Spatial Reference in Kilivila: 
The Tinkertoy Matching Games–A Case Study*

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1 Introduction

"Imagine yourself suddenly transported on to a coral atoll in the Pacific" (Malinowski 1936: 300). Let us assume further that you are confronted by someone from the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group who was asked to elicit some speech data using the kit the members of this group developed for their ‘space’ research program (Levinson 1992). What would you do if this researcher asked you to describe to someone you cannot see how to build the object presented in Figure 1?

In this paper I would like to present what my informants on the Trobriand Islands did in exactly such a situation. However, before I describe and discuss how the Trobriand Islanders structured these descriptions and what verbal means and strategies they used in such a matching game situation, I would first like to briefly introduce the Trobriand Islanders and their language and then to describe the session and the task given for this matching game.

2 Kilivila and its Speakers

Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders, is one of 40 Austronesian languages spoken in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. It is an agglutinative language with a general word order of VOS (Senft 1986). It is classified as a member of the ‘Papuan Tip Cluster’ and the Kilivila language family (Ross 1988:25). The Kilivila language family includes

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4 What the Informants Did

In this section of the paper I would like to do two things: First, I will briefly describe how the two informants constructed the non-representational Tinkertoy configuration. Then I will describe what verbal means the director and the matcher used to achieve their respective aims, that is to describe and to actually build the configuration. The actual text of the interaction between the director and matcher is given in the Appendix.

4.1 How the informants built the configuration

In this section I will describe the order in which the director had the matcher build the configuration. The actual terms used in this summary are not necessarily the terms the director used. Thus, when I use terms like ‘left’ and ‘right’ or ‘centre’ or ‘wheel with five holes’, this does not necessarily reflect the actual directions used in building the configuration. These directions simply reflect the order in which the director had the matcher build the configuration.

The director started his description with a wheel and told the matcher to put two blue sticks in two adjacent holes on the tread of the wheel. Then he told the matcher to put the ends of the two blue sticks into the holes of the treads of two other wheels, and to connect a third wheel with these two wheels using the white plastic connector pieces. Next he told the matcher to put a yellow stick into the hole in the middle of the wheel in the centre and then to put a big red stick into the hole in the middle of the wheel that is to the right from the matcher’s point of view if the wheel with the blue sticks is pointing towards him. After this the matcher was told to put the orange plastic piece with a hole in its middle on top of the yellow stick in the centre and to put another yellow stick horizontally through the hole in the centre of this orange plastic piece. Then the director asked the matcher to put a wheel with five holes through it onto the red stick so that it is centered on the stick. The centre hole of this wheel is bigger in diameter than the diameter of the stick and thus is moveable on this stick. Next the matcher was told to put a yellow stick through the hole in the orange plastic piece and into one of the holes on the tread of the moveable wheel. Finally, the matcher was told to put a small round orange plastic cap at the end of the horizontal yellow stick that protruded through the hole in the middle of the orange plastic piece on top of the vertical yellow stick.

This description may be used as an example of linguistic means that could be used in English to describe this configuration. In the next section I would like to describe the linguistic means in Kilivila the informants used in their interaction during this matching game.
4.2 Means of spatial reference used in the matching game

Before I analyse the actual linguistic means the informants used in this game I want to make two comments of a more general nature. First, the informants observed the material they were playing with very carefully with respect to any intrinsic features. For example, in the game session I am discussing, the director not only specifies that a wheel has to be laid down, he also refers the star-like pattern on one of the sides of the wheel pointing out that this side will be up. I will refer back to this observation below. Second, playing this matching game requires verbal interaction between the director and the matcher. Either the director asks the matcher for some feedback or the matcher himself provides the director with information about what he has already done. On the basis of this feedback, the director can modify, correct or confirm the matcher’s actions. The matcher can also ask for confirmation or correction of what he just has done.

Turning now to the linguistic means used by the informants, the first area I will discuss is that of the complex system of numeral classifiers or ‘Classificatory Particles’ (CPs) as Malinowski (1920) called them. This is clearly one of the most important and extraordinary means of reference in Kilivila.

The system of numeral classifiers is an important means of word formation involving all but one of the demonstrative pronouns, one form of numerical interrogative pronouns/adverbs, two classes of adjectives, and numerals. These word classes must be in concord with the class of the noun they refer to. This concord is secured by the CPs that are infixed or prefixed to the respective word frame or word stem. I have described these processes of word formation and syntactic aspects of constituents with CPs in detail elsewhere (Senft 1985:374-379, 1986, 1991a), therefore I do not want to go into more detail here other than mentioning that up till now 177 (numeral) classifier types have been documented. For present purposes it suffices to finish this brief descriptive and very general account with the presentation of two sentences with representatives of all of the four word classes involved in the system of noun classification (see Senft 1991a:133). In the examples (-)ke(-), the CP, is in bold:

Kevila 
ke-vila
waga lekotasi?
waga le-kota-si
CPwood-how.many canoe 3.PST-arrive-PL

‘How many canoes arrived?’
Keyu waga makesina kemanabweta
ke-yu waga ma-ke-si-na ke-manabweta
CPwood-two canoe DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM CPwood-beautiful
(lekotasi).
le-kota-si
3.PST-arrive-PL
‘These two beautiful canoes (arrived).’

In these sentences the speakers refer to ‘canoes’: therefore they have to indicate the noun class of ‘canoe’ with (-)ke(-), the CP for ‘wood, wooden things’, in the interrogative pronoun, the numeral, the demonstrative pronoun, and the adjective.

After this brief excursus let us return to the Tinkertoy matching game. Here the informants use the following CPs:

-ke- and its variant -kwa-, the general CP for inanimate referents, to refer to the wheels and to the small orange cap,

-pwanana- and its variants -pwonina-, -pwona- and -pona-, the quality-describing CP for ‘(punctured) holes’ as referents, to refer to the holes in the wheels and in the plastic parts,

-utu-, the quantity-indicating CP for ‘parts. small particles’ as referents, to refer to the small orange plastic Tinkertoy parts,

-ke-, the CP for ‘wooden things, rigid/long objects’ as referents, to refer to the wooden sticks,

-pila- and its variant -pa-, the quantity-indicating CP for ‘parts, pieces’ as referents, to refer not only to a wheel, but also—in their function as numeral constituting morphemes that count portions of a subdivided whole—to form ordinal numbers,

-kabulu- and its variant -kabula-, the place and shape indicating CP for ‘protuberances’ as referents, to refer to the end of the horizontal yellow stick that protrudes through the hole of the orange plastic piece on top of the vertical yellow stick.

These CPs also serve the function of focusing devices. With them the informants have a verbal means for fast and unequivocal reference to parts of the non-representational spatial configuration. The following is an example from my transcription of this session that illustrates the use of the CPs -kwe-, -kabula-, and -ke-.
... e kwau manakwa kwebweyani, ka.
e ku-kau ma-na-kwa kwe-bweyani ka
and 2-take DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-rd ok
‘...and take this red thing (= the orange cap), ok.’

M: E
‘Yes’

K: Makabulana okuvasuva kebweyanila
ma-kabula-na o-ku-vasuva ke-bweyani-la
DEM-CPprotruding-DEM LV-2-put.through CPwood/rigid-red-EMP
makena kevanaku ake e
ma-ke-na ke-vana ka ake e
DEM-CPwood/rigid-DEM CPwood/rigid-long oh ch
makenaga kai kekwinini okuvisuvi
ma-ke-na-ga kai ke-kwinini o-ku-visuvi
DEM-CPwood/rigid-DEM-EMP stick CPwood/rigid-yellow LV-2-put.through
‘This protruding (end of the stick which) you put through (it), this red long
(stick)—oh, ch (wait a minute) this stick, (the) yellow (one) you put (it) through
(the hole of the orange plastic part),’

M: E
‘Yes’

K: omata la kuvisuvi manakwa kwebweyani biva
omata la ku-visuvi ma-na-kwa kwe-bweyani bi-va
in.front 2-put.through DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-rd 3.FUT-go.to
ikanava.
i-kanava
3.-lie.down
‘You put this red (cap) through at the front (of the stick), it will go to (the stick
and) it rests there.’

The informants also have to use these CPs as a means of reference when they discuss the exact
position of the blue sticks and the white plastic connector pieces in the respective wheels. In this
case they just count the number of holes that have to be left empty till the next piece has to be
inserted into the matching holes on the tread on the wheels.

In the brief excerpt of the transcription above the informants also use other means of
reference, of course. First, they make extensive use of colour terms. I will not go into more detail
here; interested readers may refer to Senft (1987). Second, in this brief transcription we find motion verbs, positional verbal expressions, and a preposition. I will first briefly present the directional and positional verbal expressions the informants used in this matching game:

With regard to positionals, the informants use the following verbal expressions during this matching game:

-kanakela- ‘to lie (down) on someone/something’
-kanava- ‘to lie down, to lie off (the way)’
-kanubilabala- ‘to lie down at right angles’
-kanukwenu- ‘to lie down’
-kanuvadulu- ‘to lie together, to lie close to one another’
-kenu- ‘to lie down’
-kilibili- ‘to hold (something./someone) sideways’
-yomilivali- ‘to hold (something./someone) straight’
-seli- ‘to place, to put’
-tomalaula- ‘to stand upright’
-towa- ‘to stand (away)’
-tovelu- ‘to stand apart’
-visasu- ‘to join, to connect’
-vitau- ‘to set up, to put up’
-wayai- ‘to stick (in)’

With regard to motion verbs, we observe the use of the following expressions:

-ma- ‘to come’
-mwa- ‘to come to’
-la- ‘to go’
-loki- ‘to go to’
-va- ‘to go to, to accompany’
-dademi- ‘to fall down’
-ekuliwa- ‘to follow’
-katukwevivila- ‘to turn (round, around)’
-kivili- ‘to turn’
-lola- ‘to walk’
-meki-  
‘to move to and fro and up and down, to meet’
-seboda-  
‘to encircle, to close a circle’
-suki-  
‘to go off to, to take the road to’
-veki-  
‘to follow, to go to, to meet’

Kilivila seems to have an immensely rich vocabulary of positional and motion verbs. However, at the moment I will not, and cannot, attempt to delve into this vast field without sound semantic analyses of my data.

With regard to prepositions, we find omatala ‘in front of, before’, in the excerpt above. The informants also used three other prepositions during this matching game:

otinava  
‘below, under, on the ground’
olakeva  
‘above, up, over, on top of’
oluvala  
‘in the middle of, between’

Of these four prepositions, omatala is the most interesting since it is apparently the result of grammaticalisation processes.¹ In this case, the preposition is based on the body part mata- ‘eye’. This same body-part term, matala is also used metaphorically as a noun to refer to a particular object, as illustrated in the following question the matcher asked the director.

M:  Matala makena kai ambeya, yokwa?  
mata-la ma-ke-na kai ambeya e-mwa yokwa  
eye-his/her DEM-CPwood/rigid-DEM stick where 3-come.to you

‘The tip of this stick where (is it), does it come to you?’

In this last sentence the matcher asks for some information about a certain direction. To indicate directions or locations, Trobriand Islanders have three options. First, they can specify the goal or location with a proper noun specifying a person or place, in which case they do not use any preposition whatsoever.² Second, they can specify the goal or location as a specific place, but without a place or proper name, in which case they use the preposition o. This preposition gets a function that can be compared to that of a definite article, that is, the preposition incorporates a feature for definiteness for the governed noun-phrase. Third, they can refer to the goal or location with a general term, in which case they use the preposition va.

¹ Kurylowicz (1965:52) defines 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.’

² During my last stay in the field in 1992 I realized that I always violated this rule, producing sentences like *bala va Losuia instead of bala Losuia. I also learned that my informants, who in general (almost) always corrected mistakes I make while speaking Kilivila, intentionally did not correct this mistake because it served them as a basis for a kind of nickname for me: I am, or was till then, mioma ela ekakaya *va Bugei, ‘the one who always goes to to [sic] the Bugei (i.e. the fresh water grotto close to Tauruema) to take his bath’.
If the goal or location is a body part the speakers seem to take it as something more specified and thus use the preposition o as in the second option.

The following examples from the transcription of this matching game illustrate two of these rules. In Keda'ila's first two statements the preposition o is used because the goal is a specific place, while in his last statement no preposition is used because the goal is specified with a proper noun.3

K: Kwetala wili ela o laodila.
kwe-tala wili e-la o laodila
CPThing-one wheel 3.-go Prep bush
‘One wheel goes (points) to the bush.’

M: E
‘Yes’

K: E kwetolu wili ela o bwalita.
e kwe-tolu wili e-la o bwalita
and CPThing-three wheel 3-go Prep sea
‘And wheel number three goes (points) to the sea.’

M: E
‘Yes’

K: E mpana Tuyabwau ela,
e m-pa-na Tuyabwau e-la
and DEM-CPpart/piece-DEM Tuyabwau 3-go
‘And this piece goes (points) to the Tuyabwau (the name of the fresh water well where the men usually take a bath in the afternoon)’

The way the director checks the correct position of the three wheels illustrates the way the Trobriand Islanders use landmarks and place names as a means to clarify the direction and orientation of objects (as well as (living) beings, as documented by data I gathered using other

3 For the sake of completeness I would like to give examples from my other Kilivila data corpus to illustrate the other two options. In the first example the preposition va is used because the goal is bagula, the general, unspecified expression for 'garden' while in the second example the preposition o is used because the goal is a body part.

Bala va bagula.
ba-la va bagula
1.FUT-go to garden
‘I will go to the garden.’
Gidageda o lopola sena goga.
gidageda o lopo-la sena goga
pain in stomach-her/his very bad
‘Pain in one's stomach is very bad/A stomach ache is very bad.'
methods of elicitation). To describe the orientation of the objects used in the matching game as unequivocally as possible, my informants used expressions like ‘the eyes look to (in the direction of) the village’, ‘its front goes to (in the direction of) the Bugei (the name of the fresh water grotto in the bush where boys, men, and girls go for a bath)’, ‘its back goes to the church’, ‘its right hand points to the house of the missionary / to X’s house’. Most of the Trobriand Islanders’ place names are proper nouns, but there are also some names that are more descriptive like vadom (= va dom) ‘to where it is sandy’ and vanuma (= va numa) ‘to where it is rocky’.

I would like to emphasize, however, that this means of spatial reference is not at all comparable to cardinal point orientation systems. Although, being excellent sailors, the Trobriand Islanders do have expressions for cardinal point directions (most of which are names for winds or currents), I never observed the use of cardinal point expressions in my informants’ elicited reactions to the stimuli I used. Instead, the informants used expressions like okakata ‘at/to/on the left (hand side)’ and okikivama ‘at/to/on the right (hand side)’ in their descriptions of the spatial configurations they were asked to describe. The expressions kikivama ‘left’ and kakata ‘right’ were also used whenever the informants could find some intrinsic features that allowed a clear front and back to be assigned to an object. This, in turn, had severe consequences with respect to the perspective the informants used. The Trobriand Islanders seem to be quite consistent with respect to their perspective. They use deictic perspective, that is, perspective dependent on the observer/speaker, unless the object (including people) they refer to has intrinsic features that allow the assignment of a clear front and back. If the referent has such intrinsic features, they use intrinsic perspective, that is, perspective independent of the observer/speaker.

Finally, in a kind of apercu, I would like to draw attention to two phrases produced during the matching game that identify this session as one in which Trobriand Islanders were involved. First, the director once refers to the hole in the wheel in which the matcher has to put a stick as ...

... makala la kabowaiyaiyu... ‘...like the place close to the growing yams where one puts a stake into the ground for the tendrils of the plant to creep.’ This simile is a nice piece of evidence that the data presented here are produced by the gardeners that have become famous because of their ‘Coral Gardens and their Magic’ (Malinowski 1935).

The second phrase is when Keda’ila referred to the hole in the middle of one of the wheels with pwananela oluvala ‘the hole in the middle’, and then sang this line in the rhythmic pattern that is quite typical of the verses that go with string figures. As we have already documented elsewhere (Senft and Senft 1986, Senft 1991b), the Trobriand Islanders enjoy every opportunity where they can break taboos verbally. The general and sociological taboos Malinowski (1929) listed and described are still valid for all Trobriand Islanders. To secure its members’ observation of the taboos that are especially important for its social construction the Trobriand society
has developed so-called ‘safety valve customs’ (Heymer 1977: 187) that allow its members to imagine the ignorance of taboos—in a fictitious way, of course. The Kilivila metalanguage even provides a name for a special register, or ‘situational-intentional variety’ as I call it (Senft 1986: 124ff, 1991b), that allows the speakers to talk about something ‘one does not talk about’ otherwise. This register is called Biga Sopa ‘Joking or Lying Language/Indirect Language.’

We first discussed this register in more detail (Senft and Senft 1986) in connection with the string figures (‘cat’s cradle’) we collected in 1983. With reference to the quite ‘obscene’ verses that accompany these string figure games, we mentioned that there were some more figures and verses our informants were too ‘shy’ to play and recite for us. The phrase pwananela oluvala is the name of one of these string figures. This time I managed to convince another young man to play the respective string figure for me and to give me the verses that accompany it. The verses run as follows (Kwikwiya and Kebilabala are girl’s and boy’s names, respectively):

Kwikwiya som Kebilabala girigiri yam girigiri bogi vakeke
Kwikwiya with you Kebilabala it goes day it goes night oh
sibum sigi lidedetutu kwatukoimenee mwaga kweokwa.
their ass their hips move to and fro you turn over your canoe it is empty
E bwadagu kuvusui yamam pwananela oluvala mweta
Yes my brother you put in your hand the hole in the middle string
mweta mwetayara yara silibwe kaikem silibwe yamam silitutina.
string string moving to and fro cut cut your leg cut cut your hand cut it off

I would like to take this observation—together with the laughter and the hilarious mood with which the informants played this matching game—as an indication that the Trobriand Islanders enjoyed playing these matching games despite the fact that they obviously constituted a rather ‘unnatural’ task.

5 Summary

I would like to summarize the observations presented in this case-study as follows.

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4 The Trobriand Islanders distinguish a number of registers that are used in special situations and to pursue (a) certain intention(s). Therefore I call these registers ‘situational-intentional varieties’. In biga sopa (biga ‘language’, sopa ‘joke, lie, trick, something one does not really mean’), the speaker uses the vagueness and ambiguity inherent in language as a stylistic means to avoid possible distress, confrontation and too aggressive directness in certain speech situations. It also opens room and space where behaviour can be tried out playfully without any fear of possible social sanctions because the speaker can always recede from what he has said by labelling it as sopa, that is, something he did not really mean to say.

3 To make sure that I really got the meaning of this song, my informants told me to read ‘ejaculate’ for ‘turn over the canoe’, ‘penis’ for ‘string’, and ‘stop sexual intercourse’ for ‘cut it off’. The cuts mentioned in the last line of this song refer to scratches with which lovers on the Trobriands mark each others’ skin. The marks are called kimati.
1) Although the Tinkertoy matching game constitutes a rather unnatural task, the informants not only enjoyed playing this game, they also did extremely well in the describing and matching task.

2) The informants did the task highly interactively, collaborating with each other.

3) One of the more language specific means for spatial reference is certainly the complex system of Classificatory Particles. The CPs are an important and necessary means of word formation for one form of an interrogative pronoun/adverb, adjectives, demonstratives and numerals. Since the CPs are understood as indices for typical features or qualities of their respective referents they allow for fast and unequivocal reference to the objects used in the spatial configurations.

4) In order to make their reference unequivocal, the informants also use color terms in their description of the spatial constructions.

5) Kilivila seems to be quite rich with respect to its lexical inventory of motion verbs and positional verbal expressions. However, since I cannot as of yet present sound semantic analyses of my data, I cannot delve into this vast and interesting field.

6) Body-part terms are used both as locatives as grammaticalised prepositions and metaphorically.

7) To indicate directions and locations, the Trobriand Islanders seem to follow the following rules with respect to the use of the prepositions o and va:
To refer to the goal or location with a proper noun specifying a person or place, they do not use any preposition whatsoever.
To refer to the goal or location as a specific place, they use the preposition o which incorporates a feature for definiteness for the governed noun phrase.
To refer to the goal or location with its most general term, they use the preposition va.
If the goal is a body part, the speakers seem to take it as something more specified and thus use the preposition o.

8) The Trobriand Islanders use the Kilivila expressions for 'left' and 'right'; they also refer to landmarks and place names in their spatial descriptions. However, they do not use a cardinal system of orientation in everyday, ordinary speech situations, although they can use expressions for winds and currents when they do want to refer to the cardinal points.

9) Trobriand Islanders seem to be quite consistent with respect to their perspective. They use deictic perspective, that is, observer/speaker dependent perspective, unless the object or person they refer to has intrinsic features that allow a clear front and back to be assigned. In this case, they use intrinsic perspective, that is, observer/speaker independent perspective.
10) Although the matching game asks for rather abstract descriptions of abstract configurations, the informants manage nevertheless to liven their descriptions with culture specific expressions, allusions and innuendos. They mark these matching games as having been played by Trobriand Islanders, indeed.

References


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**Appendix**

Tinkerto y elicitation - Tape TT3 (video) 25:54:00 - 21.08.1992

Keda'ilá (K) and Moyadi (M) build the construction documented in photographs 4 and 5; however, the example given is the 'real' configuration and not the two pictures showing it. K is the director; M is the matcher.

K: *Wili,*
   '(A) wheel,'

M: *E.*
   'Yes.'

K: *wili mna kwetala,*
   *wili mna kwe-tala*
   wheel hm CPthing-one
   'a wheel, hm, one (wheel),'

M: *E.*
   'Yes.'
K:  
  e  kwau  kuseli...
  e  ku-kau  ku-seli
yes  2.-take  2.-put
  ‘yes, take (it and) put (it)…’

M:  
  Ke  kwetarokwa  wala?
  ke  kwe-tarokwa  wala
  ah  CPthing-one  only
  ‘Ah, one (wheel) only?’

K:  
  kwetarokwa  kuseli  igau...
  kwe-tarokwa  ku-seli  igau
CPthing-one  2.-put  then
  ‘one (wheel), put (it down and) then…’

M:  
  Bavitauwa  makala  esakaula?
  ba-vitauwa  makala  e-sakaula
  1.FUT-set.up  like  3.-run
  ‘I will set it up as if it runs…?’

K:  
  Gala.
  ‘No.’

M:  
  Taga...
  ‘But…’

K:  
  Bikenu  pwananela  pwanatarokwa  bikanakela,
  Bi-kenu  pwanane-la  pwana-tarokwa  bi-kanakela
  3.FUT-lie.down  hole-its  CPhole-one  3.FUT-lie.on
  ‘It will lie down, it will lie on its one hole,’

M:  
  M bogwa.
  ‘Hm, ok.’

K:  
  beya  gala  ginigini.
  beya  gala  ginigini
here  no  ornament
  ‘(where) there (is) no ornament.’

M:  
  E.
  ‘Yes.’
K: Bikanakela beya tunutunu bima olakeva. 
Bi-kanakela beya tunutunu bi-ma olakeva
3.FUT-lie.on here dot 3.FUT-come up

'It will lie on (the ground and) here (the) dot will be up.'

M: Bogwa.

'OK.'

K: Bogwa, makesita kai kebwabwau keyu,
Bogwa ma-ke-si-ta kai ke-bwabwau ke-yu
OK DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM stick CPwood-black CPwood-two

'OK, these two blue sticks,'

M: E.

'Yes.'

K: keyu kai kebwabwau,
ke-yu kai ke-bwabwau
CPwood-two stick CPwood-black

'(the) two blue sticks,'

M: E.

'Yes.'

K: e makesina. Makesita ka kuyosi (you hold)
e ma-ke-si-na ma-ke-si-ta ka ku-yosi
yes DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM see 2.-hold
makwena makwena wili,
ma-kwe-na ma-kwe-na wili
DEM-CPthing-DEM DEM-CPthing-DEM wheel

'yes, these these (sticks), see, you hold this this wheel,'

M: E.

'Yes.'

K: e mpanaga esuki emwa o kwadeva o bwalita.
e m-pa-na-ga e-suki e-mwa o kwadeva o bwalita
and DEM-CPpart-DEM-EMP 3.-go.off 3-go.to to beach to sea

'and this (part here), it goes off, it goes to (the) beach, to (the) sea.'

M: E.

'Yes.'
K: Pwanana mpwonasita pwonatala pwonayu edanuvadulusi, pwanana m-pwona-si-ta pwona-tala pwona-yu e-kanuvadulu-si hole DEM-CPhole-PL-DEM CPhole-one CPhole-two 3-lie.together-PL
pwonayuwa kuwai keta matala bila o la...
pwona-yu-wa ku-wai ke-ta mata-la bi-la o la...
CPhole-two-only 2-hit CPwood-one eye-its 3.FUT-go to bu...
keyuwa matasi bimwa o bwalita taga ka...
ke-yu-wa mata-si bi-mwa o bwalita taga ka
CPwood-two-only eye-their 3.FUT-come.to to sea but see
keta matala bisuki bimwa makala o o
ke-ta mata-la bi-suki bi-mwa makala o o
CPwood-one eye-its 3.FUT-go.off 3.FUT-come.to like to to
Nunulia, keta matala bisuki bimwa beya
Nunulia ke-ta mata-la bi-suki bi-mwa beya
Nunulia.tree CPwood-one eye-its 3.FUT-go.off 3.FUT-come.to here
Topiesi taga gala beya Topiesi beya Moketubasi.
Topiesi taga gala beya Topiesi beya Moketubasi
Topiesi or not here Topiesi here Moketubasi

'These holes, one (hole), two (holes), they lie together, the two (holes), put in (the sticks) one tip will point to (the) bu...two tips, (one) it will point to (the) sea, but see... one tip will go off, it will come to, like, to to (the) Nunulia tree, and one (stick), its tip will go off, it will come to (where) Topiesi (lives), or not here (where) Topiesi (lives), here (where) Moketubasi (lives).'

Keta bima beya Moketubasi keta bimwa
ke-ta bi-ma beya Moketubasi ke-ta bi-mwa
CPwood-one 3.FUT-come here Moketubasi CPwood-one 3.FUT-come.to
beya mtone... Mogudaya.
beya m-to-ne Mogudaya
here DEM-CPman-DEM Mogudaya

'One stick will come here (to where) Moketubasi (lives and) one (stick) will come to (where) this (one), Mogudaya, (lives).'

E bogwa bogwa la-kamdi bogwa-e-vokwa
Yes OK OK 1.PST-fix already-3-finish

'Yes, OK, OK, I fixed it. Its finished already.'
K: Pwanina pwanana mpwanasita oluvala pwanayu wala, pwanina pwanana m-pwana-si-ta oluvala pwana-yu wala hole hole DEM-CPhole-PL-DEM in.middle CPhole-two only
‘(A) hole, (another) hole, these (holes) in the middle two (holes) only,’

M: Bogwa.
‘OK.’

K: kusepituiki.
ku-sepituki
2-put.together
‘put (them) together.’

M: Bogwa.
‘OK.’

K: M kwau kwetala,  
m ku-kau kwe-tala
hm 2-take CPthing-one
‘Hm, take one (wheel),’

M: E
‘Yes.’

K: kwau kwetala kuma kubabi omatala... 
ku-kau kwe-tala ku-ma ku-babi omatala 2-take CPthing-one 2-come 2-poke in.front.of
‘take one (wheel) come (and) poke it in front of...’

M: ... omatala sola?
    omatala so-la
    in.front.of friend-its
‘...in front of its counterpart?’

K: ... oma... omatala makesita kebwabwau ka, wili
   oma... omatala ma-ke-si-ta ke-bwabwau ka wili  
in.f... in.front.of DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM CPwood-black see wheel 
kwetala
kwe-tala
CPthing-one
‘...in f...in front of these black (sticks), see, one wheel’
(<a little boy farts - everyone is laughing and Keda‘ila comments>)

Kuseli bulagala paka.
ku-seli bulagala paka
2-end news ceremony
‘Finish your news ceremony.’

<Then the informants continue the matching game>)

M: Ke bogwa makala bakibilibali.
ke bogwa makala ba-kibilibali
oh OK like 1.FUT-hold.sideways
‘Oh, OK, like (this), I will hold it sideways.’

K: E bogwa makala kukibilibali...
e bogwa makala ku-kibilibali
yes OK like 2.-hold.sideways
Yes, OK, like (this), hold it sideways...

(<Now Moyadi comments on the little boy’s misbehavior>)

M: A bwada bogina popu...
a bwada bogina pupu
‘Ah brother, (this) bad smell (of) shit…’)

K: Ke bogwa kukibilibali?
ke bogwa ku-bilibali
so already 2-hold.sideways
‘So you are holding (it) sideways already?’

M: E
‘Yes.’

K: Makala manakwa lalukwem okuseli la kabokenu?
makala ma-na-kwa la-lukwe-m o-ku-seli la kabokenu
like DEM-DEM-CPthing 1.PST-tell-you LV-2-put its place.to.lie.down
‘Like I told you to put this (wheel) in its place (where it has to lie)?’

M: E bogwala makala.
E bogwa-la makala
yes already-EMP like
‘Yes, (its) already (done) like (you said).’
K:  
E taga ginigini bikanakela.  
E taga ginigini bi-kanakela
yes but ornament 3.FUT-lie.on

‘Yes, but it will lie on (the ornament).’

M:  
Bogwa.

‘OK.’

K:  
M kweyuvela kula kuwai m mna kabuluyuvela
m kwe-yu-vela ku-la ku-wai m mna kabulu-yu-vela

hm CPthing-two-EMP 2-go 2-hit hm hm CPprotruding-two-EMP
keyuvela kai omatala makalawa la kabokanukwenu makala
ke-ju-vela kai omatala makala-wa la kabokanukwenu makala

CPwood-two-EMP stick in.front.of like-only its place.to.lie.down like
la kabowaiyaiyu bukuwai...
la kabayaiyu buku-wai
its place.for.stake 2.FUT-hit

‘Hm, a second wheel, you go (and) put in, hm, hm, (the) two protruding sticks
in front of—like (what is)—its place to lie down, like its place close to the
growing yams where one puts a stake into the ground for the tendril of the
plant to creep you will put it in…’

M:  
E bogwa.

‘Yes, OK.’

K:  
Bogwa.

‘OK.’

M:  
E.

‘Yes.’

K:  
E e kweta tuvela wili,
e e kwe-ta tuvela wili

and and CPthing-one again wheel

‘And, and again a wheel,’

M:  
E.

‘Yes.’
K:  oluvala kuseli.
    oluvala ku-seli
in.middle 2-put
    'put it in the middle.'

M:  Ke manakwa pwanana budubadu?
    ke ma-na-kwa pwanana budubadu
ah DEM-DEM-CPthing hole many
    'Ah, this (wheel) with the many holes?'

K:  Gala manakwesi wala.
    gala ma-na-kwe-si wala
not DEM-DEM-CPthing-PL only
    'No, only these (normal wheels).'</n
M:  Ke oluvala kena?
    ke oluvala kena
ah in.middle or
    'Ah, in the middle, is it?'

K:  Kwetala kweyu oluvalesiga beya esasa gala ka'ila.
    kwe-tala kwe-yu oluval-e-siga beya e-sasa gala ka'ila
CPthing-one CPthing-two in.middle-they-EMP here 3-space no stick
    'One (wheel), two (wheels)—(and) in the middle of them here (there) is space,
    (but) no stick.'

M:  E.
    'Yes.'

K:  E kuseli igau.
    e ku-seli igau
yes 2-put then
    'Yes, put it (down there) then.'

M:  Bogwa makala si kabokanukwenu?
    bogwa makala si kabokanukwenu
already like their place.to.lie.down
    '(Is it) already like their place (in the construction)?
K: *Makalawa si kabokanukwenu.*
   *makala-wa si kabokanukwenu*
   like-only their place.to.lie.down
   ‘(It is) already like (that), (its) their place.’

M: *E bogwa laseli.*
   *e bogwa la-seli*
   yes already 1.PST-put
   ‘Yes, I already put them (down).’

K: *Bogwa kuseli. Kwau keta kepawkau makesina*
   *bogwa ku-seli ku-kau ke-ta ke-pwakau ma-ke-si-na*
   already 2-put 2-take CPrigid-one CPrigid-white DEM-CPrigid-PL-DEM
   *kekekita,*
   *ke-kekita*
   CPrigid-small
   ‘OK, you put (them down). (Now) take one white (thing) (from) these small (things),’

M: *E.*
   ‘Yes.’

K: *e kuwai biloki manakwa wili... bivisasuwa. E*
   *e ku-wai bi-loki ma-na-kwa wili bi-visasu-wa e*
   *bu buku-wai bi-tovelu*
   and 2-put 3.FUT-go.to DEM-DEM-CPthing wheel 3.FUT-join-only and
   *bu... bukuwai bitovelu.*
   *bu... buku-wai bi-tovelu*
   2.FUT 2.FUT-hit 3.FUT-stand.apart
   ‘and put (it so that) it will go to this wheel... it will join (them). And you put it (together), it’ll stand apart.’

M: *O.*
   ‘Oh.’

K: *Bukuwai mna o pwanana,*
   *buku-wai mna o pwanana*
   2.FUT-hit hm in hole
   ‘You will put (it) hm in (a) hole,
M:  
E.

'Yes.'

K:  
makena  kebwabwau  okuwai  ake!  
ma-ke-na  ke-pwakau  o-ku-wai  ake
DEM-CPrigid-DEM  CPrigid-white  LV-2-hit  right

'this white (rigid piece), put (it in), right!'

M:  
E.

'Yes.'

K:  
E  pwoninatala  bukuligemwa  bukumweki-ga  pwoninatala
  e  pwonina-tala  buku-ligemwa  buku-mweki-ga  pwonina-tala
and  CPhole-one  2.FUT-forget  2.FUT-meet-EMP  CPhole-one
  bikananwa  pwoninayuvela  mponana  bukuwai.
  bi-kananwa  pwonina-yu-vela  m-pona-na  buku-wai
3.FUT-leave.out  CPhole-two-EMP  DEM-CPhole-DEM  2.FUT-hit
Makena  kepwakau  bukuwai.
ma-ke-na  ke-pwakau  buku-wai
DEM-CPrigid-DEM  CPrigid-white  2.FUT-hit

'And one hole, you will forget it (and) you will come to one hole, it will be left
out, the second (hole) this (hole) you'll put (it in). This white (thing), you'll put
(it in).'

M:  
E  ke  bababi  manakwa  wili,  ke.
e  ke  ba-babi  ma-na-kwa  wili  ah
yes  so  1.FUT-poke  DEM-DEM-CPthing  wheel  ah

'Yes, so I will poke (it into) this wheel, ah.'

K:  
O  so,  gala  manakwa  wili  igau  kukwau  kusemwa.
o  so  gala  ma-na-kwa  wili  igau  ku-kwau  ku-semwa
oh  friend  not  DEM-DEM-CPthing  wheel  then  2-take  2-put.aside

'Oh my friend, not this wheel, later, take it (and) put it aside.'

M:  
Bogwa  lasemwa  omakava.
bogwa  la-semwa  omakava
already  1.PST-put.aside  outside

'I already took it off and away.'
K: $M$ manakwa okuseli oluvala.
   $m$ ma-na-kwa o-ku-seli oluvala
   hm DEM-DEM-CP-thing LV-2.put in.middle
   ‘Hm, this (wheel), put (it) in the middle.’

M: $E$.
   ‘Yes.’

K: $E$ kwau igau kusemwa.
   e ku-kau igau ku-semwa
   yes 2-take then 2.put.aside
   ‘Yes, take (it and) then put (it) aside.’

M: Bogwa lasemwa.
   bogwa la-semwa
   already 1.PST-put.aside
   ‘I already put (it) aside.’

K: $E$ makenaga kepupwakau
   e ma-ke-na-ga ke-pupwakau
   and DEM-CPrigid-DEM-EMP CPrigid-white
   ‘And this white’

M: $E$.
   ‘Yes.’

K: kekekita kwau kuwai igau, ka, makena kepewakau
   ke-kekita ku-kau ku-wai igau ka ma-ke-na kepewakau
   CPrigid-small 2-take 2-hit then see DEM-CPrigid-DEM CPrigid-white
   okuwai manakwesi.
   o-ku-wai ma-na-kwe-si
   LV-2-hit DEM-DEM-CPlthing-PL
   ‘small (thing), take (it and) put (it in) then, see, this white (thing) put it (into)
   these (wheels).’

M: $M$ e kwetala baligemwa kewtalala bawai?
   $m$ e kwe-tala ba-ligemwa kwe-tala ba-wai
   hm and CPthing-one 1.FUT-forget CPthing-one 1-FUT-hit
   ‘Hm, and I will leave out one (hole and) I’ll put it in the other?’
K: E kutakaka kuma kugisi kwetala kuligemwa
e ku-takaka ku-ma ku-gisi kwe-tala ku-ligemwa
and 2-look.carefully 2-come 2-see CPthing-one 2-forget
kweyuvela kuma kuwai manakwa kwepwakau,
kwe-yu-vela ku-ma ku-wai ma-na-kwa kwe-pwakau
CPthing-two-EMP 2-come 2-hit DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-white

‘And look carefully, come (and) see one (hole), leave it out, the second (hole)
you come (to), put (in) this white (thing).’

M: E bogwa.
‘Yes, OK.’

K: manakwa kwepwakau. E kwau manakwa wili
ma-na-kwa kwe-pwakau e ku-kau ma-na-kwa wili
DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-white and 2-take DEM-DEM-CPthing wheel
kuwai, lalukwem okusela gala okuligemwa.
ku-wai la-lukwe-m o-ku-sela gala o-ku-ligemwa
2-hit 2.PST-tell-you LV-2-put not LV-2-forget

‘this white (thing). And take this wheel (and) put (it in), I told you to put (it in
and) not to forget (it).’

M: E bogwa.
‘Yes, OK.’

K: Bogwa, e kwau ketala kepwakau kuwai.
bogwa e ku-kau ke-tala ke-pwakau ku-wai
OK and 2-take CPrigid-one CPrigid-white 2-hit

‘OK, and take one (of the) white (things and) put it in.’

M: Ambe bawai?
ambe ba-wai
where 1.FUT-hit

‘Where will I put it in?’
K: Kuwai piliyuvela piliyuvela bila iyo... biloki
ku-wai pili-yu-vela pili-yu-vela bi-la i-yo... bi-loki
2-hit CPpart-two-EMP CPpart-two-EMP 3.FUT-go 3-ho... 3.FUT-go.to
sola iyosi... Bogwa kuwai makala e kuwai, iga bikatukwevivila
so-la i-yosi bogwa ku-wai makala e ku-wai iga bi-katukwevivila
friend-its 3-hold already 2-hit like yes 2-hit then 3.FUT-turn.around
bila ikikola mna kweyuvela.
bi-la i-ikikola mna kwe-yu-vela
3.FUT-go 3-hold.on hm CPthing-two-EMP

‘Put it in the second (part, in) the second part, it will go, it ho... it’ll go to its
counterpart to hold it... You put it in already like this, yes, you put it in, then
it’ll turn around, it’ll go and hold, hm, the second (wheel).’

M: Makala sola?
makala so-la
like friend-its

‘Like (a) counterpart?’

K: E makala sola beya okuwai, bikau kwevivila bila
e makala so-la beya o-ku-wai bi-kau kwe-vivila bi-la
yes like friend-its here LV-2-hit 3.FUT-take CPthing-shining 3.FUT-go
iwayai beya. Makala okuwai manakwena ala bububula
i-wayai beya makala o-ku-wai ma-na-kwe-na ala bububula
3-stick here like LV-2-hit DEM-DEM-CPthing-DEM its shape
makala e makala, bukuwai manakwa ala bububula. Bila
makala e makula buku-wai ma-na-kwa ala bububula bi-la
like yes like 2.FUT-hit DEM-DEM-CPthing its shape 3.FUT-go
bikikola boda kwetala...
bi-kikola boda kwe-tala
3.FUT-hold group CPthing-one

‘Yes, like (a) counterpart there, you put it in, it’ll take (this) shining (thing), it’ll
go and stick there. Put it in like (this), this (thing), its shape (is) like (this), yes
like (this), you will put in this (thing), its shape. It’ll go and hold one group (of
the configuration)…’

M: E bogwa.

‘Yes, OK.’
K: *Bogwa.*
   'OK.'

M: *M.*
   'Hm.'

K: *Ke bogwa katukwevivila eseboda?*
   *ke bogwa katukwevivila e-seboda*
   *so already turning-point 3-encircle*
   'So it already encircles the turning point?'

M: *Bogwa.*
   'Already (done).'

K: *E e kai kekwinini,*
   *e e kai ke-kwinini*
   *and and stick CPwood-yellow*
   'And, and (a) yellow stick,'

M: *M.*
   'Hm.'

K: *kekwinini kai ke-tala kuwai manakwa oluvala...*
   *ke-kwinini kai ke-tala ku-wai ma-na-kwa oluvala*
   *CPwood-yellow stick CPwood-one 2-hit DEM-DEM-CPthing in.middle*
   'one yellow stick, put it into the middle of this (wheel).'

M: *Pwananela oluvala?*
   *pwanane-la oluvala*
   *hole-its in.middle*
   'The hole in the middle?'

K: *Pwananela oluvala (pwananela oluvala...), bogwa?*
   *pwanane-la oluvala pwananela oluvala bogwa*
   *hole-its in.middle hole-its in.middle OK*
   'The hole in the middle (<sings:> the hole in the middle...), OK?'

M: *E.*
   'Yes.'
K: E kebweyani kuweya mpana eveki manakwa 
e ke-bweyani ku-weya m-pa-na e-veki ma-na-kwa
and CPwood-red 2-hit DEM-CPpart-DEM 3-go.to DEM-DEM-CPthing
evekeya Tuyabwau.
e-vekeya Tuyabwau
3-follow Tuyabwau

‘And you put the red (stick) into this (part) it goes to, this (wheel) follows (the
direction of) Tuyabwau [name of a well].’

M: Mata-la makena kai ambeya, emwa yokwa?
mata-la ma-ke-na kai ambeya e-mwa yokwa
eye-its DEM-CPwood-DEM stick where 3-come.to you

‘The tip of this stick where (is it), does it come to you?’

K: Yegu kwetala wili ela o laodila, kwetolu wili ela o
yegu kwe-tala wili e-la o laodila kwe-tolu wili e-la o
I CPthing-one wheel 3-go to bush CPthing-three wheel 3-go to
bwalita. Kwau makala kuseli.
bwalita ku-kau makala ku-seli
sea 2-take like 2-put

‘I [from my point of view], one wheel goes to (the) bush, (and) wheel number
three goes to (the) sea. Take (this) and put (the stick) in (it) like this.’

M: E bogwa.

‘Yes, OK.’

K: Bogwa makala okuseli?
bogwa makala o-ku-seli
already like LV-2-put

‘You put (it) in like (this) already?’

M: E.

‘Yes.’

K: Kwetala wili ela o laodila.
kwe-tala wili e-la o laodila
CPthing-one wheel 3-go to bush

‘One wheel goes to (the) bush.’

M: E.

‘Yes.’
K:  *E kwetolu wili ela o bwalita.*  
    *e kwe-tolu wili e-la o bwalita*  
and CPthing-three wheel 3-go to sea  
    ‘And wheel number three goes to (the) sea.’

M:  *E.*  
    ‘Yes.’

K:  *E mpana Tuyabwau ela,*  
    *e m-pa-na Tuyabwau e-la*  
and DEM-CPpart-DEM Tuyabwau 3-go  
    ‘And this piece that goes to (the) Tuyabwau (well),’

M:  *M.*  
    ‘Hm.’

K:  *kwau maka na kebweyani kuseli.*  
    *ku-kau ma-ke-na ke-bweyani ku-seli*  
2-take DEM-CPwood-DEM CPwood-red 2-put  
    ‘take this red (stick and) put it in.’

M:  *Bogwa.*  
    ‘OK.’

K:  *Bogwa kuvisilili ela itowa.*  
    *bogwa ku-visilili e-la i-towa*  
already 2-put in 3-go 3-stand  
    ‘You put it in already, it goes (there) and stands (there).

M:  *Bogwawa.*  
    *bogwa-wa*  
already-only  
    ‘OK, OK.’

K:  *E kedigadegila maka na,*  
    *e ke-digadegila ma-ke-na*  
and CPwood-yellow DEM-CPwood-DEM  
    ‘And this yellow (stick),’

M:  *E.*  
    ‘Yes.’
K: kwau ku... oluvalawa manakwa kuvisilili. ku-kau ku- oluvala-wa ma-na-kwa ku-visilili
2-take 2- in.middle-only DEM-DEM-CPthing 2-put.in
‘take it, pu... into the middle of this (wheel) you put it.’

M: Bogwa.
‘OK.’

K: Bogwa.
‘OK.’

M: E ketalaga kedigadegila esisu. e ke-tala-ga ke-digadegila e-sisu
and CPwood-one-EMP CPwood-yellow 3-exist
‘And there is another yellow (stick).’

K: E maka na kedigadegila. e ma-ke-na ke-digadegila
yes DEM-CPwood-DEM CPwood-yellow
‘Yes, this yellow (stick).’

M: E.
‘Yes.’

before 1.PST-work 3-exist 2-take DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-red
kwesisikwa
kwesisikwa
CPthing-thin
‘I worked (it out) before, it’s there. Take this red thin thing

M: E.
‘Yes.’

K: kedigadegila omatala kuwai. ke-digadegila omatala ku-wai
CPwood-yellow on.top.of 2-hit
‘and put in the yellow stick on top of it.’

M: Ke e.
‘Ah, yes.’
K:  *Kwevanaku.*
    *kwe-ванaku*
CPthing-new
    ‘(The) new (thing).’
M:  *Oluvala manakwa pwananela?*
    *olуvalа ma-na-kwa pwanane-la*
in.middle DEM-DEM-CPthing hole-its
    ‘(In) this hole in the middle?’
K:  *E oluvala manakwa pwananela.*
    *e oлуvalа ma-na-kwa pwanane-la*
yes in.middle DEM-DEM-CPthing hole-its
    ‘Yes, (in) this hole in the middle.’
M:  *Bekanubilabala?*
    *bi-канубилабала*
3.FUT-lie.down.at.right.angles
    ‘Will it lie down there at right angles?’
K:  *Gala kuwai bitomalaula. Biekuliwa makena*
    *gala ku-wai битомалаula би-екулива ma-ке-na*
no 2-hit 3.FUT-stand.upright 3.FUT-follow DEM-CPwood-DEM
    *kai bitomalaula. Bogwa etomalaula.*
    *kai битомалаula. bogwa етомалаula*
stick 3.FUT-stand.upright already 3-stand.upright
    ‘No, put it in, it’ll stand upright. It’ll follow this stick, it’ll stand upright. It’s
standing upright already.’
M:  *E.*
    ‘Yes.’
K:  *Ema mapwonanaga pwanana olu... kudoki*
    *e-mа ma-pwона-na-gа pwanana olu... ku-дoki*
3-come DEM-CPhole-DEM-EMP hole in.mid... 2-think
    *bikanubilabala?*
    *bi-канубилабала*
3.FUT-lie.down.at.right.angles
    ‘It comes into this hole, in the mid... you think it’ll lie down at right angles?’
M:  *E bogwa.*  
    'Yes, OK.'
K:  *Bukuisuvi e kwau manakwa m wili pwanana*  
    *buku-visuvi e ku-kau ma-na-kwa m wili pwanana*  
    2.FUT-put.through and 2-take DEM-DEM-CPthing hm wheel hole  
    *budubadu, budubadu*  
    many  
    'You'll put it through and (now) take this, hm, wheel (with) many holes,'
M:  *E.*  
    'Yes.'
K:  *kebweyani kuvisuvi.*  
    *ke-bweyani ku-visuvi*  
    CPwood-red 2-put.through  
    '(and) put it through (the) red (stick),'
M:  *Bikanubilabala?*  
    *bi-kanubilabala*  
    3.FUT-lie.down at.right.angles  
    'Will it lie down there at right angles?'
K:  *Bikanu makala manakwesi otinava si kabukanukwenu.*  
    *bi-kanu makala ma-na-kwe-si otinava si kabukanukwenu*  
    3.FUT-lie like DEM-DEM-CPthing-PL below their place.to.lie.down  
    'It'll lie like these (wheels) below (on) their places.'
M:  *Bavisuvi bila otinava.*  
    *ba-visuvi bi-la otinava*  
    1.FUT-put.through 3.FUT-go down  
    'I'll put it through (and) it'll go down.'
K:  *Gala.*  
    'No.'
M:  *O... esa... esaya.*  
    *o e-sa... e-saya*  
    oh 3-have.pl... 3-have.too.much.play  
    'Oh, it has... it has too much play.'
K:  Esaya.
e-saya
3-have.too.much.play
‘It has too much play.’

M:  E.
‘Yes.’

K:  E kuvisuviwa biva otinava, iga isesaya
e ku-visu-va bi-va otinava iga i-se-saya
yes 2-put.through-only 3.FUT-go.to to.ground then 3-INT-have.too.much.play
e kwau ga makan a kebwayani kegulini.
e ku-kau-ga ma-ke-na ke-bwayani ke-gulini
yes 2-take-EMP DEM-CPwood-DEM CPwood-red CPwood-green
‘Yes, put it through, it’ll go to the ground, then—it has too much play, indeed—
yes, take this red, the green [means yellow] (stick).’

M:  E.
‘Yes.’

K:  Kwau maka na kegulini kuvisuvi mapwona na
ku-kau ma-ke-na ke-gulini ku-visuvi ma-pwona-na
2-take DEM-CPwood-DEM CPwood-green 2-put.through DEM-CPhole-DEM
ma’utun a utubwayani ake la lukwem okuseli,
ma-utu-na utu-bwayani ake la-lukwe-m o-ku-seli
DEM-CPpart-DEM CPpart-red oh 1.PST-tell-you LV-2-put
‘Take this green [means yellow] stick (and) put it through this hole (of) this red
part, oh, I told you to put it through,’

M:  M.
‘Hm.’

K:  E mpowana nga pwanana ka oluvala...
e m-pona-na-ga pwanana ka oluvala
yes DEM-CPhole-DEM-EMP hole see in.middle
‘Yes, this hole, see, in the middle…

M:  E.
‘Yes.’
K: ake makena kebweyani pwananela oluvala,
ake ma-ke-na ke-bweyani pwananela oluvala
right DEM-CPrigid-DEM CPrigid-red hole in.middle
‘right, this red rigid (thing with) the hole in the middle,’

M: Bogwa.
‘OK.’

K: e kwau makena ke... kekwinini kuvisuvi
e ku-kau ma-ke-na ke ke-kwinini ku-visuvi
and 2-take DEM-CPwood-DEM CPwood CPwood-yellow 2-put.through
kai.
kai
stick
‘and take this yellow (stick and) put (the) stick through (it).’

M: So, pwanana oluvala manakwa ka kebweyanila
so pwanana oluvala ma-na-kwa ka ke-bweyani-la
friend hole in.middle DEM-DEM-CPthing here CPrigid-red-EMP
makena?
ma-ke-na
DEM-CPrigid-DEM
‘My friend, (the) hole in the middle of this, here, this red rigid (part)?’

K: M.
‘Hm.’

M: Ambe bakivili bimwa?
ambe ba-kivili bi-mwa
where 1.FUT-turn 1.FUT-come.to
‘Where will I turn (it), (where) will it come to?’

K: Bilo... biloki wili bilola makala Tuyabwau.
bi-lo... bi-loki wili bi-lola makala Tuyabwau
3.FUT-go... 3.FUT-go.to wheel 3.FUT-walk like Tuyabwau
‘It will go... it will go to (the) wheel (and) it will walk as if (it’ll go to) Tuyabwau.'
M: Kabuluta kai makesiya kaitukwa, kabulu-ta kai ma-ke-si-ya kaitukwa
CPprotruding-one stick DEM-CPwood-PL-DEM walking-stick
ke-gulini makena layosi bavisuvi, ke-gulini ma-ke-na la-yosi ba-visuvi
CPwood-green DEM-CPwood-DEM 1.PST-hold 1.FUT-put.through
kabuluta ambeya bimwa ambe bimwa?
kabulu-ta ambeya bi-mwa ambe bi-mwa
CPprotruding-one where 3.FUT-come.to where 3.FUT-come.to
‘The one protruding stick of these walking sticks, this green [means yellow] (one) I held, I’ll put (it) through the protruding one, where will it come to, where will it come to?

K: Bukuvasuva...
buku-vasuva
2.FUT-put.through
‘Put (it) through…’

M: Kabuluta bila Tuyabwau.
kabulu-ta bi-la Tuyabwau
CPprotruding-one 3.FUT-go Tuyabwau
‘(The) protruding one will go to Tuyabwau.’

K: ... bukuvasuvawa bila makala Tuyabwau.
buku-vasuva-wa bi-la makala Tuyabwau
2.FUT-put.through-only 3.FUT-go like Tuyabwau
‘...just put it through, it’ll go as if (it goes) to Tuyabwau.’

M: Ke kabuluta bila Tuyabwau?
ke kabulu-ta bi-la Tuyabwau
so CPprotruding-one 3.FUT-go Tuyabwau
‘So the protruding one will go to Tuyabwau?’

K: M bukuvisuvi biloki manakwa wili,
m buku-visuvi bi-oki ma-na-kwa wili
hm 2.FUT-put.through 3.FUT-go.to DEM-DEM-CPthing wheel
okusuvi esesaya, okulivali. Bukuloya
o-ku-suvi e-se-saya o-ku-livali buku-loya
LV-2-put.through 3-INT-have.too.much.play LV-2-say 2.FUT-pull.up
Language and Linguistics in Melanesia

bima o pwana ne la buku visuvi bika‘ini,
bi-ma o pwana ne-la buku-visuvi bi-ka‘i ni
3.FUT-come in hole-its 2.FUT-put through 3.FUT-get stuck
bikanamwa... Makena kai bogwa oku visuvi?
bi-kanamwa ma-ke-na kai bogwa o-ku-visuvi
3.FUT-forget DEM-CPwood-DEM stick already LV-2-put through
Manakwa wili oku visuvi ela e kanukwenu otanava.
ma-na-kwa wili o-ku-visuvi e-la e-kanukwenu otanava
DEM-DEM-CPthing wheel LV-2-put through 3.go 3.lie.down below

‘Hm, put it through, it'll go to this wheel, put it through, it has too much play,
(as) you say, pull (the wheel) up, it'll come in its hole you will put it (and) it'll
get stuck, it can be forgotten... This stick, did you put it through already? This
wheel, put it through, it goes and lies down below.’

M: Ga bogwa.
‘No, OK.’

K: E oku visuvi maka ne kai, e va kuloyawa
e o-ku-visuvi ma-ke-na kai e-va ku-loya-wa
yes LV-2-put through DEM-CPwood-DEM stick 3-go.to 2-pull.up-only
ambeyala mapwona na magim kwau ku visuvi.
ambey-a-la ma-pwonana-na magi-m ku-kau ku visuvi
where-EMP DEM-CPhole-DEM wish-your 2-take 2-put through

‘Yes, put through this stick, it goes to (it), just pull (the wheel) up (to) where
this hole is (and) where you like it, take it (and) put (the stick) in (to a hole in
the wheel).’

M: Bogwa.
‘OK.’

K: Bogwa.
‘OK.’

M: Bogwala mapona na la visuvi.
bogwa-la ma-pona-na la-visuvi
already-EMP DEM-CPhole-DEM 1.PST-put through

‘OK, OK, I already put it into this hole.’
K:  
E bukvisuvi bila bikaniemwa wala manakwa
e buku-visuvi bi-la bi-kaniemwa wala ma-na-kwa
yes 2.FUT-put.through 3.FUT-go 3.FUT-stay.with only DEM-DEM-CPthing
  wili olakeva.
wili olakeva
wheel up

‘Yes, you put it through, it’ll go (in it), it’ll stay only up with it, this wheel.’

M:  
E bogwa ekaniemwa.
e bogwa e-kaniemwa
yes already 3-stay.with

‘Yes, it stays (there) already.’

K:  
E bogwa, gala kudoki, e kwau manakwa kwebweyani,
e bogwa gala ku-doki e ku-kau ma-na-kwa kwe-bweyani
yes OK not 2.think and 2-take DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-red
  ka.
  ka
  OK

‘Yes, OK, you didn’t believe it, and (now) take this red (thing), OK.

M:  
E

‘Yes.’

K:  
Makabulana okuvasuva kwebweyani
ma-kabula-na o-ku-vasuva ke-bweyani-la
DEM-CPprotruding-DEM LV-2-put.through CPwood-red-EMP
  makena kevanaku ake e makenaga
  ma-ke-na ke-vanaku ake e ma-ke-na-ga
DEM-CPwood-DEM CPwood-long oh eh DEM-CPwood-DEM-EMP
  kai kekwinini okuvusi,
  kai ke-kwinini o-ku-visuvi
stick CPwood-yellow LV-2-put.through

‘This protruding (end of the stick which) you put through (it), this red long
(stick), oh, eh, (wait a minute) this stick, (the) yellow (one) you put (it) through
(the hole of the orange plastic part),

M:  
E

‘Yes.’
K: omatala kuvisuvi manakwa kwebweyani biva
omatala ku-visuvi ma-na-kwa kwe-bweyani bi-va
in.front 2-put.through DEM-DEM-CPthing CPthing-red 3.FUT-go.to
ikanava.
i-kanava
3-lie.down
‘you put this red (cap) through at the front (of the stick), it will go to (the stick
and) it rests there.’

M: Emwa beya o valu makala.
e-mwa beya o valu makala
3-come.to here to village like
‘It’ll come here to the village, like (this).’

K: E, bogwa okukwevisuvi?
e bogwa o-ku-kwe-visuvi
yes already LV-2-INT-put.through
‘Yes, did you put it through already?’

M: Omatala?
‘In front (of it)?’

K: Omatala kwau kuvisuvi biloki gala tuvela bidademi.
omatala ku-kau ku-visuvi bi-loki gala tuvela bi-dademi
in.front 2-take 2-put.through 3.FUT-go.to not again 3.FUT-fall.down
‘In front of it, take (it), put (it) through, it’ll go to (it), (and) it [the wheel] won’t
fall down again.’

(laughter)