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 wll 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
paper[1].

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 Island[4].

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		
	female	male	all
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:

Magigu	kupaisewa	deli	yegu
magi-gu	ku -paisewa	deli	yegu
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:

Tomanabweta tau		tomanabweta tauwau
to -manabweta tau		to -manabweta tauwau
male-beautiful man		male-beautiful men

`beautiful man´                    `beautiful men´

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mtona tau                              mtosina tauwau
m   -to -na   tau                      m   -to -si -na   tauwau
this-male-this man                     this-male-Pl.-this men

`this man´                             `these men´


tetala tau                             teyu tauwau
te  -tala tau                          te  -yu  tauwau
male-one  man                          male-two men

`one man´                              `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:

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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   like   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:

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Gala tomanaweta dakuna kena...
gala to  -manabweta dakuna kena...
not  male-beautiful stone  but...
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`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 Inventory[5]

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. te, to	M1 1. human beings	-
	2. persons of male sex	
	te used with numerals	

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

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

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 food-house	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. <u>gili</u>   M39 row   other CPs produced:
<u>ke</u>, <u>kwe</u>, <u>ya</u>, <u>utu</u>
<u>vakala</u>

40. <u>gula</u>, <u>guna</u>   M40 1. heap   other CPs produced:
2. group   <u>kwe</u>, <u>buda</u>, <u>tam</u>

41. Ø ((zero   M41 a basketful of yams   other CPs produced:
morpheme))   ((numerals without   <u>kwe</u>, <u>tam</u>, <u>tetu</u>
a CP are used to
count baskets full
of yams))

42. <u>uva</u>   M42 1. span, measure;   other CP produced:
the span of two   <u>ke</u>
extended arms -
from tip to tip

2. items measured in
spans

43. <u>gudi</u>   1. child   -

2. immature human

44. <u>bwa</u>   tree(s), wooden things   interchangeable with
<u>ke</u>

45. <u>bogi</u>   night   other CP produced:
<u>kwe</u>

46. <u>duya</u>[6]   door, entrance   other CPs produced:
<u>kaduya</u>, <u>kadu</u>, <u>kada</u>
<u>ke</u>, <u>kwe</u>, <u>ya</u>, <u>va</u>,
<u>vala</u>

47. <u>kavi</u>   tool   fairly rare; other
CPs produced: <u>ke</u>,
<u>kwe</u>

48. <u>kumla</u>   earth-oven   -

49. <u>koya</u>,   mountain, hill   other CP produced:
<u>kwoya</u>   <u>kwe</u>

50. <u>lilo</u>   1. walk   also realized as
<u>lola</u>
2. journey

3. number of times
going somewhere

4. number of times
doing sth.

51. <u>pwanina</u>   1. punctured   also realized as
<u>ponina</u>; other CPs
2. sth. with a hole in it   produced: <u>ponu</u>, <u>pona</u>
<u>pola</u>, <u>nigwa</u>, <u>kwe</u>

52. <u>yam</u>   1. day, number of days   other CPs produced:
<u>kwe</u>; see also: <u>kala</u>
2. hand

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 2. heaps 3. group	other CP produced: kwe
60.	sipu	1. sheaf 2. tangle, tangled line/rope/net/string	other CPs produced: kwe, ya
61.	ta	1. basket 2. contents of a basket (but see: Ø)	other CP produced: kwe; also realized as peta
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 2. dot 3. drop	also realized as nutu; other CP produced: kwe
67.	yama	yard	other CP produced: kwe'ya

CPs produced as alternatives to the CPs cited above:

68. <u>tam</u>   sprouting   see: 41., 80.

69. <u>beku</u>   stone blade   see: 8.

70. <u>va</u>, <u>vala</u>   1. river, creek   see: 13., 50.
    <u>vaya</u>
                     2. sea passage

                     3. door, entrance

                     4. window

71. <u>megwa</u>   magic, magical formula   see: 31.

72. <u>vosi</u>, <u>wosi</u>   1. songs   see: 28.

                     2. parts of songs

73. <u>bwalita</u>   sea   see: 30.

74. <u>tuta</u>   1. time   see: 32

                     2. occasion

75. <u>luba</u>   1. bundle (of rolls)   see: 33.

                     2. parcels of taro pudding

76. <u>suya</u>, <u>suye</u>   batch of fish on strings   see: 34.

77. <u>guba</u>   bundles of taro   see: 35.

78. <u>doba</u>   "grass"-skirt   see: 36.

79. <u>vakala</u>   belt of spondylus shell   see: 39.
                     discs

80. <u>tetu</u>   yam   see: 41., 68.

81. <u>pona</u>,   hole   see: 51., 82.
    <u>ponu</u>, <u>polu</u>

82. <u>nigwa</u>,   1. hole   see: 51., 81.

    <u>nigo</u>   2. nest

83. <u>yegila</u>   name   see: 56.

84. <u>ka'i</u>, <u>ke'i</u>   tooth, teeth   see: 57.

85. <u>peta</u>   basket   see: 61.

86. <u>bubu</u>,   1. cut across, cut   see: 63.
    <u>bobo</u>, <u>bobu</u>   traversely

                     2. block cut off

87. <u>kweya</u>   yard   see: 67.

CPs found after completion of the study proper

88. gubwa[7]   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 Kilivila[8].

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, kwoila, kada, bubwa,
pila, luba, pwanina, ta, kova, nutu, kweya, together with the
gradually 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 CPs[9] 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 langauge 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

118

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 traits[10]. 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
beku	floating submerged, sth. floating full of water
biga	word, staement, speech
biko	bunch of coconuts
bili	roll, material in rolls, sth. rolled up
bililo	trip
bo	sth. cut across
bubulo	sth. made, sth. created
buko	buried, sth. concealed by being buried, sth. buried to mature
buliga	1. storey, floor
	2. drawers, shelves
	3. horizontal divisions in the food house
bulu	half submerged

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

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

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

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