

## Grammaticalisation of Body-Part Terms in Kilivila

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Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders, is one of 40 Austronesian languages spoken in Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. A number of locatives in Kilivila are apparently the result of grammaticalization processes<sup>1</sup> that occur in many languages (especially Oceanic and African languages) affecting body-part terms. The grammaticalisation processes affect the preposition *o* plus a body-part term that consists of a noun with an obligatory possessive pronominal suffix. There are four sets of possessive pronouns in Kilivila, some of which are realised as free pronominal forms and others of which are realised as pronominal affixes. The set of affixes that are suffixed to most of the body-part terms indicate an intimate degree of possession. I refer to this set of pronouns as 'possessive pronouns IV' (PP IV). The following prepositions based on body-part terms are found in Kilivila:

<i>odabala</i>	'on, on top of' (cf. <i>daba-</i> 'head, forehead, brain')
<i>okopo'ula</i>	'behind, back, behind him/her' (cf. <i>kapo'u-</i> 'back')
<i>olopola</i>	'in, inside of' (cf. <i>lopo-</i> 'belly, windpipe, innards')
<i>omatata</i>	'in front of, before, before him/her' (cf. <i>mata-</i> 'eye')
<i>ovadola</i>	'on, on top of, on the surface of, at the mouth (opening) of' (cf. <i>vado-</i> 'mouth')
<i>okanivala</i>	'at the side of (a person only)' (cf. <i>kaniva-</i> 'hip')
<i>okepapala</i>	'near, close by, beside, at the side of' (cf. <i>kepapala-</i> 'side, flank')

In addition to these prepositions, we also find the following grammaticalised forms:

<i>okakata</i>	'on the left hand side' (cf. <i>kakata</i> 'left, left hand side')
<i>okikivama</i>	'on the right hand side' (cf. <i>kikivama</i> 'right, right hand side')

With these expressions we are confronted with a complex problem of syntactic classification, which I mentioned in my Kilivila grammar (Senft 1986:90ff). In particular, while most

<sup>1</sup> At the moment, it seems, we can observe the revival of the classic concept of 'grammaticalisation' in linguistics (cf. Heine et al 1991, Traugott and Heine 1991). Von Humboldt (1922:51f.) gives credit for the concept to the British scientist Home Took in his discussion of what we now call the grammaticalisation of words referring to 'real objects' into prepositions. The term grammaticalisation was first coined by Meillet (1912) but, as Bowden (1991:13ff.) emphasizes, it is with Kurylowicz (1965) that modern interest in the subject began. Meillet claimed lexical morphemes could develop into grammatical morphemes. Kurylowicz (1965:52) defined the concept of grammaticalisation as follows: '[Grammaticalisation]...consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status.'

of the expressions listed above were classified as 'prepositions', they can also function as adverbs of place. On the other hand, many Kilivila adverbs of place, for example *olakeva* 'on top of, above, up, in the sky, over', also as prepositions, depending on their specific function in the sentence.

Moreover, expressions like *omatala* 'in front of (his/her eyes)', *ovadola* 'on, on top of, on the surface of, at the mouth (opening) of (her/him)' and so on can also be classified syntactically as local adverbials consisting of a prepositional phrase with the preposition *o* 'in, into' and the noun *mata-la* 'eye, her/his eye' and *vado-la* 'mouth, her/his mouth'. An example of this with *o lopo-la* 'in her/his stomach' is given in (1).

- 1) *Gidageda o lopo-la sena gaga.*  
 pain in stomach-her/his very bad  
 'Pain in one's stomach is very bad/Stomach pain is very bad.'

All the constructions with the third person singular possessive suffix *-la* have three meanings. For example, *omatala* has the neutral meaning 'in front (of) before', and the referential function 'in front of her/him', as well as the meaning as a prepositional phrase *o matala* 'in her/his eyes'. Constructions with other suffixes do not have the neutral meaning. For example, *omatagu* has the referential function 'in front of me' (and *o matagu* means 'in my eyes'), but not the neutral meaning.

It seems that these variants shed some light on the stages of the grammaticalization processes. I hypothesize that the prepositional phrase *o mata-la* 'in her/his eyes' was first grammaticalized into the expression *omata-la* 'in front of her/him' (referential function), which was then grammaticalized into the preposition/local adverb *omatala* 'in front (of), before' (neutral meaning).

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