1. Introduction

This paper is a first report on my linguistic research on "Classificatory Particles" (from now on abbreviated as "CP") in Kilivila language, as it is spoken by the inhabitants of Tauwema, a small village on Kaile'una, one of the Trobriand Islands.

In his description of this phenomenon - so typical for Kilivila - Malinowski (1920: 43) defines "CP" in the following way:

"...we see that the three classes of words, demonstratives, numerals, and adjectives, cannot be used in abstracto without carrying in them the expression of the objects to which they refer. This reference, however, is made only in a general manner; the particle... indicates...the class of object numbered, pointed at, or qualified. This is why we have called them classificatory particles."

To illustrate this principle of word-formation, Malinowski (1920: 43; see also Senft 1985) gives the following examples, in which he transfers the Kilivila principle to the English language:

"..."leafy-brown leaves on the wooden-large trees'... 'human-this boy is very naughty, but female-this girl is good'...""

In the linguistic literature the lexemes Malinowski called "CP" are usually referred to as "classifiers", "nominal classifiers", or "noun classifiers" (see e.g.: Adams et al. 1975; Adams, Conklin 1973; Allan 1977; Denny 1976); moreover, linguists nowadays also differentiate between "classifiers" proper, "quantifiers", and "repeaters" (Benton 1968: 115; Hla Pe 1965: 166; see also: Berlin 1968). In Kilivila - which we can now include
among the so-called "classifier languages" (Allan 1977: 286) - we find all three types of these formatives. Therefore, and because of the fact that Bronislaw Malinowski described a part of this complex morphological system of formatives first in 1920, these classifiers will be called here by the general term Malinowski coined for them, namely "Classificatory Particles", to pay the tribute to the master of Trobriand ethnography.

In this paper I will first discuss the aims of the study presented here and the methods of data collection pursued; then I will give an overview of the first results of the study. The character of this presentation is preliminary: the enormous amount of data collected asks for very careful and intensive means and tools of analyses; therefore, these first results presented here have more or less the status of trends, of heuristic means for further analyses. An outlook on these analyses will close this paper 1.

2. Aims
Ever since Bronislaw Malinowski's classic article on "Classificatory Particles in the Language of Kiriwina", published in 1920, it has been known to linguists, at least to linguists interested in Austronesian languages, that these formatives are one of the most fascinating features of Kilivila language. This being a fact, one is rather surprised to realize that besides Malinowski's article and a still unpublished, though quite comprehensive masters-thesis on CP by Ralph Lawton (1980)2 there is just one more table on "Noun-Class Divisions in Kiriwina" with a rather brief discussion in Capell (1969: 60-62), and some references in Capell (1971:274) and Lithgow (1976: 480) that are published and therefore accessible to linguists interested in these formatives.

When I came to the Trobriands in August 1982 with the chance of doing linguistic research there, one of my vivid interests was to work on this system of CP, as soon as I was able to master the
language in an appropriate way - a necessary prerequisite to carry out such a study.

With my research I wanted to pursue the following aims:
- Malinowski (1920: 44) presents and discusses 42 CPs, Capell (1969: 61) lists 44 particles, and Lithgow (1976: 480) speaks of more than 50 noun classes. These numbers given, I wanted to document the actual inventory of CPs in Kilivila.
- After having documented the inventory of CPs, I wanted to find out how this complex morphological system is acquired by Trobriand children.
- Using the inventory of CPs as a "fixed" basis, I wanted to find out whether there is any linguistic change inherent in this morphological system, and if so, I wanted to get some insight into its trends.
- If I could find such features of linguistic change I also wanted to find out whether there is any special group of speakers causing and fostering it.
- Finally, I wanted to find out whether there are differences in female and male speakers using this system of CPs.

To reach these aims, some basic methodological decisions had to be made, and I had to decide on a specific method of data gathering.

3. Method
My first aim was to find out something about the actual inventory of CPs. By using Malinowski's list of CPs, published in 1920, by using Baldwin's list of CPs, that is to be found in his unpublished manuscript "Biga Boyowa\(^3\)", and by noting down all the particles I heard in everyday conversation on the Trobriands, especially in Tauwema, I arrived at a total of 71 CPs. I checked these with my main informants and then compiled a list of CPs that I wanted to use as the basis for further data gathering with other informants.
At this point, one basic decision had to be made with respect to the sample of my informants to be: I could have worked either with informants living in different villages scattered all over the Trobriand Islands, or with informants living in Tauwema village, the place of residence during my field research on the Trobriands. I took the latter alternative because of some problems of transport and also because working with people all over the Trobriands would have meant a serious neglect of all the other interests I wanted to pursue during my 15 months of field-research. Thus, I focused my research on CPs in the language variety of Kilivila that is spoken by the inhabitants of Taulwema village on Kaile'una Island.4

Taulwema has 239 inhabitants (120 adults, 58 women, 62 men; 119 children, 52 girls, 67 boys). I decided on a sample of 60 informants, 30 female/30 male, representing 5 different age groups. Table 1 shows the sample of informants I worked with during my research on CP.

Table 1: Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Informants</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>female</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age approx. (years): 4-7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school children</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age approx. (years): 8-14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adolescents</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age approx. (years): 15-20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adults I</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age approx. (years): 21-35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adults II</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age approx. (years): 36-75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This sample encompasses 20% of the children and 30% of the adults living in Tauwema. I just want to make two more annotations on my sample: Having lived in Tauwema for 5 months before starting this research I realized that there was no use in trying to elicit CPs from children younger than four years of age - some informal pretests that I carried out showed that children just around the age of approximately 4 (+/- 6 months) start to acquire this complex system (see 4.2.); with all five age-groups I tried to balance the informants according to sex and age, especially with the two adult groups encompassing age-spans of 11 and 38 years.

These decisions concerning the sample being made, I had to work out an appropriate method of data gathering. I decided on compiling a questionnaire and on working out a standardized mode for using it in eliciting my data on CPs. The questionnaire consisted of the 71 CPs I had compiled before. To elicit these formatives, a typical noun, the qualities of which were described, or the class of which had to be indicated by the particular CP was noted down.

With this questionnaire I approached my informants that had to belong to one of the five age-groups, but otherwise were chosen at random. I first asked them whether they would like to cooperate:

Magigu kupaísewa deli yegu
magi-gu ku-paisewa deli yegu
wish-my you-work with I
2sg

'I want you to work with me'.

Then I showed them a drawing of two men and elicited an adjective, a numeral, and a demonstrative pronoun in combination with either the word for "man" or for "men". Thus, I got responses like:

Tomanabweta tau
to-mananabweta tau
male-beautiful man

'transparent man'

tomanabweta tauwau
to-mananabweta tauwau
male-beautiful men

'transparent men'
mtona tau  
\underline{m-to-na tau}  
this-male-this man

mtosina tauwau  
\underline{m-to-si-na tauwau}  
this-male-pl.-this men

'this man'  

'these men'

tetala tau  
\underline{te-tala tau}  
male-one man

teyu tauwau  
\underline{te-yu tauwau}  
male-two men

'one man'  

'two men'

Having elicited the first CP "te, to" in this way, I explained my informants that I would like to continue along the same lines, presenting to them different nouns they had to refer to using an adjective, a numeral, and a demonstrative pronoun. I did this in the following way:

Alivala makala tomanabweta tau, tetala tau, mtona tau  
Igau alivala dakuna (...), Igau yokwa bukulivala:  
a-livala makala to -manabweta tau te -tala tau  
I-say like male-beautiful man male-one man  
1sg.

\underline{m-to-na tau}  
this-male-this man.

Igau a-livala dakuna (...) igau buku \underline{-livala:}  
then I-say stone then you will say  
1sg. 2sg.

'I say: beautiful man, one man, this man. 
Then I say: stone (etc.), then you will say:...'

At this point I wanted to hear the adjective, numeral, and demonstrative with the CP that agreed with the class of the noun presented (in our example here: dakuna kwemanabweta etc.) If the informant did not react, I said:

Gala tomanaweta dakuna kena...  
gala to -manabweta dakuna kena...  
not male-beautiful stone but...  

'it is not (*male-) beautiful stone, but...'

and paused. If the informant reacted, the CP she/he produced in connection with the noun was noted down for all three word-classes on a separate list; if he did not react, I noted that, too, and
then produced the CP I wanted to elicit, asking him whether he knew it or not - his reaction was noted down, too.

This way of proceeding was tested in some informal pretests again, where it became evident that the best way of eliciting data was:
- to ask for one word class after the other - and not to attempt to get a combination of adjective, numeral, and demonstrative pronoun together with the noun within just one utterance - and
- to ask for the adjective first, then for the numeral, and finally for the demonstrative pronoun.
The last point was quite important especially in working with children (see 4.2.).

This way of data gathering using a questionnaire, lists to note down the informants' speech production (some of the tests were tape-recorded, too - to document the data collection in an exemplary manner), and the standardized introduction as well as the questions marked the situation as being quite formal. Nevertheless, my informants did not seem to be bothered by these facts; on the contrary, they were highly cooperative and gave no sign of losing interest - even the children, to whom the whole test seemed to be some kind of a new game - cooperated rather enthusiastically and with all their attention. This is quite surprising if one realizes that it took some informants up to 40 minutes to complete the questionnaire. All 60 tests were done in one session with each informant; the data were gathered from the 21st of March to the 5th of April, 1983.

Before I will present its first results, I just want to make a final remark on the study: It should be clear from the whole methodological set-up to gather the data that the emphasis of my research is on the actual language production with respect to the system of CP in Kilivila (in a kind of test-situation). Therefore, the results given in the following section show the system of CPs as it occurs in actual speech production by a
relatively high percentage of the inhabitants of Tauwema village on Kaile'una Island.

4. First results
This section presents the first results of my study on CPs in Kilivila. The first subsection lists all the particles found together with some remarks with respect to their referential function and with respect to my informants' actual speech production behaviour. I am aware of the fact that some of these remarks give some information on trends of the processes of language change that are in progress within this complex system of morphological formatives; however, before I comment on these changes in a more detailed way (see 4.3.), I will first attempt to line out how the system seems to be acquired by children (see 4.2.).

4.1. The Inventory
This subsection lists the formatives I found in the language production of the Tauwema people. I present the CPs in the following order: First, I list the particles that are to be found in Malinowski (1920), then I present the CPs that are mentioned in Baldwin (n.d., §§ 96-98), then I list other particles found in the course of the present study, and finally I present some of the CPs that I found after the formal tests described above. As to the formatives already mentioned by Malinowski, I will give Malinowski's way of numbering them (M1 - M42); the definitions and glosses, however, are mine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CP</th>
<th>usage/reference</th>
<th>comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te, to</td>
<td>M1 1. human beings</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. persons of male sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>te used with numerals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. **na**
   M2 1. animals
   2. stars, planets, moon
   3. corpses
   4. carvings in human likeness
   5. spirits, dwarfs
   6. persons of female sex

3. **ke**
   M3 1. wooden things
   2. rigid, long objects
   3. fire
   4. unmarked form for inanimates

4. **kwe**
   M4 1. thing
   2. anything indefinite or unknown
   3. unmarked form for inanimates

5. **ya**
   M5 1. flexible things
   2. thin things

6. **sisi**
   M6 1. bough
   2. cut-off part of a tree
   3. division of a magical formula

7. **lila**
   M7 1. bough
   2. branch
   3. leaf
   all informants substituted **lila** by **ke**

8. **kai**
   M8 stone-blades
   interchangeable with **beku**

9. **kwaya**
   M9 limb, severed limb
   also realized as **kwai**

10. **luva**
   M10 1. wooden dishes
       2. tied bundle
   most often substituted by **ke**

11. **kwoila**
   M11 1. clay-pot
       2. pot-like
   also realized as **kwai, kwena, kwela, kwalkwa, kwaila**
12. kada
   M12 1. road, track
        2. way in which sth.
            is done

13. kaduyo
   M13 door, entrance

14. vilo
   M14 1. place
        2. area
        3. village

15. kila
   M15 clusters/hands of
      bananas

16. sa
   M16 nut-bunch

17. bukwa
   M17 1. fruit cluster
        2. cowries tied into
            a specific cluster

18. pila
   M18 part, piece

19. vili
   M19 untwisted

20. bubwa
   M20 cut across, parts cut off

21. utu
   M21 1. scrap
        2. parts cut off
        3. small particles
        4. fragments

22. si
   M22 small bit

23. kabulo
   M23 1. protuberances
        2. village sectors
            areas of authority
        3. cape, point, peninsula
        4. half of sth.

24. nunu
   M24 corners of a garden

most often realized as: duya, other CPs produced: kada, keda, va, vaya
most often substituted by kwe
other CPs produced: ke, kwe, luva, po'ula
other CPs produced: ke, kwe, ya, luva
other CPs produced: ke, kwe, ya, utu
other CPs produced: ke, kwe, bubwa, utu
most often substituted by ke,
other CPs produced: bwa, utu
other CPs produced: ke, luva, bubwa, bwa
other CPs produced: ke, vili, utu
most often substituted by: ke; also realized as: kabulu;
other CPs produced: kwe, bubwa, utu, bwa
most often substituted by: kwe;
other CPs produced: utu, kabulo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Other CPs Produced:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>liku</td>
<td>M25 1. compartments of a canoe/a foodhouse</td>
<td>ke, kwe sometimes also realized as: kaliku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. area of authority</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>kabisi</td>
<td>M26 compartment of a foodhouse, sections/divisions of a foodhouse</td>
<td>ke, kwe, utu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>nina</td>
<td>M27 1. parts of a song</td>
<td>not produced by my informants; substituted by: kwe, pila, utu, kasa megwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. idea, thought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>meila</td>
<td>M28 part of a song, of a magic formula, of a chapter, of a day</td>
<td>not produced by my informants; substituted by: kwe, pila, utu, kasa, megwa also realized as mavila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>kubila</td>
<td>M29 large land plot</td>
<td>also realized as kwabila, other CPs produced: kwe, utu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>siwa</td>
<td>M30 sea portions, ownership-divisions with reference to fishing rights</td>
<td>not produced by my informants; substituted by: kwe, utu, bwaialta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>kala</td>
<td>M31 day</td>
<td>other CPs produced: kwe, yam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>siva</td>
<td>M32 1. time(s)</td>
<td>other CPs produced: kwe, utu, tuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. number of times doing sth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>kapwa</td>
<td>M33 1. bundles (wrapped up) parcel</td>
<td>also realized as kapo; other CPs produced: kwe, luba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. nest of birds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>wele</td>
<td>M34 1. batch of fish</td>
<td>other CPs produced: suya, suye, na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. string of fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>m'mwa</td>
<td>M35 conical bundle</td>
<td>other CPs produced: ke, luva, utu, buda, guba; also realized as mmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>kudu</td>
<td>M36 band of fibres bundles of lashing creeper</td>
<td>other CPs produced: kwe, doba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>yulai, yule</td>
<td>M37 bundles of four things</td>
<td>other CP produced: kwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>kasa</td>
<td>M38 row, line</td>
<td>other CP produced: kwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
39. gili  M39 row
other CPs produced: ke, kwe, ya, utu, vakala

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

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

42. uva  M42 1. span, measure;
the span of two extended arms - from tip to tip
2. items measured in spans
other CP produced: ke

43. gudi  1. child
2. immature human

44. bwa  tree(s), wooden things
interchangeable with ke

45. bogi  night
other CP produced: kwe

46. duya6  door, entrance
other CPs produced: kaduva, kadu, kada ke, kwe, ya, ya, vala

47. kavi  tool
fairly rare; other CPs produced: ke, kwe

48. kumla  earth-oven

49. koya, kwoya  mountain, hill
other CP produced: kwe

50. lilo  1. walk
2. journey
3. number of times going somewhere
4. number of times doing sth.
also realized as lola

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

52. yam  1. day, number of days
2. hand
other CPs produced: kwe; see also: kala
53. **buda**  
  group, team, crowd

also realized as
boda, budu, buku;
other CPs produced:
kwe

54. **deli**  
  company, group on the move

other CPs produced:
te, to, kwe

55. **duli**  
  cluster, bundle

other CPs produced:
ke, kwe, deli

56. **iga**  
  name

other CPs produced:
yegila, kwe

57. **kudu**  
  tooth

fairly rare; other CPs produced:
ke, kwe, kasa, ke'ì, ka'ì

58. **oyla**  
  string

fairly rare; other CPs produced:
nu, ke, pila, welu

59. **po'ula**  
  1. plantation, grove
  2. heaps
  3. group

other CP produced:
kwe

60. **sipu**  
  1. sheaf
  2. tangle, tangled line/rope/net/string

other CPs produced:
kwe, ya

61. **ta**  
  1. basket
  2. contents of a basket (but see: 0)

other CP produced:
kwe; also realized as peta

62. **yuva**  
  shoal

fairly rare; other CPs produced:
kwe, kasa, buda, boda, budu

63. **giwi**  
  cut

other CPs produced:
ke, kwe, luva, kasa

64. **gum**  
  bit, small piece

other CPs produced:
ke, kwe, ya, utu, kasa, buda

65. **kova**  
  fire, fireplace

other CPs produced:
ke, kwe

66. **notu**  
  1. kneaded things
  2. dot
  3. drop

also realized as nutu; other CP produced: kwe

67. **yama**  
  yard

other CP produced:
kwe'ya
CPs produced as alternatives to the CPs cited above:

68. tam sprouting see: 41., 80.
69. bekud stone blade see: 8.
70. va, vala
    vaya 1. river, creek see: 13., 50.
    2. sea passage
    3. door, entrance
    4. window
71. megwa magic, magical formula see: 31.
72. vosi, wosi 1. songs see: 28.
    2. parts of songs
73. bwalita sea see: 30.
74. tuta 1. time see: 32
    2. occasion
75. luba 1. bundle (of rolls) see: 33.
    2. parcels of taro pudding
76. suya, suye batch of fish on strings see: 34.
77. guba bundles of taro see: 35.
78. doba "grass"-skirt see: 36.
79. vakala belt of spondylus shell discs see: 39.
80. tetu yam see: 41., 68.
81. pona, ponu, polu hole see: 51., 82.
82. nigwa, 1. hole see: 51., 81.
    nigo 2. nest
83. yegila name see: 56.
84. ka'i, ke'i tooth, teeth see: 57.
85. peta basket see: 61.
86. bubu, bobó, bobu 1. cut across, cut see: 63.
    traversely
    2. block cut off
87. kweya yard see: 67.
CPs found after completion of the study proper

88. gubwa\(^7\) group of four
89. sam ginger
90. katupo 1. village sector
            2. section, quarter
            3. distance
            4. part/piece broken off
91. yeni a handful of sth.
92. bililo trip
93. kauya fish-trap, creel

If this list of CPs is compared with the inventory of CPs Lawton (1980) presents, one realizes that at least 176 Kilivila classifiers have been documented by our studies. However, Lawton and I assume that with all the subtle and very specific differentiations possible, there are probably more than 200 (!) noun classes in Kilivila\(^8\).

Before I comment on the list presented above in more detail, I first want to make some remarks on the first results of my study with respect to the acquisition of this system by Trobriand children.

4.2. The Acquisition of CPs in Kilivila

The results of eliciting the production of CPs by children to get some insight into the process of natural acquisition of this complex morphological system seem to be quite promising for further detailed analyses. In this subsection of my paper I want to present the first results of this aspect of my research; moreover, I will give some hints with respect to the trends in the acquisition of CPs that the data imply.

First of all, the study seems to confirm the trends already found in the informal pretests (see: 2.). The data suggest that the process of CP acquisition starts about the age of 4. The CPs
produced by three children of this age are te/to and na, although na is not produced in connection with all three word classes affected by this morphological device.

Up to the age of 5 the acquisition of other CPs seems to progress quite slowly; the CPs acquired by children of this age are ke and kwe.

At the age of 5 1/2 there is a kind of 'explosion' in the production of CPs with formatives like kai, ya, kova, ponu being produced - however, the CPs are realized in an incorrect way with respect to their referential function; moreover, overgeneralization in the usage of the particles ke and kwe is evident.

These trends - namely the overgeneralized usage of ke and kwe, the acquisition of other CPs like sisi, kwena, kwoila, kada, bubwa, pila, luba, pwanina, ta, kova, nutu, kweya, together with the gradually improvement of using these formatives in a grammatically correct way - can be found in children up to the age of 6.

In children belonging to the age group between 8 and 11 years, these trends are to be found, too. Now the children respond to almost every nominal reference given.

Children between 11 and 13 years of age show a relatively good knowledge of the system of CPs and its usage - nevertheless, they still show quite clear traces of overgeneralization in the usage of the particles ke and kwe and linguistic insecurity with respect to the appropriate usage of some formatives.

Another aspect of the process of CP acquisition afflicts the role this specific morphological phenomenon plays in the word formation of numerals, adjectives, and demonstrative pronouns.

CPs are most often realized in connection with adjectives during the first stage of the acquisition process. Children between 5 and 6 years start to produce CPs with numerals, too. It is only in children being 6 years and older that demonstratives are more and more produced with the referentially appropriate CP; however, linguistic insecurity in the production of demonstratives is to be
found in children up to the age of 8 years. This linguistic insecurity in the production of CPs seems to vanish at the age of 9 years. It is quite interesting that this order of producing CPs first with adjectives, then with numerals, and finally with demonstratives seems to confirm the findings on the difficulties children have in acquiring demonstrative pronouns (Böhme 1983).

These first results on the acquisition of CPs do not show any differences between boys and girls.

4.3 The System of CPs in Kilivila Revisited

Although the first results on the system of CPs in Kilivila are results of research in progress, the trends the data show seem to be very interesting.

First of all it is quite evident to anyone familiar with Malinowski’s article on CPs that my spelling of some of the particles already mentioned by him is different; these differences obviously document an enormous phonological change within the last 65 years or so. Some of these phonological changes may be due to language variety (or dialect) differences; however, these differences seem to reflect more general processes of language change in progress.

This impression is quite reinforced by comparing Malinowski’s comments on the usage of CPs with the comments and definitions of the referential frame of the CPs presented above (4.1.):

- There are some formatives that are mentioned by Malinowski and by Baldwin which are hardly ever or even no longer used at all by my Tauwema informants.
- Some of the formatives seem to be mutually interchangeable in actual language production, some of the CPs seem to have become a bit problematic with respect to a clearcut, unambiguous, and adequate usage in connection with nominal references that must have caused no problems at all in former times, some of the
formatives are used in a much broader context than the frame of reference given by Malinowski implies.

- The two formatives ke and kwe are used most frequently; they encompass a rather broad spectrum of nominal references or noun classes. This is not only to be observed in the overgeneralized usage of these two CPs by children, but it is also one of the striking results of a first analysis of the production of CPs in adults.

These observations hint at least at processes of language change in progress; moreover, we noticed two aspects of linguistic processes that usually accompany any kind of linguistic change in progress (Labov 1972a/b), namely:

- **linguistic insecurity** in some informants with respect to the appropriate usage of some CPs, and
- **overgeneralization** in the usage of some formatives, especially of the particles ke and kwe.

The processes of overgeneralization of some CPs, the linguistic insecurity being observed in some informants, and the actual loss of some CPs seems to hint at a change that leads to a simplification of the system of CPs in Kilivila. First analyses of the data indicate that school children and adolescents seem to play the leading role in this process of language change.

4.4. Outlook on Future Analyses

It goes without saying that the study presented in this paper — being a report on first results of my research on CP in Kilivila — needs careful and intensive analyses. It is only then that questions like what is really going on in the process of acquiring this complex morphological device and what and who is responsible for the processes of language change in progress that afflicts these formatives can be answered on a sound and provable basis. Computerized analyses of the data collected will give some insight into my informants' language production with respect to these
formatives; their responses to the stimuli presented to them in the course of the study will be counted and projected; the responses will be differentiated according to anticipated and unexpected reactions; an attempt will be made to scale the data using analyses like Guttman's scalograms, etc. After having finished the data analyses proper, Kilivila will be confronted with other "classifier languages" to find out whether this system of CPs can be compared with other classifier systems or whether it shows some language specific traits\(^\text{10}\). I assume all the indications are that these analyses will be quite exciting and fascinating.

NOTES:

* This paper is a slightly revised version of the paper I presented at the "Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea", Port Moresby, University of PNG, July 4 - 6, 1983. I would like to thank the "Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft" (German Research Society) for financing the project "Ritual Communication on the Trobriand Islands" (Ei-24/10-1). I am also indebted to I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt and to my colleagues at the Forschungsstelle für Humanethologie am MPIV (Research Unit for Human Ethology at the Max-Planck-Institute for Behavioral Physiology) for their support in realizing this project. I want to thank the National and Provincial Governments in PNG for their assistance with, and permission for, our research projects. I also thank the Department of Linguistics of the UPNG, the IPNGS, and the Council of Chiefs of the Trobriand Islands for their support of my research. Last but by no means least I thank the people of the Trobriand Islands, especially the inhabitants of Tawwema, for their hospitality, friendship, and patient cooperation. Without their help writing this paper would have been impossible.

\(^{1}\) With respect to the system of CPs in Kilivila see also Senft (1985; 1986).
2 I would like to thank Ralph Lawton for a copy of his thesis he sent me after I had finished my field research on the Trobriands.
3 I want to thank Father William Cunningham from Gusaweta mission station who allowed me to work with Baldwin's book.
4 The orthography of Kilivila is based on Senft (1986; 3.1.2.)
5 The Appendix lists all the other CPs that are not presented in subsection 4.1. The Appendix is based on Lawton (1980).
6 *duya* is just a variant of *kaduyo* (see 4.1., 13. (M13)).
7 Here my informants refute Capell's nominal reference as "square objects". Moreover, the CPs *ila* and *ukdu*, which Capell (1969: 61) quotes, are not known by the inhabitants of Tauwema; by the way, *ukdu* does not agree with Kilivila syllable patterns (Senft 1986: 3.2.).
8 According to Berlin (1968), Tzeltal has 528 noun classifiers; Miram (1983) speaks of 730 numeral classifiers in Yucatecan Maya (Miram 1983: 49); an excellent overview on languages with numeral classifiers is given by Serzisko (1980).
9 By the way, some of these losses were predicted by Malinowski (1920).
10 These analyses will be started in 1987.

REFERENCES


APPENDIX

CPs in Kilivila which are not mentioned in 4.1. (see: Lawton 1980; Senft 1985; 1986)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CP</th>
<th>usage/reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beku</td>
<td>floating submerged, sth. floating full of water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biga</td>
<td>word, statement, speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biko</td>
<td>bunch of coconuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bili</td>
<td>roll, material in rolls, sth. rolled up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bililo</td>
<td>trip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo</td>
<td>sth. cut across</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bubulo</td>
<td>sth. made, sth. created</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buko</td>
<td>buried, sth. concealed by being buried, sth. buried to mature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buliga</td>
<td>1. storey, floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. drawers, shelves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. horizontal divisions in the food house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulu</td>
<td>half submerged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buluwo</td>
<td>ten-group ((animals))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dala</td>
<td>family line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dodiga</td>
<td>1. load</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. contents of a box or basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabu</td>
<td>1. sth. burning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. fireplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. roasted food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibu</td>
<td>sufficient, enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gini</td>
<td>mouthful of food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>givi</td>
<td>serve of fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gubo</td>
<td>garden division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gugulo</td>
<td>1. gathering, meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. heap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igi</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ika</td>
<td>1. tens of things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. ten bundles of things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabila</td>
<td>1. large serve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. large cut of meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabilikova</td>
<td>fireplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadida</td>
<td>1. very small garden division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. division of a task between workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaiga</td>
<td>voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaililiku</td>
<td>part of the village, suburb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaiyuvai</td>
<td>layer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalipo</td>
<td>site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalivisi</td>
<td>large garden division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalo</td>
<td>two-bundle ((crustacean))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaluwo</td>
<td>1. ten days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. days in groups of ten ((with numerals only))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapu</td>
<td>mouthful of drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapuli</td>
<td>1. group of parcels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. cargo of goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. load of people in a canoe/a vehicle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kapupu  grove, tuft of hair
kasila  ten-group ((wealth-items))
katukuni  reel, one turn in a roll of anything
katuluwo  large group
kauilo  ten-group (strings of fish)
kaya  half (piece of food)
kevala  batch drying
kipu  1. cut of meat
       2. mouthful of flesh
kovi  pot-like
kumila  clan, clan-groups
kuna  rain
kununu  1. serve of greens
       2. number of fibres laid together
kupa  1. loose coil
       2. serve of uncooked greens
kupo  two-string, string of two fish, eels, octopi etc.
kuwo  1. crumb
       2. tiny object
kwailuwo  tens of things
lada  1. small fishing spot
       2. cluster of stars in the sky
lapou  1. a third of
       2. a portion of sth.
ligila  1. group action
       2. a round of turns at one activity
lilivi  forked stick
lipu  1. compartment of a creel
       2. tier
livisi  1. shelf
       2. division in a food-house
lukuva
1. growing bundle
2. bundles of long things, cut and tied together
3. trellises
lupo
smaller garden divisions
miga
1. appearance
2. face
moya
1. limb
2. position in family line
mweli
1. practices
2. bundles of leaves, heated and used as poultice
3. poultice
no
blow, strike, slap
puli
bunch
pulu
garden mound
pupai
layer of filth
pwa
excrement
pwasa
rotten
sega
1. branching, shooting
2. tree with a few leaves only
seluva
bundle being tied up
seyo
lagoon
sisili
cut of meat
sobulo
1. growing
2. single growing shoot
soulo
fishing spot
suyo
things strung through a hole
tabili
roll
tabudo
room
tavi
loose coil
teni
tight coil	
tubo
generation
tupila
fleet
udila  land tract
umila  grove ((one species))
uwo    two-bundle
vala   1. small garden division
       2. division of a task
wouyo  newness, new thing
yivi   serve of food pieces
yuma   length, measure of length (from the fingertips of one hand to the wrist of the other hand)
yuwo   group