?'

K: *Bikanu   makala manakwesi   otinava si   kabukanukwenu.*
    bi-kanu   makala ma-na-kwe-si   otinava si   kabukanukwenu
    3.FUT-lie like   DEM-DEM-CPthing-PL below their place.to.lie.down
    'It'll lie like these (wheels) below (on) their places.'

M: *Bavisuvi   bila   otinava.*
    ba-visuvi   bi-la   otinava
    1.FUT-put.through 3.FUT-go down
    'I'll put it through (and) it'll go down.'

K: *Gala.*
     'No.'

M: *O... esa...   esaya.*
    o   e-sa...   e-saya
    oh   3-have.pl... 3-have.too.much.play
    'Oh, it has... it has too much play.'

K: *Esaya.*
     e-saya
     3-have.too.much.play
     'It has too much play.'

M: *E.*
     'Yes.'

K: *E   kuvisuviwa   biva   otinava,   iga isesaya*
     e   ku-visuvi-wa   bi-va   otinava   iga i-se-saya
     yes 2-put.through-only 3.FUT-go.to to.ground then 3-INT-have.too.much.play

     e   kwauga   makena   kebweyani   kegulini.
     e   ku-kau-ga   ma-ke-na   ke-bweyani   ke-gulini
     yes 2-take-EMP DEM-CPwood-DEM CPwood-red CPwood-green

     'Yes, put it through, it'll go to the ground, then–it has too much play, indeed–
     yes, take this red, the green [means yellow] (stick).'

M: *E.*

     'Yes.'

K: *Kwau makena   kegulini   kuvisuvi   mapwonana*
     ku-kau ma-ke-na   ke-gulini   ku-visuvi   ma-pwona-na
     2-take DEM-CPwood-DEM CPwood-green 2-put.through DEM-CPhole-DEM

     ma 'utuna   utubweyani ake lalukwem   okuseli,
     ma-utu-na   utu-bweyani ake la-lukwe-m   o-ku-seli
     DEM-CPpart-DEM CPpart-red oh 1.PST-tell-you LV-2-put

     'Take this green [means yellow] stick (and) put it through this hole (of) this red
     part, oh, I told you to put it through,'

M: *M.*

     'Hm.'

K: *E   mponanaga   pwanana ka oluvala...*
     e   m-pona-na-ga   pwanana ka oluvala
     yes DEM-CPhole-DEM-EMP hole   see in.middle

     'Yes, this hole, see, in the middle...

M: *E.*

     'Yes.'

K: *ake   makena   kebweyani pwananela oluvala,*
    ake   ma-ke-na   ke-bweyani pwananela oluvala
    right   DEM-CPrigid-DEM   CPrigid-red hole   in.middle

   'right, this red rigid (thing with) the hole in the middle,'

M: *Bogwa.*

   'OK.'

K: *e   kwau   makena   ke...   kekwinini   kuvisuvi*
    e   ku-kau ma-ke-na   ke   ke-kwinini   ku-visuvi
    and   2-take DEM-CPwood-DEM   CPwood   CPwood-yellow 2-put.through

    kai.
    kai
    stick

   'and take this yellow (stick and) put (the) stick through (it).'

M: *So,   pwanana oluvala   manakwa   ka   kebweyanila*
    so   *pwanana oluvala   ma-na-kwa   ka   ke-bweyani-la*
    friend hole   in.middle DEM-DEM-CPthing   here CPrigid-red-EMP

    makena?
    ma-ke-na
    DEM-CPrigid-DEM

   'My friend, (the) hole in the middle of this, here, this red rigid (part)?'

K: *M.*

   'Hm.'

M: *Ambe bakivili   bimwa?*
    ambe ba-kivili   bi-mwa
    where 1.FUT-turn   1.FUT-come.to

   'Where will I turn (it), (where) will it come to?'

K: *Bilo...   biloki   wili   bilola   makala Tuyabwau.*
    bi-lo...   bi-loki   wili   bi-lola   makala Tuyabwau
    3.FUT-go...   3.FUT-go.to wheel 3.FUT-walk like   Tuyabwau

   'It will go... it will go to (the) wheel (and) it will walk as if (it'll go to)
   Tuyabwau.

M: *Kabuluta*   *kai*   *makesiya*   *kaitukwa,*
    kabulu-ta   *kai*   *ma-ke-si-ya*   *kaitukwa*
    CPprotruding-one stick DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM walking.stick

    kegulini   *makena*   *layosi*   *bavisuvi,*
    ke-gulini   *ma-ke-na*   *la-yosi*   *ba-visuvi*
    CPwood-green DEM-CPwood-DEM 1.PST-hold 1.FUT-put.through

    kabuluta   *ambeya bimwa*   *ambe*   *bimwa?*
    kabulu-ta   *ambeya bi-mwa*   *ambe*   *bi-mwa*
    CPprotruding-one where   3.FUT-come.to where 3.FUT-come.to

    'The one protruding stick of these walking sticks, this green [means yellow]
    (one) I held, I'll put (it) through the protruding one, where will it come to,
    where will it come to?

K: *Bukuvasuva...*
    buku-vasuva
    2.FUT-put.through

    'Put (it) through...'

M: *Kabuluta*   *bila*   *Tuyabwau.*
    kabulu-ta   *bi-la*   *Tuyabwau*
    CPprotruding-one 3.FUT-go Tuyabwau

    '(The) protruding one will go to Tuyabwau.'

K: *... bukuvasuvawa*   *bila*   *makala* *Tuyabwau.*
    buku-vasuva-wa   *bi-la*   *makala* *Tuyabwau*
    2.FUT-put.through-only 3.FUT-go like   Tuyabwau

    '...just put it through, it'll go as if (it goes) to Tuyabwau.'

M: *Ke* *kabuluta*   *bila*   *Tuyabwau?*
    ke *kabulu-ta*   *bi-la*   *Tuyabwau*
    so   CPprotruding-one 3.FUT-go Tuyabwau

    'So the protruding one will go to Tuyabwau?'

K: *M* *bukuvisuvi*   *biloki*   *manakwa*   *wili,*
    m *buku-visuvi*   *bi-loki*   *ma-na-kwa*   *wili*
    hm 2.FUT-put.through 3.FUT-go.to DEM-DEM-CPthing wheel

    okusuvi   *esesaya,*   *okulivali.* *Bukuloya*
    o-ku-suvi   *e-se-saya*   *o-ku-livali* *buku-loya*
    LV-2-put.through 3-INT-have.too.much.play LV-2-say   2.FUT-pull.up

bima	o	pwananela	bukuvisuvi		bika'ini,	
bi-ma	o	pwanane-la	buku-visuvi		bi-ka'ini	
3.FUT-come	in	hole-its	2.FUT-put.through		3.FUT-get.stuck	

bikanamwa...	Makena		kai	bogwa	okuvisuvi?	
bi-kanamwa	ma-ke-na		kai	bogwa	o-ku-visuvi	
3.FUT-forget	DEM-CPwood-DEM	stick	already	LV-2-put.through	

Manakwa		wili	okuvisuvi		ela	ekanukwenu	otanava.
ma-na-kwa		wili	o-ku-visuvi		e-la	e-kanukwenu	otanava
DEM-DEM-CPthing		wheel	LV-2-put.through		3.go	3.lie.down	below

'Hm, put it through, it'll go to this wheel, put it through, it has too much play, (as) you say, pull (the wheel) up, it'll come in its hole you will put it (and) it'll get stuck, it can be forgotten... This stick, did you put it through already? This wheel, put it through, it goes and lies down below.'

M: *Ga bogwa.*

'No, OK.'

K: | E | okuvisuvi | | makena | | kai, | eva | kuloyawa |
|---|-----------|--|--------|--|------|-----|----------|
| e | o-ku-visuvi | | ma-ke-na | | kai | e-va | ku-loya-wa |
| yes | LV-2-put.through | DEM-CPwood-DEM | stick | 3-go.to | 2-pull.up-only |

ambeyala	mapwonana		magim	kwau	kuvisuvi.
ambeya-la	ma-pwonana-na		magi-m	ku-kau	ku-visuvi
where-EMP	DEM-CPhole-DEM	wish-your	2-take	2-put.through

'Yes, put through this stick, it goes to (it), just pull (the wheel) up (to) where this hole is (and) where you like it, take it (and) put (the stick) in(to a hole in the wheel).'

M: *Bogwa.*

'OK.'

K: *Bogwa.*

'OK.'

M: | Bogwala | maponana | | lavisuvi. |
|---------|----------|--|-----------|
| bogwa-la | ma-pona-na | | la-visuvi |
| already-EMP | DEM-CPhole-DEM | 1.PST-put.through |

'OK, OK, I already put it into this hole.'

K: *E   bukuvisuvi   bila   bikaniemwa   wala manakwa*
    e   buku-visuvi   bi-la   bi-kaniemwa   wala ma-na-kwa
    yes 2.FUT-put.through 3.FUT-go 3.FUT-stay.with only DEM-DEM-CPthing

    wili   olakeva.
    wili   olakeva
    wheel   up

    'Yes, you put it through, it'll go (in it), it'll stay only up with it, this wheel.'

M: *E   bogwa   ekaniemwa.*
    e   bogwa   e-kaniemwa
    yes already 3-stay.with

    'Yes, it stays (there) already.'

K: *E   bogwa, gala kudoki, e   kwau manakwa   kwebweyani,*
    e   bogwa gala ku-doki e   ku-kau ma-na-kwa   kwe-bweyani
    yes OK   not 2.think and 2-take DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-red

    ka.
    ka
    OK

    'Yes, OK, you didn't believe it, and (now) take this red (thing), OK.

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *Makabulana   okuvasuva   kebweyanila*
    ma-kabula-na   o-ku-vasuva   ke-bweyani-la
    DEM-CPprotruding-DEM LV-2-put.through CPwood-red-EMP

    makena   kevanaku   ake e   makenaga
    ma-ke-na   ke-vanaku   ake e   ma-ke-na-ga
    DEM-CPwood-DEM CPwood-long oh eh DEM-CPwood-DEM-EMP

    kai   kekwinini   okuvisuvi,
    kai   ke-kwinini   o-ku-visuvi
    stick CPwood-yellow LV-2-put.through

    'This protruding (end of the stick which) you put through (it), this red long
    (stick), oh, eh, (wait a minute) this stick, (the) yellow (one) you put (it) through
    (the hole of the orange plastic part),'

M: *E.*

    'Yes.'

K: *omatala kuvisuvi   manakwa   kwebweyani biva*
    omatala ku-visuvi   ma-na-kwa   kwe-bweyani bi-va
    in.front 2-put.through DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-red 3.FUT-go.to

    ikanava.
    i-kanava
    3-lie.down

    'you put this red (cap) through at the front (of the stick), it will go to (the stick and) it rests there.'

M: *Emwa   beya o valu   makala.*
    e-mwa   beya o valu   makala
    3-come.to here to village like

    'It'll come here to the village, like (this).'

K: *E, bogwa   okukwevisuvi?*
    e   bogwa   o-ku-kwe-visuvi
    yes already LV-2-INT-put.through

    'Yes, did you put it through already?'

M: *Omatala?*

    'In front (of it)?'

K: *Omatala kwau   kuvisuvi   biloki   gala tuvela bidademi.*
    omatala ku-kau ku-visuvi   bi-loki   gala tuvela bi-dademi
    in.front 2-take 2-put.through 3.FUT-go.to not again 3.FUT-fall.down

    'In front of it, take (it), put (it) through, it'll go to (it), (and) it [the wheel] won't fall down again.'

(laughter)