Squibs, Notes
and Discussion

Object Classifying Morphemes in Sudest

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1.   Introduction

Like other languages in the Papuan Tip cluster, Sudest[1] exhibits noun count classifiers (see Senft 1986 for a presentation of noun count classifiers in Kilivila). Sudest is unique among the languages of the Papuan Tip cluster, however, in that it includes a small number of morphemes which appear to be classifiers of objects which are moved or transferred. In section 2 of this paper, I briefly illustrate noun count classifiers. Then in section 3 I present a brief account of the object classifying morphemes.

2.   Noun Count Classifiers

Most countable nouns in Sudest can be divided into 25 or more classes on the basis of the noun count classifier they take for the purposes of counting and forming number descriptions and questions. These groups are correlated more or less with semantic criteria. For example, the nouns representing the items in a bundle (any bundle), coral, things loosely

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[1] Sudest is spoken by the 2000 people living on Sudest (Tagula) Island in the southern part of Milne Bay Province in Papua New Guinea. Ross (1988:191-92) classifies Sudest as part of the Kilivila-Louisiades network of the Peripheral Papuan Tip network. Sudest and Nimoa are the only two languages in the Kilivila-Louisiades network not part of the Kilivila chain. There are several mutually intelligible dialects within the language area. The dialect discussed in this paper represents the central dialect as spoken in Pamela village on the south coast of Sudest Island. Data for this paper was collected between May 1986 and April 1991.

packed in bags, some loosely woven items, items with many parts, etc, all belong to the counting class which utilizes the classifier *mbamba*.

Some nouns, because of different senses of meaning, can be associated with more than one class. An example is the noun *kunumwana* 'banana'. This same word is used to refer to the individual banana, the plant or sucker, the hand, part of a hand, or a bundle. The use of classifiers with various senses of the word *kunumwana* 'banana' is illustrated by the examples in (1).

1) *kunumwana **umbo-lima***   'five individual bananas'
    *kunumwana **uye-ra***   'one plant, sucker'
    *kunumwana **thara-e-iwo na thara-iwo***   'twenty-two hands'
    *kunumwana **mbanggwa-to***   'three part-hands of bananas'
    *kunumwana **mbamba-wona***   'six bundles of plants'

Some countable nouns do not fall into one of the 25 generic count classes. Instead, the noun itself is used where the count classifier would be found. Thus each of these nouns is itself a specific counting classifier. There are far more specific counting classifiers than generic counting classifiers.

The basic formula for noun classifiers in Sudest is:

(Noun) + Classifier + Number/Question word

Following are examples which show noun count classifiers in different environments.[2]

2) *Ghen,   len-kamwathi   kamwathi-viye?*
    2sPRN   2sPS3-road   NC-how.many
    'You, how many are your roads?'

3) *I-dage-we,   i-nga,   "Kamwathi-yaworo."*
    3sS-say-to   3sS-say   NC-ten
    'He said to him, "Ten."'

[2] Abbreviations

2sPRN	2nd Sing Free Pronoun	1pxPS3	1st Plur Excl Poss Class 3 (controllable)
1sS	1st Sing Subject Marker	2Ref	Deictic Reference Close to the Hearer
2sS	2nd Sing Subject Marker	Ref	Deictic Reference to Previous Known Info
3sS	3rd Sing Subject Marker	??	Pointer (?) used with PS1
1pxS	1st Plur Excl Subject Marker	ACC	Accompaniment
3pS	3rd Plur Subject Marker	FP	Far Past (before yesterday)
3sSIP	3rd Sing Subject Marker, Immed Past	FUT	Future
1sO	1st Sing Object Marker	INSTR	Instrument
3sO	3rd Sing Object Marker	LOC	Locative morpheme
3pO	3rd Plurl Object Marker	NC	Noun Classifier
3sPS1	3rd Sing Poss Class 1 (inalienable)	OC	Object Classifier
3pPS1	3rd Plur Poss Class 1 (inalienable)	OF	Object (?) Focus
3sPS2	3rd Sing Poss Class 2 (food/clothing)	PL	Plural
1sPS3	1st Sing Poss Class 3 (controllable)	UNCER	Uncertainty
2sPS3	2nd Sing Poss Class 3 (controllable)		

4)   *Kaero   i-longwe   eun-iwo-ko   thi-vaviri.*
     already 3sS-hear   NC-two-that 3pS-laugh
     'Then he heard those two (ladies) laugh.'

5)   *Bwadibwadi   voghi-vari   thi-voro   e-mbwa-ma   vwata.*
     coconut   NC-four   3pS-move.up LOC-water-Ref top
     'Four coconuts came to the surface of the water.'

6)   *Theghathegha   mbe   umbo-iwo-engge.*
     harvest   still   NC-two-just
     'For just two years.'

7)   *Eipul   gha-wiki   umbwa-ra   na   umbo-iwo-ni-ye   e-ine.*
     April   3sPS2-week   NC-one   and   NC-two-??-3sPS1   LOC-inside
     'During the first and second weeks of April.'

8)   *Jack   mbe   gougou-ra-engge i-ghambwera.*
     Jack   still   NC-one-just   3sS-sick
     'Jack was sick just one (night).'

9)   *I-voro   i-ki-gana   Raunji   e-bwana-ma   bwana-yaworo*
     3sS-move.up 3sS-INSTR-fence Raunji   LOC-shelf-Ref   NC-ten
     na   bwana-iwo-ni-nji.
     and   NC-two-??-3pPS1
     'He went up and closed Raunji in the twelfth shelf.'

3.   Object Classifying Morphemes

In addition to the noun count classifiers, Sudest includes a small number of object classifying morphemes. These appear in constructions in which the object classifier (OC) classifies or broadly describes the object which is transferred or moved according to the action of the following verbal component. The object may be overt or not. The form of the construction of the verb is:

Subject Marker + Object Classifier ± Verb ± Object Marker

In this formula the verb is also given as optional, since there are several examples where the verb is absent. The OC then acts like a verb.

The following are the commonly used OCs.

-wo-/-mban- are used to indicate an object which refers to a solid, relatively heavy item like a pig, knife, sweet potato, fish, stick, or person. *-wo-* marks a singular object, as illustrated in (12-13), while *-mban-* marks a plural object, as illustrated in (14).

12) *I-wo-giya   kaina   laghiye we-nggo.*
3sS-OC-give knife   big   to-1sO
'He gives me a big knife.'

13) *Kaero   i-wo-beku   levo   e-nggolo   tine.*
already 3sS-OC-bury his.wife LOC-house inside
'He already buried his wife under the house.'

14) *Va i-mban-giya   mbombo.*
FP 3sS-OC-give pig
'He gave pigs.'

-li-/-langa- are used to indicate an object which refers to a long, thin, light, or empty item like a cloth, a leaf, a paper, a string, or an empty basket. *-li-* marks a singular object, as illustrated in (15-16), while *-langa-* marks a plural object, as illustrated in (17).

15) *I-li-vairu   nambo.*
3sS-OC-lift.up basket
'He lifts up a basket.'

16) *Te-ne   ya-li-ranggi-ya   yangga-ra amba u-thuwe.*
UNCER-FUT 1sS-OC-move.out-OF NC-one   then   2sS-see
'Sometime I will get one (paper money) out, then you will see.'

17) *Me-langa-rawe kwame e-nakanaka.*
3sSIP-OC-put cloth   LOC-veranda
'She put (the) clothes on the veranda.'

-thagha- is used to indicate an object which refers to a tool that is swung by a handle, like an axe, mattock, or adze, as illustrated in (18).

18) *Ya-thagha-ruwo lo-kelumo.*
1sS-OC-put.in   1sPS3-axe
'He puts in my axe.'

-thin- is used to indicate an object which refers to an item which contains something, like a full basket, a deck of cards, a cup with water; or a single item made up of several parts, like a book or a table, as illustrated in (19).

19) *U-thin-mena   kofi.*
2sS-OC-come coffee
'You bring coffee (in a cup).'

-bigi- is used to indicate an object which refers to a group of items, made up of several, usually different, parts, as illustrated in (20-22).

20) *Thi-bigi-njaniya   kaina,   buk,   na   pensil.*
    3pS-OC-put.down knife   book   and   pencil
    'They put down the book, knife and pencil.'

21) *I-ko   wo-bigi-njogha   e-plane-ko   tine.*
    3sS-finish 1pxS-OC-move.back LOC-plane-the inside
    '(When that was) finished, we moved (them, the cargo) back into the
    plane.'

22) *Ya-mena ya-ruku-bigi-giya Tagula e-station.*
    1sS-come 1sS-run-OC-give Tagula LOC-station
    'I came and ran and gave them to (the people at) Tagula station.'

-tako- is used to indicate a plural object which refers to an item which is long, thin, contains
many pieces, or contains many parts but includes "take" in the meaning, as illustrated
in (23-24).

23) *I-tako-giya   mbugha-mbugha   thi-waidi.*
    3sS-OC-give PL-dog   3pS-hunt
    'He took the dogs and they went hunting.'

24) *I-tako-valawe-nggi-ya   gamagai-ma wei-nji   tina-nji.*
    3sS-OC-move.across-3pO-OF children-Ref ACC-3pPS1 mother-3pPS1
    'It (the flood) carried the children with their mother away.'

-tara- is used to indicate an object which refers to a mass or uncountable item, including
water, rice, food pieces or leftovers, etc, as illustrated in (25).

25) *U-tara-yathu   kure-na.*
    2sS-OC-throw leftover-2Ref
    'Throw out those leftovers.'

Some of these object classifying morphemes may well be verbs, as the following
examples appear to demonstrate. In these examples, the verbal meanings of the OCs are
given in parentheses in the gloss.

26) *Thi-gita   kin-kin   thi-wo-nggo   na   thi-wo-ra-nggo   e-umbwa*
    3pS-pull.out PL-spear 3pS-OC-1sO and 3pS-OC-put-1sO LOC-tree
    mboro-wa-e.
    trunk-??-3sPS1
    'They pulled out the spears, they (carried) me and put me on the   tree
    trunk.'

27) *Wo-bigi-ya   lama-bigi-bigi   wo-yo-bigi   airstrip.*
    1pxS-OC-OF   1pxPS3-PL-thing   1pxS-fly-OC   airstrip
    'We (got) our things and we quickly (carried them) to the airstrip.'

28) *Ya-njogha   ya-thṁ   lo-nambo.*
    1sS-move.back   1sS-OC   1sPS3-basket
    'I went back and (got) my basket.'

29) *I-voro   i-wo   gaeba   na   i-mban   gha-nji   we.*
    3sS-move.up   3sS-OC   dish   and   3sS-OC   food-3pPS1   there.
    'She went up, (got) a dish and (put) their food there.'

References

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A note on Hees' 'Tolai-Nakanai' trade language

Tom Dutton and Malcolm Ross

In the 1915-16 volume of *Anthropos* Fr Friedrich Hees published a paper on myths and stories of the Nakanai people of the north coast of New Britain. In a footnote to that paper (pp.48-49) Hees mentions that the coastal inhabitants of the Gazelle Peninsua - speakers of what he calls 'Tuna', i.e. the Tolai - used a trade language[1] in trading (mainly for shells) with the Nakanai.

Although Hees gives examples of this trade language, his description of the socio-linguistic situation obtaining between the parties is unclear. The reader cannot tell whether

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[1] Hees' term for this was *Mittelsprache*, literally a 'middle' or go-between language.