

4 Aspects of spatial deixis in Kilivila

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1 Introduction¹

One of the many games children on the Trobriand Islands play with the members of their peer groups or with their parents is called *nene 'i nene 'i kora*. The name of this game can be glossed as 'find, find the hidden' (its English equivalent is 'I spy with my little eye'). It is usually played by two children. One child chooses an object in their joint environment and then tells her or his partner, for example:

- (1) a. *Kwe-tala vavagi mā-kwe-na kwe-bweyani.*
CP.thing-one thing Dem-CP.thing-Dem CP.thing-red
'A thing here (this) red (one).'

The partner in the game then looks around and comes up with guesses like

¹ This paper is based on 31 months of field research on the Trobriand Islands in 1982–83, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1998. I want to thank the German Research Society and especially the Max Planck Society for their support in realising my field research. I also want to thank all the (short-term, visiting, and long-term) members of the 'space project' of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics for the enthusiasm with which we started the project and with which we have been conducting the research so far. I also thank the participants of the Second European Meeting on Oceanic Linguistics in Nijmegen for helpful comments on a first version of this paper. I thank the National and Provincial Governments in Papua New Guinea, the Institute for PNG Studies, and the National Research Institute for their assistance with, and permission for, my research projects. Last but not least I express my great gratitude to the people of the Trobriand Islands, especially to the inhabitants of Tauwema; I thank them for their hospitality, friendship, and patient cooperation.

² In this paper the following abbreviations are used:

CP	classificatory particle, classifier
Dem	Demonstrative (proximal form)
Dir	Directional
dist	distal form of the demonstrative
excl	exclusive
Fut	Future
Loc	Locative
med	medial form of the demonstrative
Pl	Plural
prox.	proximal form of the demonstrative
1/2/3	Person

- (1) b. *O bogwa la-bani ma-kwe-na boli.*
 oh already 1.Past-find Dem-CP.thing-Dem ball
 'Oh, I have already found (it), this ball (here)'.

If this guess is right and the second child has found the object the other child had chosen, it is his or her turn now to choose an object in their environment and ask the other child to identify an object which is only characterised as a 'thing' with a certain colour or as being close to a certain object or place. This game certainly helps children to learn the means their mother tongue offers them for referring to objects in space.³

The Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea may point at something or someone with their index finger, with their eyes, with a lifted chin or with puckered lips. However, like most of us, they usually use language — more often than not together with pointing gestures — for such acts of spatial reference. Like all natural languages their language — which is called Kilivila — provides a number of means for its speakers to refer to the location of animate or inanimate referents relative to the participants of the speech act. Philosophers refer to these means and expressions as 'indexical expressions' or just 'indexicals' (Levinson 1983:55). In linguistics, however, most of these means are categorised under the general heading of 'deixis'.⁴ Linguists generally differentiate between person deixis, time deixis, space deixis, discourse deixis and social deixis (Levinson 1994; see also Senft 1997).⁵ This paper focuses on aspects of spatial (or local) deixis in Kilivila. After a brief characterisation of this language I will discuss central aspects of the system of Kilivila spatial deixis and illustrate its usage. This system includes all forms that have the — deictic — function to indicate the location of a referent with respect to the participants of a speech act. Moreover, in a brief excursus I will also illustrate how Kilivila demonstratives are used in discourse deixis.

2 Kilivila – the language of the Trobriand Islanders

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 and its general word-order pattern is VOS (Senft 1986, 1996c). The Austronesian languages spoken in Milne Bay Province are grouped into 12 language families; one of them is labelled Kilivila. The Kilivila language family encompasses the languages Budibud (or Nada, with about 200 speakers), Muyuw (or Murua, with about 4000 speakers) and Kilivila (or Kiriwina, Boyowa, with about 25,000 speakers); Kilivila is spoken on the islands Kiriwina, Vakuta, Kitava, Kaile'una, Kuiawa, Munuwata and Simsim. The languages Muyuw and Kilivila are split into mutually understandable local dialects. Typologically, Kilivila is classified as a Western Melanesian Oceanic language belonging to the Papuan Tip cluster group (Capell 1976:6, 9; Ross 1988:25, 190ff.; Senft 1986:6).

The Trobriand Islanders have become famous, even outside of anthropology, because of the ethnographic masterpieces on their culture published by the anthropologist Bronislaw Kaspar Malinowski, who did field research there between 1916 and 1920 (see Senft 1999a).

³ In Germany we have exactly the same game. It is called 'Ich seh' etwas, was du nicht siehst' (I see something which you do not see) and follows the same rules as the Kilivila game just described.

⁴ Remember that the term 'deixis' is borrowed from the Greek word for pointing or indicating (see Bühler 1934:36–37 (=1990:44–45)).

⁵ For a detailed discussion of the concept of deixis I refer the reader to the introduction of this volume.

The Trobrianders belong to the ethnic group called 'Northern Massim'. They are gardeners, doing slash-and-burn cultivation of the bush; their most important crop is yams. Moreover, they are also famous for being excellent canoe builders, carvers, and navigators, especially in connection with the ritualised 'Kula' trade, an exchange of shell valuables that covers a wide area of the Melanesian part of the Pacific (see Malinowski 1922; Leach & Leach 1983). The society is matrilineal but virilocal (see also Weiner 1976, 1988).

Kilivila is of special interest to linguists for various reasons (see Senft 1998): It is a language with VOS word order as its unmarked word-order pattern, it is a language with rather complex serial verb constructions (see Senft 1986:39–42), its marking of tense/aspect/mood is rather complex and difficult to describe, without access to detailed contextual information (see Senft 1994a), and it seems that the technical terms 'transitive' and 'intransitive' are basically inadequate for describing the verbal expression and the argument structure of Kilivila (see Senft 1996c, see also Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:720ff.).

Moreover, Kilivila has a fourfold series of possessive pronouns, partly realised as free possessive-pronominal pronouns, partly realised as possessive-pronominal affixes. One of these series is produced only in a specific semantic context, referring to food only, the other three series are used to distinguish different degrees of possession; one series marks inalienable possession, two series mark alienable possession of inedible things (Senft 1986:47–54). These possessive-pronominal forms classify the Kilivila noun.

Finally, Kilivila is probably most interesting for linguists because it is a classifier language with a complex system of nominal classification that consists of quantifiers, repeaters⁶ and noun classifiers proper (Senft 1996a). I refer to all these formatives within this sophisticated system with the general term Classificatory Particles (CP), which Malinowski (1920) coined for them.

The Kilivila system of CPs encompasses at least 177 formatives. I assume that with all the subtle and very specific differentiations possible, there are probably more than 200 CPs in Kilivila. Moreover, if we keep in mind all the pragmatic functions CPs can serve, the Kilivila CP system can even be regarded as a basically open system. The system of noun classification is an important means of word formation with all but one of the demonstrative pronouns (see below), with one form of (numerical) interrogative pronouns/adverbs, with two classes of adjectives and with numerals. These word classes require concord with the class of the noun they refer to. This concord is secured by the CPs that are infix or prefixed to the respective word frame or word stem. I have described the morphology of this system of nominal classification, the functions of the classifier system, its acquisition, its inventory (produced in actual speech), the processes of language change that affect the system, and the semantics of the Kilivila classifier system in detail elsewhere

⁶ A repeater is a noun that serves as its own classifier. Here are a few examples. In the expression

bogi-tala bogi
 CP.night-one night
 'one night'

the classifier *bogi* is identical with the noun *bogi*. Other noun phrases with repeaters (underlined in adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives) are, for example:

<i><u>dob</u>amanaweta doba</i>	'beautiful grass-skirt'
<i>make<u>dana</u> keda</i>	'this road'
<i>kova<u>lima</u> kova</i>	'five fireplaces'

(Senft 1996a); for the sake of illustration I will present just two sentences containing all four word classes involved in the Kilivila system of noun classification (Senft 1996a:17ff.):

- (2) a. *Ke-vila waga le-kota-si?*
 CP.wooden-how many canoe 3.Past-arrive-PI
 'How many canoes arrived?'
- b. *Ke-yu waga ma-ke-si-na ke-manabweta*
 CP.wooden-two canoe Dem-CP.wooden-PI-Dem CP.wooden-beautiful
(le-kota-si).
 (3.Past-arrive-PI)
 'These two beautiful canoes (arrived).'

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

These few remarks suffice for this brief sketch of characteristic features of the Kilivila language. In one of the examples just presented we notice the use of demonstrative pronouns that refer to objects in space. This brings us back to the central topic of this paper, the description of the Kilivila system of spatial deixis.

3 Spatial deixis in Kilivila

In what follows I will first discuss the system of demonstratives (in their function as demonstrative pronouns and as demonstratives used attributively) and then I briefly discuss locatives and directionals used in spatial deictic reference.

3.1 Demonstratives

First of all, Kilivila has a kind of 'general', 'basic' or 'simple' system of demonstrative pronouns (that also take over the function of local or place adverbs) that are obligatorily accompanied by a deictic gesture. As mentioned above, the Trobriand Islanders may point at something or someone with their index finger, with their eyes, with a lifted chin or with puckered lips. This basic system is speaker-based and consists of three forms that express proximal, medial and distal distinctions. In these forms the meanings of 'THIS' and 'HERE' are conflated:

Besa or *beya* is used to point to a referent close to the speaker and can be glossed as 'this/these' or 'here'.⁷ *Besa* is most often used in the question

- (3) *Avaka besa?*
 What this
 'What is this?'

⁷ *Besa* or *beya* are also used as presentatives that can be glossed as 'That's it here!' or as 'There you are'. Moreover, the use of the two variants differentiates the dialect *Biga besagala* (which is spoken on Kiriwina Island but not in the village Kavataria) from the dialect *Biga galawala* (which is spoken on Kaile'una Island but not in the village Kaduwaga). See Senft (1986:6–10).

Here speakers (such as children learning the language) cannot specify the referent more precisely and thus cannot use the more specific demonstrative pronoun that requires a CP for its word formation. An answer to such a question (in a given context, of course) may run:

- (4) *Besa budubadu gwadina.*
This many nut
'These are many nuts.'

The sentence

- (5) *Ku-sili beya beya bwena yagila.*
2-sit down here here good wind

can be glossed as:

'Sit down here, here's a cool breeze'

The demonstrative *beyo* is used (together with a deictic gesture) to point to a referent that is further away from the speaker; it can be glossed as 'that/those' or 'there', as illustrated in the following examples:

- (6) *Beyo simla Bulivada.*
that island Bulivada
'That's Bulivada island.'
- (7) *Beyo Dukuboi budubadu kwau.*
There Dukuboi many shark
'There at Dukuboi point are many sharks.'

The demonstrative *beyuuu* is produced with a lengthened final vowel; it points (together with a deictic gesture) to a referent that is far away from the speaker (see sentence (8)) and that even may be invisible in the actual speech situation (see sentence (9)); it may be glossed as 'that/those over there' or with the archaic English expression 'yonder'. The following two examples illustrate the use of this form. Sentence (8) was produced by Katubai, the chief of Kaduwaga. I was sitting together with him on his veranda and he pointed and referred to three groups of visitors who were sitting and eating together, being guests of his village. The Tauwema people were sitting close to us, the Koma people were further away, and the Simsim people were sitting just in sight. One of my informants produced sentence (9) when he talked with me in Tauwema. The distance between Alotau, the capital of Milne Bay Province, and the Trobriand Islands is more than 200 km.

- (8) *Kumwedona tommota e-kamkwam-si o baku. Beya mina*
all people 3-eat-Pl Loc village.ground this people.from
Tauwema beyo mina Koma beyuuu mina Simsim.
Tauwema that people.from Koma those.yonder people.from Simsim
'All the people eat (together) at the village ground. These are the people from Tauwema, those are the people from Koma, and those over there are the people from Simsim.'

- (9) *Tetu e-mwa la-paisewa beyanu Alotau.*
 year 3-come.to 1.Past-work yonder Alotau
 'Last year⁸ I worked in Alotau yonder.'

All other demonstrative pronouns consist of a fixed morphological frame, formed by the word-initial morpheme *ma-*, or according to phonological rules, also *m-* or *mi-*, and the word-final morpheme *-na*, and an infix morpheme, which is the CP; to distinguish between singular and plural, there is also a plural marking morpheme *-si-*, which is infix between the CP and the word-final morpheme *-na*. Demonstrative pronouns formed in this way express the concept of *this/these here*. To express the deictic concept of *that/those there*, the morpheme *-we-* is infix either in singular forms between CP and word-final *-na* or in plural forms between the plural-marker *-si-* and word-final *-na*. To express the kind of deictic concept that comes close to the English demonstrative *yonder*, the Kilivila speaker takes the forms of the demonstrative pronouns expressing the concept of *that/those there* and changes the final vowel /a/ of the word-final morpheme *-na* to an /e/ that is lengthened and that gets a minor accent. These demonstrative pronouns constitute the second, more complex speaker-based system of demonstratives in Kilivila. The following examples illustrate the rather complex word-formation processes of these demonstratives (see also Senft 1986:64–66):

- (10) *m-to-na tau*
 Dem-CP.male-Dem man
 'this man'
m-to-si-na tauwau
 Dem-CP.male-Pl-Dem men
 'these men'
- (11) *mi-na-we-na vivila*
 Dem-CP.female-med-Dem girl
 'that girl'
mi-na-si-we-na vivila
 Dem-CP.female-Pl-med-Dem girl
 'those girls'
- (12) *ma-ke-we-nee waga*
 Dem-CP.wooden-med-Dem.dist canoe
 'the canoe yonder'
ma-ke-si-we-nee waga
 Dem-CP.wooden-Pl-med-Dem.dist canoe
 'these canoes yonder'
- (13) *Mi-na-na vivila Gerubara latu-la m-to-na*
 Dem-CP.female-Dem girl Gerubara child-his Dem-CP.male-Dem
Kwelava latu-la.
 Kwelava child-his
 'This girl is Gerubara's child, this boy is Kwelava's child.'

⁸ For an overview on the expression of time concepts in Kilivila see Senft (1996b).

At this point of our discussion of Kilivila demonstratives we can summarise the following characteristics of the deictic system they constitute: we have two basic sets of demonstratives, one set that obligatorily requires deictic gestures, and one set that does not require such gestures. The examples above illustrate that demonstratives within these two sets can take over the functions of demonstrative pronouns, of demonstratives that are used attributively, and of place adverbs (see also §3.3 below). These two basic sets of Kilivila demonstratives constitute a three-term system with respect to the distances they distinguish. The system with its proximal, medial, and distal forms is speaker-centred, but the deictic reference can be modified by additional morphemes that add additional distinctions to this 'default' understanding of demonstratives (see below). A specific characteristic of the second set of demonstratives is that they need the incorporation of CPs in their word formation. These CPs play an important role for the deictic function of these demonstratives. They provide the addressee with additional information that contributes to narrow down, and further specify, the search domain for the referent to which these deictic forms point. In what follows I will briefly elaborate on this characteristic feature of Kilivila.

The semantic analyses of the Kilivila CP systems reveal that its inventory of CP types can be grouped into twenty semantic domains that cover the following concepts:

Person and Body Parts / Animal / Quantity (living beings and things) / General CPs (unmarked forms for inanimates) / Measure / Time / Place / Quality / Shape / Tree, Wood, Wooden Things / Utensils / Yam / Part of a Foodhouse, a Canoe, a Creel / Door, Entrance, Window / Fire, Oven / Road, Journey / Text / Ritual Item / Dress, Adornment / Name.

The order in which these domains are listed here is completely arbitrary.⁹ However, it is obvious that such a categorisation of referents in the real world codified by the CPs heavily supports the deictic functions of the demonstratives that must incorporate these formatives within their word formation. These CPs are infixed in the morphological frame of the demonstratives (as illustrated in the examples (10)-(13) above). They provide the addressee with additional information with respect to the quality of the referent the speaker refers to in his or her deictic utterance. These qualities encompass many parameters, such as those of height, state, etc. I do not want to discuss this specific feature in more detail here.¹⁰ but will just give the following two examples to briefly illustrate this point once more:

- (14) *Ku-lilei ma-pwa-si-na tetu olopolo bwalita.*
 2-throw away Dem-CP.rotten-Pl-Dem yams into sea
 'Throw these rotten yams into the sea.'

This deictic reference is unequivocal for addressees - no matter how big a pile of yams they are confronted with.

- (15) *Wei ma-nunu-na bagula va keda bi-la Kaduwaga*
 look.out Dem-CP.garden.corner-Dem garden Dir path 3-Fut Kaduwaga

⁹ I want to note here that Kilivila native speakers completely accept the semantic domains proposed in the semantic analyses. Thus, this categorisation represents the native speakers' own intuitions and their metalinguistic knowledge with respect to this complex system (for details see Senft 1996a).

¹⁰ For such details I have to refer the interested reader once more to Senft (1996a).

mwata na-veaka e-sisu!

snake CP.animal-big 3-be

'Look out, at this corner of the garden at the path to Kaduwaga there is a big snake!'

Here the CP *-nunu-* within the demonstratives clearly indicates the area in which the speaker saw a snake. This deictic reference is unequivocal for the addressee.

Thus, to summarise once more: we have two basic sets of demonstratives, one set that obligatorily requires deictic gestures, and one set that does not require such gestures. Each set constitutes (by default) a speaker-centred three-term system with respect to distances distinguished. The Kilivila demonstratives which do not obligatorily require an accompanying deictic gesture convey with the CPs infixes in their word gestalt additional information that helps the addressee to narrow down the search domain for the referent of the respective demonstrative.

As to the actual usage of the Kilivila demonstratives in 'table-top' space and in the space beyond it we observe the following:¹¹

In general, both sets of demonstratives can be used for spatial deictic reference both in 'table-top' space and in the space beyond it.

The proximal forms of the demonstratives are semantically unmarked, are most often used and thus have the widest spatial distribution.

The following sentences and situations illustrate this feature. Sitting with me in my house, one of my consultants is warning me of a mosquito saying:

- (16) *Ku-gisi mi-na-na nim i-gade-m!*
 2-look Dem-CP.animal-Dem mosquito 3-bite-you
 'Look this mosquito is biting you!'

A few minutes later he points into the direction of the fresh-water grotto (called 'Bugei') 10 minutes walking distance away in the bush, and says:

- (17) *Beya Bugei sena budutadu nim.*
 here (prox + gesture) Bugei very many mosquitoes
 'There at the Bugei are many mosquitoes.'

Gerubara is sitting with me in my house in Tauwema village and explains to a visitor:

- (18) *E-sisu beya Germany.*
 3-be here (+gesture) Germany
 'He lives there in Germany.'

The use of the medial forms is not restricted to situations where there are three referents to distinguish. Speakers may use only the proximal and medial forms to distinguish between referents that are in medial and distal positions. However, if speakers want to refer to something that is really far away or invisible from their present position, and they want to mark this fact, they use the distal forms. If they want to refer to their own body parts contrastively, they may use the proximal and the medial forms (but not the distal forms).

This usage is illustrated by the following sentences and situations: Pulia is pointing to a canoe on a fishing expedition that will first sail to Bwemwaga Island, about 4 km northwest of Tauwema, and then to Tuma Island, which is even further northeast, but still visible from the village and from my house. He says to me:

¹¹ The way I present many of the following arguments was highly influenced by discussions we had within the space project at the MPI.

- (19) *Waga bi-la beya Bwemwaga igau bi-la beyo Tuma.*
 canoe 3.Fut-go here Bwemwaga then 3.Fut-go there Tuma
 'The canoe will go here to Bwemwaga and then there to Tuma.'

Another canoe comes in sight, Pulia knows that it returns from a neighbouring village to Simsim, an island that is about 50 miles away, and he says (with the adequate pointing gesture):

- (20) *E ma-ke-na waga bi-la beyuu Simsimla.*
 and Dem-CP.wooden-Dem canoe 3.Fut-go yonder Simsim
 'And this canoe will go to Simsim yonder.'

Kwelava comes to me with his little son who has an earache. He is asking me for medical help, pointing to his child's ears saying:

- (21) *Ma-kwaya-na tega-la i-korosim ma-kwaya-we-na bwena.*
 Dem-CP.limb-Dem ear-his 3-itch Dem-CP.limb-med-Dem good
 'This ear is itching, that (one) is fine.'

When there are more than three referents that have to be deictically distinguished, only the ones closer to the speaker will be distinguished as being proximal or medial; the further ones are lumped together as distal and additional modifiers are employed to make the deictic reference as unequivocal as possible.

This is illustrated by the following sentence produced by Vapalaguyau in the following situation: walking to the neighbouring village Kaduwaga to attend a ceremony to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the first missionary setting foot on the Trobriand Islands, we see many canoes sailing to Kaduwaga. Vapalaguyau points to the various groups of canoes and tells me the following:

- (22) *Ma-ke-si-na waga yakidasi ma-ke-we-si-na*
 Dem-CP.wooden-PI-Dem canoe we Dem-CP.wooden-med-PI-Dem
waga mina Koma, ma-ke-we-si-nee waga
 canoe people.from Koma Dem-CP.wooden-med-PI-Dem.dist canoe
o kakata mina Kaibola e ma-ke-we-si-nee
 at right people.from Kaibola and Dem-CP.wooden-med-PI-Dem.dist
waga o kikivama katitekina Tuma mina Simsim.
 canoe at left near Tuma people.from Simsim
 'These canoes are ours, (in) those canoes are people from Koma, (in) the canoes yonder at the right are people from Kaibola, (and in) the canoes yonder at the left near Tuma are people from Simsim.'

In their deictic references speakers of Kilivila can take the position of other participants in the speech situation into account. That is to say, speakers can shift their basic reference point, their 'origo' (Bühler 1934:102 (= 1990:117)).

This is illustrated by the following utterances I elicited with some of my consultants using a questionnaire developed by Pederson and Wilkins (1996). I put three objects on a table in front of a speaker on the sagittal (away) axis. The spacing of these objects was kept at the same distance. At the right side of the table, from the speaker's point of view, was the addressee, who was facing the table, and opposite the speaker was another person, facing the table and the speaker – as illustrated in Figure 1:

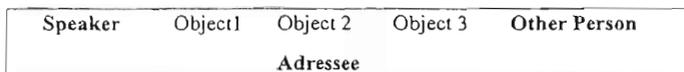


Figure 1

To refer to the three objects, speakers produced utterances like the following ones:

Object 1

- (23) a. *ma-kwe-na omata-gu*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in.front.of-me
 'this (one) in front of me'

and:

- b. *ma-kwe-na o m kivivama*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc your left
 'this (one) at your left'

Object 2

- c. *ma-kwe-na oluvala*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in the middle
 'this (one) in the middle'

Object 3

- d. *ma-kwe-na o m kakata*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc your right
 'this (one) at your right'

and:

- e. *ma-kwe-na o mata-la*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc eye-his/her
 'this (one) in front of him/her'

In another situation I put three objects on a table in front of a speaker on the transverse (across) axis. The spacing of these objects was kept at the same distance. At the right side of the table, from the speaker's point of view, was the addressee, who was facing the table, and opposite the speaker was another person, facing the table and the speaker — as illustrated in Figure 2:

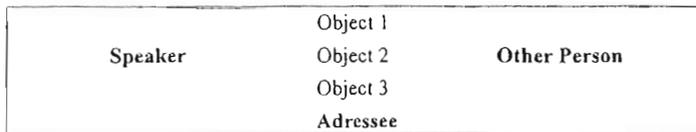


Figure 2

To refer to the three objects, speakers produced utterances like the following:

Object 1

- (24) a. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *gu* *kikivama*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc my left
 'this (one) at my left'

and:

- b. *ma-kwe-we-na* *o* *la* *kakata*
 Dem-CP.thing-med-Dem Loc his right
 'that (one) at his right'

Object 2

- c. *ma-kwe-na* *oluvala*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in the middle
 'this (one) in the middle'

and:

- d. *ma-kwe-na* *omata-ma* *yegu* *mtona*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in.front.of-us (Dual excl) I him
 'this (one) in front of us, (in front of) me (and) him'

Object 3

- e. *ma-kwe-na* *omata-m*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in.front.of-you
 'this (one) in front of you'

Speakers use their distance-based systems not only on the 'away' or sagittal axis, but also on the across or left/right axis. That is to say, the same demonstrative can be used for references to the far left and to the far right.

This is illustrated by the following utterances I elicited with some of my consultants using the questionnaire mentioned above (Pederson & Wilkins 1996). I put three objects to the left and to the right of the speaker; the spacing between these objects was kept at the same distance. Then I asked the consultants to refer to the objects at their left and and their right. I got answers like the following ones:

- (25) a. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *gu* *kakata/kikivama*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc my right/left
 'this (one) at my right/left'
- b. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *gu* *kakata/kikivama* *oluvala*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc my right/left in the middle
 'this (one) at my right/left in the middle'
- c. *ma-kwe-we-na* *o* *gu* *kakata/kikivama* *alavigimkoila*
 Dem-CP.thing-med-Dem Loc my right/left at the end
 'that (one) at my right/left at the (far) end'

It seems that the spatial distinctions proximal/medial/distal invoke spatial regions. A speaker of Kilivila can refer to a single object' on a table either with the proximal (*beya/makwena* etc.) or with the medial forms (*beyo/makwewena* etc.) of the demonstratives, but he cannot use the distal forms (*beyuu/makweweneee* etc.) for such a deictic reference. When there are two objects on a table, the speaker can refer to the further

object with the medial or distal forms of the demonstratives. When there are three objects on a table in areas that are proximal, medial, and distal from the speaker's position, speakers can refer to them with the respective proximal, medial, and distal forms of the demonstratives. Alternatively, they can use the proximal form to refer to the object in the proximal area and the medial forms to refer to the other two objects, distinguishing the different areas with an appropriate adverb of place. That is to say, speakers may use the proximal forms of the demonstratives *makwena* ('this thing') or *beya* ('this, here') to refer to the object closest to them, they may use the medial forms of the demonstratives *makwewena* ('that thing') or *beyo* ('that, there') to refer to an object in medial distance, and they may use the distal forms of the demonstratives *makweweneee* ('that thing yonder') or *beyuuu* ('over there yonder') to refer to the object that is farthest away from them. If they do not want to use the distal forms in this situation, they may use an expression like *makwewena omema* ('that one close by') to refer to the object in medial position and an expression like *makwewena oveva* ('that one over there') to refer to the object in distal position with respect to their location. In the latter case the local adverbs *omema* ('close by') and *oveva* ('over there, far off, far away') take over the function of distinguishing the different distances with respect to the position of the objects referred to. Thus it seems that each object introduces a partition of space, so that one object introduces two spaces, two objects introduce three spaces, and so on.

If there is no distance contrast between two referents, but the speaker wants to differentiate these referents, the proximal and medial forms can be used for this purpose and the order in which the forms are used is arbitrary. However, if there is a distance contrast between referents, this contrast is explicitly expressed.

In the vertical dimension, the Kilivila system is organised around the speaker's torso. The proximal forms are used to refer to referents at a 'chest-belly-head' level, the medial forms refer to referents at the speaker's feet and above his or her head. The distal forms are rather rarely used here; however, when used they point to referents that are really deep under or high above a speaker.

This system is illustrated by the following utterances I elicited with some of my consultants using the questionnaire mentioned above. I put six objects on a wall of my house from the bottom up to the top. Three were below the consultant's head and three above the consultant's head; the spacing between these objects was kept at the same distance. I then asked the consultant to refer to these objects. I got answers like the following ones:

- (26) a. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *kuku-gu*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc chest-my
 'this (one) at my chest'
- b. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *lopo-gu*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc belly-my
 'this (one) at my belly'
- c. *ma-kwe-we-na* *alavigimkoila* *o* *kaike-gu*
 Dem-CP.thing-med-Dem at the end Loc foot-my
 'that (one) at the end at my foot'

- d. *ma-kwe-na* *o* *kumu-gu*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem Loc hair-my
 'this (one) at (above) my hair'
- e. *ma-kwe-na* *oluvala*
 Dem-CP.thing-Dem in the middle
 'this (one) in the middle'
- f. *ma-kwe-we-na* *o* *kumu-gu* *alavigimkoila*
 Dem-CP.thing-med-Dem Loc hair-my at the end
 'that (one) at (above) my hair at the end'

In space beyond table-top space, speakers seem to prefer the use of both sets of demonstratives. The forms from the two sets can, but need not, agree with respect to their position within the proximal-medial-distal series. The first form used is usually a form belonging to the set of demonstratives that require a classifier for their word formation. This form expresses the 'proximal', 'medial', or 'distal' distinction. The second form then can just be the proximal form of the set of demonstratives that requires accompanying gestures. It seems that this second demonstrative form then has the function of keeping the addressee's attention focused on the spatial area marked by the first form. These cases of spatial deictic reference are illustrated by the following utterances I elicited asking my consultants to play the above-mentioned *nene'i nene'i kora* game, the 'find, find the hidden' game:

(27) a. Sulumada (male consultant):

Ku-ne'i ya-tala *kaliekwa e-sipusi o endini.*
 2-find CP.flexible-one cloth 3-hang Loc engine
 'Find a piece of cloth that is hanging at an outboard motor.'

b. Tokuyumila (male consultant):

O bogwa la-gisi mi-ya-na *beya Gunter o la waga.*
 oh already 1.Past-see Dem-CP.flexible-Dem here Gunter Loc his dinghy
 'Oh, I already saw it, this one here at Gunter's dinghy.'

(28) a. Menumla (male consultant):

Wetana ku-ne'i yatala kaliekwa e-sagisi kwe-ta
 Wetana (name) 2-find CP.flexible cloth 3-hang CP.thing-one

kaukweda.

veranda

'Wetana find a piece of cloth that is hanging at a veranda.'

b. Wetana (male consultant):

Bogwa la-bani mi-ya-we-nee *beya Topiesi*
 already 1.Past-find Dem-CP.flexible-med-Dem.dist here Topiesi (name)

o kaukweda ya-bweyani.

Loc veranda CP.flexible-red

'I already found it, the (one) yonder, here at Topiesi's veranda, the red (one).'

The examples given in this subsection also illustrate that Kilivila uses besides spatial demonstrative pronouns also a number of other forms (like for example locatives and

adverbial prepositional phrases) to come up with as unequivocal as possible spatial deictic references¹². However, before I discuss some of such other means that are used for spatial deictic references I will describe, in the following brief excursus, non-spatial uses of the Kilivila demonstratives.

3.2 Excursus: Kilivila demonstratives in discourse deixis

Kilivila demonstrative pronouns that are formed with CPs are used in discourse deixis for anaphoric reference. With the CPs incorporated in their word formation the demonstratives perform the important function of securing coherence in discourse because they also secure semantic concord beyond sentence boundaries. I will illustrate this with the following examples (see also Senft 1985:387ff., 1996a:21ff.):

- (29) *A-tatai tataba. Tauwau tabalu m-to-si-na,*
 I-carve tataba.board men Tabalu.subclan Dem-CP.male-Pl-Dem
ma-ke-na si koni.
 Dem-CP.wooden-Dem their sign.of.honour
 'I carve a tataba board. These men belonging to the Tabalu subclan, this is their sign of honour'

With this sentence the speaker refers to a certain board with carved patterns that marks houses, food houses, and canoes as the personal property of men belonging to the Tabalu-subclan. Despite the fact that in the second sentence the nouns to which the demonstratives refer are omitted, the anaphoric reference of the two demonstrative pronouns produced is unequivocal, because in this context the CP *-to-* can refer only to the noun *tauwau*, and the CP *-ke-* can refer only to the noun *tataba*; the CPs represent the omitted nouns in a quasi-fragmentary way. As a general rule, once a noun has been introduced, as long as it is not reclassified, e.g. for stylistic reasons, the following references to this nominal denotatum may consist of the demonstrative pronouns only. That is, the noun itself is then no longer realised; it is omitted in the noun phrases. However, if the noun is reclassified, then it must be realised again as a constituent of the noun phrase to secure unequivocal and unambiguous reference (see example (31) below). In my sample of transcribed Kilivila speech data I have one — rather extreme — example where a speaker introduces a nominal referent to which he then refers 16 (!) sentences (or: 78 words, 113 morphemes) later with a demonstrative with the appropriate CP; nevertheless, the reference is absolutely unequivocal.

The following examples also illustrate the anaphoric function of demonstrative pronouns and how they perform the function of preserving coherence in discourse:

- (30) *Tauwau pela e-me-si bi-lebu-si E-kokwa'u-si kebila*
 men for 3-come-Pl 3.Fut.-take-Pl 3-weave-Pl stretcher
ma-buda-na-ga e-kugwa-si e-me-si.
 this-group-this-Emphasis 3-first-Pl 3-come-Pl
 'The men have come to take (him with them). They have woven a stretcher, the men belonging to this group who were the first to arrive'.

¹² For other examples of spatial deictic references in Kilivila see Senft (1994b; 2000).

Here the speaker uses the CP *-buda-* with the demonstrative pronoun in the second sentence to refer unequivocally to the noun (*tauwau*) produced in the first sentence.

- (31) *O da-valu-si e-sisu-si tommota to-paisewa. Vivila*
 Loc 1.incl-village-Pl 3-live-Pl people CP.human.beings-work woman
na-salau, tauwau to-bugubagula. Tommota gala
 CP.female-busy men male-work.in.the.garden people not
to-dubakasala, kena kumwedona e-nukwali-si bubune-si bwena.
 CP.human.beings-rude but all 3-know-Pl manners-their good
 'In our village live people taking pleasure in their work. The women are busy, the men are good gardeners. The people are not rude, but all have good manners'.

This example illustrates that, in general, reclassification of a noun does not allow it to be omitted. To emphasise the different characterisation of men and women on the one hand and all villagers on the other hand, the nouns can hardly be omitted. The speaker uses the CP *-to-* to refer to 'human beings' and to 'persons of male sex'. The CP *-na-* is used to refer to 'persons of female sex'. If the speaker did not use the noun *tommota* in the last sentence again, then this sentence would refer to 'persons of male sex' only. Finally I would like to note that so far I have never heard nor documented any instances of cataphoric reference. After this brief excursus I will now discuss some of the other means that are used for spatial deictic reference in Kilivila.

3.3 Locatives and directionals

In his examination of grammaticalisation processes which led to the development of locative expressions (in, on, behind, etc.) in more than 100 Oceanic languages Bowden (1992) shows that expressions which are used to describe spatial relationships derive almost exclusively from body-part nouns or from nouns referring to environmental landmarks such as 'earth' and 'sky' and even parts of the house. Kilivila also grammaticalises body-part terms into locatives that are used for spatial deictic reference (see Senft 1994c). Thus we find, for example, the following expressions:

<i>odabala</i>	'on, on top (of) (Loc+daba+3.PP IV ¹³ [daba 'head, forehead, brain'])
<i>okopo'ula</i>	'behind, back, behind him/her (Loc+kapo'u+3.PP IV [kapo 'u 'back'])
<i>olopola</i>	'in, inside (of), in the middle (of) (Loc+lopo+3.PP IV [lopo 'belly, windpipe, innards'])
<i>omatala</i>	'in front (of), before, before him/her (Loc+mata+3.PP IV [mata 'eye'])

¹³ As mentioned in §2 above, there is a fourfold series of possessive pronouns in Kilivila. I refer to the series of pronouns that mark inalienable possession and are suffixed to most of the body part terms (see Senft 1998) as 'possessive pronouns IV' and abbreviate this expression here for the sake of clarification as 'PP IV'.

<i>ovadola</i>	‘on, on top (of), on the surface (of), at the mouth/opening (of)’ (Loc+vado+3.PP IV [vado ‘mouth’])
<i>okanivala</i>	‘at the side (of) (a person only)’ (Loc+kaniva+3.PP IV [kaniva ‘hip’])
<i>okepapala</i>	‘near, close by, beside, at the side (of)’ (Loc+kepapa+3.PP IV [kepapa ‘side, flank’])

We also find the following grammaticalised forms to express the concepts ‘left’ and ‘right’:

<i>okakata</i>	‘on the left hand side, on the left’ (Loc+kakata ‘left, left hand side’),
<i>okikivama</i>	‘on the right hand side, on the right’ (Loc+kivama ‘right, right hand side’).

With these expressions (as well as with some other forms that grammaticalise terms other than body-part terms into locatives) we are confronted with a quite complex problem of syntactic classification: the expressions classified as locatives can also be classified as prepositions, and they can also function as adverbs of place (see Senft 1986:88–91). On the other hand, many Kilivila adverbs of place, like e.g. *olakeva* (= ‘on top of, above, up, in the sky, over’), also serve the function of prepositions or locatives, according to their specific function in the sentence.

Moreover, expressions like *omatata* - (= ‘in front of (his/her eyes)’), *ovadola* (= ‘on, on top of, on the surface of, at the mouth (opening) of (her/him)’ and so on can also be classified syntactically as local adverbials consisting of a prepositional phrase with the preposition/locative *o* (= ‘in, into, to’) and the noun *mata-la* (= ‘eye, her/his eye’) and *vado-la* (= ‘mouth, her/his mouth’).

With all these constructions, the form with the suffix *-la* always has beside the expression of third person singular as its referential function also a ‘neutral’ meaning, i.e. it is unmarked with respect to person and number. Thus, we have for example:

<i>omatata</i>	‘in front (of), before’ (‘neutral’ meaning)
and	
<i>omata-la</i>	‘in front of her/him’ (referential function)

(compare here:

<i>omata-gu</i>	‘in front of me’
<i>omata-m</i>	‘in front of you’, etc.)

There is also the prepositional phrase

<i>o matata</i>	‘in front of her/his eyes’
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(the forms *omatata/o matata* must be parsed as

<i>o(-)mata-la</i>	
Loc(-)eye-3.PPIV	

Body-part terms like ‘*mata*-PPIV’ can also be used metaphorically, as illustrated in the following question:

- (32) *Mata-la ma-ke-na kai ambeya e-mwa yokwa?*
 eye-his/her Dem-CP.wood/rigid-Dem stick where 3-come.to you?
 'The tip of this stick where (is it), does it come to you?'

In this sentence the consultant asked for some information about a certain direction. To indicate directions and/or locations, Trobriand Islanders have to decide whether

- they want to specify the goal or location with a personal or placename, or whether
- they want to specify the goal or location as a specific place, but without a placename or proper name, or whether
- they want to refer to the goal or location (or to the general direction where this goal or location is) with a general term.

If they can, and want to, refer to the goal or location with a placename or a proper name, they do not use any locative whatsoever:

- (33) *Ba-la Kaduwaga.*
 I.Fut-go Kaduwaga (name of a village)
 'I will go to Kaduwaga.'

If they want to refer to the goal or location with a more specific term or if they want to refer to a specified place at the destination of a motion event, they use the locative *o* – that gets a function that can be compared to that of a definite article, i.e. the locative incorporates a feature of definiteness for the governed noun phrase.

- (34) *Ba-la o buyagu.*
 I.Fut-go to garden
 'I will go to the garden (i.e. my personal, specific garden plot).'

If they want to refer to the goal or location with its most general term, if they want to refer to the general direction in which this goal or location is, and/or if they want to refer to an unspecified place at the destination of a motion event, they use the directional *va*:

- (35) *Ba-la va bagula.*
 I.Fut-go to garden
 'I will go to the garden (general, unspecified expression for 'garden').'

However, these rules do not hold for goals or locations that are body parts. If the goal or location is a body part, the speakers seem to take it as something more specified and thus use the locative *o* again.

The Kilivila system of demonstratives, locatives and directionals allows its speakers to clearly distinguish, and point to, referents in specific spatial relations, at certain locations and in specific directions as idiomatic and unequivocal as possible. Moreover, to achieve this as precisely as possible, positional and sometimes also motion verbs are used together with the respective demonstratives, locatives and directionals. In what follows I will present a few examples for such spatial references. A question like:

- (36) *Ambe peni?*
 where pencil
 'Where's the pencil?'

can be answered as follows:

- (37) a. *Beya!*
 'Here! (+ accompanying gesture to the place where the pencil is).'
- b. *Beya o tebeli.*
 here Loc table
 'Here on the table.'
- c. *Beya odabala tebeli.*
 here on.top.(of) table
 'Here on top of the table.'
- d. *Beya odabala tebeli e-kanukwemu.*
 here on.top.(of) table 3-rest
 'It is lying here on top of the table.'
- e. *Peni beya o tebeli o daba-la e-sisu.*
 pencil here Loc table Loc head-its 3-be
 'The pencil is here on (the top of) the table.'
- f. *Ma-ke-na peni o tebeli e-sela.*
 Dem-CP.wooden.thing-Dem pencil Loc table 3-put
 'This pencil on the table he put it.'
- g. *Ma-ke-na peni o tebeli mata-la e-mikaya-gu.*
 Dem-CP.wooden.thing-Dem pencil Loc table eye-its 3-come.towards-me¹⁴
 'This pencil on the table, the tip of which is pointing' towards me.'

Moreover, in spatial deictic reference local landmarks and other environmental features are quite often mentioned to make it easier for the addressee to find and identify the object the speaker is pointing at. Thus, sitting together with me on my veranda looking at the sea, my consultants and friends quite often point to shoals of fish or dolphins or canoes, producing utterances like the following ones:¹⁵

- (38) a. *Ku-gisi ma-ke-we-na mwasawa b-ima beya*
 2-see Dem-CP.wooden-med-Dem Kula.canoe 3.Fut-come here
va numia.
 Dir stony.reef
 'Look at that Kula-canoe sailing towards us there in the direction of the stony reef.' (*Numia* is the term that refers to the whole beach and sea region between the villages Tauwema and Koma.)
- b. *Mi-na-we-si-na taninua galayomala va dom*
 Dem-CP.animal-med-Pl-Dem sardines many Dir muddy.reef
e m-to-si-na bi-lo-si bi-pola-si.
 and Dem-CP.man-Pl-Dem 3.Fut-go-Pl 3.Fut-fish-Pl
 '(Look at) Those many sardines in the direction of the muddy reef — and these men will go and fish them.' (*Dom* is the term that refers to the whole beach and sea region between the villages Tauwema and Koma.)

¹⁴ For descriptions of Kilvila motion verbs as means of spatial deixis and for the use of these verbs — most often realised in serial-verb constructions — see Senft (1999b, 2000) and Bohnenmeyer et al. (2003:115).

¹⁵ See also examples (17), (19), (20), (22), (27), (28a), (28b), and (33) above.

These few examples should suffice for the purposes pursued here. In the final section I would like to summarise the aspects of Kilivila spatial deixis presented above.

4 Conclusion

Kilivila has two basic sets of demonstratives, one set that obligatorily requires deictic gestures, and one set that does not require such gestures. The forms within these two sets can take over the functions of demonstrative pronouns, of demonstratives that are used attributively, and of place adverbs. The two sets of demonstratives constitute a three-term system with respect to the distances they distinguish. The system with its proximal, medial, and distal forms is speaker-centred, but the deictic reference can be modified by additional morphemes that add additional distinctions to this 'default' understanding of demonstratives. The demonstratives which do not obligatorily require an accompanying deictic gesture convey with the CPs which are infixes in their word gestalt additional information that helps the addressee to narrow down and further specify the search domain for the referent to which these deictic forms point.

With respect to the actual usage of the demonstratives we observe the following:

- The proximal forms of the demonstratives are semantically unmarked, they are most often used and thus have the widest spatial distribution.
- The use of the medial forms is not restricted to situations where there are three referents to distinguish. Speakers may use only the proximal and medial forms to distinguish between referents that are in medial and distal positions. However, if speakers want to refer to something that is really far away or invisible from their present position, and they want to mark this fact, they use the distal forms. If they want to refer to their own body parts contrastively, they may use the proximal and the medial forms (but not the distal forms).
- When there are more than three referents that have to be deictically distinguished, only the ones closer to the speaker will be distinguished as being proximal or medial; the further ones are lumped together as distal and additional modifiers are employed to make the deictic reference as unequivocal as possible.
- In their deictic references speakers of Kilivila can take the position of other participants in the speech situation into account. That is to say, speakers can shift their basic reference point, their 'origo'.
- Speakers use their distance-based systems not only on the 'away' or sagittal axis, but also on the across or left/right axis. Thus, the same demonstrative can be used for references to the far left and to the far right.
- It seems that the spatial distinctions 'proximal/medial/distal' invoke spatial regions; each object introduces a partition of space so that one object introduces two spaces, two objects introduce three spaces, etc.
- If there is no distance contrast between two referents, but the speaker wants to differentiate them, the proximal and medial forms can be used for this purpose; the order in which the forms are used is arbitrary. If there is a distance contrast between referents, this contrast is explicitly expressed.

- In the vertical dimension, the Kilivila system is organised around the speaker's torso. The proximal forms are used to refer to referents at a 'chest-belly-head' level, the medial forms refer to referents at the speaker's feet and above his or her head. The distal forms are rather rarely used here; they point to referents that are really deep under or high above a speaker.
- In space beyond table-top space, speakers seem to prefer the use of both sets of demonstratives. The forms from the two sets can, but need not, agree with respect to their position within the proximal-medial-distal series. The first form used usually expresses the spatial distinction, whereas the second form quite often seems just to keep the addressee's attention focused on the spatial area marked by the first form.

Besides these demonstratives, Kilivila offers its speakers locatives, directionals, positional and motion verbs, as well as further reference to local landmarks or other environmental features to clearly distinguish, and point to, objects in specific spatial relations, at certain locations and in specific directions as idiomatic and unequivocal as possible.

These findings certainly describe many characteristic features of spatial deixis in Kilivila. However, this description is far from being comprehensive. In the sections above we do not find any information whatsoever with respect to questions like the following ones:

- How are the verbal means for spatial deictic reference in Kilivila used in indirect or reported speech?
- How does Kilivila distinguish between gestural and symbolic and between anaphoric and non-anaphoric deictic usage?¹⁶
- What kind of dimensional and spatial adjectives co-constitute the Kilivila system of spatial deixis?

And:

- Does the use of some means for spatial deictic reference such as placenames and local landmarks, presuppose a cultural context that has to be shared by the speaker and the addressee?

Thus, it seems that quite a lot of additional research has to be done here (or there?)!

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¹⁶ The following examples illustrate this differentiation (see Senft 1997:8):

'This bush-knife is sharp.' (deictic, gestural usage)

'This village stinks.' (deictic, symbolic usage)

'I drove the car to the parking lot and left it there.' (anaphoric usage)

'There we go.' (non-anaphoric usage)

Levinson (1983:67) gives the following example where a deictic term ('there') is used both anaphorically and deictically, namely in the sentence:

'I was born in London and lived there ever since.'

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