8.4.1.2 Are holophrastic situations construed differently, with more of an emphasis on process than entities, at least in some cases?

I demonstrate the affirmative answer to this question for Iwaidja by consideration of two semantic domains: clothing/wearing, and tides.

(i) Clothing terms vs. wearing verbs.

One of our goals in the Iwaidja project was to elicit a detailed material culture inventory together with a set of material culture terms, including terms for items of clothing and body decoration. As part of preparation for our first joint field trip, Kim Akerman prepared a set of photographs showing all known material culture items of the region, on the basis of museum collections: note that these showed objects in isolation, without any person using or wearing them. Akerman, Birch, and I then showed these photos to Iwaidja speakers to elicit the terms for these objects, where still known. In many cases, verbs rather than nouns were preferred as responses to these photos:

(a) Photos of bracelets or arm bangles were described by the verb *dangkardakbung*, lit. '(s)he wears it on his/her arm', though the reference to a particular person implied by the English term is misleading,[18] so that a better translation might be '(something that) one wears on one's arm'. Further questioning revealed that this term could also refer to a watch. (There is in fact a nominal term, *barnda* 'bangle', which eventually came up, but this was not the first term given.)

(b) Loincloth: *wilakbin* 'he wears it tied around his loins'. No directly corresponding nominal term was provided, though the Kunwinjku loanword *manburrba* 'cloth' is often used to denote a sarong.

(c) Belt: the term *ruwurlakbang* 'he has it around his waist' was volunteered. Again, there appears to be no corresponding general nominal term, though the term *kurlawurr* can be used with the more specific meaning of 'ceremonial tasselled belt'.

(d) Headband: the term *kardakbin* '(s)he wears it around his forehead'[19] was used. Again there is no corresponding general nominal term, though there is a term *marraldaka* which refers to 'ceremonial headgear'.

(e) Necklace: speakers volunteered the term *barluriny* 'he has it tied around his neck'; this could also refer to someone with a hangman's noose around their neck. There is no corresponding nominal term.

In all of these cases, then, the favoured and sometimes the only construal was in terms of the action of putting on or wearing, rather than the entity itself. Though wearing verbs are known for some other languages of the world (e.g. Korean, Japanese), they had not previously been reported for Australian languages. Moreover, none of these had been recorded in the Pym and Larrimore draft dictionary

(containing 1,605 entries) which was the only record of Iwaidja vocabulary before ↳ the project—nor had Bruce Birch or myself recorded any of these forms before the joint field trip with Kim Akerman. (The two joint field trips with Akerman threw up many additional verbal terms which space prevents me going into here. One of the reasons was that, as a craftsman himself, his first engagement with any new item of material culture was to start trying to replicate the processes of manufacture and use, which he knew about from being able to make similar objects. Iwaidja speakers—in every case accomplished craftsmen or craftswomen themselves—responded to Akerman's craft expertise immediately and began to demonstrate relevant techniques or tricks, throwing up further vocabulary (cf. Birch 2006).)