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Kilivila
The Language of
the Trobriand Islanders

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Die Sprachen können hierin noch am wenigsten unrichtig mit den *menschlichen Gesichtsbildungen* verglichen werden. Die Individualität steht unläugbar da, Ähnlichkeiten werden erkannt, aber kein Messen und kein Beschreiben der Theile im Einzelnen und in ihrem Zusammenhang vermag die Eigenthümlichkeit in einem Begriff zusammzufassen. Sie ruht auf dem Ganzen und in der wieder individuellen Auffassung; daher auch gewiß jede Physiognomie jedem anders erscheint. Da die Sprache, in welcher Gestalt man sie aufnehmen möge, immer ein geistiger Aushauch eines nationell individuellen Lebens ist, so muß beides auch bei ihr eintreffen. Wie viel man in ihr heften und verkörpern, vereinzeln und zergliedern möge, so bleibt doch immer etwas unerkannt in ihr übrig, und gerade dies der Bearbeitung Entschlüpfende ist dasjenige, worin die Einheit und der Odem eines Lebendigen ist. Bei dieser Beschaffenheit der Sprachen kann daher die Darstellung der Form irgend einer in dem hier angegebenen Sinne niemals vollständig, sondern immer nur bis auf einen gewissen, jedoch zur Übersicht des Ganzen genügenden Grad gelingen. Darum ist aber dem Sprachforscher durch diesen Begriff nicht minder die Bahn vorgezeichnet, in welcher er den Geheimnissen der Sprache nachspüren und ihr Wesen zu enthüllen suchen muß. Bei der Vernachlässigung dieses Weges übersieht er unfehlbar eine Menge von Punkten der Forschung, muß sehr vieles, wirklich Erklärbares, unerklärt lassen, und hält für isolirt dastehend, was durch lebendigen Zusammenhang verknüpft ist.

Wilhelm von Humboldt (1836: LX)

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TROBRIAND ISLANDS

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Milne Bay Province

Kaile'una   Kiriwina

Kitava

Vakuta

D'ENTRECASTEAUX ISLANDS

Goodenough

Dobu

Fergusson

Normanby

Alotau

Misima

0   100 km
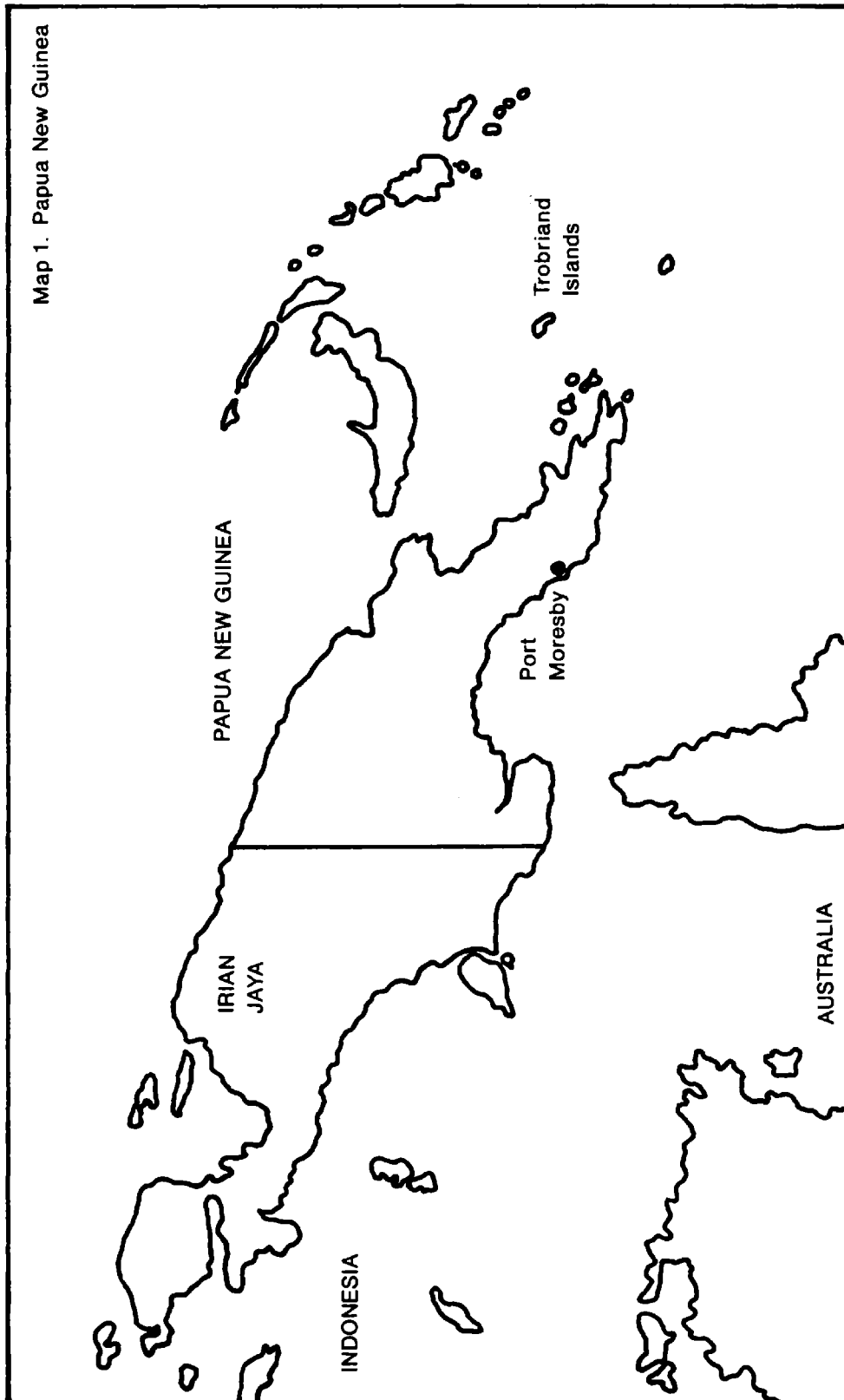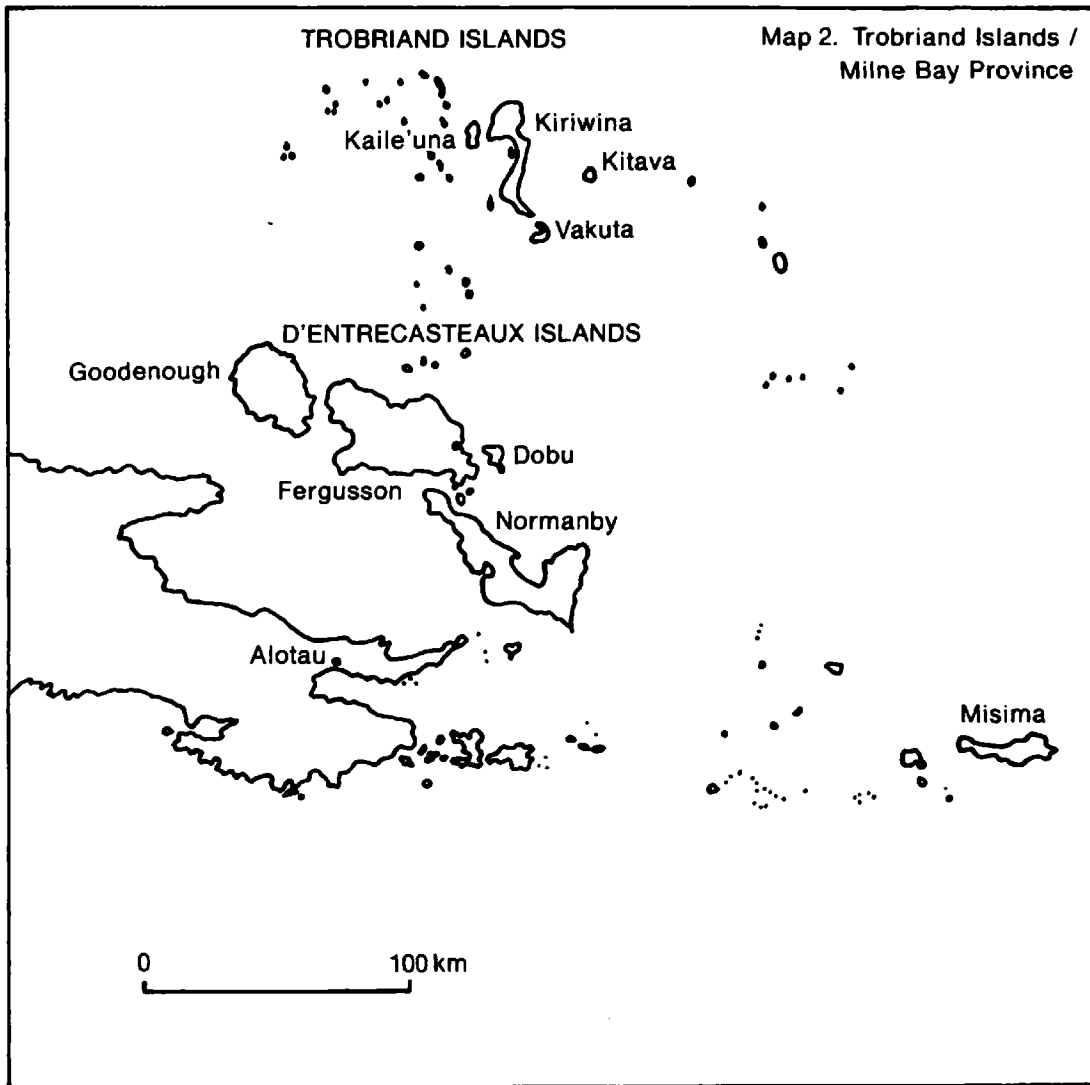
Part One

Kilivila Grammar

1. Preface

To write a grammar of a language is one of the most interesting and most stimulating and provoking aspects of their discipline for many linguists. However, it is also a demanding enterprise, sometimes even a tricky business that — now and then — needs muscles and guts.

Why is this so? I think, most linguists would answer this question as follows: Writing a grammar asks for describing the structure of a language without contradiction in a simple though adequate way on the basis of a certain linguistic theory that defines grammar itself and the grammatical categories used as the tools of this description. A grammar should represent its object — the language described — as completely as possible, thus representing the "competence" of the native speaker and enabling a learner of this language to acquire something like this "competence" of the native speaker.

Keeping these — by the way quite basic — standards in mind, the linguist as grammarian has to make the following decisions: He has to define the scope of the grammar. This implies first of all, that he has to decide on a certain theory or model of grammar as a basis for his description. This theory or model provides him with his descriptive tools.

Within the scope of the grammar he plans to write, he has to decide for what purpose and for what reader — that is why, for what means and ends, and for whom — he writes this grammar. Now, all these decisions are problematic in a certain way, and some are more momentous than others.

In writing the grammar presented here, these decisions had to be made, too, of course. But before I reveal these decisions, I first have to say something about the data the grammar is based on.

Kilivila is an Austronesian language spoken by approximately 20,600 people living on some islands in Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea. The majority of these speakers, however, live on the Trobriand Islands. With the exception of Fellows' (1901) sketch of aspects of Kilivila grammar, no linguist or missionary has published a grammar or a dictionary of Kilivila yet. There are only some wordlists published by Australian administrators and missionaries; however, there is an unpublished manuscript by Ralph Lawton (1978) on "Some Aspects of the Language of Kiriwina", which offers much information on Kilivila (I want to thank Ralph Lawton for copying some chapters of this manuscript for me); moreover, there is an unpublished compilation of Kilivila words and an unpublished and also undated manuscript by Father B. Baldwin (M.S.C.) of the Catholic Mission

in Gusaweta, Trobriand Islands, that tries to describe Kilivila from a dia-chronically oriented point of view by comparing it with Indonesian and the Indonesian language phylum. Although this grammar is quite helpful for a linguist who already knows the language, it can be hardly used by either layman or expert as a start to learn the language.

Now, the grammar presented here is the result of 15 months of field-research in Papua New Guinea. During this period our place of residence was Tauwema, a small village with 244 inhabitants on the northern tip of Kaile'una Island, one of the Trobriand Islands. The aim of our research project was to describe and to explain aspects of "ritual communication on the Trobriand Islands". To be able to reach this aim, it was necessary to acquire a certain competence in the language, of course. Thus, writing a grammar of Kilivila was one of the prerequisites for reaching the aims of our research. I elicited the grammatical data with my informants and checked and counterchecked the grammatical facts and features with their actual realization in the phonetic transcriptions of actual speech production of native speakers.

Almost all the sentences that serve to illustrate grammatical facts in the following chapters are to be found in these transcriptions. With these illustrative sentences we are already in the midst of our problems. Up till now, there has been no fixed orthography for Kilivila, although — by the impact of educational activities by both provincial and mission schools — Kilivila is changing from a purely spoken to a written language. There is a translation of the four gospels by Reverend Ralph Lawton (1979), but Lawton has not yet published anything on his guiding principles leading to this orthography of Kilivila. Thus the orthography of Kilivila presented in this grammar (3.1.2.) is oriented towards Lawton's system; it is based on my analysis of Kilivila phonemes (3.1.1.) and follows the principle that the grapheme should represent the actual sound of a phoneme realized in speech production.

However, to define the criteria for a Kilivila orthography proved to be a minor problem compared to the problematic decisions that had to be made and that were mentioned above.

Before even eliciting the first linguistic data of Kilivila, I had to decide on the purposes I wanted to pursue with the grammar planned. First of all I had to decide for whom and why I should write it.

In my opinion, a grammar of Kilivila should not only be interesting for expert linguists who are involved in describing Austronesian languages, who are trying to find universals in languages, or who have just a general interest in grammars and a broad interest in different languages, including so-called "exotic" ones, but such a grammar should also be a starting point for the gradually increasing group of young native speakers of Kilivila who have

learnt English in school and who want to get metalinguistic knowledge of their mother tongue. But to write a grammar for these two groups is impossible, indeed. Thus, for the time being, this grammar is addressed to my linguistic peer-group; it is documented for the scientific interest of linguists (and for my personal sport).

"The linguistics in the book is fundamentally that of traditional school grammar, which has always served me splendidly as a standpoint from which to judge the passing fads in linguistics" (Haugen 1976: 18). Following this principle of Einar Haugen's does not imply, however, that insights in the structure of grammars and its features gained by modern linguistic theories are blocked off or ignored.

The grammar starts with some general remarks on the Kilivila language. It then presents Kilivila phonology. Its emphasis is on Kilivila grammar; within these main chapters on grammar, Kilivila word classes and aspects of inflectional morphology are presented first (I have omitted almost all consideration of derivational morphology — 15 months of field-research are too short a period to be able to cope with this field of linguistics, too), then the description moves on to deal with the language on sentence level. The grammar proper ends with an excursus on style and the presentation of three sample texts after an illustrative syntactic analysis of a Kilivila sentence. (The two appendices are given to enable the interested reader to get some more information on Austronesian languages and especially on Kilivila and the culture of its speakers, especially the Trobriand Islanders.) The chapter on Kilivila syntax documents the most important decisions that had to be made in classifying certain grammatical features. I am quite aware of the risks of some of these classifications, however, linguistics as a discipline must arrive at a classification of its data, and my leading principles in classifying were based both on grammatical considerations and on the scientific aims pursued.

The grammar presented here tries to provide the trained linguist with as much information on Kilivila as possible; it is also the prerequisite for using the basic Kilivila / English — English / Kilivila dictionary.

I would be very glad, if in not too long a period of time a native speaker of Kilivila would write a grammar of Kilivila, a grammar presumably more complete than this one. If this linguist, being a native speaker, could profit by the grammar presented here, I would be very pleased and I would be amongst the first to declare that this grammar has become obsolete. However, for the time being, we have to be content with this first published — and not only announced — grammar of Kilivila.

2. An Introduction to Kilivila

Kilivila is one of the 40 Austronesian languages spoken in the area of Milne Bay Province in Papua New Guinea. This province encompasses "20 254 sq.km of land in 251 230 sq.km of ocean; it comprises the extreme S.E. section of the mainland, and eastwards of that, many islands, groups of islands and archipelagoes — in all 160 named islands and over 500 islets and atolls". It has an estimated population of 139,600 (Sinclair, Inder 1980: 206). The Austronesian languages spoken in this province are grouped into 12 language families; one of them is labeled "Kilivila language family"; typologically it is classified as belonging to the "Papuan-Tip-Cluster" group (Capell 1976: 6 & 9; see also Appendix A); moreover, Capell classifies Kilivila as one of the Austronesian languages with SVO-word order; however, there is evidence that it must be classified more correctly as one of the Austronesian languages with VOS-word order (see 5.2.).

The Kilivila language family encompasses the following languages:

Budibud (Nada) with about 160 speakers on Loughlan Islands,
Muyuw (Murua) with about 3 117 speakers on Woodlark Islands and about 150 speakers on Marshall Bennett Islands,
Kilivila (Kiriwina, Boyowa) with about 17 173 speakers on Lucancy Islands, and on the Trobriand Islands with Kiriwina, Vakuta, Kitava, Kaile'una, Kuiawa, and Munuwata as the main islands (Lithgow 1976 b: 442, 448; Carter 1981; Sinclair, Inder 1980).

Map 3 shows the geographic distribution of the languages belonging to the Kilivila language family in the area of Milne Bay Province in Papua New Guinea.

Kilivila and Muyuw are split in dialects. The speakers of Kilivila on the Trobriand Islands differentiate at least the following four mutually understandable local varieties or dialects:

Biga galagoki (also: **Biga galagola**) spoken in Kavataria on Kiriwina Island,
Biga besagala spoken on Kiriwina Island (except in Kavataria),
Biga galanani spoken in Kuia on Kuiawa Island, on Munuwata Island, on Simsim Island, and in Kaduwaga on Kaile'una Island,
Biga galawala spoken in Kaisiga, Bulakwa, Lebola, Giwa, Koma, and Tauwema on Kaile'una Island.

Map 3. Kilivila Language Family
Milne Bay Province / Papua New Guinea

KILIVILA LANGUAGE
FAMILY

Trobriand
Islands
Kitava

Lusancay
Is.

Iwa

0 Gawa

Yanaba

Egum

Muyuw

Budibud

Goodenough

Dobu

Fergusson

Normanby

Misima

Tacuta

Rossel

100 km

0
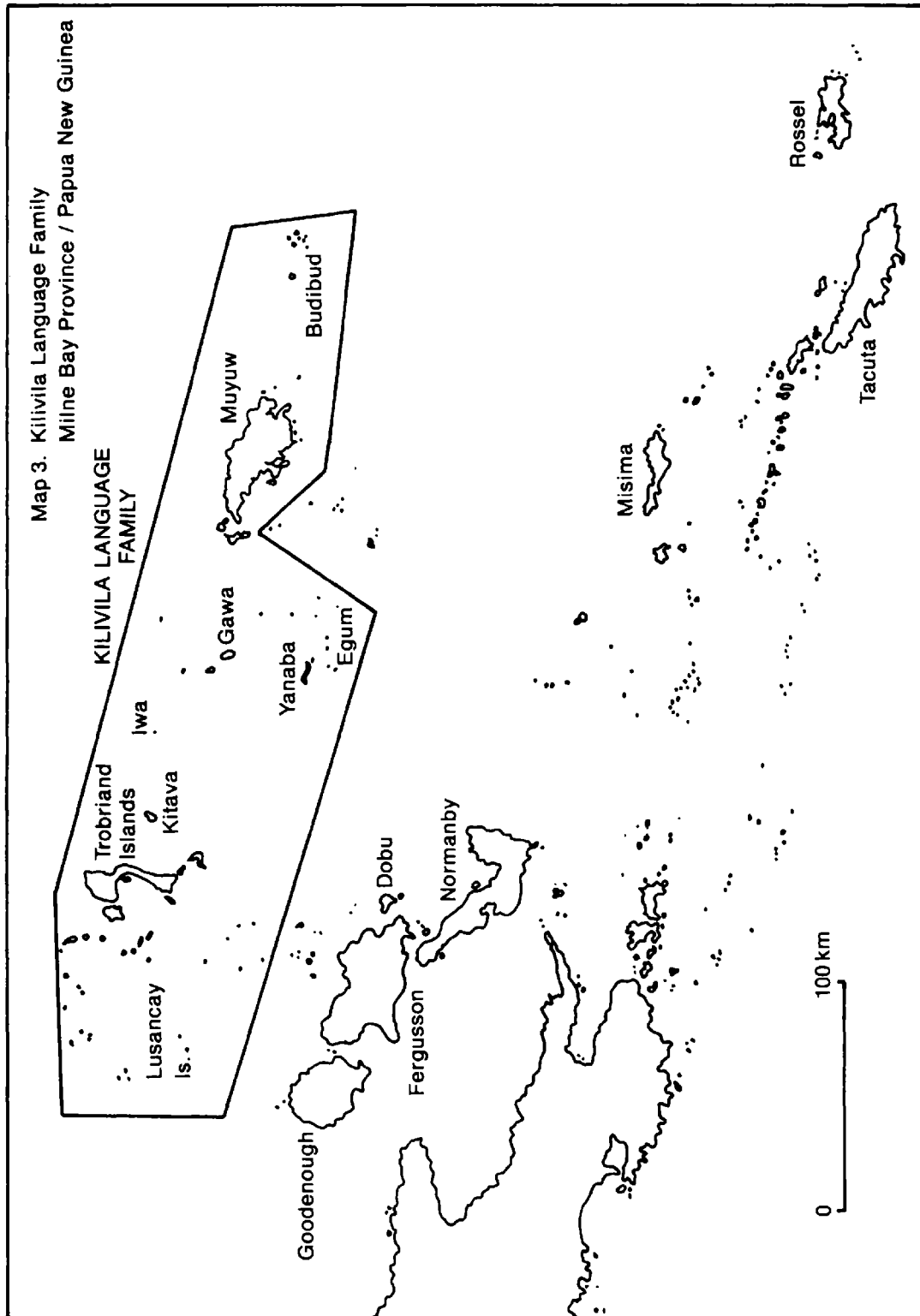
The criterion responsible for this differentiation is a kind of "shibboleth", named in the variety's label (**biga** = language): it has to do with different ways of expressing negation in these varieties (see 4.10.). The word **gala** means "no, not" in all four varieties. It is characteristic for the speakers of these four varieties, however, to add to the negation **gala** a typical word like **besa, goki, nani**, and **wala**, though these expressions are produced as being in "material supposition" for the actual word quoted. There are of course, some other phonological differences, too, as the following example may illustrate: the word "this, that" e.g. is realized as **beya** in the **Biga galawala**-variety and as **besa** in the **Biga besagala**-variety; /n/ in **Biga besa-gala** is very often realized as /l/ in **Biga galawala**, so **natugu** becomes **latugu** (= my child). These examples may do for our purpose here (see 3.1.1., 3.1.3.).

With this differentiation of dialects or local language varieties it is quite interesting to notice that Kavataria seems to have a special status with its language variety, different from the variety spoken in all the other villages on Kiriwina Island − I cannot offer any kind of explanation for this fact − and that with the exception of Kaduwaga in the North-West of Kaile'una Island all villages on this island are grouped together in the **Biga galawala**-variety. There are, of course, some minor differences in the linguistic varieties spoken in these villages on Kaile'una Island, but there remains the fact that with the exception of Kaduwaga village Kaile'una Island has a variety bordering on those of Kiriwina Island in the East and those of the above mentioned islands (including Kaduwaga village on Kaile'una Island) in the Solomon Sea in the West.

I cannot give a sound explanation for this separation of Kaduwaga from the other villages on Kaile'una Island. A possible explanation could be that Kaduwaga, being the village of the most important chief on Kaile'una Island, has separated itself from the other villages linguistically to emphasize its special status; a more reasonable explanation, however, seems to be found in quite intensive and economically oriented contacts with the islanders living in the West of Kaile'una and in the establishing of relational and family bonds between Kaduwagans and these islanders − but these attempts to explain this language variety borderline are rather speculative.

In any event, this differentiation of different dialects or local language varieties of Kilivila on the Trobriand Islands only affects some phonological rules and causes some minor differences of certain items within the lexicon of Kilivila as it is spoken on the Trobriand Islands; it does not at all affect the syntax nor the inflectional morphology of Kilivila language.

Besides this differentiation of dialects given above, Lawton (1978: 4) distinguishes the following varieties of Kilivila:

Map 4. The Trobriand Islands

KITAVA

KIRIWINA

Kwaibwaga
Omarakana
Yalumgwa
Kaibola
Labai
Mwatawa
Okaikoda
Oiveyova
Boitalu
Losuia
Tukwaukwa
Lobua
Kavataria
BAIMAPU
Wawela

VAKUTA

Sinaketa

KAILE'UNA
Koma
Giwa
Lebola
Kaisiga
Bulakwa
Tauwema
Kaduwaga

MUWA

BWEMVAGA

TUMA

KADAI

BULIWADA

MUNUWATA
KUIAWA

SIMSIM

5 km

0

Kilivila	spoken in the North of Kiriwina Island,
Kuboma	spoken in the Central Western Kiriwina Island,
Luba	spoken in the Central Eastern Kiriwina Island,
Kaibwagina	spoken in the Mid-South of Kiriwina Island,
Yeiwai	spoken on Vakuta Island and in the South of Kiriwina Island,
Kitava	spoken on Kitava Island,
Iwa	spoken on Iwa Island, and
Gawa	spoken on Gawa Island.

With the exception of assigning a specific dialect to the speakers of Kilivila living on the islands Gawa, Iwa, Kitava, and Vakuta Lawton's differentiation represents a rather subtle subcategorization of the variety which my informants on the Trobriand Islands labelled **Biga besagala**, only.

Map 4 shows the Islands Kitava, Kiriwina, Vakuta, Kaile'una, Kuiawa, Munuwata, and Simsim with all the villages on Simsim, Kuiawa, Munuwata, and Kaile'una, and some villages on Kiriwina. The islands Iwa and Gawa can be found on Map 3.

As already stated in the previous chapter, the Kilivila grammar presented here is based on the **Biga galawala**-variety as it is spoken in Tauwema, a village on Kaile'una Island.

3. Phonology

3.1. The Phoneme

3.1.1. The Phoneme Inventory

The inventory of phonemes in Kilivila is tabulated in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Kilivila phoneme inventory

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	p b	·	t d		k g	ʔ
rounded stops	pw bw				kw gw	
fricatives		v	s			
sonorants	m		n r l			
rounded sonorant	mw					
semivowel	w			y		

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

Diphthongs: ei   ou
                eu   oi
                    ai,   au

In the following pages this inventory will be described in respect to the phonetic characterizations of each of the phonemes, that is to say, each phoneme will be described articulatorily with a brief statement of allophonic variation where applicable.

Consonants

/p/	[p]	voiceless bilabial stop
/b/	[b]	voiced bilabial stop
/t/	[t]	voiceless alveolar stop
/d/	[d]	voiced alveolar stop
/k/		voiceless velar stop occurring as
	[ḳ]	voiceless backed velar stop
	[X̣]	voiceless backed velar fricative
	[k]	voiceless velar stop
	[X]	voiceless velar fricative

all four variants occur in free fluctuation with each other; however, [ḳ] and [X̣] occur more often when followed by [a].

/g/	[g]	voiced velar stop
/pw/	[pʷ]	voiceless bilabial rounded stop
/bw/	[bʷ]	voiced bilabial rounded stop
/kw/		voiceless velar rounded stop occurring as
	[ḳʷ]	voiceless back velar rounded stop
	[kʷ]	voiceless velar rounded stop

[ḳʷ] and [kʷ] occur in free fluctuation, however, [ḳʷ] occurs more often when in environment preceding [a].

/gw/	[gʷ]	voiced velar rounded stop
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	glottal stop
/v/	[v]	voiced labiodental fricative
/s/		voiceless alveolar fricative occurring as
	[s]	voiceless alveolar fricative
	[ʃ]	voiceless palato alveolar fricative

[s] and [ʃ] occur in free fluctuation with each other, but [ʃ] is fairly rare.

/m/		voiced bilabial nasal occurring as
	[m̩]	syllabic nasal
	[m]	non-syllabic nasal
/n/	[n]	voiced alveolar nasal (which fluctuates with [1])
/r/		vibrant occurring as
	[ɾ]	voiced alveolar flap (which fluctuates with [1], mostly in the environment preceding /i/)

	[r]	rolled dental alveolar vibrant
	[ʀ]	rolled uvular vibrant
		all three variants occur in free fluctuation with each other, but [r] and [ʀ] are fairly rare.
/l/	[l]	voiced alveolar lateral
		(which fluctuates with [n] and [ɾ])
/mw/	[mʷ]	voiced bilabial rounded nasal
/w/	[w]	tensed high close back rounded semivowel
/y/	[y]	tensed high close front unrounded semivowel

Vowels

/i/		high front unrounded vowel occurring as
	[i]	high close front unrounded vowel occurring in syllables carrying stress
	[ɪ]	high open front unrounded vowel occurring elsewhere
/e/	[ɛ]	mid front unrounded vowel (there is fluctuation between [ɛ] and [ai]; [ai] is manifested in emphatic speech; this fluctuation is also evident as a distinction between some Kilivila dialects)
/a/	[a]	open low central vowel
/o/	[ɔ]	mid back rounded vowel
/u/		high back rounded vowel occurring as
	[u]	high close back rounded vowel occurring in syllables carrying stress
	[ʊ]	high open back rounded vowel occurring elsewhere

In word final position all vowels are frequently reduced to [ə], especially when preceded by a voiceless consonant (see 3.3.).

Diphthongs

/ei/	[ei]	diphthong whose point of articulation on initial component is that of the mid close front unrounded vowel [e] and whose point of articulation on final component is that of [i, ɪ].
/eu/	[ɛu]	diphthong whose point of articulation on initial component is that of [ɛ] and whose point of articulation on the final component is that of [u, ʊ]

/ai/   diphthong whose point of articulation on initial compo-
                          nent is close to that of [a] and whose point of articulation
                          on the final component is close to that of [i, i].
                          There is relative wide fluctuation in the point at which
                          this diphthong is initiated. The variants of this diphthong
                          are one of the main features that distinguish different
                          Kilivila dialects. The diphthong occurs within the **biga
                          galawala** dialect as

   [ai]   in stressed words, especially in formal or emotional
                          speech,

   [ɔi]   in archaic or formal or ironic speech, and

   [ɛi]

   [yɛ]

   [ɛ]   occurring elsewhere
                          with [ɛ] having the most frequent occurrence (in the **biga
                          galawala** variety).

/au/   [au]   diphthong whose point of articulation on initial compo-
                          nent is that of [a] and whose point of articulation on the
                          final component is that of [u, ʊ].

/oi/   [ɔi]   diphthong whose point of articulation on initial compo-
                          nent is that of [ɔ] and whose point of articulation on the
                          final component is that of [i, i].

/ou/   [ou]   diphthong whose point of articulation on initial compo-
                          nent is that of the mid close back rounded vowel [o] and
                          whose point of articulation on the final component is
                          that of [u, ʊ].

Kilivila diphthongs have phonemic status; they act in a syllable as do any
other phonemes (see 3.2.).

3.1.2. Phoneme, Sound, and Grapheme

This subsection lists phonemes and sounds in Kilivila together with their
respective graphemes.

Phoneme	Sound	Grapheme
/p/	[p]	p
/b/	[b]	b
/t/	[t]	t
/d/	[d]	d
/k/	[k̚]	k
	[x]	k

	[k]	k
	[x]	k
/g/	[g]	g
/pw/	[pʷ]	pw
/bw/	[bʷ]	bw
/kw/	[kʷ]	kw
	[ḳʷ]	kw
/gw/	[gʷ]	gw
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	(−)
/v/	[v]	v
/s/	[s]	s
	[ʃ]	s
/m/	[m̥]	m
	[m]	m
/n/	[n]	n
/r/	[ɾ]	r
	[r]	r
	[ʀ]	r
/l/	[l]	l
/w/	[w]	w
/y/	[y]	y
/i/	[i]	i
	[ɨ]	i
/e/	[ɛ]	e
/a/	[a]	a
/o/	[ɔ]	o
/u/	[u]	u
	[ʊ]	u
/ei/	[ei]	ei
/eu/	[ɛu]	eu
/ai/	[ai]	ai
	[ɔi]	oi
	[ɛi]	ei
	[yɛ]	ye
	[ɛ]	e
/oi/	[ɔi]	oi
/ou/	[ou]	ou

The orthographic system that is constituted by these graphemes attempts to be as simple as possible. It follows the principle that the grapheme should represent the actual sound of a phoneme realized in speech production.

To distinguish between a sequence of vowels on the one hand and diphthongs on the other hand, an apostrophe is used, as in **Kaile'una**. The apostrophe is also used to indicate the deletion of a sound within a word which is only realized in highly formal style. Thus we find the following two orthographic representations of the Kilivila word for "thinking, thoughts":

nanamusa	"thinking, thoughts (in formal style)"
nanam'sa	"thinking, thoughts (in colloquial style)".

Capital letters are used after a full stop for sentence initial words and for given names and names of places.

3.1.3. Fluctuation between Phonemes

The areas of fluctuation between /l/ and /r/, and between /l/ and /n/ have been noted in 3.1.1. Here are some examples of words in which these kinds of fluctuation have been noted:

Fluctuation between /l/ and /n/

bunukwa **bulukwa**	"pig"
uuna **uula**	"reason, root"
nuya **luya**	"coconut"
natugu **latugu**	"my child"

Fluctuation between /l/ and /r/

uligova **urigova**	"crocodile"
kuligabu sopi **kurigabu sopi**	"you pour in water"
elausasi **erausasi**	"they dance"
uli **uri**	"taro"

The fluctuation between these phonemes is not general, although the fluctuation between /l/ and /r/ occurs most often when these phonemes precede /i/.

The fluctuation between the phonemes /l/ and /m/ is not general, either; however, it is evident as a distinction between certain Kilivila dialects. Thus /n/ in the **biga besagala** variety is most often substituted by /l/ in the **biga galawala** variety, and vice versa.

3.1.4. Non-Syllabic and Syllabic /m/

The bilabial nasal /m/ plays a unique role amongst consonants in Kilivila.

First of all, /m/ is a consonant which — in its most frequent use — shows no difference compared to any other consonant in Kilivila; it may appear in prenuclear position in any Consonant-Vowel (CV) syllable (see 3.2.).

But /m/ is the only consonant in Kilivila that may be syllabic. Some examples are:

mse'u	"smoke"
m'pana	"this (piece)"
mtumtu	"rubbing"
msamsa	"dirt, rubbish"

In words like **mse'u** and **m'pana** we find word initial syllabic /m/, and in words like **mtumtu** and **msamsa** we find also word-medial occurrence of syllabic /m/. [m̩] is functioning here as a syllabic nucleus.

Thus besides the most frequent and commonest form of the syllable, represented by Consonant-Vowel (CV), we also find the syllable patterns

$ CV $ [m̩] $

and

$ [m̩] $ CV $.

These patterns represent sequences of two syllables each. In the $ CV $ [m̩] $ pattern the first syllable consists of a consonant (C) and a vowel (V), and the second syllable consists of syllabic /m/. In the $ [m̩] $ CV $ pattern the first syllable consists of syllabic /m/, and the second syllable consists of a consonant (C) together with a vowel (V). "$" is the symbol to represent the syllable boundary.

This special status of syllabic /m/ thus has consequences for the discussion of the syllable in Kilivila (see 3.2.).

Finally, non-syllabic /m/ constitutes the only syllable pattern that starts with the vowels /a/ or /o/ or the diphthong /ai/ followed by [m] (see 3.2.).

Moreover, non-syllabic /m/ also occurs in syllable final position, thus forming the only closed syllable in Kilivila. Some examples are:

simsimwaya	"sweet potato"
kabitam	"wisdom"
kukwam	"you eat"
kumum	"you drink"

These examples illustrate the existence of a $ CVC $ syllable pattern in Kilivila with nonsyllabic /m/ in syllable final position. [m] is the only sound in Kilivila that can be produced in this position; therefore this syllable pattern is characterized more accurately by the abbreviation $ CV [m] $ (see 3.2.). The occurrence of nonsyllabic /m/ in syllable final position clearly constitutes a special feature in the syllable pattern of Kilivila.

3.1.5. Minimal Pairs

In this subsection I list a number of minimal pairs to illustrate and document the phonemic status of each phoneme within the Kilivila phoneme inventory.

Phonemes	Examples	
/p/, /pw/	**mapana**	"that (piece)"
	mapwana	"that (filth)"
	paka	"feast"
	pwaka	"lime"
/b/, /p/	**bobu**	"cut"
	popu	"excrement"
	bogi	"night"
	pogi	"jealousy"
/b/, /bw/	**bala**	"I will go"
	bwala	"house"
	bita(-vagisi)	"we will (make)"
	bwita	"octopus"
/b/, /v/	**biga**	"word, language"
	viga	"cup"
	bala	"I will go"
	vala	"handle"
/v/, /w/	**vala**	"handle"
	wala	"only"
	vai	"stingray"
	(ku-)wai	"(you) slap"

/d/, /t/	(ku-)dau	"(you) call"
	tau	"man"
	(ku-)simada	"(you) sit here"
	(ku-)simata	"(you) sharpen"
/k/, /g/	kala	"his (food)"
	gala	"no"
	(a-)kisi	"(I) tear"
	(a-)gisi	"(I) see"
/g/, /gw/	gadi	"bite"
	gwadi	"child"
/kw/, /k/	kwau	"shark"
	(ba-)kau	"(I will) take"
	makena	"this (wooden)"
	makwena	"this (thing)"
/l/, /n/	kilili	"cricket"
	(ba-)kinini	"(I will) pull apart"
/l/, /r/	kalaga	"snack"
	karaga	"(a) parrot"
/m/, /mw/	ma-	"our (excl.)"
	mwa	"hey, man!"
	masawa	"canoe"
	mwasawa	"fun, game"
/ei/, /e/	peim	"for you (archaic)"
	pem	"lameness"
/ei/, /ai/	gei	"forked stick"
	gai	"ebony"
/ou/, /o/	toula	"really"
	(ku-)tola	"(you) spear"
/ou/, /au/	tou	"sugar cane"
	tau	"man"
/ʔ/, Ø	kaukwa	"morning (casual speech)"
	ka'ukwa	"dog"

3.1.6. Distinctive Feature Analysis

I will finish this section on Kilivila phonology with an analysis of the distinctive features of the Kilivila phonemes; it is tabulated in Table 3.2.; diphthongs are not included in this analysis.

Table 3.2. Distinctive Features

Phonemes	syllabic	consonantal	voiced	sonorant	round	back	high	low
i	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
u	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
e	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
o	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
a	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+

Table 3.2. Distinctive Features

Phonemes	syllabic	consonantal	voiced	sonorant	nasal	round	anterior	coronal	strident
p	−	+	−	−	−		+	−	−
b	−	+	+	−	−		+	−	−
t	−	+	−	−	−		−	+	−
d	−	+	+	−	−		−	+	−
k	−	+	−	−	−		−	−	−
g	−	+	+	−	−		−	−	−
s	−	+	−	−	−		−	+	+
v	−	+	+	−	−		+	−	+
m	∓	±	+	+	+		+	−	−
n	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	−
l	−	+	+	+	−		−	+	−
r	−	+	+	+	−		−	+	
w	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−
y	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
pw	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
bw	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−
kw	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
gw	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
mw	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−

3.2. The Syllable

3.2.1. Syllable Patterns

The most frequent and characteristic syllable pattern in Kilivila is the open syllable $ CV $, where C is a consonant, and V − representing the syllable

nucleus — is a vowel or a diphthong within the Kilivila phoneme inventory (see 3.2.2.); "$" is the symbol to represent the syllable boundary.

Besides this syllable pattern the syllable can also consist of a vowel or any diphthong except /eu/ and /ou/ only; this pattern is abbreviated as $ V $.

The third type of syllable patterns consists of either one of the vowels /a/ and /u/ or the diphthong /ai/ followed by consonantal /m/; this pattern may be abbreviated as $ V [m] $, or — more accurately — as:

$$ \$ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [a] \\ [u] \\ [ai] \end{array} \right\} \quad [m] \quad \$ $$

The fourth type of syllable patterns consists of the consonant /m/ which functions as the syllable nucleus. Syllabic /m/ thus represents an entire syllable; this pattern is abbreviated as $ [m̩] $.

The fifth and last type of syllable patterns is the only closed syllable occurring in Kilivila. As described in 3.1.3. above, this syllable pattern may be abbreviated as $ CV [m] $; here C may be any consonant, V any vowel or one of the two diphthongs /ai/ or /ei/ in the Kilivila phoneme inventory; [m] is consonantal /m/, of course; it closes the syllable.

To sum up: Kilivila has the following five syllable patterns:

1.) $ CV $

    as in: **bala**

               ba-la

          CVCV$

          I will- go

          "I will go"

2.) $ V $

    as in: **ela**

               e-la

          VCV$

          he/she-go

          "he/ she goes"

3.) $ V [m] $
    or rather

$$ \$ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [a] \\ [u] \\ [ai] \end{array} \right\} \quad [m] \quad \$ $$

as in: **ambesa**
VmCVCV
"where"

bakium
 ba-kium
CVCVVm
I will-do secretly
"I will do secretly"

bikatupoiaimsi
 bi-katupoi-aim-si
CVCVCVCVVmCV$
they will-ask-you-PLURAL
"they will ask you"

(The last example is realized in the **biga besagala** variety of Kilivila; in **biga galawala** this expression is realized as **bikatu-poiamsi**.)

4.) $ [m̩] $

as in: **mse'u**
mCVV
"smoke"

5.) $ CV [m] $

as in: **kabitam**
CVCVCVm
"wisdom"

3.2.2. Phonotactics

Within word boundaries only we find some distributional limitations on phoneme sequences. These limitations affect phoneme distribution within the syllable and features marking word boundaries.

Table 3.3. tabulates the possible combinations (that is to say the combinations I found in analyzing my data) of phonemes within the $ CV $ syllable.

Limitations that affect phoneme sequences in the other four syllable patterns have been discussed already in subsection 3.2.1. above.

All syllable patterns may occur in word initial, word medial, and word final position. The syllable patterns $ CV $, $ CV [m] $, and $ V $ may occur in any sequence within word boundaries; we can find words with 8

or more $ CV $ type syllables, but there are no words with more than two $ CV [m] $ syllables in sequence.

With the exception of one variant of the demonstrative pronoun (see 4.3.5.; 4.4.),

mmmona
[m̩m̩mɔna]
  m-mmo-na
this-bundle-this
"this (bundle)",

syllabic /m/ only occurs once within a word.

The syllable pattern $ V [m] $ is fairly rare, indeed; it can only occur once in a word.

The co-occurrence restrictions of $ V $ V $ sequences and of $ (C)V $ V $ sequences within words are tabulated in Table 3.4.

Vocalic clusters are a quite common feature of Kilivila phonology.

Diphthong clusters are not so frequent in general. This is especially true for the **biga galawala** and **biga galanani** varieties of Kilivila. In **biga galawala** and **biga galanani** the cluster $ /ai/ $ /ai/ $ is most often realized as [aiɛ] or even as [aiyɛ].

Some examples for $ (C)V $ V $ sequences are:

laodila
CVVCVCV$
"bush, jungle"

isisiasi
VCVCVVCV
  i-sisia-si
they-stay-PLURAL
"they stay (in a place)"

ikatupoiaidasi
VCVCVCVVCVCV
  i-katupoiai-dasi
he-ask-us (PLURAL)
"he asks us"
(in **biga besagala** variety;
in **biga galawala** variety: **ikatupoidasi**).

$ C $ C $ clusters only occur when the first consonant is an /m/. /m/ can be followed by any other consonant except /v/. If such a sequence may occur as a result of morphological juncture, /v/ is substituted by /m/, as in **tommota** (= "people").

Table 3.3. Phoneme Sequences within the $ CV $ — Syllable

	/i/	/e/	/a/	/o/	/u/	/ai/	/au/	/ei/	/eu/	/oi/	/ou/
/p/	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+
/b/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
/t/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
/d/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
/k/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
/g/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
/s/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
/l/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
/n/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
/m/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+
/y/		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		*
/w/	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	*	+	+
/r/	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+
/v/	+	+	+			+	+	+			
/pw/	+	+	+			+	*	+	*		
/kw/	+	+	+			+	+	+		*	
/bw/	+	+	+			+	+	+	*		
/gw/	+	+	+			+	+	+			
/mw/	*	+	+			+	+	*			

* fairly rare

Table 3.4. $ (C)V $ V $ — Sequences within Words

first phoneme	second phoneme										
	/a/	/e/	/i/	/o/	/u/	/ai/	/au/	/ei/	/eu/	/oi/	/ou/
/a/		+	+	+	+			+		+	+
/e/	+		+	+	+						
/i/	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	
/o/	+	+	+	+	+	+					
/u/	+	+	+	+	+	+					
/ai/	+	+	+			+					
/au/			+			+	+				
/ei/	+	+	+	+	+						
/eu/						+					
/oi/		+				+					
/ou/	+				+	+					

Besides the restrictions affecting the five syllable types mentioned in 3.2.1., there is no limitation on consonants marking the beginning and the end of a word.

In word initial position all vowels and the diphthong /ei/ may occur. In word final position all vowels may occur. If the final syllable of a word has a voiceless consonant on the prenuclear margin, the final vowel is frequently reduced. /e/ and /o/ are rarely found in word final position, except when used in poetic and emphatic forms.

The smallest word is monosyllabic (like: e (= "yes")), the longest words seldom exceed 10 syllables (like:

bikatululuwaidasila
bi-katululuwai-dasi-la
he will-remind-us-EMPHASIS
"he will remind us, indeed").

3.3. Stress

Regular stress in Kilivila is on the penultimate syllable of the word. However, there are some cases where stress is on the final syllable and some cases where stress is on the antepenultimate syllable. Emphatic speech may change stress patterns.

The stress rules are as follows:

1.) Regular / penultimate stress
    If a word does not fit into the phonological or morphemic conditions which apply for the rules for stress on final syllable (2.) and for the rules for stress on antepenultimate syllable (3.), then stress for this word is on penultimate syllable.
    Examples following this stress rule are:

waga	['waga]	"canoe"
vivila	[vi'vila]	"girl"
bobwelila	[bɔbʷɛ'lila]	"gift"

When the final syllable of a word has a voiceless consonant preceding the vowel, then this vowel is frequently reduced. Thus the final syllable of a word with penultimate stress is weakened.

2.) Stress on final syllable
    When the final syllable of a word either has the syllable pattern $ CV [m] $ or has a diphthongal nucleus, then stress for this word is on the final syllable.
    Examples following this stress rule are:

bakam [ba'kam]

   ba-kam
I will-eat
"I will eat"

kukatupoi [kʊkatʊ'pɔi]
   ku-katupoi
you-ask
"you ask"

3.) Stress on antepenultimate syllable
   If a word terminates with the syllables
   ... \$ CV \$ CV$_1$ \$ CV$_2$ \$,

   V$_1$ being either /i/ or /u/,

and

   V$_2$ being /a/,

and if there is no morpheme boundary within these last three syllables of the word, then stress for this word is on the antepenultimate syllable. Examples following this stress rule are:

lamina	['lamina]	"outrigger"
luguta	['luguta]	"(type of) yams"

but:

luguta   [lu'guta]
   lu-gu-ta
sister-my-sister
"my sister (male speaker)"

If a word terminates with the syllables
... \$ CV \$ C$_1$V$_1$ \$ C$_2$V$_2$ \$,
C$_1$ being /k/,
V$_1$ being /a/,
C$_2$ being either /l/ or /n/, and
V$_2$ being /a/,
and if there is no morpheme boundary within these last three syllables of the word, then stress for this word is on the antepenultimate syllable. Examples for this stress rule are:

marakana	[ma'Rakana]	"red, red color"
pokala	['pɔkala]	"tribute, tax"

but:

dakala   [da'kala]
   daka-la
dryness-its
"its dryness"

4.) Stress in emphatic speech
   In emphatic speech stress may move back one syllable in words which normally have stress on final or penultimate syllable. In emphatic speech, the word final vowel may also be elongated and may get secondary stress as in:

inaguuuu   [i'na₍guː]
    ina-gu
mother-my
"Oh my mother!"
(see 5.3.1.4.).

5.) Secondary Stress
Secondary stress in general is only used as a means to mark morpheme structure within longer words or expressions, or as a means to emphasize reduplications within words.
An example with secondary stress is:

ikatumigilegu   [i₍katʊ₍migi'lɛgʊ]
  i-katu-migile-gu
he-cause-clean-me
"he cleans me (with something)".

4. Parts of Speech —
Inflectional Morphology

This chapter describes the parts of speech in Kilivila and discusses — where necessary — aspects of inflectional morphology. I have omitted (almost) all consideration of derivational morphology. As stated in chapter 1, the linguistic description tries more or less to follow the principles and categories of so-called "traditional school grammar" (Haugen 1976: 18). This does not imply, however, that results of modern linguistic theory are ignored, nor that its very often more precise tools for describing syntactic phenomena are not used, if necessary.

The following sections (4.1.–4.11.) distinguish mainly word classes of Kilivila. The leading principle in doing so is a syntactic one, but morphological and semantic features are taken into account, too. This chapter of the grammar describes first the verb and the construction of the verbal expression (4.1.), then the noun (4.2.), the pronouns (4.3.), then not a word class, but a very specific phenomenon of Kilivila morphology, the "classificatory particles" (4.4.), then numerals (4.5.), adjectives (4.6.), adverbs (4.7.), prepositions (4.8.), connectives (4.9.), negation (4.10) and finally particles and interjections (4.11.). Pronouns, numerals, particles and interjections, and negation are presented as word classes of their own, although they are not word classes proper from a syntactic point of view, but fulfill several syntactic functions.

It goes without saying that the writing of any grammar has to face the fact that it is impossible to describe all linguistic phenomena in the most detailed and adequate way. Decisions on how to classify certain linguistic phenomena have to be made, and the grammarian must realize that with his grammatical description he is often forced to act in a way with language like Procrustes offering his guests his rather uncomfortable bed. The following sections and chapter 5 document the classificatory decisions that were made here, keeping in mind all the risks that go with any classification of this kind (see 1.).

4.1. The Verb

Kilivila is a language that uses its verbs extensively — thereby often constructing verb clusters and compounds for transmitting as much exactness and information as possible. To give an example: It would be quite usual to answer the request:

Magigu yokwa kupilasegu
magi-gu **yokwa** **ku-pilase-gu**
wish-my   you   you-help-me
"I would like you to help me."

with the sentence:

Igau bama bagisi bapilasem
igau   **ba-ma**   **ba-gisi**   **ba-pilase-m**
later I will-come I will-see I will-help -you
"I will come later, look at it and help you."

But before we have a closer look at phenomena like this, we first have to look at the morphology of the verb.

Kilivila morphology in general is highly synthetic. With the verb we find the following morphological features:

The stem of the verb is invariable. It is never realized in this form as a verb in actual production, but it is produced in combination with certain affixes that indicate its subject, aspect and tense, number, and — with some verbs only — also its object.

Moreover it is possible to differentiate in a very minute analysis of Kilivila verbs between the verb stem proper and other affixed formatives that indicate or at least give cues to aspects of context, quality, state, condition, orientation, intensity, duration etc. of actions.

The verb stem can also be reduplicated, like

-boku-
"cough"
and
-bukuboku-
"coughing always, coughing all the time";

it then indicates an action in progress or the plurality or repetitiveness of an action.

We can also differentiate between simple forms of the verb stem like

-la-
"go (away from here)"

-wa-
"go (away to there)"
-ma-
"come (to here)",

complex forms of the verb stem like

-biyagila-
"draw, move (from: **-bia-**
                              "pull out"
                              -gila-
                              "pluck")",

verb stems that consist of the verb root plus an adjective, or a noun, or a classifier, etc., like

-kulubweyani-
"become bright red (from: **-kulu-**
                                         "become intense"
                                         bweyani
                                         "red")"

-tumapola-
"give assent (from: **-tama-**
                                "say yes"
                                pola
                                "his/her eyebrows")"

-pilibodi-
"enclose (from: **pili-**
                           "part of"
                           -bodi-
                           "hinder, close")"

etc.

However, this detailed differentiation is not done in this grammar. Here the term "verb stem" is used in such a way that it encompasses all the formatives, the reduplicated forms of the verb stem, and the verb stem proper.

The way of constructing the verbal expression in Kilivila is shown in the following subsection.

4.1.1. The Construction of the Verbal Expression

As indicated above, a verbal expression, in its "most general form", consists of a subject-prefix, the verb stem proper, and a marker for number. The

following example shows the conjugation paradigm of the verb stem
-paisewa- (= "to work") in this "most general form":

Person	Subject-prefix	Verb stem	Number-marker
1.Ps.Sg.	**a** —	**paisewa**	
	I	work	
2.Ps.Sg.	**ku** —	**paisewa**	
	you	work	
3.Ps.Sg.	**i** —	**paisewa**	
	he/she	works	
Dual incl.	**ta** —	**paisewa**	
	we two	work	
Dual excl.	**ka** —	**paisewa**	
	we two	work	
1.Ps.Pl.incl.	**ta** —	**paisewa** —	**si**
	we	work	
1.Ps.Pl.excl.	**ka** —	**paisewa** —	**si**
	we	work	
2.Ps.Pl.	**ku** —	**paisewa** —	**si**
	you	work	
3.Ps.Pl.	**i** —	**paisewa** —	**si**
	they	work	

In this example the subject-prefixes and the number-markers are hyphe-
nated with the verb stem to illustrate the paradigmatic principle more clearly.
In general, however, this grammar proposes not to indicate the morpheme
boundaries between the constituents of the verbal expression by a separating
form of writing, but to represent them as one unit in orthographic writing.

The paradigm of the verbal expression represented here shows the follow-
ing most prominent morphological traits: There are five different subject-
prefixes, **a-, ku-, i-, ta-,** and **ka-**. These subject-prefixes can be classified as
personal-pronominal-prefixes. In the singular, they are prefixed to the verb
stem, thus building one unit. There is no morpheme indicating singular —
or, to put it differently, singular is indicated by a zero-morpheme; thus, for
illustration, we could also write **a-paisewa-Ø** etc. for all the singular persons,
using **Ø** as the zero morpheme indicator.

Plural, on the other hand, is marked by the plural morpheme **-si**, suffixed
to the verb stem with the prefixed subject-affix, thus building one unit.

There is no differentiation of gender in 3rd person singular; a differentia-
tion between male/female persons, however, can be made with the help of
demonstrative pronouns (see 4.3.5.).

A characteristic feature of Kilivila is its differentiation of both dual inclusive and exclusive and 1st person plural inclusive and exclusive. With the verbal expression **tapaisewa** the speaker includes the hearer, thus expressing: "I and you, we two work"; with **tapaisewasi** the speaker includes the hearer(s) and others, expressing: "we work"; producing the exclusive dual form **kapaisewa** the speaker excludes the hearer, expressing the concept: "we two work — and not you"; the exclusive 1st person plural **kapaisewasi** excludes the hearer only, thus expressing: "we work — but not you as the hearer(s)".

There remains one more feature to mention in connection with the dual inclusive. This syntactic device is not only used to express the concept of "I and you, we two", but it is also employed as a defocusing, impersonalizing and impersonalized device in a stylistically quite sophisticated language usage (see 4.3.2.; 6.1.); to give an example:
the verbal phrase

> **talivala sena gaga**
>   **ta-livala**   **sena gaga**
> we two-say   very   bad

can be translated either as "we two, I and you, say it is very bad" or as "one says it is very bad; it is said to be very bad", depending on the context of the utterance.

The verb stem in the example cited above remains invariable. Here the verb stem can also function as a noun: **paisewa** also means "work". There are a lot of nouns that can also function as verbs when put in the verb stem slot of the verbal expression paradigm (see 4.2.). This morphological device for word formation of the verbal expression holds for almost any word stem, even word stems with nominal formatives like classificatory particles (see 4.4.). To give an example:

> **naveaka vivila**
>   **na-veaka vivila**
> female-fat   girl
> "fat girl"

> **minana bogwa binaveaka**
>   **mi-na-na**   **bogwa**   **bi-na-veaka**
> this-female-this already she will-female-fat
> "She will soon get fat".

There are, however, certain verb stem forms whose final vowel alternates in plural forms within the paradigm of the verbal expression. This vowel alternation may be due to assimilation phenomena; however, the changes that take place in Kilivila seem to be largely idiosyncratic. Thus we find:

kula	and	**kulosi**
ku-la-Ø		**ku-lo-si**
you-go-(Sg.)		you-go-Plural

kulivala	and	**kulivalisi**
ku-livala-Ø		**ku-livali-si**
you-say-(Sg.)		you-say-Plural

kuma	and	**kumesi**
ku-ma-Ø		**ku-me-si**
you-come-(Sg.)		you-come-Plural

agisi	and	**tagisesi**
a-gisi-Ø		**ta-gise-si**
I-see-(Sg.)		we-see-Plural
		(incl.);

but also:

kugini	and	**kuginisi**
ku-gini-Ø		**ku-gini-si**
you-write-(Sg.)		you-write-Plural.

I have not been able to work out the precise details of these processes of vowel alternation. If there is vowel alternation in verb stems, this alternation is indicated with the respective lexical entry in the dictionary.

Finally, there is another feature of the construction of the verbal expression that has to be discussed in the context of this subsection: With some verb stems it is possible to incorporate the object directly into the verbal expression, if the object is referred to by a pronoun. This is done by suffixing set IV possessive pronouns of 1st and 2nd person and of dual (see 4.3.2.) directly to the verb stem; in the plural, the plural marker is then suffixed to this verbal expression.

Possible constructions of these verbal expressions are summarized in the table below:

Here, too, we find vowel alternation affecting the final vowel of a verb stem. There is a tendency of dissimilation, where the verb final vowel /i/ alternates to /e/; however, this tendency seems to be rather idiosyncratic, too. This kind of vowel alternation in these verb forms is indicated with the lexical entry in the dictionary, as well.

Rule	Person — verb stem	—	object (poss.pro. set IV)	—	plural suffix
1a	1.Ps. (Sg.) or Dual — verb stem	—	2.Ps.Sg or 2.Ps.Pl	—	—
1b	1.Ps. (Pl.) — verb stem	—	2.Ps.Sg. or 2.Ps.Pl.	—	si
2a	2.Ps. (Sg.) — verb stem	—	1.Ps.Sg. 1.Ps.Pl. Dual	—	—
2b	2.Ps. (Pl.) — verb stem	—	1.Ps.Sg. 1.Ps.Pl. Dual	—	si
3a	3.Ps. (Sg.) — verb stem	—	1.Ps.Sg. 1.Ps.Pl. 2.Ps.Sg. 2.Ps.Pl. Dual	—	—
3b	3.Ps. (Pl.) — verb stem	—	1.Ps.Sg. 1.Ps.Pl. 2.Ps.Sg. 2.Ps.Pl. Dual	—	si

To give some examples, again in morpheme-hyphenating notation:

ayobwelim
a-yobweli-m   (Rule 1a)
I-love -you
"I love you"

kuyobweligu
  ku-yobweli-gu   (Rule 2a)
you-love -me
"you love me"

igisem
     i-gise-m   (Rule 3a)
he/she-see-you
"he/she sees you"

tagovimi
  ta-govi-mi   (Rule 1a)
we-scorn-you (Pl.)
(Dual incl.)
"we scorn you"

kapilasem
ka-pilase-m (Rule 1a)
we-help-you (Sg.)
(Dual excl.)
"we help you"

tayamatemisi
  ta-yamate-mi-si (Rule 1b)
we-look after-you-(Pl.)
(incl.)
"we look after you"

kakalubelimsi
ka-kalubeli-m-si (Rule 1b)
we-make friends with-you (Sg.)-(Pl.)
(excl.)
"we make friends with you"

kulukwedasisi
  ku-lukwe-dasi-si (Rule 2b)
you-tell-us (1.Ps.Pl. incl.)-(Pl.)
"you tell us"

ibwadegusi
  i-bwade-gu-si (Rule 3b)
they-meet-me-(Pl.)
"They meet me"

There is one form with these constructions of verbal expressions that incorporates an indirect object using a suffix to express the concept "all of them"; this suffix -simia does not belong to set IV of possessive pronouns in Kilivila; it is also suffixed after the plural indicating affix -si-. To give an example:

kusakesisimia
  ku-sake-si-simia
you-give-Pl.-all of them
"you give all of them"

Kusakesisimia tobaki!
"You give all of them tobacco!"
"You give tobacco to all of them!"

4.1.2. Marking Aspect and Tense

The preceding subsection shows that subject-prefixes, being personal-pro-nominal-prefixes, are prefixed to the verb stem to construct the verbal expression. Now, Kilivila uses a system of four distinctive series of subject- or personal-pronominal-prefixes (see 4.3.1.) to indicate aspect and tense of the verbal expression. The following table shows this system, giving both the subject-prefixes and the plural markers, but leaving the "slot" for the verb stem empty; it also displays another characteristic feature of the language: there are no auxiliaries and there is no equivalent of the verb "to be" in copulative function — and thus no copula — in Kilivila.

	1	2	3	4
1.Ps.Sg.	a-	ba-	la-	ma-
2.Ps.Sg.	ku-	buku-	luku-	muku-
3.Ps.Sg.	i-/e-	bi-	le-	me-
Dual incl.	ta-	bita-	lata-	mata-
Dual excl.	ka-	baka-	laka-	maka-
1.Ps.Pl.incl.	ta- -si	bata- -si	lata- -si	mata- -si
1.Ps.Pl.excl.	ka- -si	baka- -si	laka- -si	maka- -si
2.Ps.Pl.	ku- -si	buku- -si	luku- -si	muku- -si
3.Ps.Pl.	i- -si	bi- -si	le- -si	me- -si
	e- -si			

The first series (1) of subject-prefixes is neutral, tenseless, and aspectless — that is why the example given in 4.1.1. was called the verbal expression in its "most general form". The subject-prefix for third person is facultatively i- or e-; the production of either e- or i- does not imply any kind of semantic differentiation of the verbal expression. Thus we find:

esisiu	and	**isisu**
e-sisu		**i-sisu**
he/she-lives		he/she-lives

esisusi	and	**isisusi**
e-sisu-si		**i-sisu-si**
they-live-Pl.		they-live-Pl.

The second series (2) expresses the concept of an incompletive action. This action may happen in the future, or may have happened in the past,

it may have been expected to happen in the past — though it did not happen, or it may be part of a hypothetical event. Thus a part of the semantics of this series also covers the concept of expressing a statement as irrealis. A verbal expression that uses subject prefixes of series (2) like

bipaisewa

can be translated as:
"he would work",
"he should work",
"he could work",
"he can work",
"he may work",
"he will work".

The third series (3) expresses the concept of a completed action. This series has quite clear references to past time; it is affirmative or emphatic. A verbal expression that uses subject-prefixes of series (3) like

lepaisewa

can be translated as:
"he worked",
"he has worked".

There are some cases — that seem to be context dependent — where verbal expressions using subject-prefixes of series (3) can also be translated into English with progressive present tense, thus:

bogwa lemasi
can be translated either as:
> **bogwa   le-ma-si**
> already they-come-Pl.
> "they came already"

or as:
> "they are coming already".

The fourth series (4) expresses the concept of an habitual action; however, it can also indicate optative or irrealis. This series is rather archaic and hardly ever used in ordinary everyday language production; if used, it can be interpreted as an indicator of either poetic or humorous style. To give an example:

mepaisewa
can be translated as:
> "(oh), he may work".

With these four series it becomes obvious that they distinguish much more aspect than tense; however, a kind of "compensation" for the lack of a more elaborate system of tenses is given adverbially (see 4.7.).

Considering these four series according to their frequency in actual speech, it can be stated that the first (1), second (2), and third (3) series are the essential framework of the construction of the verbal expression.

There remains one more morphological feature this subsection has to deal with, namely the fact that the morpheme /o/ can be prefixed to the second person in these series of verbal expressions. The function of this morpheme is twofold: it is either a stylistic means employed to achieve a more elegant rhythm of speech, or it is used to indicate remoter relationship, however in an affirmative sense, thus functioning as a kind of assertion particle — expressing a concept like:
"this/that you did indeed".
To give an example:

> **Yokwa okuweya Dokonikani**
> **yokwa**   **o-ku-weya**   **Dokonikani**
> you   indeed-you-hit   Dokonikani
> "You indeed hit Dokonikani".

There are two emphasizing suffixes **-la** and **-ga** that may be suffixed to the verbal expression; however, they can also be suffixed to any word in any part of a Kilivila sentence, therefore they are not dealt with here but in subsection 5.3.1.4. in the chapter on syntax.

4.1.3. Voice

There is no passive voice in Kilivila. A more or less bilingual speaker of Kilivila and English will translate English sentences written or spoken in passive voice by transforming the concept of passive into the corresponding active voice. To give some examples:

> "his foot was hurt by a stone"

becomes:

> **dakuna iwai kaikela**
> **dakuna**   **i-wai**   **kaike-la**
> stone   it-hit   foot-his
> "The stone hit his foot";

> "his eye was injured by a branch"

becomes:

> **kai ibasi matala**
> **kai   i-basi   mata-la**
> branch   it-picked   eye-his
> "A branch picked his eye";

"the pig was eaten"

becomes:

> **lekamkwamsi bunukwa**
>   **le-kamkwam-si   bunukwa**
> they-eat-Pl.   pig
> "They ate the pig";

"I was impressed by his speech"

becomes:

> **mtona la biga itutu nanogu**
>   **m-to-na**   **la   biga   i-tutu   nano-gu**
> this-male-this   his   speech   he-hit   mind-my
> "His speech hit my mind".

4.1.4. Tandem Pattern of Verbal Expressions

Within the scope of this grammar there remains one more feature that has to be described in connection with the verb in Kilivila, the so-called "tandem pattern" (Baldwin: n.d., § 138) of verbal expressions. As stated in the beginning of this section on the verb (4.1.), Kilivila gives a characteristic display of verb clusters and compounds that transmit as much exactness and information as possible. Most of these clusters consist of two verbal expressions, thus building a "tandem pattern".

To give some examples:
A highly idiomatic answer to a question like:

> **ambe minana?**
> **ambe   mi-na-na**
> where   this-female-this
> "Where is she?"

is, in an appropriate context, of course,

> **ivai isiva**
>   **i-vai**   **i-siva**
> she-marries   she-lives elsewhere
> "She has married and lives elsewhere".

The imperative expression:

> **kuma!**
> **ku-ma**
> you-come
> "Come!"

can be answered in the following way:

> **bala bama**
> **ba-la   ba-ma**
> I will-go   I will-come
> "I will go and come (to you)".

An idiomatic and polite way of saying "good bye" also uses this tandem pattern of verbal expressions: a well educated Trobriander will say:

> **kusisusi bala**
> **ku-sisu-si   ba-la**
> you-stay-Pl.   I will-go
> "You stay, I go"

before he leaves someone.

Other very idiomatic expressions using this pattern are:

> **bala bakakaya**
> **ba-la   ba-kakaya**
> I will-go   I will-bath
> "I will take a bath"

> **bala bamasisi**
> **ba-la   ba-masisi**
> I will-go   I will-sleep
> "I will go to bed"

> **bala bakenu**
> **ba-la   ba-kenu**
> I will-go   I will-lie down
> "I will go and have a rest"

> **ilosi ibanisi**
> **i-lo-si   i-bani-si**
> they-go-Pl.   they-fish-Pl.
> "they go out fishing"

kuma kugisi dadodiga
  ku-ma   **ku-gisi**   **dadodiga**
  you-come   you-see filling of the yam-houses
"come to see the filling of the yam-houses"

ema egimwali tokwalu
  e-ma   **e-gimwali**   **tokwalu**
  he-comes he-bargains for carvings
"he came to sell carvings"

ekebiga elivala makala
  e-kebiga e-livala   **makala**
  he-tells he-speaks   like
"he said this"

All these examples present verbal expressions in sequence that are constructed with subject-prefixes of the same prefix-series. They express a simple sequence of two actions.

If a speaker wants to emphasize one component of a statement of intention by a tandem pattern of verbal expression, he produces the first verb using subject prefixes of series (2) and the second verb using subject-prefixes of series (1); there must be subject agreement with the subject-prefixes of the first and the second verb. Thus

bala abani yena
    ba-la   **a-bani**   **yena**
  I will-go I-fish (with a hook) fish
"I will go angling"

is a statement of intention with the emphasis on "angling" as the action that is in the speaker's focus of attention.

If a speaker wants to express a past intention — that usually remains unfulfilled — by a tandem pattern of verbal expression, he produces the first verb using subject-prefixes of series (1) and the second verb using subject-prefixes of series (2); there must be subject agreement with the subject-prefixes of the first and the second verb. Thus,

adoki bapaisewa Alotu
  a-doki   **ba-paisewa**   **Alotu**
  I-think   I would-work   Alotau
I thought that I would work in Alotau"

means that the speaker had the intention to go to Alotau, the capital of Milne Bay Province, and get some work there — some months ago, but that he did not do it.

These examples should suffice here; they show that the use of verbal expressions in a tandem pattern are not only a special stylistic and highly idiomatic device in Kilivila, but are also employed to express the meaning of a certain phrase in as exact and informative a way as possible. If a speaker finds it necessary to be even more exact, he can extend the pattern of verbal expressions, of course; actually, Trobriand Islanders quite often insist on an utmost precision with which they place events they speak about in temporal sequence, including all of the links in a certain chain of events — strictly as they occurred; however, this tandem pattern most often suffices to express the speaker's intentions.

4.2. The Noun

Kilivila nouns have the following characteristic features:
Many noun stems, not all, can be verbalized either by being put into the
   "slot" of the verb stem in the verbal expression — e.g.:

> **bagula**
> garden
> **ebagulasi**
>   **e-bagula-si**
> they-garden-Pl.
> "they are gardening"
>
> **guyau**
> chief
> **kuguyau**
>   **ku-guyau**
> you-chief
> "you become chief" —

or by being connected with another verb stem, thus building up a new semantic concept — e.g.:

> **dakuna**
> stone
> **-mili-**
> to change (verb stem)
> **imilidakunasi**
>   **i-milidakuna-si**
> they-changed into a stone-Pl.
> "they changed into a stone".

There is no morphological case-marking.

Nouns are not marked according to sex of the referent.

All nouns are divided, classified, or subcategorized into a complex noun-class system.

All nouns can, some even must express degrees of possession.

In general, nouns are not marked in respect to number; however, there are some exceptions to this general rule.

As stated in 1. and in 4.1., this grammar explicitly excludes detailed analyses of word formation in Kilivila because of the enormous complexity of the morphological processes involved. Therefore, the following paragraphs of this section will deal with the last three above mentioned noun features that need some comment, only.

4.2.1. Noun-Classification

All nouns in Kilivila are classified according to specific perceptual properties; most have to do with form, number, arrangement, or function, some have to do with time or with activities. This system of noun classification is an important means of word formation with demonstratives, — with one form of interrogative pronouns —, adjectives, and numerals: these word classes require concord with the class of the noun they refer to. This concord is secured by a special class of formatives, the "nominal classifiers" or "classificatory particles", that represent the system of noun classification. Section 4.4. deals with these formatives, presenting these classifiers and describing them in their function as morphological manifestations of the noun-classification system (see also 4.3.5., 4.5., 4.6., also 4.3.4. and 5.1.).

4.2.2. Nouns and Possession

In connection with nouns, degrees of possession are expressed by possessive pronouns — either by affixes or by separate words — that are combined with the noun, thus forming a noun phrase. The subsection on possessive pronouns deals with these different degrees of possession (4.3.2.). In the context of this subsection it is necessary to emphasize the fact that Kilivila distinguishes between nouns that may express this degree of possession — that is to say, nouns that have a facultative rule for constructing a noun phrase with possessive pronoun and noun as its constituents — and nouns that — with the exception of only a few vocative forms — cannot be used in actual speech production without these possession indicating pronouns — that is to say, nouns that — with the exception of these vocative forms — are obligatorily realized as noun phrases consisting of a noun and a possessive pronoun as its constituents.

This second class of nouns encompasses all relationship/kinship terms. The exceptions to this general rule are the vocatives like

ina!
"Mother!"

tama!
"Father!"

bwada!
"Younger brother / sister!"

so!
"Mate!"

(see 6.2.). However, all these vocatives are shortened forms of the noun phrase consisting of the noun and the 1st person of the possessive pronoun, and they can be interpreted as elliptic forms of noun phrases following the general rule for relationship/kinship nouns.

It also encompasses the nominal forms that express:

"wish, want"
magi-

"preference, love"
mbweli-

"coming from, man/woman of"
tone-
tole-
vile-

(see also 4.3.3.).

Moreover, most of the nouns describing parts of the human body and some of its activities that express meanings derived from these parts and activities have to be realized together with the respective possessive pronouns. To give some examples:

kaikegu	but:	**agu pikweta**
kaike-gu		"my upper thigh"
leg-my		(facultative possessive
"my leg"		pronoun)
matagu	but:	**agu pola**
mata-gu		"my eyebrows"
eye-my		(facultative possessive
"my eye"		pronoun)

imama vovola
i-mama   vovo-la .
it-weak   body-his/her
"it gets weak, his/her body"

imwana vovogu
i-mwana   vovo-gu
it-happy   body-my
"It is happy, my body; I feel fine"

itaboda nanogu
i-taboda   nano-gu
it-blocks   mind-my
"it blocks my mind; my mind is blocked; I feel stultified"

itutu nanogu
i-tutu   nano-gu
it-hammers   mind-my
"I am impressed"

This grammatical distinction becomes important when dealing with the lexicon of Kilivila.

4.2.3. Number

As stated above (4.2.), almost all nouns in Kilivila are not morphologically marked in respect to number. This information is given by other word classes that refer to the noun in the context of an utterance.

There are a few exceptions to this general rule, where plural is marked morphologically — most often by partial reduplication. To give the examples found (see also 6.2.):

Singular	Plural
tau	**tauwau**
"man"	"men"
gwadi	**gugwadi**
"child"	"children"
guyau	**gweguyau**
"chief"	"chiefs"
namwaya	**nunumwaya**
"old woman"	"old women"
tomwaya	**tommwaya**
"old man"	"old men"

Singular	Plural
kwava	**kukwava**
"wife"	"wives"
so	**sogwe**
"mate"	"mates"
tuwagu	**tuwagwe**
"my older brother/sister"	"my older brothers/sisters"
bwadagu	**bwadagwe**
"my younger brother/sister"	"my younger brothers/sisters"
sogu	**segwaya**
"my partner"	"my partners"
boda	**budagwe**
"brother; guy"	"brothers; guys"
lubegu	**lubegwe**
"my friend"	"my friends"

4.3. Pronouns

This section deals with personal, possessive, emphatic, interrogative, demonstrative, and relative pronouns in Kilivila.

4.3.1. Personal Pronouns

Subsection 4.1.1. and especially subsection 4.1.2. display the paradigm of subject- or personal-pronominal prefixes that are used to build up the verbal expression. These are the subject pronouns for ordinary use. Besides this four-fold series of personal-pronominal prefixes — which need not be given here again — there is another form of the personal pronouns that is most often used to express emphasis, but that can also function as relative pronouns (see 4.3.6.).

This second form of personal pronouns can be called "full form" or "free form", because these pronouns are not affixes but separate words. The following list shows this second form of the personal pronouns in detail:

1.Ps.Sg.	**yegu**	"I"
2.Ps.Sg.	**yokwa**	"you"
	(also: **yoku**)	

3.Ps.Sg.	**mtona**	"he"
	(also: **mtovena**)	
	minana	"she"
	(also: **minavena**)	
Dual incl.	**yakida**	"we (two)"
Dual excl.	**yakama**	"we (two)"
1.Ps.Pl. incl.	**yakidasi**	"we"
1.Ps.Pl. excl.	**yakamesi**	"we"
2.Ps.Pl.	**yokwami**	"you"
3.Ps.Pl.	**mtosina**	"they"
	minasina	

It should be noted that the pronouns of the 3rd person singular and plural actually are demonstrative pronouns (see 4.3.5.), and that the two forms **mtovena** and **minavena** are hardly produced in actual speech. The rule for using the form of the 3rd person to distinguish the sex of the referent will be given in section 4.4. The form of the 2nd person singular given in brackets seems to be a regional variant that is nevertheless heard all over the Trobriand Islands either in very fast speech or in poetic varieties of Kilivila that are e.g. produced in songs or tales.

It was said above that these forms of the personal pronouns in Kilivila are used to express emphasis. The following example will show this use of the "free form" of the pronoun: One can say:

banukwali biga Tauwema
ba-nukwali   **biga**   **Tauwema**
  I-learn   language Tauwema
"I learn the language of Tauwema".

However, if this sentence is produced with the free form of the personal pronoun put in front of the verbal expression:

yegu banukwali biga Tauwema

it conveys the following meaning:

"I — that is: I am the one, and not you, or anyone else —, I learn the language of Tauwema."

4.3.2. Possessive Pronouns

There is a fourfold series of possessive pronouns in Kilivila, which is partly realized as free possessive-pronominal-pronoun forms and partly realized as

possessive-pronominal-affixes. One of these series is only produced in a specific semantic context, referring to food only, the other three series are used to distinguish different degrees of possession.

The following lists give these series in detail. The first series consists of "free forms" of possessive pronouns that are only produced in connection with food:

possessive pronouns I:

1.Ps.Sg.	**kagu**	"my"
2.Ps.Sg.	**kam**	"your"
3.Ps.Sg.	**kala**	"his/her"
Dual incl.	**kada**	"our"
Dual excl.	**kama**	"our"
1.Ps.Pl.incl.	**kadasi**	"our"
1.Ps.Pl.excl.	**kamasi**	"our"
2.Ps.Pl.	**kami**	"your"
3.Ps.Pl.	**kasi**	"their"

In some contexts it is possible to produce this series of possessive pronouns without the noun in an elliptic nominal phrase: Instead of saying:

> **ikumli inala kala kaula ivinaku**
> **i-kumli**   **ina-la**   **kala kaula i-vinaku**
> she-make an earth oven mother-his   his   food it-finish
>   (her)   (her)
> "His (her) mother has finished cooking his (her) food in an earth oven"

it is quite idiomatic to say for instance:

> **ikumli inala kala ivinaku**
> **i-kumli**   **ina-la**   **kala (∅)   i-vinaku**
> she-make an earth oven mother-his   his   ((food!)) it-finish
>   (her)   (her)
> "His (her) mother has finished cooking his (her) food in an earth oven"

Thus it seems that this series of possessive pronouns is taking over more and more nominal function that is generally expressed by the "complete" noun phrase, consisting of both possessive pronoun and noun, only.

With this series of possessive pronouns it is also possible to split the form for both 1st person plural inclusive and exclusive and affix the split parts to a noun: to give an example: