

**THE SYSTEM OF CLASSIFICATORY PARTICLES IN KILIVILA RECONSIDERED -
FIRST RESULTS ON ITS INVENTORY, ITS ACQUISITION, AND ITS USAGE**

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1. Introduction

This paper is a first report on my linguistic research on "Classificatory Particles" (from now on abbreviated as "CP") in Kilivila language, as it is spoken by the inhabitants of Tauwema, a small village on Kaile'una, one of the Trobriand Islands.

In his description of this phenomenon - so typical for Kilivila - Malinowski (1920: 43) defines "CP" in the following way:

"...we see that the three classes of words, demonstratives, numerals, and adjectives, cannot be used in abstracto without carrying in them the expression of the objects to which they refer. This reference, however, is made only in a general manner; the particle... indicates...the class of object numbered, pointed at, or qualified. This is why we have called them classificatory particles."

To illustrate this principle of word-formation, Malinowski (1920: 43; see also Senft 1985) gives the following examples, in which he transfers the Kilivila principle to the English language:

"...`leafy-brown leaves on the wooden-large trees`...
`human-this boy is very naughty, but female-this girl is good`..."

In the linguistic literature the lexemes Malinowski called "CP" are usually referred to as "classifiers", "nominal classifiers", or "noun classifiers" (see e.g.: Adams et al. 1975; Adams, Conklin 1973; Allan 1977; Denny 1976); moreover, linguists nowadays also differentiate between "classifiers" proper, "quantifiers", and "repeaters" (Benton 1968: 115; Hla Pe 1965: 166; see also: Berlin 1968). In Kilivila - which we can now include

among the so-called "classifier languages" (Allan 1977: 286) - we find all three types of these formatives. Therefore, and because of the fact that Bronislaw Malinowski described a part of this complex morphological system of formatives first in 1920, these classifiers will be called here by the general term Malinowski coined for them, namely "Classificatory Particles", to pay the tribute to the master of Trobriand ethnography.

In this paper I will first discuss the aims of the study presented here and the methods of data collection pursued; then I will give an overview of the first results of the study. The character of this presentation is preliminary: the enormous amount of data collected asks for very careful and intensive means and tools of analyses; therefore, these first results presented here have more or less the status of trends, of heuristic means for further analyses. An outlook on these analyses will close this paper¹.

2. Aims

Ever since Bronislaw Malinowski's classic article on "Classificatory Particles in the Language of Kiriwina", published in 1920, it has been known to linguists, at least to linguists interested in Austronesian languages, that these formatives are one of the most fascinating features of Kilivila language. This being a fact, one is rather surprised to realize that besides Malinowski's article and a still unpublished, though quite comprehensive masters-thesis on CP by Ralph Lawton (1980)² there is just one more table on "Noun-Class Divisions in Kiriwina" with a rather brief discussion in Capell (1969: 60-62), and some references in Capell (1971:274) and Lithgow (1976: 480) that are published and therefore accessible to linguists interested in these formatives.

When I came to the Trobriands in August 1982 with the chance of doing linguistic research there, one of my vivid interests was to work on this system of CP, as soon as I was able to master the

language in an appropriate way - a necessary prerequisite to carry out such a study.

- With my research I wanted to pursue the following aims:
- Malinowski (1920: 44) presents and discusses 42 CPs, Capell (1969: 61) lists 44 particles, and Lithgow (1976: 480) speaks of more than 50 noun classes. These numbers given, I wanted to document the actual inventory of CPs in Kilivila.
 - After having documented the inventory of CPs, I wanted to find out how this complex morphological system is acquired by Trobriand children.
 - Using the inventory of CPs as a "fixed" basis, I wanted to find out whether there is any linguistic change inherent in this morphological system, and if so, I wanted to get some insight into its trends.
 - If I could find such features of linguistic change I also wanted to find out whether there is any special group of speakers causing and fostering it.
 - Finally, I wanted to find out whether there are differences in female and male speakers using this system of CPs.

To reach these aims, some basic methodological decisions had to be made, and I had to decide on a specific method of data gathering.

3. Method

My first aim was to find out something about the actual inventory of CPs. By using Malinowski's list of CPs, published in 1920, by using Baldwin's list of CPs, that is to be found in his unpublished manuscript "Biga Boyowa³", and by noting down all the particles I heard in everyday conversation on the Trobriands, especially in Tauwema, I arrived at a total of 71 CPs. I checked these with my main informants and then compiled a list of CPs that I wanted to use as the basis for further data gathering with other informants.

At this point, one basic decision had to be made with respect to the sample of my informants to be: I could have worked either with informants living in different villages scattered all over the Trobriand Islands, or with informants living in Tauwema village, the place of residence during my field research on the Trobriands. I took the latter alternative because of some problems of transport and also because working with people all over the Trobriands would have meant a serious neglect of all the other interests I wanted to pursue during my 15 months of field-research. Thus, I focused my research on CPs in the language variety of Kilivila that is spoken by the inhabitants of Tauwema village on Kaile'una Island⁴.

Tauwema has 239 inhabitants (120 adults, 58 women, 62 men; 119 children, 52 girls, 67 boys). I decided on a sample of 60 informants, 30 female/30 male, representing 5 different age groups. Table 1 shows the sample of informants I worked with during my research on CP.

Table 1: Informants

Age Group	Informants		all
	female	male	
children age approx. (years): 4-7	6	6	12
school children age approx. (years): 8-14	6	6	12
adolescents age approx. (years): 15-20	6	6	12
adults I age approx. (years): 21-35	6	6	12
adults II age approx. (years): 36-75	6	6	12
Total:	30	30	60

This sample encompasses 20% of the children and 30% of the adults living in Tauwema. I just want to make two more annotations on my sample: Having lived in Tauwema for 5 months before starting this research I realized that there was no use in trying to elicit CPs from children younger than four years of age - some informal pretests that I carried out showed that children just around the age of approximately 4 (+/- 6 months) start to acquire this complex system (see 4.2.); with all five age-groups I tried to balance the informants according to sex and age, especially with the two adult groups encompassing age-spans of 11 and 38 years.

These decisions concerning the sample being made, I had to work out an appropriate method of data gathering. I decided on compiling a questionnaire and on working out a standardized mode for using it in eliciting my data on CPs. The questionnaire consisted of the 71 CPs I had compiled before. To elicit these formatives, a typical noun, the qualities of which were described, or the class of which had to be indicated by the particular CP was noted down.

With this questionnaire I approached my informants that had to belong to one of the five age-groups, but otherwise were chosen at random. I first asked them whether they would like to cooperate:

<u>Magigu</u>	<u>kupaisewa</u>	<u>deli yegu</u>
<u>magi-gu</u>	<u>ku -paisewa</u>	<u>deli yegu</u>
wish-my	you-work	with I
	2sg	

`I want you to work with me`.

Then I showed them a drawing of two men and elicited an adjective, a numeral, and a demonstrative pronoun in combination with either the word for "man" or for "men". Thus, I got responses like:

<u>Tomanabweta tau</u>
<u>to -manabweta tau</u>
male-beautiful man

`beautiful man`

<u>tomanabweta tauwau</u>
<u>to -manabweta tauwau</u>
male-beautiful men

`beautiful men`

m -to -na tau
 This-male-this man

'this man'

mtosina tauwau
m -to -si -na tauwau
 This-male-PI.-this men

'these men'

tetala tau
te -tala tau
 male-one man

'one man'

teyu tauwau
te -yu tauwau
 male-two men

'two men'

Having elicited the first CP "te, to" in this way, I explained my informants that I would like to continue along the same lines, presenting to them different nouns they had to refer to using an adjective, a numeral, and a demonstrative pronoun. I did this in the following way:

Alivala makala tomanabweta tau, tetala tau, mtona tau
Igau alivala dakuna (...), igau yokwa bukulivala:
a-livala makala to -manabweta tau te -tala tau
I-say Ilike male-beautiful man male-one man
 1sg.

m -to -na tau
 This-male-this man.

Igau a-livala dakuna (...) igau buku -livala:
then I-say stone then you will-say
 1sg. 2sg.

'I say: beautiful man, one man, this man.
 Then I say: stone (etc.), then you will say:...'

At this point I wanted to hear the adjective, numeral, and demonstrative with the CP that agreed with the class of the noun presented (in our example here: dakuna kwemanabweta etc.) If the informant did not react, I said:

Gala tomanaweta dakuna kena...
gala to -manabweta dakuna kena...
 not male-beautiful stone but...

'it is not (*male-) beautiful stone, but...'

and paused. If the informant reacted, the CP she/he produced in connection with the noun was noted down for all three word-classes on a separate list; if he did not react, I noted that, too, and

then produced the CP I wanted to elicit, asking him whether he knew it or not - his reaction was noted down, too.

This way of proceeding was tested in some informal pretests again, where it became evident that the best way of eliciting data was:

- to ask for one word class after the other - and not to attempt to get a combination of adjective, numeral, and demonstrative pronoun together with the noun within just one utterance - and
- to ask for the adjective first, then for the numeral, and finally for the demonstrative pronoun.

The last point was quite important especially in working with children (see 4.2.).

This way of data gathering using a questionnaire, lists to note down the informants' speech production (some of the tests were tape-recorded, too - to document the data collection in an exemplary manner), and the standardized introduction as well as the questions marked the situation as being quite formal. Nevertheless, my informants did not seem to be bothered by these facts; on the contrary, they were highly cooperative and gave no sign of losing interest - even the children, to whom the whole test seemed to be some kind of a new game - cooperated rather enthusiastically and with all their attention. This is quite surprising if one realizes that it took some informants up to 40 minutes to complete the questionnaire. All 60 tests were done in one session with each informant; the data were gathered from the 21st of March to the 5th of April, 1983.

Before I will present its first results, I just want to make a final remark on the study: It should be clear from the whole methodological set-up to gather the data that the emphasis of my research is on the actual language production with respect to the system of CP in Kilivila (- in a kind of test-situation). Therefore, the results given in the following section show the system of CPs as it occurs in actual speech production by a

relatively high percentage of the inhabitants of Tauwema village on Kaile'una Island.

4. First results

This section presents the first results of my study on CPs in Kilivila. The first subsection lists all the particles found together with some remarks with respect to their referential function and with respect to my informants' actual speech production behaviour. I am aware of the fact that some of these remarks give some information on trends of the processes of language change that are in progress within this complex system of morphological formatives; however, before I comment on these changes in a more detailed way (see 4.3.), I will first attempt to line out how the system seems to be acquired by children (see 4.2.).

4.1. The Inventory⁵

This subsection lists the formatives I found in the language production of the Tauwema people. I present the CPs in the following order: First, I list the particles that are to be found in Malinowski (1920), then I present the CPs that are mentioned in Baldwin (n.d., §§ 96-98), then I list other particles found in the course of the present study, and finally I present some of the CPs that I found after the formal tests described above. As to the formatives already mentioned by Malinowski, I will give Malinowski's way of numbering them (M1 - M42); the definitions and glosses, however, are mine.

CP	usage/reference	comments
1. <u>te</u> , <u>to</u>	M1 1. human beings 2. persons of male sex <u>te</u> used with numerals	-

	<u>to</u>	used with adjectives and demonstratives	
2.	<u>na</u>	M2 1. animals 2. stars, planets, moon 3. corpses 4. carvings in human likeness 5. spirits, dwarfs 6. persons of female sex	-
3.	<u>ke</u>	M3 1. wooden things 2. rigid, long objects 3. fire 4. unmarked form for inanimates	interchangeable with <u>bwa</u> ; sometimes also realized as <u>kai</u>
4.	<u>kwe</u>	M4 1. thing 2. anything indefinite or unknown 3. unmarked form for inanimates	sometimes also realized as <u>kwai</u>
5.	<u>ya</u>	M5 1. flexible things 2. thin things	-
6.	<u>sisi</u>	M6 1. bough 2. cut-off part of a tree 3. division of a magical formula	-
7.	<u>lila</u>	M7 1. bough 2. branch 3. leaf	all informants substituted <u>lila</u> by <u>ke</u>
8.	<u>kai</u>	M8 stone-blades	interchangeable with <u>beku</u>
9.	<u>kwaya</u>	M9 limb, severed limb	also realized as <u>kwai</u>
10.	<u>luva</u>	M10 1. wooden dishes 2. tied bundle	most often sub- stituted by <u>ke</u>
11.	<u>kwoila</u>	M11 1. clay-pot 2. pot-like	also realized as <u>kwai</u> , <u>kwena</u> , <u>kwela</u> , <u>kwai kwa</u> , <u>kwaila</u>

12. <u>kada</u>	M12 1. road, track 2. way in which sth. is done	-
13. <u>kadyo</u>	M13 door, entrance	most often realized as: <u>dya</u> , other CPs produced: <u>kada</u> , <u>keda</u> , <u>va</u> , <u>vaya</u>
14. <u>vilo</u>	M14 1. place 2. area 3. village	most often substituted by <u>kwe</u>
15. <u>kila</u>	M15 clusters/hands of bananas	most often substituted by <u>ke</u>
16. <u>sa</u>	M16 nut-bunch	other CPs produced: <u>ke</u> , <u>kwe</u> , <u>luva</u> , <u>po'ula</u>
17. <u>bukwa</u>	M17 1. fruit cluster 2. cowries tied into a specific cluster	other CPs produced: <u>ke</u> , <u>kwe</u> , <u>ya</u> , <u>luva</u>
18. <u>pila</u>	M18 part, piece	other CPs produced: <u>ke</u> , <u>kwe</u> , <u>ya</u> , <u>utu</u>
19. <u>vili</u>	M19 untwisted	other CPs produced: <u>ke</u> , <u>kwe</u> , <u>bubwa</u> , <u>utu</u>
20. <u>bubwa</u>	M20 cut across, parts cut off	most often substituted by <u>ke</u> , other CPs produced: <u>bwa</u> , <u>utu</u>
21. <u>utu</u>	M21 1. scrap 2. parts cut off 3. small particles 4. fragments	other CPs produced: <u>ke</u> , <u>luva</u> , <u>bubwa</u> , <u>bwa</u>
22. <u>si</u>	M22 small bit	other CPs produced: <u>ke</u> , <u>vili</u> , <u>utu</u>
23. <u>kabulo</u>	M23 1. protuberances 2. village sectors areas of authority 3. cape, point, peninsula 4. half of sth.	most often substituted by: <u>ke</u> ; also realized as: <u>kabulo</u> ; other CPs produced: <u>kwe</u> , <u>bubwa</u> , <u>utu</u> , <u>bwa</u>
24. <u>nunu</u>	M24 corners of a garden	most often substituted by: <u>kwe</u> ; other CPs produced: <u>utu</u> , <u>kabulo</u>

25. liku M25 1. compartments of a canoe/a foodhouse
2. area of authority
other CPs produced: ke, kwe
Sometimes also realized as: kaliku
26. kabisi M26 compartment of a foodhouse, sections/divisions of a foodhouse
other CPs produced: ke, kwe, utu
27. nina M27 1. parts of a song
2. idea, thought
not produced by my informants; substituted by: kwe, pila, utu, kasa megwa
28. meila M28 part of a song, of a magic formula, of a chapter, of a day
not produced by my informants; substituted by: kwe, pila, utu, kasa, megwa
also realized as mavila
29. kubila M29 large land plot
also realized as kwabila, other CPs produced: kwe, utu
30. siwa M30 sea portions, ownership-divisions with reference to fishing rights
not produced by my informants; substituted by: kwe, utu, bwalita
31. kala M31 day
other CPs produced: kwe, yam
32. siva M32 1. time(s)
2. number of times doing sth.
other CPs produced: kwe, utu, tuta
33. kapwa M33 1. bundles (wrapped up) parcel
2. nest of birds
also realized as kapo; other CPs produced: kwe, luba
34. wela M34 1. batch of fish
2. string of fish
other CPs produced: suya, suye, na
35. m'mwa M35 conical bundle
other CPs produced: ke, luva, utu, buda, guba; also realized as mmo
36. kudu M36 band of fibres
bundles of lashing
creeper
other CPs produced: kwe, doba
37. yulai, yule M37 bundles of four things
other CP produced: kwe
38. kasa M38 row, line
other CP produced: kwe

39. gili M39 row other CPs produced:
ke, kwe, ya, utu
vakaIa
40. gula, guna M40 1. heap other CPs produced:
2. group kwe, buda, tam
41. \emptyset ((zero morpheme)) M41 a basketful of yams other CPs produced:
((numerals without a CP are used to count baskets full of yams)) kwe, tam, tetu
42. uva M42 1. span, measure; other CP produced:
the span of two ke
extended arms -
from tip to tip
2. items measured in spans
43. gudi 1. child -
2. immature human
44. bwa tree(s), wooden things interchangeable with
ke
45. bogi night other CP produced:
kwe
46. duya⁶ door, entrance other CPs produced:
kaduya, kadu, kada
ke, kwe, ya, va,
vala
47. kavi tool fairly rare; other CPs produced: ke,
kwe
48. kumla earth-oven -
49. koya,
kwoya mountain, hill other CP produced:
kwe
50. lilo 1. walk also realized as
2. journey lola
3. number of times going somewhere
4. number of times doing sth.
51. pwanina 1. punctured also realized as
2. sth. with a hole in it ponina; other CPs produced: ponu, pona
pola, nigwa, kwe
52. yam 1. day, number of days other CPs produced:
2. hand kwe; see also: kala

53. buda group, team, crowd also realized as boda, budu, budo; other CP produced: kwe
54. deli company, group on the move other CPs produced: te, to, kwe
55. duli cluster, bundle other CPs produced: ke, kwe, deli
56. iga name other CPs produced: yegila, kwe
57. kudu tooth fairly rare; other CPs produced: ke, kwe, kasa, ke 'i, ka 'i
58. oyla string fairly rare; other CPs produced: na, ke, pila, wela
59. po'ula 1. plantation, grove other CP produced: kwe
2. heaps
3. group
60. sipu 1. sheaf other CPs produced: kwe, ya
2. tangle, tangled line/rope/net/string
61. ta 1. basket other CP produced: kwe; also realized as peta
2. contents of a basket (but see: \emptyset)
62. yuva shoal fairly rare; other CPs produced: kwe, kasa, buda, boda, budu
63. giwi cut other CPs produced: ke, kwe, luva, kasa
64. gum bit, small piece other CPs produced: ke, kwe, ya, utu, kasa, buda
65. kova fire, fireplace other CPs produced: ke, kwe
66. notu 1. kneaded things also realized as nutu; other CP produced: kwe
2. dot
3. drop
67. yama yard other CP produced: kwe ya

CPs produced as alternatives to the CPs cited above:

68. tam sprouting see: 41., 80.
69. beku stone blade see: 8.
70. va, vala 1. river, creek see: 13., 50.
vaya 2. sea passage
3. door, entrance
4. window
71. megwa magic, magical formula see: 31.
72. vosi, wosi 1. songs see: 28.
2. parts of songs
73. bwalita sea see: 30.
74. tuta 1. time see: 32
2. occasion
75. luba 1. bundle (of rolls) see: 33.
2. parcels of taro pudding
76. suya, suye batch of fish on strings see: 34.
77. guba bundles of taro see: 35.
78. doba "grass"-skirt see: 36.
79. vakala belt of spondylus shell see: 39.
discs
80. tetu yam see: 41., 68.
81. pona, hole see: 51., 82.
ponu, polu
82. nigwa, 1. hole see: 51., 81.
nigo 2. nest
83. yegila name see: 56.
84. ka'i, ke'i tooth, teeth see: 57.
85. peta basket see: 61.
86. bubu, 1. cut across, cut see: 63.
bobu, bobu transversely
2. block cut off
87. kweya yard see: 67.

CPS found after completion of the study proper

88. gubwa⁷ group of four
 89. sam ginger
 90. katupo 1. village sector
 2. section, quarter
 3. distance
 4. part/piece broken off
 91. yeni a handful of sth.
 92. bililo trip
 93. kauya fish-trap, creel

If this list of CPS is compared with the inventory of CPS Lawton (1980) presents, one realizes that at least 176 Kilivila classifiers have been documented by our studies. However, Lawton and I assume that with all the subtle and very specific differentiations possible, there are probably more than 200 (!) noun classes in Kilivila⁸.

Before I comment on the list presented above in more detail, I first want to make some remarks on the first results of my study with respect to the acquisition of this system by Trobriand children.

4.2. The Acquisition of CPS in Kilivila

The results of eliciting the production of CPS by children to get some insight into the process of natural acquisition of this complex morphological system seem to be quite promising for further detailed analyses. In this subsection of my paper I want to present the first results of this aspect of my research; moreover, I will give some hints with respect to the trends in the acquisition of CPS that the data imply.

First of all, the study seems to confirm the trends already found in the informal pretests (see: 2.). The data suggest that the process of CP acquisition starts about the age of 4. The CPS

produced by three children of this age are te/to and na, although na is not produced in connection with all three word classes affected by this morphological device.

Up to the age of 5 the acquisition of other CPs seems to progress quite slowly; the CPs acquired by children of this age are ke and kwe.

At the age of 5 1/2 there is a kind of 'explosion' in the production of CPs with formatives like kai, ya, kova, ponu being produced - however, the CPs are realized in an incorrect way with respect to their referential function; moreover, overgeneralization in the usage of the particles ke and kwe is evident.

These trends - namely the overgeneralized usage of ke and kwe, the acquisition of other CPs like sisi, kwena, kwola, kada, bubwa, pila, luba, panina, ta, kova, nutu, kweya, together with the gradual improvement of using these formatives in a grammatically correct way - can be found in children up to the age of 6.

In children belonging to the age group between 8 and 11 years, these trends are to be found, too. Now the children respond to almost every nominal reference given.

Children between 11 and 13 years of age show a relatively good knowledge of the system of CPs and its usage - nevertheless, they still show quite clear traces of overgeneralization in the usage of the particles ke and kwe and linguistic insecurity with respect to the appropriate usage of some formatives.

Another aspect of the process of CP acquisition afflicts the role this specific morphological phenomenon plays in the word formation of numerals, adjectives, and demonstrative pronouns.

CPs are most often realized in connection with adjectives during the first stage of the acquisition process. Children between 5 and 6 years start to produce CPs with numerals, too. It is only in children being 6 years and older that demonstratives are more and more produced with the referentially appropriate CP; however, linguistic insecurity in the production of demonstratives is to be

found in children up to the age of 8 years. This linguistic insecurity in the production of CPs seems to vanish at the age of 9 years. It is quite interesting that this order of producing CPs first with adjectives, then with numerals, and finally with demonstratives seems to confirm the findings on the difficulties children have in acquiring demonstrative pronouns (Böhme 1983).

These first results on the acquisition of CPs do not show any differences between boys and girls.

4.3 The System of CPs in Kilivila Revisited

Although the first results on the system of CPs in Kilivila are results of research in progress, the trends the data show seem to be very interesting.

First of all it is quite evident to anyone familiar with Malinowski's article on CPs that my spelling of some of the particles already mentioned by him is different; these differences obviously document an enormous phonological change within the last 65 years or so. Some of these phonological changes may be due to language variety (or dialect) differences; however, these differences seem to reflect more general processes of language change in progress.

This impression is quite reinforced by comparing Malinowski's comments on the usage of CPs with the comments and definitions of the referential frame of the CPs presented above (4.1.):

- There are some formatives that are mentioned by Malinowski and by Baldwin which are hardly ever or even no longer used at all by my Tauwema informants.
- Some of the formatives seem to be mutually interchangeable in actual language production, some of the CPs seem to have become a bit problematic with respect to a clearcut, unambiguous, and adequate usage in connection with nominal references that must have caused no problems at all in former times, some of the

formatives are used in a much broader context than the frame of reference given by Malinowski implies.

- The two formatives ke and kwe are used most frequently; they encompass a rather broad spectrum of nominal references or noun classes. This is not only to be observed in the overgeneralized usage of these two CPs by children, but it is also one of the striking results of a first analysis of the production of CPs in adults.

These observations hint at least at processes of language change in progress; moreover, we noticed two aspects of linguistic processes that usually accompany any kind of linguistic change in progress (Labov 1972a/b), namely:

- linguistic insecurity in some informants with respect to the appropriate usage of some CPs, and overgeneralization in the usage of some formatives, especially of the particles ke and kwe.

The processes of overgeneralization of some CPs, the linguistic insecurity being observed in some informants, and the actual loss of some CPs⁹ seem to hint at a change that leads to a simplification of the system of CPs in Kilivila. First analyses of the data indicate that school children and adolescents seem to play the leading role in this process of language change.

4.4. Outlook on Future Analyses

It goes without saying that the study presented in this paper - being a report on first results of my research on CP in Kilivila - needs careful and intensive analyses. It is only then that questions like what is really going on in the process of acquiring this complex morphological device and what and who is responsible for the processes of language change in progress that afflicts these formatives can be answered on a sound and provable basis. Computerized analyses of the data collected will give some insight into my informants' language production with respect to these

formatives; their responses to the stimuli presented to them in the course of the study will be counted and projected; the responses will be differentiated according to anticipated and unexpected reactions; an attempt will be made to scale the data using analyses like Guttman's scalograms, etc. After having finished the data analyses proper, Kilivila will be confronted with other "classifier languages" to find out whether this system of CPs can be compared with other classifier systems or whether it shows some language specific traits¹⁰. I assume all the indications are that these analyses will be quite exciting and fascinating.

NOTES:

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¹ With respect to the system of CPs in Kilivila see also Senft (1985; 1986).

- 2 I would like to thank Ralph Lawton for a copy of his thesis he sent me after I had finished my field research on the Trobriands.
- 3 I want to thank Father William Cunningham from Gusaweta mission station who allowed me to work with Baldwin's book.
- 4 The orthography of Kilivila is based on Senft (1986; 3.1.2.)
- 5 The Appendix lists all the other CPs that are not presented in subsection 4.1. The Appendix is based on Lawton (1980).
- 6 duya is just a variant of kaduyo (see 4.1., 13. (M13)).
- 7 Here my informants refute Capell's nominal reference as "square objects". Moreover, the CPs ila and ukdu, which Capell (1969: 61) quotes, are not known by the inhabitants of Tauwema; by the way, ukdu does not agree with Kilivila syllable patterns (Senft 1986: 3.2.).
- 8 According to Berlin (1968), Tzeltal has 528 noun classifiers; Miram (1983) speaks of 730 numeral classifiers in Yucatecan Maya (Miram 1983: 49); an excellent overview on languages with numeral classifiers is given by Serzisko (1980).
- 9 By the way, some of these losses were predicted by Malinowski (1920).
- 10 These analyses will be started in 1987.

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APPENDIX

CPs in Kilivila which are not mentioned in 4.1. (see: Lawton 1980; Senft 1985; 1986)

CP	usage/reference
<u>beku</u>	floating submerged, sth. floating full of water
<u>biga</u>	word, statement, speech
<u>biko</u>	bunch of coconuts
<u>bili</u>	roll, material in rolls, sth. rolled up
<u>bililo</u>	trip
<u>bo</u>	sth. cut across
<u>bubulo</u>	sth. made, sth. created
<u>buko</u>	buried, sth. concealed by being buried, sth. buried to mature
<u>buliga</u>	1. storey, floor 2. drawers, shelves 3. horizontal divisions in the food house
<u>bulu</u>	half submerged

<u>buluwo</u>	ten-group ((animals))
<u>dala</u>	family line
<u>dodiga</u>	1. load 2. contents of a box or basket
<u>gabu</u>	1. sth. burning 2. fireplace 3. roasted food
<u>gibu</u>	sufficient, enough
<u>gini</u>	mouthful of food
<u>givi</u>	serve of fish
<u>gubo</u>	garden division
<u>gugulo</u>	1. gathering, meeting 2. heap
<u>igi</u>	wind
<u>ika</u>	1. tens of things 2. ten bundles of things
<u>kabila</u>	1. large serve 2. large cut of meat
<u>kabilikova</u>	fireplace
<u>kadida</u>	1. very small garden division 2. division of a task between workers
<u>kaiga</u>	voice
<u>kaililiku</u>	part of the village, suburb
<u>kaiyuvai</u>	layer
<u>kalipo</u>	site
<u>kalivisi</u>	large garden division
<u>kalo</u>	two-bundle ((crustacean))
<u>kaluwo</u>	1. ten days 2. days in groups of ten ((with numerals only))
<u>kapu</u>	mouthful of drink
<u>kapuli</u>	1. group of parcels 2. cargo of goods 3. load of people in a canoe/a vehicle

<u>kapupu</u>	grove, tuft of hair
<u>kasila</u>	ten-group ((wealth-items))
<u>katukuni</u>	reel, one turn in a roll of anything
<u>katuluwo</u>	large group
<u>kaulo</u>	ten-group (strings of fish)
<u>kaya</u>	half (piece of food)
<u>kevala</u>	batch drying
<u>kipu</u>	1. out of meat 2. mouthful of flesh
<u>kovi</u>	pot-like
<u>kumila</u>	clan, clan-groups
<u>kuna</u>	rain
<u>kununu</u>	1. serve of greens 2. number of fibres laid together
<u>kupa</u>	1. loose coil 2. serve of uncooked greens
<u>kupo</u>	two-string, string of two fish, eels, octopi etc.
<u>kuwo</u>	1. crumb 2. tiny object
<u>kwailuwo</u>	tens of things
<u>lada</u>	1. small fishing spot 2. cluster of stars in the sky
<u>lapou</u>	1. a third of 2. a portion of sth.
<u>ligila</u>	1. group action 2. a round of turns at one activity
<u>lilivi</u>	forked stick
<u>lipu</u>	1. compartment of a creel 2. tier
<u>livisi</u>	1. shelf 2. division in a food-house

<u>lukuva</u>	1. growing bundle 2. bundles of long things, cut and tied together 3. trellises
<u>lupo</u>	smaller garden divisions
<u>miga</u>	1. appearance 2. face
<u>moya</u>	1. limb 2. position in family line
<u>mweli</u>	1. practices 2. bundles of leaves, heated and used as poultice 3. poultice
<u>no</u>	blow, strike, slap
<u>puli</u>	bunch
<u>pulu</u>	garden mound
<u>pupai</u>	layer of filth
<u>pwa</u>	excrement
<u>pwasa</u>	rotten
<u>sega</u>	1. branching, shooting 2. tree with a few leaves only
<u>seluva</u>	bundle being tied up
<u>seyo</u>	lagoon
<u>sisili</u>	cut of meat
<u>sobulo</u>	1. growing 2. single growing shoot
<u>soulo</u>	fishing spot
<u>suyo</u>	things strung through a hole
<u>tabili</u>	roll
<u>tabudo</u>	room
<u>tavi</u>	loose coil
<u>teni</u>	tight coil
<u>tubo</u>	generation
<u>tupila</u>	fleet

<u>udila</u>	land tract
<u>umila</u>	grove ((one species))
<u>uwo</u>	two-bundle
<u>vala</u>	1. small garden division 2. division of a task
<u>wouyo</u>	newness, new thing
<u>yivi</u>	serve of food pieces
<u>yuma</u>	length, measure of length (from the fingertips of one hand to the wrist of the other hand)
<u>yuwo</u>	group