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edited by
Tom Dutton

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|---------|
| Introduction | v |
| List of contributors | vi |
| KARL J. FRANKLIN AND ROMAN STEFANIW The 'pandanus languages' of the Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea – a further report | 1-6 |
| DON KULICK Language shift as cultural reproduction | 7-26 |
| DAVID LITHGOW Language change on Fergusson and Normanby Islands, Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea | 27-47 |
| OTTO NEKITEL Culture change, language change: the case of Abu' Arapesh, Sandaun Province, Papua New Guinea | 49-58 |
| GÜNTHER RENCK Values and semantic changes in Yagaria, Eastern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea | 59-66 |
| GUNTER SENFT 'As time goes by...': changes observed in Trobriand Islanders' culture and language, Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea | 67-89 |
| JEFF SIEGEL Language change and culture change among Fiji Indians | 91-113 |
| GEOFF SMITH Language obsolescence in Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea: two contrasting case studies | 115-121 |
| WILLIAM R. THURSTON Sociolinguistic typology and other factors effecting change in north- western New Britain, Papua New Guinea | 123-139 |
| S.A. WURM Change of language structure and typology in a Pacific language as a result of culture change | 141-157 |

INTRODUCTION

It is now more than two centuries since most of the indigenous inhabitants of Melanesia were first brought into contact with the Western world. As a result of that contact their cultures have generally been undergoing increasing and often dramatic changes, for example, previous religious ceremonies have been discarded in favour of Western ones, gardening practices and foodstuffs have changed, former trading cycles and contacts have been abandoned. It is therefore interesting to ask questions such as: What has happened to the languages associated with those cultures? Have they changed in predictable or not-so-predictable ways? Does culture change always mean language change? How precisely is language change connected with culture change, if it is?

In an attempt to provide some better basis upon which to test such questions than existed at the time, an application was made to the UNESCO Office for the Pacific States in 1989 for funds to support a project aimed at collecting together a number of case studies of culture and language change. At that time it was proposed to have three types of such studies:

1. those dealing with culture and language change before European contact;
2. those dealing with culture and language change after European contact;
3. those dealing with the disappearance of cultures and languages in Melanesia before and after European contact.

However, as the project developed it was decided to forego studies of types 1 and 3 because they have either been well documented already or could not be documented in time for the preparation of this volume. The volume is thus restricted to studies of type 2, and within that, to such studies as those who were in a position to participate in the project when it was first mooted were able or willing to undertake. Furthermore these participants were given a free hand to report on whatever they felt relevant to the topic expressed broadly as 'culture change: language change' in the language area they were familiar with. The result is a collection of papers covering a wide range of topics which will, it is hoped, provide useful data upon which to theorise about the relationship between culture change and language change and vice versa.

In drawing this project to a close I would like to thank all those who participated in it for their cooperation and patience. I hope they find the end result befitting their efforts and meeting their expectations. I would also like to thank the UNESCO Office for the Pacific States, Apia, Western Samoa, and especially its Associate Expert, Mr Luk Bouters, for responding so generously to my application for funds, some of which were used to support the publication of this volume.

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THE 'PANDANUS LANGUAGES' OF THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA – A FURTHER REPORT

KARL J. FRANKLIN AND ROMAN STEFANIW

1. INTRODUCTION

Several years ago one of us reported on the use of a ritual pandanus language which was spoken by the Kewa people of the Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea (Franklin 1972). At that time the language was well known and used in various areas around Mt Giluwe whenever the people harvested certain pandanus nuts. The purpose of this article is to report on its present use, as a sample of cultural vitality in the area.

2. REVIEW

Word taboo and name taboo are common phenomena in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea as well as in other areas of the Pacific.¹ We find, in Kewa for example, alternative kinship terms, names for the dead, personal names, as well as especially coined metaphors in cult activities and the songs of many dances (Franklin 1967, 1970, 1972, 1975). Highland peoples, in particular, excel in the use of parabolic language and this genre functions to either diffuse tensions or provoke them.

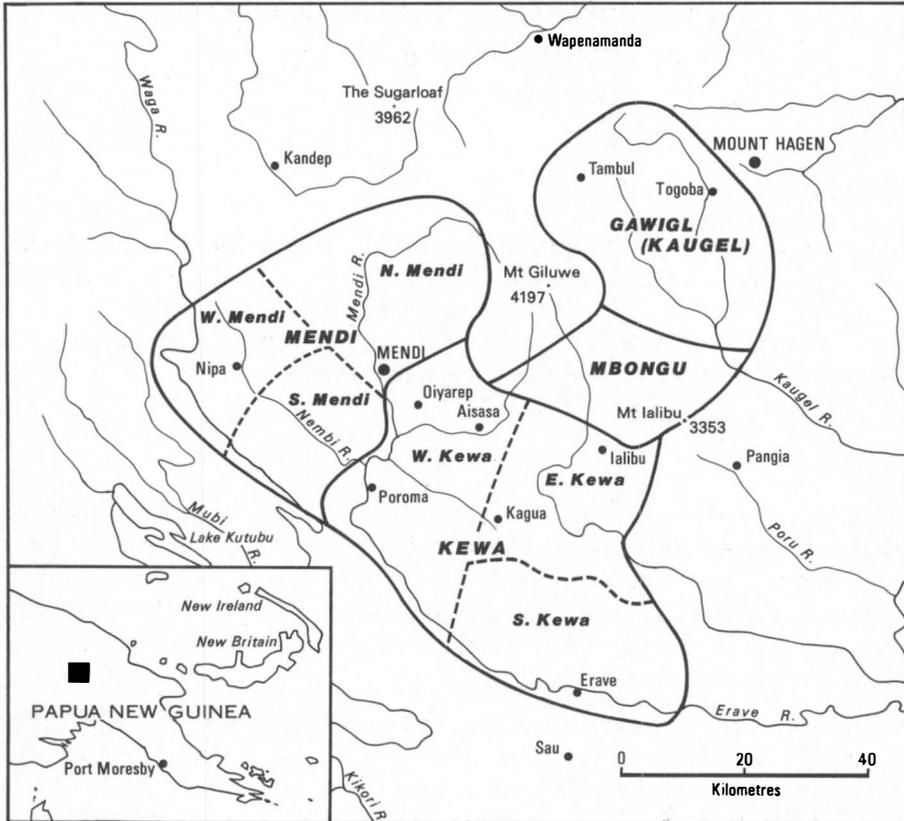
When the use of the pandanus language was first described (Franklin 1972) it appeared to be widely used around Mt Giluwe. Today, over twenty years later, it is less widely known, and the sociolinguistic situation reflects the general apathy of many members of the present generation towards the vernacular and their positive wholesale adoption of Tok Pisin.

3. THE PANDANUS LANGUAGES

The earlier use of the term 'ritual' to describe the use of this language may have assigned more exclusive status to it than was warranted. Women and children have used it and continue to understand it, so it is not something involved with ritual acts by men alone, like other cultic forms of language. Also there does not appear to be any special acts or ceremonies which appeal only to the mythical spirits which reside in the Giluwe mountain area. On the other hand, the use of the language has some sacred and powerful qualities, much like conversational prayer.

¹See, for example, general surveys by Simons (1982) and Holznecht (1988), as well as particular instances by Lithgow (1973) and Keesing and Fifi'i (1969).

The languages are named after a variety of pandanus, called *rumala* in Kewa and *amo* in Imbongu² – see map. In both languages the name of the pandanus variety precedes the word meaning ‘talk’ or ‘language’, e.g. *agaa* in Kewa and *ungu* in Imbongu.



THE KEWA AND MBONGU LANGUAGE AREAS

The gathering of the pandanus nuts is usually a social occasion and there would seem to be nothing to fear in such activities. It is only in the ‘deeper’ parts of the forests that the language is used. It is in the environs of the unusual, such as pools, caves, or heavily wooded areas that the mythical tender of the wild dogs of Giluwe lives. This mythical being is called *Kita Menda* in Kewa and *Giluwe yelkepo* in Imbongu. The following descriptions are based on material collected from older men in the two vernaculars, Kewa and Imbongu – when we attempted to elicit information and examples from younger men they universally commented that they did not know the language as well as the elders. And, in fact, the older men are always called in to give the actual examples of its use.

²Imbongu is also known as, or is part of what is shown on maps as, Gawigl or Kaugel (Head 1990). It is a member of the Hagen Sub-Family of the Central Family (Wurm 1982:125).

4. KEWA PANDANUS LANGUAGE

The vocabulary terms described earlier (Franklin 1972:20-72) are still known, but with some exceptions and additions:

(1) *Yoyo* is still applied to the 'ear' or 'breast', but is not applied to 'hair'. As the men said, "We don't use names for everything". No term was suggested for 'hair'; *wale* is used for 'net bag' (instead of the standard Kewa *nu*) and it appears to be borrowed from the word for 'sugarcane' in East Kewa.

(2) *Yandira* is still used for 'nose stick' and 'eye', but *kandu* (the West Kewa standard form) is used for 'nose'. No terms were suggested for 'seed', 'face', or 'head'; all of these were *yandira* in our previous sample.

(3) *Palaa* is still used for 'branch', 'tree', 'fire' or 'firewood'. If one is to chop a tree the expression *palaa ramba-pa* (branch help-make) is used instead of the standard Kewa form *repena poa* (tree chop). To make a fire one says *palaa kandu-ta* (branch nose-hit), instead of the standard expression *repena (k)ira* (fire cook).

(4) *Aayagopa* is still used for 'man' but new forms were elicited for 'woman' *ambi-si* (now-diminutive), instead of the standard forms of *ona* in West Kewa or *winya* in East Kewa; 'child' is called *uki-si* (break.off-diminutive), instead of the standard *nogo-naaki* (girl-boy).

(5) *Keraa* is still used for 'bird' and 'flying fox', but not for 'bush', 'forest' or 'cassowary'. Instead the standard forms are used: *raa* 'bush' and *yari*, East Kewa for 'cassowary'. The standard forms for 'bird' and 'flying fox' are *yaa* and *kaima*.

(6) *Maeya* is still used for 'crazy' and is applied to 'pig' by adding *maga maeya*. In the pandanus language *maga* usually means 'house' or 'village'. The standard form for 'pig' is *mena*.

(7) *Abulu-iri* (lip-hair) is used for 'dog' instead of the standard form *yana*. There are many taboo forms for 'dog' throughout the Kewa area (we have recorded ten different words for 'dog' in Kewa).

Two words which were not recorded previously are *epaku* for 'sun' and *akane* for 'stone'. The standard forms are *naare* and *(k)ana*, respectively.

Observations made previously on the grammar of the language vary somewhat. Instead of *mupi* being used for the 'to be' conjugation people suggested *mu mu disa*; and instead of *lala* for 'give', *laleya* is used. However, in general the same overall system seems to prevail. A few examples are:

(8) *Nena maga mupa*. = 'I am going to your house (village).'

(9) *Aayagopasi nena maga mupa*. = 'He/She is going to your village.'

(10) *Nena maga mupapana*. = 'We/They two are going to your village.'

(11) *Nena maga mupaminya*. = 'We/They all are going to your village.'

It is apparent that many more words and expressions can be 'coined' or used if the situation demands it. For example, for the sentence 'It is going to rain, so let's go to the village', pandanus language speakers use *Aki-tu ramu-ramu mu-pea maga mu-pa-pana*, which we would analyse as: edible greens ?-hitting rotting-rotting getting-make house getting-make-we.two.go. The standard West Kewa sentence is *Yai epalia-pulu nena ada bana* (rain come.it.will-because your house go.we.two.lets).

The fact that only certain men are recognised as having the ability to create the language may promote the feeling of the present generation that it is dying out.

5. IMBONGU PANDANUS LANGUAGE

Although the language is still used the people think that it will die out (as well as Imbongu). Some people consider the pandanus language as already dead and claim they do not need to use it because they are no longer afraid when they go to the forest areas where the bush spirits reside.

Imbongu speakers consider the riddles and figures of speech of noted orators to be a sort of secret talk. It hides the meaning from and tricks uninitiated people, just like the pandanus talk tricks the spirits. Also, when people engage in sorcery or other mischief against another person, the epitome of success is to tell the person what you have done to his face in a riddle, but in such a way that the person cannot be sure of what has happened. There does seem to be an element of play in the formation of the words and the use of the pandanus language.

The following examples are of the most common, generalised words in the Imbongu pandanus language.

(12) *Nokoli* means 'watcher' and is used for both 'nose' and 'sun'. The standard forms are *kumbe* and *ena*.

(13) *Akuku* is used for 'mouth', 'teeth' and 'tongue'. The standard forms are *kere*, *ungu* and *alimbili*.

(14) *Talapune* is used for 'forked tongs' and 'two'. The standard forms are *kointe* and *talo*.

(15) *Kakare* is used for 'road' and 'ground'. The standard forms are *aulke* and *mai*.

(16) *Poku okowa* is used for 'woman', *pokulu okowa* for 'girl' and *okowa komenu* for 'young woman'. The standard forms are *ambo*, *balo* and *ambo wenepo*.

(17) *Pokuk'ane* is used for 'man' and *pukuku ane* for 'boy'. The expression for 'big man' is *ane tawema*. The standard forms are *iye*, *ungulu* and *iye awili*.

The word used for 'white man' is *ope nokoli ane* while the standard form is *iye kondoli* (man red). Compare *nokoli* with (1) for the semantic derivation.

(18) *Muku* is used for 'mountain' and *mulu* for 'village'. Notice the standard forms of *mulu* and *kombu*, respectively.

Other vocabulary items are not generalised: *tambo* (I must hit) is used for 'bushknife/axe' (*loi*); *wakenana* is 'dog' (*owa*); *kapano* is 'tree' (*unto*); *malki* is 'spirit' (*kuro*); *kangani temo* is 'eye' (*mongo*); *wapu neme* is 'pandanus' (*amo*); *eleme* is 'food' (*kere*); *palenana* is 'sugarcane' (*po*); *kokai* is 'sweet potato' (*gai*); *mamine inye* = 'apron' here is used for 'pig' (*kongi*); *akepo* is used for 'bird' (*kera*); *pokopiya* is used for 'one' (*tendako/tendeku*); *takai* (temporary) is used for 'big' (*awili*); *toro* = 'I hit/kill' is used for 'small' (*pontili*); *kiki* 'tiny' or 'a newborn' is used for 'before' (*oi*).

Sentences are more transparent in producing generalisations. The pandanus language does not shorten forms but uses various circumlocutions as a productive device. The most statistically prominent verb is *Iteo* 'I have' and this is perhaps the most passive of any Imbongu verb. The use of this verb seems to be consistent with the self-protection outlook

of the language, that is, active > noticed > dangerous, while passive > hidden > safe. There is also some humour in the expressions, as these examples show:

(19) *wakenane angō nimbelo* = wild.dog brother will.speak. This means 'the dog will bite' and the normal form is *owa nombalo* (dog will.bite).

(20) *pika tepa lapani lteo* = break he.does father.agent I.have. This means 'you talk to me' and the standard form is *nuni na ungu ningo tiwi* (you.agent me talk say give).

(21) *talapune kolko lea* = forked.tongs die/feel have. This means 'hand over the forked tongs' and the standard form is *kointe yando tie* (forked.tongs to.here give).

(22) *kapano tiriku leamili* = tree ? lets.have. This means 'let's light the fire' and the standard form is *tipe kalamili* (fire let's.cook).

The verb paradigms appear to be the same between the pandanus language and standard Imbongu. Simplification occurs in the reduction, or in some cases, the total elimination of the case system.

6. SOME CONCLUSIONS

There are areas where men, in particular, are bilingual in both Kewa and Imbongu. However, the people seem to go to different areas to harvest their pandanus nuts. Consequently the practical question of which version of the language they would use if speakers of the two languages meet does not present a problem.

The pandanus languages seem to be used for the same reason that name taboos are employed. The motivation is to assert some degree of control over potentially hostile elements or people. This can be done by trickery, magic, or brute force. Taboo forms of speech are used with people, forces of nature, or the spirits which empower them. The languages are used because they work. When we asked about the origin of the languages or how the uninitiated use them a story (Imbongu) was given in reply:

The people had gone on the mountain to gather pandanus. Having done it, they went into the long house to spend the night. The children were hungry. While eating, the cicada cried out. When eating the pandanus, they left it on the ground outside and took the bad parts out. Women wore net bags on their heads and the men wore the circle hats. A certain man wore a sort of hat or crown of woven and intertwined vines shaped into a circle. The cicada cried out 'stop', the man came in, and after that suddenly the children could speak the pandanus language.

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LANGUAGE SHIFT AS CULTURAL REPRODUCTION

DON KULICK

1. INTRODUCTION

Discussion about the relationship between culture change and language change in the Pacific can be found in three types of literature. First of all, there are accounts by linguists, who focus on specific languages and who document what they often refer to as contact induced grammatical “decay”. While these accounts, like similar ones produced by linguists working with obsolescent languages around the world, are of interest for the data they provide on structural change, they frequently suffer from a shallow understanding of culture. Several linguists, for example, have commented on the apparent loss, during the last fifty years, of the noun class system in the Murik language, of northern Papua New Guinea (Laycock 1973; Wurm 1986, 1987). Problems arise when they invoke culture to account for this change. Wurm (this volume, 146-147), for instance, explains the disappearance of the Murik noun class system by asserting:

In quite a few of the Papuan languages which have gender or class systems with nouns, it has been established that the classification systems of nouns have their conceptual base in the traditional culture of their speakers and reflect the categorisation of the concrete and spiritual world surrounding them into a number of distinct units, such as trees, animals and plants of significance to the traditional indigenous life, objects connected with food production such as gardening, fishing, the utilisation of water...[list continues]... With changes in the traditional cultures of [these] Papuan languages...through clashes with intrusive, as a rule metropolitan-based, cultures which eventually lead to the breakdown and disappearance of the indigenous cultures of the peoples concerned and the, mostly partial and rudimentary, adoption of the intrusive culture, the conceptual base for the assignment of certain classes to nouns tends to be forgotten, and the classes fall into disuse and eventually disappear from the language concerned.¹

Leaving aside the obvious difficulties with this account (such as questions concerning how this conceptual basis of noun classification has been “established” and by whom, the question of how this kind of argument applies to changes in those noun class systems in Papuan languages that are determined by the phonological shape of the noun and not the cultural status of its referent (Foley 1986:85-88), and the far from uncontroversial issue raised here concerning the conscious salience of abstract grammatical categories), the basic

¹See also Wurm (1987:40,45) for similar arguments.

problem is one of how culture articulates with language in such a way that changes in culture bring about specific changes in language.

Although on the face of it the kind of account provided by Wurm might seem apparent and simple, the difficulties begin piling up when one presses the point and asks: how exactly? Through what social processes does contact with an "intrusive culture" first lead to "the conceptual base for the assignment of certain classes to nouns" being "forgotten", and then to the noun classes themselves being disused and abandoned? Jane Hill (1990) has recently expressed the problem precisely. "No matter how powerful the agents of oppression", she observes dryly, "we have no evidence that they can enforce practices like 'freeze derivation in the fifth positions of verbal prefixation' or 'shift from ergative to nominative-accusative marking of arguments'" (p.1), or, in this case, one might add, 'drop all noun classes'.

Another place where language change and culture change in the Pacific has received detailed attention is in the work of non-anthropologists writing about the connection between language and political economy (e.g. Mühlhäusler 1989, 1991; Gilliam 1984; Dutton & Mühlhäusler 1991; Lynch 1979; Romaine, in press; Topping 1992; Hollyman 1962). Frequently drawing on implicit and modified versions of dependency theory, scholars writing in this vein stress the negative consequences that contact with white society has had on Pacific languages and cultures. In a recent paper, for example, Peter Mühlhäusler, who is perhaps the most ardent and prolific representative of this type of scholarship, has assessed the results of two hundred years of white presence in the Pacific as a "cultural and linguistic holocaust" (Mühlhäusler 1991:19; see also Stannard 1989; Moorehead 1966).

The importance of the work done within this framework cannot be overestimated, because it directs sharp critical attention to the nature and consequences of the political, economic, religious, cultural and linguistic subordination of Pacific peoples. But while the whole thrust of this work is on change, the precise nature of the relationship between cultural change and linguistic change tends to be painted in very rough strokes, and apart from frequent, nebulous recommendations that "catastrophe theory" (Mühlhäusler 1991:24, 1987:17, 1986:76, 249; Romaine, in press) or "quantum linguistics" (Mühlhäusler 1991:23) might provide insights into these processes, no coherent theory linking processes of culture change to language change has yet appeared.

A further problematic aspect of much of this literature is its strongly conservative (perhaps 'conservationalist' is the *mot propre*) stance on change. Virtually all aspects of modernisation are considered harmful to indigenous vernaculars, and are therefore condemned, in language which sometimes runs the risk of being interpreted as paternalistic. Thus, while questions like "what are the advantages of non-literacy and how can those advantages be maximized?" (Mühlhäusler 1987:21) might be theoretically interesting and fun to ponder from the depths of one's armchair, it is not difficult to imagine that many Pacific Islanders and Melanesians might see in that question a dubious throwback to elitist colonialism, where education and literacy were considered, by the ruling powers, to be 'needed' by only a tiny minority of the indigenous population (Gilliam 1984; Kulick & Stroud, in press).

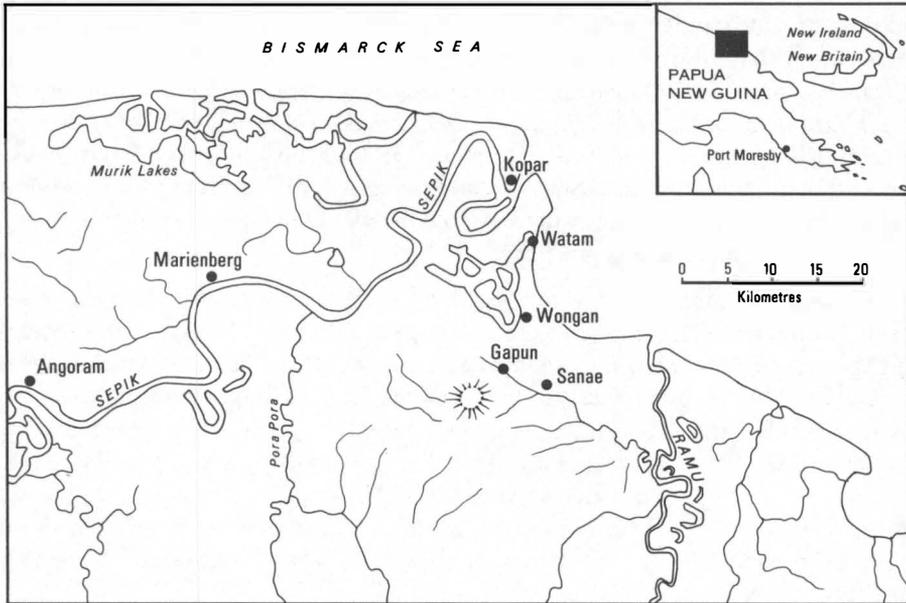
The third type of literature relevant to the problem of language change and culture change does not in fact tend to address the question of change. It is, however, extremely important in this context, because it examines with great sophistication the relationship between language and culture in the Pacific.

The kind of work I have in mind here is that carried out by linguistically trained anthropologists who study particular societies. In anthologies like *Dangerous words* (Brenneis & Myers 1984), *Language socialization across cultures* (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986), and the recent *Disentangling* (Watson-Gegeo & White 1990), and in monographs such as *Culture and language development* (Ochs 1988), *The give and take of everyday life* (Schieffelin 1990), *Talk never dies* (Goldman 1983) and *Ku Waru* (Merlan & Rumsey 1990), researchers working broadly within an ethnography of speaking tradition pay close attention to linguistic data in order to demonstrate the ways in which language both structures and is structured through cultural practices.

The one feature of much of this work which makes it less helpful than it otherwise might have been in understanding change is its concentration on synchrony. Only recently has change begun to be examined, and whenever it is, this tends to be at the level of the micro-event. Thus, in his recent paper on the Samoan *fono* as a disentangling, or conflict resolving, event, Duranti (1990) demonstrates how language during a *fono* is managed in ways that can result in delicate restructurings in the social hierarchy within villages. A paper by Hutchins (1990) in the same volume discusses how Trobriand villagers' understandings of land rights are shaped and transformed through the talk that gets produced at land litigation meetings. Both these papers explore in diachronic terms the insight that language shapes social reality.

What has thus far been addressed in this literature, however, are very limited changes, such as, to return to the above examples, the relative status of a Samoan chief or the usufructory land rights of eloquent Trobriand villagers. Presumably, the assumption is that these kinds of micro-changes that are continually being brought about through language can, over time, result in higher level changes in the social structure. The exact mechanisms of this change, and the selective processes which determine the direction and speed of change, are again, though, left unexamined. Also, this type of research does not tend to address the question of change in the other direction. That is, while it is demonstrated how certain culturally determined uses of language may result in social change, we are not told how social practices may bring about linguistic changes.

What I would like to do in this paper is attempt to cast a bridge of sorts between the kinds of studies I have just outlined. My goal here will be to articulate the relationship between language and culture in a diachronic framework which sees the two as changing together and influencing one another. The empirical material from which I will draw to make my point is my study, conducted between 1986 and 1987, of a group of people living in a small, rural Papua New Guinean village called Gapun.



THE LOWER SEPIK AND RAMU REGIONS

2. GAPUN

Gapun is a village with a population which in 1986-87, fluctuated between 90 and 110 people. It is located about ten kilometres from the northern coast of Papua New Guinea, roughly midway between the lower Sepik and Ramu rivers. It is an isolated village, surrounded on all sides by rainforest and sago swamps, connected to other villages (the nearest of which is about a two-hour journey away) and to the outside world only by narrow, choked waterways and slim bush paths subject to flooding.

The reason why Gapun is interesting in this context and provides me with a perspective from which to approach the issue of language change and culture change is that the community is in the midst of a language shift. The vernacular language of the villagers is a Papuan language which they call *Taiap mer* (Taiap language). The language exists only in Gapun, and is spoken actively and fluently by exactly eighty-nine people.² Even by the somewhat extreme standards of Papua New Guinea, this is a small language. And from having been something of an archetype of the kind of small multilingual community described by Sankoff (1977), Gapun is now moving towards a future where not only all multilingualism, but also the villagers' own vernacular language will be lost. As of 1987, no village child under ten actively used this village vernacular in verbal interactions. These children either speak, or, in the case of the one- to three-year-olds, are clearly on their way to acquiring, Tok Pisin, which is one of Papua New Guinea's national languages and certainly its most important in terms of number of speakers.

²The figure of eighty-nine represents the total number of Taiap speakers - even those fluent in the language who do not reside in Gapun have been counted here.

The reasons for this language shift from Taiap to Tok Pisin are, on the face of it, not at all clear. Gapun is difficult to reach and far away from any urban centre. Partly because of this geographic isolation, villagers are only very marginally involved in the market economy. Everyone in Gapun is self-supporting through a combination of swidden agriculture, hunting and sago-processing. Some villagers engage in cash-generating enterprises such as growing coffee or drying copra, but this is done on an ad hoc basis as a minor supplement to their subsistence activities. The amount of cash earned through such activities is not large, and it is quickly spent on store-bought items such as rice, sugar, batteries or articles of clothing.

Out-migration from the village is negligible, consisting in 1986-87 of four women and one man who lived in the villages of their spouses. A number of families from Gapun live in the nearby village of Wongan (a two-hour journey away by foot and canoe), where they feed and look after most of the schoolchildren from Gapun during the week. These families cannot, however, be considered to have left Gapun, since the close ties between the two villages and the relatively short distance between them allows the families to remain actively involved in most aspects of village life.

In-migration, too, is not yet significant. The only way for an outsider to establish him or herself in Gapun is through marriage to a villager. In recent years, there has been a growing tendency for young men and women to choose their partners from outside Gapun, particularly from Wongan. The majority of marriages between those villagers living in Gapun, however, is still between fellow villagers. In ten of the sixteen married couples living in the village in 1987, both spouses were speakers of Taiap who had been born and raised in Gapun.

A final puzzling aspect of the language shift is that no one ever expresses any negative evaluations of the vernacular language. All adult speakers of Taiap value it. Parents want their children to learn the vernacular and villagers do not understand why their children are no longer acquiring it. There has been no conscious decision on the part of anyone to stop transmitting the vernacular to children.

In Gapun, we thus are confronted with a rural, fairly isolated community with little out-migration and still insignificant in-migration; an economically self-supporting village far removed from processes of industrialisation or urbanisation; a village where market economy penetration is negligible, where the majority of village parents both speak the vernacular and where all adults value the vernacular. And yet the village is in the process of shift from this vernacular to Tok Pisin. The absence of material and demographic changes means that the macro-sociological factors, such as industrialisation, or urbanisation, or in- or out-migration, which habitually are invoked to account for language shift in other societies, have little relevance for Gapun. The usual explanations of language shift simply do not fit this situation.³

In explaining this language shift, I turn to anthropological theory, both in order to draw on it and at the same time to augment it to encompass language. The theory which I believe has the power, subtlety, and scope to account for why villagers in Gapun are abandoning

³The general thrust of these explanations is made explicit in Dorian's comparison between old-order Amish (who have retained their minority language) in the United States and the Scottish Gaelic fisher community which she studied (who have shifted to English). Formulating what she appears to take as a general tendency, Dorian states that "so long as people lived, worked, and married among themselves, maintenance of their home language followed" (1981:72). In Gapun, the maintenance of the home language has *not* followed from the variables listed by Dorian.

their vernacular is Marshall Sahlins' ideas about structure and event, in particular his notion of "structure of the conjuncture". The "structure of the conjuncture" is, according to Sahlins, "a set of historical relationships that at once reproduce the traditional cultural categories and give them new values out of the pragmatic context" (1987:125). Sahlins' concern in his recent work (1981, 1987) has been to explain how people transform culture in the act of reproducing it, and what he means by the idea of conjunctural structure is that by drawing upon presupposed cultural categories to interpret and act upon new situations and events, people can, under certain circumstances, come to transform and revalue those very cultural categories by which they interpret and act. This idea of change through reproduction is the perspective from which I will approach language shift in Gapun here. I will be arguing that the process of shift in the village is being brought about mainly because, in reproducing (through their day-to-day practices and their socialisation patterns) the cultural categories through which they understand themselves and their world, Gapuners are transforming those categories. And those transformations are precipitating decisive consequences for how the villagers think about and use their languages.

3. IDEAS OF SELF: HAVING *hed*

One of the most far-reaching cultural transformations that has occurred in Gapun since the arrival of white people in their country at the beginning of the twentieth century has been a change in how the villagers view and express the self.

The villagers' portrayal of self foregrounds two dimensions as central and shared by all people. The first of these is what the villagers call *hed* in Tok Pisin, or *kokir*⁴ in the vernacular. Both these words literally mean 'head'. They signify the side of an individual that villagers feel is individualistic, irascible, selfish, unbending, haughty, stubborn and proud. Every person is thought to have *hed*, and the display of *hed*, that is, the proclamation of personal autonomy, is considered necessary and uncontestable in certain social situations.

But *hed* has very definite associations in Gapun, many of them negative, which entwine it with the villagers' ideas about age, gender, sociability, morality, and, ultimately, with their ideas about language.

Babies in Gapun, first of all, embody *hed*. Pre-verbal infants are considered by villagers to be in a more or less continual state of dissatisfaction and anger. They are treated by caregivers as aggressive individualists, and are frequently shaken lightly by their mothers and chastised playfully that their *heds* are too 'strong' and 'big', and that they 'never listen to talk'. The first words that villagers attribute to children reflect their ideas about the nature of children. The first word a child is usually thought to utter is the Taiap word *ɔki* (go+Irrealis). This word, attributed to infants as young as two months of age, means, approximately, 'I'm getting out of here'; *ɔki* is believed to rapidly be followed by two other Taiap words: *mnda* (I'm sick of this), and *aiata* (Stop it). Nobody imagines that any one of these three words has been *learned* by children. They are all attributed to children long before they begin to repeat fragments of the speech of others or interact verbally with anybody. Instead of repetitions or invitations to interaction, Gapuners view these first three, fundamentally antisocial words as pure manifestations of a child's nature. The five-month-

⁴Words in the villagers' vernacular language are italicised and underlined. Italicised words without underlining are Tok Pisin words.

old baby who is held to declare 'I'm getting out of here', who is seen as ordering others to 'Stop it' and who is believed to obstinately announce 'I'm sick of this' is considered to be truly expressing his or her self. Note that this expressing is thought to be done with words in the Taiap language.

But if young children are always showing *hed* and acting belligerently, the same is true of women. Women in Gapun are collectively held by village men to be more *bikhed* (big-headed, wilful) than men, and in ways similar to most Papua New Guinean societies, women here are associated with individualism, atomicity and antisocial behaviour. In mythology, in oratories in the men's house and in everyday conversations between males, women tend to be represented as divisive troublemakers whose selfish actions constantly threaten the solid, manly group.

Individual women in Gapun do not share this view of themselves as destructive troublemakers. And yet, ironically, they continually reinforce this stereotype of women; in large part through their frequent use of a verbal genre known in the village as *kros* (Kulick 1992:104-117, Kulick n.d.). *Kroses* are public proclamations of conflict which announce that something reprehensible has happened and that someone is dissatisfied. They are explosions of anger which rip through the village in rhetorical blasts of insults, vulgarity, threats and curses. The common pattern is for the offended person to sit inside her house and scream a monologue of virulent abuse at the individual or group of people whom she feels have encroached upon her in some way. The person being abused is free to respond to the accusations rising from inside the *kros*'s house, but unless the respondent wants the conflict to develop into a full-scale fight, she must answer back in a parallel, overlapping monologue of her own delivered from inside, or in the near vicinity of *her* house.

I purposely use the feminine pronoun in this description because almost invariably, *kroses* in Gapun are conducted by women. All those villagers who have acquired a reputation for being perpetually prepared to break out into a *kros* at a moment's notice are women. And even on those occasions when men publicly *belhat* (get angry, shout), this anger is usually directed at that man's wife or his close female relatives. So public arguments almost inevitably involve women at some level.

Women who have *kroses* do not interpret their own behaviour in reference to the stereotype of women as destructive individualists. A woman who screams obscenities through the village at her husband or sister or neighbour does not consider that she is being divisive; she is legitimately defending her rights and autonomy from attack. Men, however, often do not see the matter in this light, and even women, when *other* women have *kroses*, are likely to condemn the woman screaming from her house as 'a woman who always gets cross for no reason' (*meri bilong kros nating nating*). Both men and women thus blame (other) women for being troublesome, aggressive, socially disruptive and 'showing *hed*'.

4. SHOWING *save*

The associations that the notion of *hed* has with children and women contribute to its being very negatively evaluated in village rhetoric. In anyone but small children, *hed* is officially condemned. The word is used to signify egoism, selfishness, and maverick individualism. It stands in stark contrast to another dimension of self that villagers continually elaborate in their actions and talk. This second aspect of self is called *save* in Tok Pisin, *numbwan* in the vernacular. These words mean knowledge. The concept covers

knowledge of facts and the knowledge which enables one to do things and learn from experience and doing. But *save* also means social knowledge: knowledge about appropriate behaviour and speech, awareness of social obligations and roles, cognisance of the consequences that one's own or someone else's actions or words can have. *Save* is a metaphor often used in Gapun to mean social sensitivity and solidarity. It is the knowledge that one must sometimes 'suppress *hed*' (*daunim hed*), compromise, fulfil social obligations and accommodate others even if one doesn't want to.

This idea of 'suppressing *hed*' is a basic expectation that all parents have of their children. Parents believe that as children mature, they will come to understand that they must 'suppress' their *hed*, their individualistic egoism, and continually show their *save*, their sociability and cooperativeness.

Save thus has connotations of maturity, as something adults have that children do not. But there is also an understanding among the villagers that some adults possess more *save* than others. *Save* is an idiom used in Gapun to mark differences. The concept, for example, has specific associations with gender. Although all adults are held to possess *save*, men are considered to have more than women. This is a stereotype, and there are individual village men in Gapun who sometimes get scoffed at as having no *save*, just as individual women who rarely have *kroses* and who are held to work hard and help their husband, are not usually said to lack *save*. But as a collective, women are stereotyped by men as having no *save*.

In practice, this stereotype finds reinforcement in the fact that women have *kroses*, and in the fact that the majority of ostentatious displays of social solidarity, such as funerary feasts, in which large amounts of store-bought and garden food, as well as a pig or two, will be given away and used to feed visitors, are always orchestrated by men.⁵ But even more important than these events in this context is the talk which is seen as leading to them and making them possible. This talk, which the villagers call 'men's house talk' (*ambagaina nam*) is *save* on parade.

'Men's house talk', or oratories, as I will call them here, are occasions on which the village men engage in speeches that downplay tension, smooth over disagreement, stress consensus and, in doing so, create contexts in which they and others may publicly demonstrate their *save*. As the vernacular name suggests, oratorical speeches have always taken place in the men's cult houses, and these days, they generally concern matters pertinent to the orchestration of the male group activities, such as clearing overgrown paths or repairing rotten footbridges, working out the arrangements which have to be made for funerary feasts, or arranging to help a village man and his wife in some task which requires a number of labourers, such as carrying house posts, roofing a house, or clearing the forest to plant a garden.

Because they are so strongly associated with the men's house, oratories, *par definition*, are male. Only men in Gapun are considered to orate. There is no rule or explicit consensus in the village that women cannot orate, and strong-willed women in the village do

⁵This is not always the case, and in Kulick (1992:47) I mention one funerary feast that a woman then in her late twenties-early thirties took the lead in organising for a dead relative. The feast was a success, and this woman was acclaimed the owner of all the land, betel palms, coconut trees and sago palms that had belonged to the dead man. Whenever villagers talk about this feast, they always comment approvingly on how 'like a man' this woman had acted.

occasionally speak during public gatherings which concern both men and women. Women's speeches contain many of the same rhetorical features, such as repetition, which are predominant in oratories, but they differ importantly in that they are much briefer than most men's speeches, and they never contain any of the particular formulaic tags which the men use to mark their speech as oratorical. Furthermore, women, who are not allowed inside the men's house, obviously cannot speak from there, and so their contributions to a discussion have a peripheral character that is underscored by their spatial placement. Because of factors like these, women who make short speeches at public gatherings are not considered to be orating; they are, rather, 'complaining'.

The most important thing to stress here is that village men who orate are given credit for drawing their listeners together into a consensus. Day-to-day life in Gapun is rife with all sorts of conflicts, and hardly a day goes by without some small scandal occurring or being remembered, and broadcast throughout the village in the form of a brash *kros* screamed from inside someone's house. It is this context in which one must understand oratories. Good orators manage to downplay the tensions which continually infect daily life in the village, and through their talk, they promote an illusion that everyone is in agreement and that there really are no conflicts at all. In creating this illusion and bringing the villagers together in this way, orators demonstrate their own *save*, their own social awareness and skills, even as they work to structure a context in which others can demonstrate their *save* by listening and contributing to the buildup of the consensus by repeating and agreeing.

Hed and *save* are the two dimensions of personhood which in Gapun are the objects of a tremendous amount of talk and elaboration. The one, *hed*, is stereotyped as bad, immature and feminine. The other, *save*, is associated with maturity, social goodwill and maleness. Having outlined these two concepts, I can now approach the two questions of interest to anthropologists and linguists concerned with change. The first question is: How is the village notion of self related to language?, and the second is: How is it related to change?

5. LANGUAGE AND SELF

Turning first to the issue of language and self, we can begin by giving a nod to the sociolinguistic commonplace that people use varieties of language to signal identification with or membership in some group, be it ethnic, class or gender-bound (Gumperz 1982; Labov 1972; Giles 1977; Philips, Steele & Tanz 1987). In addition, the work of conversational analysts and of students of code-switching has demonstrated the ways in which people use language varieties as rhetorical devices to convey hints about their desires, intentions, feelings and identities (Tannen 1984; Stroud 1992; articles in Heller 1988). Finally, recent work on discourse has rediscovered ideas of the Russian literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin about the 'heteroglossic' nature of human communications, and it has employed these ideas to investigate how people, through language, construct 'voices', that is, ways of speaking that construct and foreground specific interested positions and identities (Hill & Hill 1986; Tannen 1989; Briggs 1989).

The central point to appreciate in order to understand the language shift that is occurring in Gapun is that the associations connected with the different languages spoken by the villagers have made those languages available for use as distinct 'voices', as distinct symbolic resources which can be drawn upon to foreground different dimensions of the village self.

What has happened is that *hed*, the negatively valued side of a person, has become tied to the vernacular language Taiap, whereas *save*, that dimension of self which all villagers value and wish to be associated with, has come to be linked to Tok Pisin. In order to see how this situation has come about, it is necessary to look briefly at the associative network into which Taiap and Tok Pisin are embedded.

One of the most salient connotations of the Taiap language is that it is the language of the land. Like other vernaculars, Taiap is understood by the people of Gapun to be inseparably bound up with the land (*graun/sumbwa*). Links between the land and vernacular languages find expression in several ways, for example in myths about how each village was founded at the beginning of time by a founding ancestor (*kuskus/engin*) who differed from the founding ancestors of other villages only in terms of the language he spoke, or in beliefs that the rainforest and swamps which make up a village's land are replete with a wide variety of supernatural beings who all speak the vernacular of the village that owns the land. That is, those supernatural beings inhabiting the land owned by the Gapun villagers speak Taiap; those living on the land of the neighbouring village of Sanae speak Adjora, the language of Sanae; those on Wongan's land speak Kopar, the Wongan vernacular, etc. In the Gestalt of these supernatural beings, villagers project their vernacular onto their physical world, defining it and bounding it off, as they define and bound off themselves from other groups, through language.

But if the villagers' vernacular is projected onto their land, the land, in turn, is closely associated with the generations of Taiap-speaking ancestors who have lived on the land throughout history, and with the matrilineal clans to which these ancestors have always belonged. Clans are important in several ways in Gapun (Kulick 1992:86-87), but their most significant value in this context is that they own the land. Each clan represented in a village has rights over specific areas of land, and on this land, clan members born or adopted into the village can hunt, fish, work sago, gather firewood, find food and plant gardens. Land rights are extremely salient for the villagers of Gapun, and every adult is acutely aware of what land is owned by which clan. The rights to use clan land are energetically upheld, and if a man or woman were discovered to have worked sago or killed a pig or cassowary on another clan's land without having first obtained permission from the land's owners, a conflict would arise and retribution would have to be paid to members of the disaffected clan. Associations between land and the clans are so strong that 'land' is often used in village discourse as a metaphor for 'clan'. To remark that 'the land [of clan x] is coming up big' (*graun i kamap bikpela*) is to observe that the clan is populous and expanding because many children are being born.

Clans in Gapun are matrilineal, and perhaps for this reason women are explicitly talked about as the 'foundation' of clan strength. Collectively called 'mothers' (*ol mama/mayangro*), women are often referred to as the 'base', or 'root' (*as/kadanj*) of the clan, and in abstract discussions men maintain that women are of more value than men. When a village woman in her twenties died while giving birth to a stillborn baby, one of the village big men lamented the loss and privately chastised the villagers of the nearby village of Sanae (who, it was taken for granted, caused the death through sorcery) when he remarked, in conversation with a few village men in his men's house, that:

Women produce (*kamapim*) the clan. They're the root of the banana tree (*as bilong banana*). As long as the root of the banana tree remains, children will be born and grow. But you get rid of the root, how will children come to be? You

[people from Sanae] can be angry, but [in appeasing your anger] you have to kill a man or a boy, not a woman or a girl.

Another time, shortly after a particularly vicious village *kros* by a woman at an old man, another senior man recounted for a few men that the old man had cursed the woman during the *kros* using the word 'cunt' (*kan*). This man disapproved of this. He explained that:

You can't talk bad about the cunt. The cunt is the Ancestor. The cunt produced (*kamapim*) the land/clans. True you have to have a cock too, but this cock of ours can't produce anything at all.

This notion of women producing the clans is also the subject of an esoteric myth in the village which, although poorly known and not widely recounted, suggests that the Ur-being who originally 'divided' (*skelim*) people into different clans was a woman called Jenkeŋa Ojenata.

Myths like that of Jenkeŋa Ojenata, and comments like those above on the importance of women for the perpetuation of the clans are part of a discourse in Gapun which represents women as being very closely tied with the clans. Summing up the relations that villagers see between men, women, the land and the clans, one man once remarked that "men look after the ground/clan, but women are the foundation". In fact, in calling women the 'foundation' (*kandarj*), villagers are using the same word as they use for clan (*kandarj*). Women, the men are saying, *are* the clan.

There is thus a network of associations linking the vernacular to the land, the land to the ancestors and the clans represented in the village, and the clans to women. Within this network, women in Gapun come to be positioned in a special relationship to the Taiap language. Furthermore, the metaphorical associations between women and the village vernacular get reinforced through praxis. Although all but two village women are fluent in Tok Pisin, for a variety of reasons women in Gapun tend to speak more Taiap than men. In their informal conversations with one another, and, importantly, in their *kroses* screamed over the village, women tend generally not to code-switch into Tok Pisin as much as men do.⁶ Also, the only people in Gapun who are either not fluent speakers of Tok Pisin, or who simply prefer not to use it, are women. Villagers tend to accommodate these women by switching to the vernacular whenever they address them, and because of this they are frequently made aware of the fact that some women do not speak Tok Pisin. And finally, women in Gapun do not play leading or particularly prominent roles in those formal contexts in which a large public focuses its hearing on the display of Tok Pisin. Such focused hearings occur most commonly on those relatively rare occasions when the village is visited by carving buyers, government officials, policemen or missionaries. All such contacts are handled by men. Women are often present throughout much of the talk that occurs on these occasions, but they tend to remain at the periphery of interaction. If a woman has something she especially wishes to communicate to the buyers or officials, she often chooses to speak through her husband or older children. The non-assertive role that women assume in their contacts with these representatives of the modern world serves to distort public conceptions of their competence in Tok Pisin and permits the maintenance of a stereotype in which all women can be portrayed as more or less incompetent in Tok Pisin. At the same time, it

⁶Actually, the matter is somewhat more complex than this. Interested readers are encouraged to see the more detailed discussion of female speech patterns in Kulick (1992, n.d.).

underscores the stereotype that women are less modern, and therefore more traditional, and therefore more bound to the vernacular, than men are.

The semiotic bond linking women and Taiap is significant, because it brings into play the whole series of associations called up by the idea of 'woman', including immaturity, childishness, *kroes*, antisocial behaviour and the notion of *hed*.

Tok Pisin has very different connotations. First, the language is tied to maleness. The reasons for this are partly historical. Tok Pisin first entered Gapun with two village men who had served as contracted labourers for three years on a plantation near Rabaul. These men returned to the village shortly after the beginning of World War I. Following the pattern common throughout Melanesia, Tok Pisin thereafter became incorporated into the linguistic repertoires of village men, who perfected their knowledge of the language as they followed the lead of the first two men and went away for a year or more, working as plantation labourers, shiphands or road-workers in far-off places like Lae or New Ireland. Women in Gapun only began learning Tok Pisin after World War II, in the late 1940s and 1950s. This means that Tok Pisin was being used by males for almost thirty years before females began learning it and using it widely.

Besides maleness, Tok Pisin in Gapun also has strong associations with white people. Like all Melanesians who learned the language early on in this century, Gapuners believed they were learning the vernacular of the white men. Unlike many groups which have long since abandoned that idea, however, the villagers of Gapun have never really ceased to believe this. Only during the late 1980s, and due primarily to my own presence in the village and my oft-repeated insistence that people in Europe and other parts of the world really do not know Tok Pisin, have some villagers come to suspect that Tok Pisin might not in fact be the vernacular that white men and women speak in 'the countries', which is the name given by the villagers to every other country in the world except Papua New Guinea. One of the main factors contributing to the perpetuation of the belief that Tok Pisin is the white man's vernacular has been the fact that the religion brought to Papua New Guinea by these white people has been spread and written through the medium of Tok Pisin.

Since the late 1940s, when a Catholic missionary began making semi-regular treks to the village to convert the villagers, the people of Gapun have been Catholic. The impact of Christianity on village life has been very profound, and trying to be good Christians is one of the most fundamental bases of village life and discourse. The village version of Christianity is quietly yet intensely millenarian, with emphasis placed on the second coming of Christ and on the changes that this event will bring to Papua New Guineans and their country. Villagers anticipate that one day, when everybody has finally 'suppressed' their *hed*, turned *wanbel* (united in Christian love), and, in doing so, therefore become a true *kristen komuniti* (Christian community), or, alternatively, one day when somebody succeeds in discovering the secret that the villagers think they need to know in order to bring on the millenium, they will be rewarded with waves of ships and cars and aeroplanes and tinned food and money, with the factories that produce these commodities, with the knowledge (*save*) required to keep the factories running, and perhaps most significantly, Gapuners believe that they will also receive new, white skin. The villagers consider that white skin is both a prerequisite for and a result of all other rewards. In all of this, Tok Pisin plays a major role as the language of Christian worship, the language in which the Bible is written and the language that villagers strongly suspect is spoken in Heaven.

Because of these links to Christianity, which in turn is bound to anticipation of the millenium and the ways and lifestyle of white people, Tok Pisin is also associated with the idea of modernisation. And most important of all, Tok Pisin has become associated with the villagers' concept of *save*. Those people in Gapun who claim to have acquired knowledge about and familiarity with Christianity, white people and (therefore) the modern world are regarded as having more *save* than those who have not managed to gain such knowledge and who therefore still 'follow the ways of the ancestors' (*bihainim ol we bilong ol tumbuna*).

The most common way for these claims to be made is through oratorical speech. Oratories in the men's house link intra-village relationships and local affairs to 'modern' processes and institutions which have their locus far beyond the scope of the village. Thus the need to repair rotten foodbridges will be justified by pointing out that villagers must have a way to get their coffee beans out of the village to the buyers, and discussion concerning the organisation of a funerary feast will centre on the ability of the dead person's relatives to dry enough copra to earn the money that must purchase the white rice, sugar, *tinpis* (tinned mackerel) and Nescafé that will be consumed during the feast. At some point during each village meeting, no matter what the original reason for the meeting happened to be, somebody will inevitably extoll Christian ideals, mention the value of education, devalue the ways of the ancestors and urge the villagers to show *save* so they all can 'come up'. The men's house has thus become an important arena in which individual men can publicly assert their familiarity with the modern world by reminding others that the Church, school, 'Papua New Guinea' and *bisnis* (work done to earn money) have altered the nature of village relationships and must be accorded a central role in village life. And in order to substantiate their claims to knowledge about the modern world, they overwhelmingly choose to orate in the language through which that world is understood to be constituted.

6. LANGUAGE AND CHANGE

In order to account for how the process of language shift begins and gains momentum, it is necessary to understand the reasons that adults have for incorporating the new language into their communicative repertoires in the first place. In the literature on shift, people are said to begin learning dominant languages of greater currency than their vernacular because they are forced to do so through occupation, large-scale in-migration of dominant-group members or incorporation into a political entity where that language is widely used, and/or because they choose to in order to be able to advance in a socioeconomic hierarchy that is controlled by members of the majority group.

There are elements of both coercion and strivings for socioeconomic advancement in the villager's incorporation of Tok Pisin into their linguistic repertoire. A focus on these concepts as such, however, would obscure the perspective from which the people of Gapun have acted. Certainly those Gapun men who went away to work on plantations were forced to learn Tok Pisin in order to be able to communicate with their fellow labourers and to follow the orders given by their overseers. And certainly those men understood this language to be linked to the white world which they believed had so much to give them. But the 'meaning' and the implications of Tok Pisin were far deeper and much more profound than simple communication or social mobility.

The reasons for the enthusiasm towards and the spread of Tok Pisin throughout the verbal repertoires of all villagers, eventually even those who rarely if ever left Gapun, were not so

much 'pragmatic' or 'socioeconomic', as those terms are commonly used in the sociolinguistic literature, as they were 'cosmological', in the broadest possible anthropological sense of that word. The sudden appearance of white men in New Guinea, and the new conditions of existence to which this fact gave rise was not, for the villagers, merely a 'social' or 'economic' fact. It was, as Sahlins has stressed in his analysis of the Hawaiian reaction to European contact (e.g. 1987:38), a Maussian "total" fact, "social" and "economic" at the same time that it was "political", "historical" and, above all, "religious". Villagers in Gapun believed, as they continue to believe, that the arrival of the white men was the harbinger of a new way of life. Their presence in New Guinea came to be understood in terms of an impending metamorphosis that would transform every aspect of the villagers' lives, including their physical beings. Although villagers could not achieve this transformation by themselves, they could attempt to hurry it along by heeding the admonitions of missionaries and colonial officials to change their lives, and by scrutinising white actions, words and lifestyles for clues about how to change that the missionaries and others might want to remain hidden from them.

In their eagerness for the metamorphosis to occur, villagers immediately seized upon language as a 'road', a way of making it happen. They considered that learning and speaking Tok Pisin, the language of the white men, would facilitate access to the secret underpinnings of white power and wealth. This attitude was grounded in the well-known traditional Melanesian understanding of language as a means by which powers could be coerced and desired results obtained (Meggitt 1968; Lawrence 1964; Burridge 1960; Kulick & Stroud 1990).

Brought back to the village by young men returning from the plantations, Tok Pisin became incorporated into the villagers' communicative repertoire first through the speech of men. Many studies of other groups in Papua New Guinea (e.g. Sankoff 1976, 1977; Laycock 1979; Mühlhäusler 1979; Reed 1943; Thurnwald 1936; Mead 1931) have observed that men returning to their villages after being away as plantation labourers immediately put the plantation Pidgin to work in their interactions with fellow villagers in order to bolster their reputation and display their knowledge of the outside world. Because of these ties to maleness, and because of the cosmological significance of Tok Pisin, it is likely that the language quickly began to be incorporated into that most male of village speech genres, oratorical speeches.

The use of Tok Pisin in oratorical speeches was the crucial point at which culture and language intersected in ways which changed them both. It was at this juncture that the village conception of *save* became available for linguistic marking in a way it had not been before.

The link between *save* and Tok Pisin had been available to be made by the villagers from the very beginning of their contact with white men, since the difference between Europeans and villagers was interpreted by Gapuners through their idiom of difference: their concept of 'knowledge'. Essentially, white people were understood to be different from black-skinned people like the villagers and as having access to superior material wealth because they had more *save*.

The application of the concept of *save* to make sense of the white man's presence in their land was a "structure of the conjuncture" in Marshall Sahlins' sense: it was the point at which an indigenous cultural category was called upon to give meaning to a novel historical happening. But the moment villagers applied their concept of *save* to understand and

interpret the presence and actions of white people, they changed the way in which *save* could be conceived. As soon as it became linked to the white man, the meaning of *save* came to be increasingly wrested away from the traditional contexts in which it had been previously articulated and understood; and eventually *save* came to be defined in opposition to those traditional contexts. Senior men and women, once considered to be exceptionally knowledgeable, and accorded the most *save* in the village, now came gradually to be seen as *longlong/babasak* (stupid) and as purveyors of a useless and ultimately damaging way of thinking: the villagers, for example, destroyed all that remained of their traditional sacra after World War II because they heard rumours that the millenarian cult leader 'Yaring' (also known as Yali; see Lawrence 1964) had said that these things were 'blocking' the return of the ancestors, who wanted to come back laden with cargo. As young men returned from the plantations with small boxes of cargo (axes, steels tools, cloth, tinned foods, money), a new language comprehended in esoteric terms, and first-hand knowledge of a profoundly different, and infinitely more attractive lifestyle (that of the whites), their *save* came to be seen as superseding that of the old people, precisely because the *save* of these young men was seen to be of the same nature (or at least seen as having the potential of being of the same nature) as that of the white men, that is: Christian, outward-oriented and non-traditional. This compatibility between the *save* of young men and that of whites was underscored and strengthened each time white men had contact with the villagers. Priests spoke Tok Pisin to those who knew it best, and the positions of village authority instituted by the colonial powers (*luluai* and *tutul*) were available only to Tok Pisin speakers. The first *luluai* of Gapun, for example, was one of the two men who first went away as plantation labourers.

As the village concept of *save* was undergoing a radical revaluation as a result of its being used to comprehend the presence of white people, the language of the white men was being meaningfully absorbed into the village context which most openly embodied and displayed *save*, that is, oratories in the men's house. This absorption not only strengthened and reinforced the changes that were occurring in the meaning of *save*; by injecting Tok Pisin into oratorical speech, villagers also began to alter the means through which *save* most effectively could be expressed. From having been linked to warfare, initiation, the organisation of funerary feasts, and verbal expression foremost through oratorical speech in Taiap, *save* now (while maintaining its associations with maleness and collectivism) became tied to Christianity, cash cropping, trying to become white, and verbal expression foremost through oratorical speech in increasing amounts of Tok Pisin.

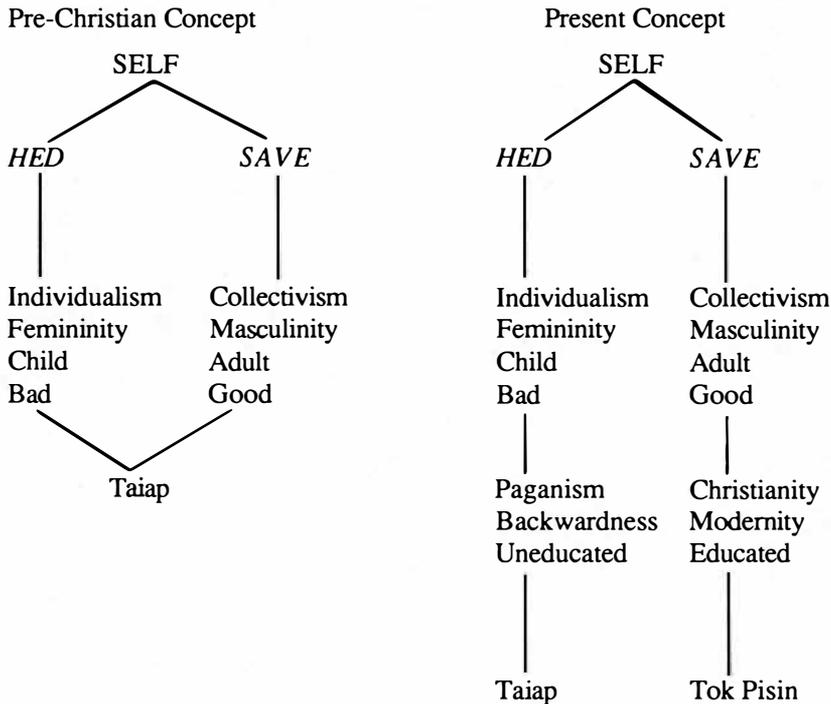
As the expression of *save* became increasingly tightly bound to Tok Pisin, the possibility arose of linguistically marking, in a similar manner, those aspects of the villagers' behaviour which were considered to *not* be displays of *save*.

Like the original associations between *save* and Tok Pisin, the link between *hed* and Taiap had been available to be foregrounded by the villagers from the very beginning of their encounter with white men and Tok Pisin. For the first two or three decades after the first village men returned from the plantations, Tok Pisin was the exclusive property of males. Females did not begin actively using the language until after World War II. This meant that the linguistic behaviour of males and females differed markedly for a large number of years. This difference gave rise to a situation in which gender-based linguistic difference could be focused upon and exploited as a symbol of, or metaphor for, the gender difference itself. Thus, as Tok Pisin came increasingly to be regarded as a symbol of maleness and *save*, a sociolinguistic space was created and eventually filled through an association of non-Tok

Pisin speech with women and the numerous associations that already surrounded them. In other words, the associations between women and *hed*, already salient in the traditional culture, were now strengthened and expressed by the fact that women did not know Tok Pisin and had *kroses* in Taiap.

Having marked both dimensions of the self linguistically, it now became possible for villagers to use Tok Pisin and Taiap as symbols of *save* and *hed* even in contexts other than those in which the links had originally developed. Thus, because *save* had come to be symbolised in important and salient ways by Tok Pisin, the use of that language even outside the context of oratory carried with it connotations of *save*. And the vernacular, in turn, now carried its association with *hed* to contexts which extended beyond talk by women.

What has happened, in other words, is that the village notions of ‘autonomy’ and ‘knowledge’, of *hed* and *save*, have, in effect, “changed their signs” (Sahlins 1987:107) due to the arrival of white men and the introduction of Tok Pisin and Christianity. These historical events threw up a dramatic new series of oppositions – such as Christian:Pagan and Modern:Backward – that have affected the way in which villagers view and express the self. What was once a dual concept of self subsumed under one language has become a duality split along linguistic lines. *Hed* has become linked to the vernacular, which in turn has associations with women, the ancestors and the past. *Save*, on the other hand, has come to be expressed through and by Tok Pisin, which in turn is strongly associated with men, the Catholic church and modernity. This split can be diagrammed roughly as follows:



Because Taiap has become associated with negatively charged values (relative to the dichotomies introduced through the white presence in Papua New Guinea), it is losing its ability to express positive aspects of self. At the same time, Tok Pisin, because it has

become connected with *save* and the chain of association bound up with that, has become a resource which villagers can draw upon in their interactions with one another, to poignantly underscore their commitment to those values which everyone agrees are important, namely Christianity, modernity, collectivism, etc. In using Tok Pisin villagers are thus expressing an important and highly valued aspect of self; they are displaying their knowledge and social awareness – their *save*. But in doing this they are also constituting a situation in which their vernacular is becoming less and less desirable and important. Thus in their day-to-day interactions, involving *kroses* and oratories, and in their language socialisation practices (Kulick 1992), villagers continue to reproduce and reaffirm their concept of what a person is. They project upon each other and on their children the ideas of *hed* and *save* and they rely upon these notions to explain behaviour and to understand one another. But the point is that in reproducing the self, Gapuners are changing the symbolic means through which the self can be reproduced. And it is this dynamic that is ultimately responsible for – quite without conscious effort or approval on the part of anyone – language shift in Gapun.

7. CONCLUSION

To conclude, I would like to return to the three types of literature that discuss culture change and language change in the Pacific, and briefly suggest some implications that the kind of culturally grounded perspective on change I have discussed here has for those different traditions.

First, when it comes to the linguistic literature that invokes culture as a way of accounting for structural change in language, although I have not specifically addressed that issue here, I have argued elsewhere (Kulick 1992:198, 252-257) that Gapuners' perceptions of self have played a decisive role in determining how quickly and how pervasively Tok Pisin was incorporated into the village verbal repertoire, in determining the attrition of specific semantic domains in Taiap, and also in determining the precise form that linguistic contact phenomena such as code-switching have taken in the village. When it comes to structural attrition in the language itself, what the perspective offered in this paper can offer is the insistence that *linguistic changes are not the results of 'changes in culture' so much as they are the results of changes in the signifying practices of the speakers of particular languages*. By deflecting in this way the focus of attention from 'culture' to practice, examination of the reasons for structural attrition can proceed by concentrating on what specific people do and how those practices articulate with language, thereby avoiding the *deus ex machina* of 'culture' which seems to pop up so irrepressibly in papers by linguists on language change.

The second type of literature on language change and cultural change can, I believe, be greatly enriched and nuanced by intensive studies of small communities like the one I have outlined here. The focus of the work done on language and political economy in the Pacific inclines towards the grand, towards the Big Picture, and analysis usually encompasses 'the Pacific', 'Melanesia' or 'Polynesia'. While there are valid theoretical reasons for treating this entire area as a linguistic ecosystem (Mühlhäusler 1989; Grace 1981), many of the generalisations made about the area, such as claims about the 'impact' of literacy (Kulick & Stroud, in press), or about the reasons behind language shift, are not well founded and are generated in the absence of detailed knowledge about how people in Pacific societies in fact think about and use language in their day-to-day lives. And while it may not be reasonable, as Mühlhäusler recently has asserted, "to concentrate on single languages and generalise findings thus made" (1991:12), it is hardly the case that we are overwhelmed with detailed

case studies of language change and culture change in specific Pacific societies – certainly when it comes to language shift there are only two: Annette Schmidt's (1985) monograph on young people's Dyirbal and my own recently completed work on Gapun. Because we simply lack knowledge, it seems to me, *contra* Mühlhäusler, that now might well just be the time “to concentrate on single languages” and see if the specific might not refine and expand our understanding of the general. This spirit of approaching the problem of language change and culture change would, moreover, resonate with general theoretical trends in both anthropology and sociolinguistics; away from attempts to construct grand, universalistic theories, towards finely-tuned, complex models that try to take full account of variation and difference within more restricted areas.

Finally, for anthropologists interested in language and culture, the kind of analysis I have outlined here shows one way in which the whole question of diachrony might be approached. In Gapun, language and culturally specific ideas about matters like gender, knowledge and personhood act upon and structure one another in ways which have led to the transformation of all these things. Recent anthropological theory, with its emphasis on practice and its concern with reproduction and change provides students of language and culture with the means to approach the dynamics of such transformation. This kind of theoretical charter, combined with the acute linguistic sophistication now appearing in the work of many anthropologists working in Pacific societies, should be able to result in work which will greatly add to our understanding of the ways language articulates with ideas about personhood, the ways linguistic practice shapes and is shaped by culture, and the ways in which something seemingly so dramatic as language shift and language death can in fact be understood to be patterns of cultural reproduction.

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LANGUAGE CHANGE ON FERGUSSON AND NORMANBY ISLANDS, MILNE BAY PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

DAVID LITHGOW

1. INTRODUCTION

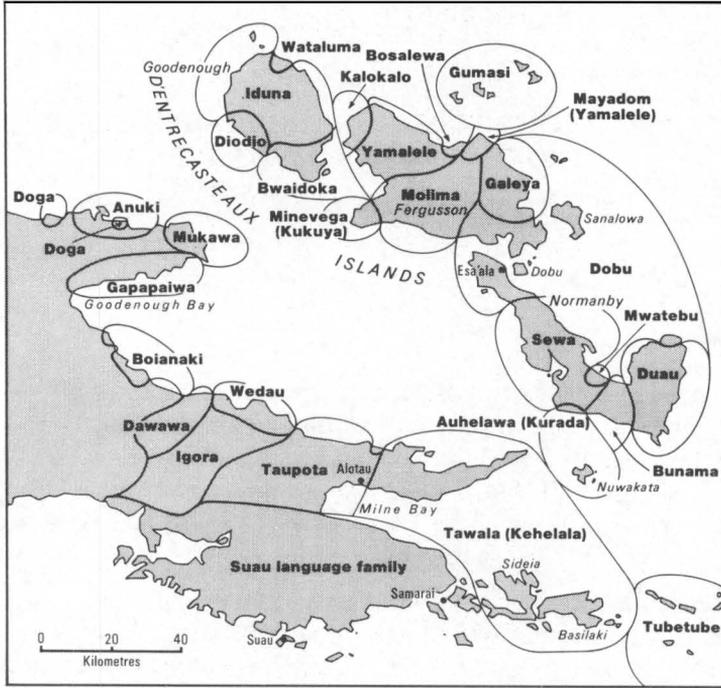
Depending on whether you are a splitter or a joiner there are ten to fifteen languages on Fergusson and Normanby Islands of the Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea. These two islands are the largest of the D'Entrecasteaux group and have a total population of about 35,000 people (Lithgow 1976:446). The languages themselves are all Austronesian and belong to the Papuan Tip Cluster (Ross 1988:25, 190-212) and all have a reasonably close relationship with the dominant language, Dobu.

In 1891 Methodist missionaries brought to Dobu and other languages of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands a change in culture from cannibalism and tribal warfare to peaceful secure living. This has been followed by the establishment of the Dobu language as a strong lingua franca throughout these islands and even further, and extensive changes in the D'Entrecasteaux languages, as they became more like Dobu. The purpose of this paper is to document changes that have occurred in the languages of the Fergusson and Normanby Islands as a result of contact with Dobu over a twenty-five year period.

2. DOBU AS A LINGUA FRANCA

Dobu is the lingua franca on Normanby and Fergusson Islands, and a strong lingua franca for an area which includes all of the islands of Milne Bay Province (except those close to Samarai) and the eastern half of East Cape of mainland Papua New Guinea. This area was pioneered by the Methodist Overseas Mission, now the Islands Region of the United Church.

There is almost 100% bilingualism with Dobu in Normanby and Fergusson Islands and it decreases with physical distance away from these centres. It is only weak where it has to compete with another church lingua franca, as in the Misima area and in parts of the Trobriand Islands (known locally as Kiriwina). A number of factors gave rise to the present dominance of Dobu in this area. These include:



MAP 1: THE STUDY AREA, MILNE BAY PROVINCE



MAP 2: LANGUAGES OF FERGUSSON AND NORMANBY ISLANDS, MILNE BAY PROVINCE

2.1 THE DOMINANCE OF THE DOBU PEOPLE BEFORE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

The Dobu people were famous warriors and cannibals, terrorising all of the adjacent coasts. I have heard oral accounts of one defeat they suffered. With the Tubetube people as allies in war canoes they fought the Kurada people, and were beaten by them. Concerning Dobu, Malinowski (1922:39) wrote:

From this island, in olden days, fierce and daring cannibal and head-hunting expeditions were periodically launched, to the dread of the neighbouring tribes. The natives of the immediately surrounding districts, of the flat foreshores on both sides of the straits, and of the big neighbouring islands were allies. But the more distant districts, often over a hundred miles away by sail, never felt safe from the Dobuans. Again this was, and still is, one of the main links of the Kula, a centre of trade, industries and general cultural influence. It is characteristic of the international position of the Dobuans that their language is spoken as a lingua franca all over the d'Entrecasteaux Archipelago, in the Amphletts, and as far north as the Trobriands. In the southern part of these latter islands, almost everyone speaks Dobuan, although in Dobu the language of the Trobriands, or Kiriwinian, is hardly spoken by anyone. This is a remarkable fact, which cannot be easily explained in terms of the present conditions, as the Trobrianders, if anything, are on a higher level of cultural development than Dobuans, are more numerous, and enjoy the same general prestige.

Williams (1972:184) reporting on the first mission contact at Bunama, Normanby Island, soon after 1892 noted that "there had been considerable intermarriage with Dobuans and so Field could on first contact make himself understood in Dobuan".

The present Dobuan people tell me that their grandparents used to raid all of the adjacent coasts of Fergusson and Normanby Islands. The pivot of cultural change was the landing on Dobu Island in June 1891 of Rev. William Bromilow with a party of Methodist missionaries from Australia, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa, supported by the Governor, Sir William MacGregor in the *Merrie England*. From that point on tribal wars and cannibalism decreased and soon disappeared. The people describe it as a change from darkness to light. The benefit they always emphasise is that they can now travel anywhere in these islands without fear of attack by enemies. The Dobu people and language, previously dominant through warfare, continued to be dominant in spreading the new way of peace. In fact the Dobu language became even more influential, and its usage as a lingua franca spread throughout the whole province. Within the D'Entrecasteaux Islands it became the main instrument for changing other languages, as will be described later.

2.2 THE KULA TRADE

The basic currency in this trade is armshells (*mwali*) and shell beads (*bagi*), but it also includes clay pots, yams, pigs, and canoes. Intermarriage has been a strong factor in initiating and strengthening trading links. At the end of last century the Dobu people got *bagi* from two villages on the north-eastern tip of Normanby Island (Loboda and Kwanaula), and from Tubetube. In the other direction they got *mwali* from the Amphlett Islands and the southern end of Kiriwina. Early in this century the trade extended as far as Basima along the north-eastern coast of Fergusson Island, along the whole north coast of Normanby Island, around the eastern end and in the Bunama and Kurada area of the south coast. Since then the

kula trading area has shrunk. It still includes Basima on Fergusson Island. On Normanby Island it is no longer significant along the north coast in the Sewa and Mwatebu language areas, or in the Bunama and Kurada areas on the south coast. Along the eastern end strong trading is found in the area from Guleguleu northwards. There is a strong correlation between kula trading and Dobuan bilingualism.

2.3 THE METHODIST MISSION

Soon after commencing work in 1891, Rev. Bromilow and his workers decided that Edugauran Dobu would be the literary language of the mission. All mission workers learnt and used Dobu. All training was in Dobu.

In 1891 work was begun in Dobu, East Cape, and Panaeati (Misima area), in 1892 at Tubetube, in 1894 at Kiriwina, and in 1900 at Bwaidoka (Goodenough Island) and Woodlark Island (Williams 1972:183-186).

Most of the first mission teachers were Tongans, Fijians and Samoans, who were stationed two by two in village centres in these areas. Soon local people were also trained and working as teachers. When work was commenced in a new village the teachers' tasks were to:

- a) teach the people to speak Dobu;
- b) teach the people to read and write Dobu;
- c) teach the people to sing Dobuan hymns;
- d) preach to the people in Dobu.

Singing has been a big factor in promoting fluency in speaking and reading Dobu.

Efforts were made to establish secondary church languages in Kiriwina, Misima, Tubetube, Bwaidoka and East Cape. The greatest success was in Misima and Kiriwina. Pastor training has always been in the Dobu language. Even now, though ministerial training is conducted in English at Rabaul, students for pastor training from the whole island area from Rossel Island to Kiriwina are still trained in Dobuan at Bwaruwada on Normanby Island.

Police (now Hiri) Motu was used by former government officials and servants of Papua, but no patrol posts were established by them on Fergusson or Normanby Islands until after World War II in the 1940s, when Esa'ala Government Station was opened on Normanby Island, close to Dobu. By then the local people had been educated in the Dobu language for two generations and it was firmly established as the general lingua franca, as well as the church language. All trained workers employed by the Government were fluent Dobu speakers, so Dobu became the main language for government administration in the area. When the Catholic Mission began in the area at Budoya they found Dobu as a ready-made lingua franca for the whole area, so they naturally made it their own church and literary language. Ann Chowning (1989:120-121) gives examples of the use of Dobu as a secular lingua franca in 1957 and 1975.

There has never been any serious rival to Dobu as the lingua franca for this area. The language groups are small. Since pacification the people have been very mobile and intermix freely, and use Dobu everywhere, unless they know each other's languages, in which case

they use them. The use of English is now increasing as a lingua franca, but in a more restricted domain. The use of Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu is negligible.

3. MULTILINGUALISM

Lithgow and Staalsen (1965:14) found that "It is generally true that adjoining languages are understood, and there is often some comprehension of speech two languages away, depending on the degree of contact. It was found that where there is a low cognate-count at language borders (such as Wataluma in Goodenough Island, or Kurada in Normanby Island) comprehension of this language falls off sharply as one moves away from it".

Dobuan people are the least multilingual. There is little pressure for them to learn other languages. For most people in this area however, multilingualism begins in childhood, and increases throughout life - both in the number of languages known, and in fluency in those languages. Most men in middle age, especially where there is active trading with other groups, know six to ten or more languages well. Women and children also develop high levels of multilingualism. They describe learning another language in three stages:

- (a) 'hearing' the other language;
- (b) being able to speak about common topics in it;
- (c) 'knowing it all'.

Kula is the best known trading circuit, but there are others. Clay pots from the Amphlett Islands are traded all round Fergusson Island, and to parts of Goodenough Island. People from Minevega (Kukuya) trade with Duau, East Cape, Wedau, the rest of Fergusson Island, and the Amphlett Islands.

Intermarriage results from and enhances trading activities. Education and skilled employment, including mission work, also lead to intermarriage, which in turn promotes multilingualism. People who live away from their home area for a few months or more for any reason usually learn the language where they are staying and/or the local trade language, which may be Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin, Suau, Misima, Bwaidoka etc.

Word taboo because of death is not a big factor in language change in this area.

4. LANGUAGE CHANGE

Lithgow and Staalsen (1965:13) noted "It was in the north-west of Goodenough Island that we first became aware of the replacement of native words by words from the lingua franca. On investigation we found this trend to be universal, less marked in secluded areas, and more marked where there is extensive outside contact".

There are three stages in the process of replacing a local word with one from another language:

- (a) when speakers know the word is 'foreign' even though they use it;
- (b) a period of uncertainty, when speakers are not sure which of two words is really their own. Concerning this stage Lithgow and Staalsen (1965:12) wrote, "Dobu vocabulary is replacing that of other languages in Normanby and parts of Fergusson Island. On Normanby Island, the Dobu word was often first given for an object, and sometimes the

corresponding word of the original language which had been elicited from a previous informant was rejected as a Dobu intrusion". This process was evident in Sewa Bay in 1964, and in 1990 I observed it on the west side of the Duau peninsula of Normanby Island;

(c) the new word is fully assimilated, and regarded by speakers as part of their language.

Languages change through contact with other languages, especially if the other language is socially dominant. I have recorded significant changes in vocabulary, grammar, and phonemics in languages of the area being discussed here. By far the greatest source of change is Dobu. Other sources are English, and adjacent languages. Since I have learnt Bunama, I have realised that the extensive changes in Auhelawa are from the influence of adjacent Bunama. Most of this paper deals with changes due to the influence of Dobu. Other changes will be mentioned only briefly.

5. PRESENT STUDY

I have word lists and cognate counts from a survey made in 1964, some from a 1972 survey and further complete lists from 1982 and 1989-90 surveys.

In 1982 I recorded the percentage of vocabulary changes from local vernacular to Dobu words, and charted the area of rapid, medium and little change on a map.

In 1987 I studied the level of Dobu fluency of Grade 5 and 6 school children in a controlled test and recorded the results in percentage figures on a language map. I did some fresh testing in parts of Fergusson Island in 1989-90.

In 1988 I documented the way Dobu and Bunama are changing in grammar under the influence of English (Lithgow 1989).

In 1989 I did cognate counts of detailed grammatical data of the languages of this area in order to get a more precise picture of their relationships. One problem from cognate counting from word lists is that for most words of the list there are usually at least two words in common use, and often more, perhaps four or five, all equally acceptable. Most of the alternate words are from adjacent languages, and usually one of them is a Dobu word.

In 1989-90 I took new word lists for the whole area, and did a new count of the percentage vocabulary shift in each language or dialect through borrowing Dobu words. I also gathered sociolinguistic data and noted that where moderate change is occurring people are concerned about it, but not if there has been massive change.

In taking word lists I took note of what word was given first, then elicited alternate words. Some older informants gave what they considered to be the true word for their language, then after they had given the alternate words I asked them which of them was actually used most commonly. Where possible I took lists from children at school away from the influence of adults.

Cognate counts between similar dialects, if only the first words given were used, could give a figure like 84%, but if alternate words are allowed, the figure is close to 100%.

The following table sets out various statistics that are to be expanded on in the rest of the paper: percentages of Dobu cognates in 1964 (Do.64) and 1989 (Do.89), percentages of grammatical cognates in 1989 (Gr.89), percentages of Dobu comprehended by school

children for most of the languages and dialects in the study area (Do.comp), percentages of local words replaced by Dobu words (Wo.rep), and finally approximate population figures (Pop). In this table the following other abbreviations are used for languages and dialects of the area:

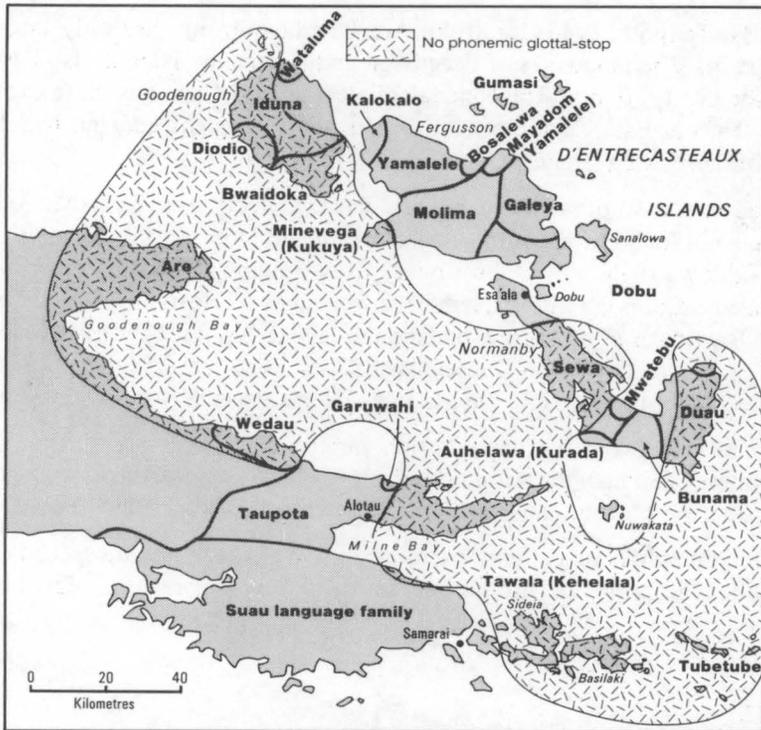
| | |
|---------|---|
| Lg.di | Language and dialect |
| Do.Ub | Dobu language, Ubuya dialect |
| Se.Bwa | Sewa language, Bwakela dialect |
| Se.Mi | Sewa language, Miadeba dialect |
| Se.Da | Sewa language, Dalubiya dialect |
| Se.Pwa | Sewa language, Pwanapwana dialect |
| Mwat | Mwatebu language |
| Auh | Auhelawa (Kurada) language |
| Bun.Bu | Bunama language, Bunama dialect |
| Bun.Gui | Bunama language, Gui dialect |
| Du.Gud | Duau language, Gudumuli dialect |
| Du.Kas | Duau language, Kasikasi dialect |
| Du.Gul | Duau language, Guleguleu dialect |
| Du.Bih | Duau language, Bihawa dialect |
| Du.Som | Duau language, Somwadina dialect |
| Lob | Loboda dialect of Dobu or Duau language |
| Du.Sig | Duau language, Sigasiga dialect |
| Du.Lom | Duau language, Lomitawa dialect |
| Du.Meu | Duau language, Meudana dialect |
| Du.Kel | Duau language, Kelologeya dialect |
| Mol.Ai | Molima language, Ailuluwai dialect |
| Mol.Uk | Molima language, Ukeokeo dialect |
| Mol.Sal | Molima language, Salakahadi dialect |
| Mol.Fag | Molima language, Fagululu dialect |
| Bos | Bosalewa language |
| Min | Minevega (Kukuya) language |
| Yam | Yamalele (Iamalele) language |
| Kalo | Kalokalo language |
| Gal.Ba | Galeya language, Basima dialect |
| Gal.Si | Galeya language, Sibutuya dialect |
| Bwai | Bwaidoka language |
| Tub | Tubetube language |
| Su | Suau language |

| Lg.di | Do.64 | Do.89 | Gr.89 | Do.comp | Wo.rep | Pop |
|---------|-----------|--------|-------|---------|--------|-------|
| | Normanby | Island | | | | |
| Do.Ub | 86 | 96 | | 84 | 12 | 400 |
| Se.Bwa | 65 | 85 | | 83 | 21 | 800 |
| Se.Mi | 57 | 75 | | | 23 | 200 |
| Se.Da | 43 | 74 | | | 31 | 570 |
| Se.Pwa | 45 | 70 | 67 | 80 | 30 | 1,200 |
| Mwat | 46 | 85 | 82 | | 40 | 160 |
| Auh | 37 | 39 | 33 | 45 | 8 | 1,000 |
| Bun.Bu | 49 | 62 | 51 | 74 | 14 | 780 |
| Bun.Gui | 62 | 82 | | | 22 | 360 |
| Du.Gud | 55 | 57 | | | 4 | 420 |
| Du.Kas | 56 | 55 | 51 | 63 | -1 | 710 |
| Du.Gul | 54 | 58 | 51 | 78 | 5 | 740 |
| Du.Bih | 52 | 57 | | | 6 | 470 |
| Du.Som | 48 | 55 | 36 | | 14 | 370 |
| Lob | 66 | 76 | 56 | | 12 | 660 |
| Du.Sig | 51 | 58 | 40 | | 8 | 560 |
| Du.Lom | 60 | 69 | | | 11 | 450 |
| Du.Meu | 61 | 77 | 59 | | 18 | 720 |
| Du.Kel | 71 | 81 | 46 | | 15 | 780 |
| | Fergusson | Island | | | | |
| Mol.Ai | 61 | 68 | 56 | 75 | 12 | 740 |
| Mol.Uk | 56 | 60 | 35 | 68 | 5 | 1,110 |
| Mol.Sal | 57 | 65 | 38 | 68 | 7 | 1,090 |
| Mol.Fag | 50 | 50 | 27 | 57 | 1 | 460 |
| Bos | 58 | 58 | 30 | 82 | 1 | 420 |
| Min | 35 | 34 | 14 | 61 | 2 | 1,210 |
| Yam | 52 | 48 | 30 | 33 | 2 | 2,800 |
| Kalo | 40 | 41 | 29 | 58 | 1 | 610 |
| Gal.Ba | 56 | 60 | 50 | 51 | 9 | 1,670 |
| Gal.Si | 60 | 79 | 55 | 74 | 22 | 700 |

| Neighbouring languages | | | | |
|------------------------|----|----|----|--------|
| Bwai | 35 | 36 | 23 | 5,000 |
| Tub | 34 | | 27 | 1,500 |
| Su | 42 | | 21 | 10,000 |

6. PHONOLOGY CHANGES

Certain changes are happening throughout the whole Papuan Tip Cluster, notably the loss of *h*, and change of *k* to glottal stop, and subsequently the loss of glottal stop – see Map 3.



MAP 3: THE NON-OCCURRENCE OF PHONEMIC GLOTTAL STOP IN LANGUAGES OF THE MILNE BAY AREA

This kind of change has no relationship to language families, but overlaps languages and families. Recorded data over the last century shows that *k* has changed to glottal stop in Suau and in Sanalowa dialect of Do bu. Old songs in Do bu folk stories have *k* where current Do bu has glottal stop. The Molima group of languages have glottal stops where there are none in cognate words to the east and west of them, e.g. *po'u/fo'u* for 'egg', which is *pou* or *fou* elsewhere; *te'wa* for the mustard or pepper vine and leaf chewed with betel nut, which is *tewa* in Do bu.

Bunama and Au helawa (Kurada) have glottal stop and no *k*, but most of the Duau dialects, which are very closely related to Bunama have *k* and no glottal stop. These dialects are adjacent to Tubetube which also has *k* and no glottal stop. Saliba dialect of Suau, adjoining

Tubetube, used to have *k* like Tubetube, but has changed in the last twenty years to use glottal stops like Suau.

Suau adjoins the Taupota language, which is very similar to Tawala to the east, and Wedau to the west. Wedau and Tawala do not have a phonemic glottal stop, but Taupota does, as does the tiny Garuwahi language near it, and the Taupota dialects at the head of Milne Bay between Maiwala and Wai'ema.

Most languages with glottal stops also have *k*. To my knowledge it is only Bunama and Auhelawa which have glottal stop and no *k*, yet they are completely surrounded by related languages which have no glottal stops – Sewa, most of Duau, Tubetube, and also Tawala which is not closely related.

Tawala, like Taupota, Wedau and the Are language group, has only labialised velar consonants (*k*, *g*). The languages of Fergusson and Normanby Islands also have labialised bilabial consonants (*p*, *b*, *m*). The Kehelala dialect at East Cape has these extra labialised consonants. Thus at East Cape the word for 'mad' is *bwadebwade*, but *badebade* in the western end of the Tawala language.

Tawala has *h*, and so do all the Suau and Duau dialects, and Bunama, Auhelawa and Mwatebu. It is not found in Tubetube, Sewa or standard Dobu, or the Sanalowa dialect, but it is in the Galubwa dialect of Dobu (inland from Salamo on eastern Fergusson Island). There this dialect adjoins the Molima language which has *h*. Beyond that Yamalele has no *h*. Neither does Bwaidoka in southern Goodenough Island, but it reappears again in the Iduna language of central Goodenough. Present word lists show that *h* is disappearing from the Galubwa dialect of Dobu, and from the Molima dialects, especially those closest to Dobu.

My oldest Molima word lists show a rich variety of fricative consonants, and unusual fluctuation patterns, but now the Ailuluwai dialect of Molima coast has lost *h*, *y*, *v* and *f*, and its phonetic pattern is now the same as that of Dobu.

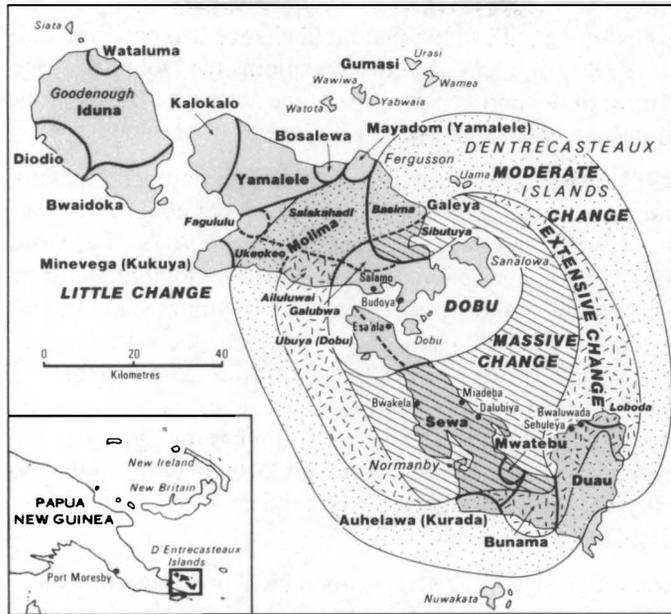
Thus we see that phonetic patterns are related more to neighbouring speech communities than to genetic relationship, and are strongly influenced by languages of higher prestige, like Dobu.

7. RESULTS

Change towards Dobu can be grouped in five categories:

1. almost complete
2. massive (over 19% change in 25 years)
3. extensive (10-19%)
4. moderate (3-9%)
5. little (less than 3% change)

The areas thus affected are indicated on Map 4. I will comment on some typical cases in each area.



MAP 4: RELATIVE DEGREES OF CHANGE TOWARDS DOBU IN LANGUAGES OF FERGUSSON AND NORMANBY ISLANDS

7.1 ALMOST COMPLETE CHANGE

In 1982 I found the Sanalowa Island dialect of Dobu to have changed almost completely. I have an unpublished manuscript in which I list what information I was able to gather about the original language, which was 94% cognate with Dobu in the word list I took in 1964, and had *k*, but no glottal stop. Now there are only two people left who use any of the old features of Sanalowa. Everyone else speaks standard Dobu, complete with glottal stops. The people there say that the big change to Dobu speech came after the war ended in 1945. In my article I listed the causes of change as:

- a) pressure of the church language. The Bible, hymn-book and preaching are all in Dobu. Pastors taught Dobu in the schools, which were originally run by the church;
- b) most visitors to Sanalowa know Dobu better than Sanalowa, so Sanalowa people speak Dobu to them;
- c) frequent marriage with Dobu people;
- d) many Dobu people have settled on Sanalowa, where gardening land is more readily available than on Dobu;
- e) the population is a small group of about 300 people.

The Ubuya and Galubwa dialects of Dobu are now much closer to standard Dobu. I hear some old people at Galubwa still using the *h* phoneme, but not any young people. Differences from standard Dobu are not evident in casual speech, but there are still some non-cognate words and different pronunciations in elicited word lists, more in Ubuya than Galubwa.

7.2 MASSIVE CHANGE

In 1982 on Fergusson Island I found that rapid change had occurred only in the Sibtutuya dialect of the Galeya (Basima) language, which adjoins the Dobu language. On Normanby Island it included most of the north coast, namely the northern dialects of the Sewa language, Mwatebu, and the dialects of Duau between Kelologeya and Loboda.

In 1964 and 1982 informants in southern Sewa were uncertain about the real words of their language, but their word lists still gave an average of about 50% cognates with Dobu. Now that stage has passed, and the cognate percentage is 70%. The word list was easy to elicit because words which were being introduced from Dobu are now firmly established. Sewa did not have a glottal stop before, and still has no glottal stop. In the introduced Dobu words the glottal stop is elided. In a later section I include the word lists taken in 1964, 1982 and 1989. There was a 5% change in 1982, and a further 25% change in 1989. This is not fully reflected in the changed cognate count, because some words were previously different, but they were cognate with Dobu. The cognate count has not changed, though the word has changed. On the other hand the cognate count with Dobu may fall due to borrowings that are not from Dobu, if the words were previously cognate with Dobu. This has happened at Kasikasi in Duau and in Minevega.

The main reason for change in Sewa is geographical proximity to Dobu. The change was slower in the south because it is further away. The situation in the northern Sewa dialects seems to have stabilised somewhat in the last eight years. By 1982 there was massive change (20%-25%), but the 1989 word lists show little change since then; and the Sewa language is again more uniform, but much more similar to Dobu.

Massive change has also occurred in Mwatebu (a very small language, of which half the children attend school at Dalubiya, and half at Kelologeya), the Gui dialect of Bunama (in the mountains south of Kelologeya), and also the Sibtutuya dialect of Galeya which adjoins Dobu on Fergusson Island. Children from a nearby Dobu-speaking area attend the Sibtutuya school.

7.3 EXTENSIVE CHANGE

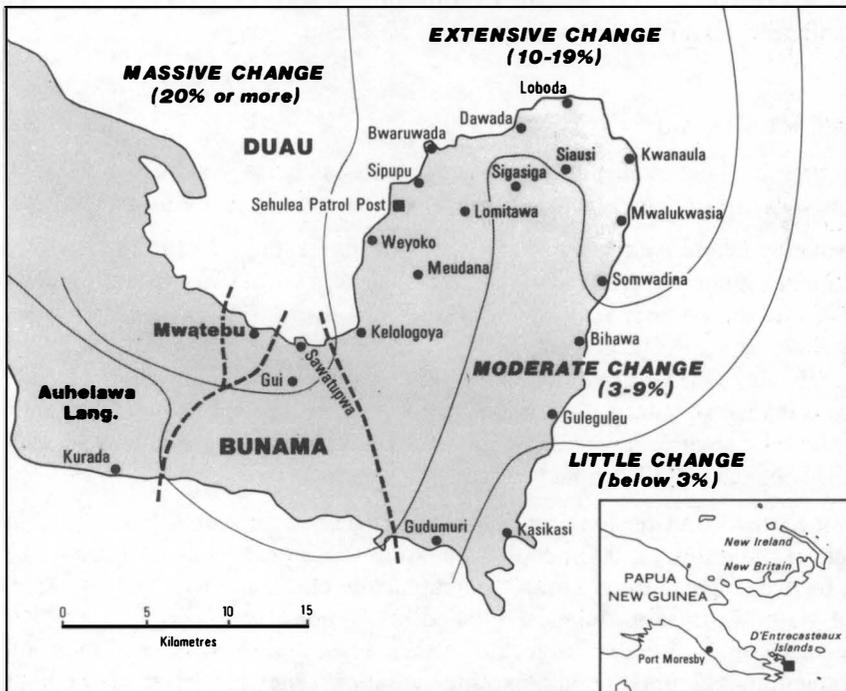
This has occurred in the Ailuluwai dialect of Molima on Fergusson Island and in much of the rest of Normanby Island – Bunama and the Kelologeya, Meudana, Lomitawa and Somwadina dialects of Duau, and also Loboda.

The change which has been occurring up the eastern side of the Duau peninsula from Gui and Kelologeya to Loboda, and now beyond there to Somwadina, began before 1964 – see Map 5. Reasons why extensive change is happening here include:

- (a) the government station Sehuleya, and United Church mission station Bwaruwada, are in the centre of this area, and the Catholic mission station, Kelologeya, is at the southern end of it. Bwaruwada includes the Pastor Training College. Dobu is the dominant language in and around these stations. In the primary school there are many Dobu-speaking children from Sehuleya and Bwaruwada stations mixing with village children who use the Dobu language freely;
- (b) kula trade is strong, and Dobu people visit this area constantly;
- (c) there is much intermarriage;

(d) the Duau dialects are very diverse in phonology and lexicon, though similar in grammar. If a local Duau word is not well known by speakers from other dialects, it is easier to substitute a Dobu word, which everyone knows.

It seems that changes have occurred rapidly here in waves, followed by periods of stability. The two villages at the northern tip of Duau, Loboda and Kwanaula, were the original kula traders with Dobu. In 1964 it was regarded as being 'mixed with Dobu' with a long history of intermarriage with Dobu people. There were 66% cognates with Dobu then. Between 1976 and 1990 the counts have been between 76% and 80%. The grammatical data shows that it is a mixture of Dobu and Duau. After a period of change it seems to have stabilised as a link in the dialect chain between Dobu and Duau.



MAP 5: RELATIVE DEGREES OF CHANGE IN DUAU AND BUNAMA LANGUAGES, MILNE BAY PROVINCE

Kelologeya has done the same. Bunama people claim that Kelologeya was once part of the true Bunama language, but there was a big influx of migrants from Dobu, and also from East Cape (Tawala language), and close contact between these groups has continued. Then the Catholic mission station was established there, using the Dobu language. I have not found evidence of Tawala influence. The people now say their language is a mixture of Bunama and Dobu. There, people of all ages can speak pure Bunama or Dobu, or their own local mixture which incorporates some features of the Duau dialects which adjoin them.

At the primary school are children from Gui village in the mountains (Bunama language), from the Mwatubu language, and local Kelologeya children. Here there is no strong local language to compete with Dobu.

A rapid change had evidently occurred before 1964 when we recorded 78% cognates with Dobu. In 1982 I recorded 83%, and it has stabilised at that position.

This process is occurring in the other dialects between Loboda and Kelologeya – Dawada, Lomitawa, Sipupu, Meudana and Weyoko. Sigasiga, which is inland from Dawada, is lagging behind somewhat. Lomitawa is geographically inland, but most of the people now live on the coast, though many of their food gardens are still in the inland.

In 1990 a group of senior Lomitawa men were very unsure about the true words of their language. They are now at the stage where southern Sewa was in the period between 1964 and 1982.

Inland Sigasiga had 51% cognates with Dobu in 1964, and 58% in 1982. The present figure is still 58%, so it remains in the group of Moderate Change.

7.4 MODERATE CHANGE

On Fergusson Island moderate change has occurred in areas which are geographically one step further away from Dobu – Salakahadi and Ukeokeo dialects of Molima, and Basima.

In Normanby Island Auhelawa (Kurada) is very interesting. In 1982 I found a low level of Dobu fluency among children, and only 2% change in vocabulary towards Dobu. In 1990 it was 8%, but shared cognates increased only 2% from 37% in 1964 to 39% in 1990. However there are now 16% Auhelawa words which have changed to be like Bunama, including 8% where the Bunama and Dobu words are the same. Thus the big shift in Kurada is towards Bunama, so that many words which were cognate with Dobu before are no longer cognate, and others which have become cognate with Dobu now have done so only because they are also cognate with Bunama.

It is not hard to find reasons for Bunama's influence on Auhelawa. Auhelawa has a population of only about 1,000 people, including those on Nuwakata Island. They, with Bunama, form a single cultural group, geographically close, and with some unique features. Since the Catholic mission was established at Kurada, these people heeded the Local Government Council directive to get rid of their pigs, and they devoted their attention to copra production, and other income-earning activities. They also gave up the big mortuary feasts (*sagali*) which are a big feature of life in the rest of Duau, and kula trading.

People of Kurada and Bunama frequently take copra and market produce to Alotau by boat (as do people from the rest of Normanby Island) and the boats often anchor for the night in the good harbour at Nuwakata Island. There is much intermarriage between Auhelawa speakers and Bunama people, especially those on Nuwakata.

The Auhelawa language has some unusual grammatical features which are quite different from the other languages on Normanby Island and people from other languages find it difficult to speak Auhelawa, though many claim they can 'hear' it. It is easy for Auhelawa people to 'hear' and speak Bunama, so Bunama has become dominant for the constant interaction which is occurring between these two groups.

Except for Kasikasi moderate change has occurred in the remainder of the Duau language – Gudumuli, Guleguleu, Bihawa, and inland Sigasiga. This is part of the Bunama Circuit of the United Church, which extends from Somwadina to Sewa Bay. From 1892 to 1900 it was part of the Tubetube Circuit, using Tubetube as its church language. After 1900 the

Circuit head station was Bunama, but Tubetube continued to be the lingua franca for the circuit until after 1930, when it was replaced by Dobu. The older people in this area are still fluent Tubetube speakers. Because of the kula trade there is strong interaction between the Tubetube people and all of the east end of Normanby Island, especially north of Guleguleu. Misima and Muyuw (Woodlark Island) traders also come to this area in sailing canoes, and use Tubetube as their lingua franca. Thus this part of the Duau coast is subject to strong linguistic influences from both Tubetube and Dobu. I have noted some Duau words which seem to have changed and are now the same as the Tubetube words.

In Gudumuli, just east of Bunama I recorded only 4% change. The Gudumuli children attend Bunama school.

7.5 LITTLE CHANGE

The places showing little change to Dobu are most of the western Fergusson Island languages – Minevega, Fagululu, Yamalele, Kalokalo and Bosalewa – and on Normanby Island only the Kasikasi dialect of Duau. This is the most 'stay-at-home' and unmixed group on the island. They travel frequently to Alotau market, but few of them are in the kula trade, and not many of them intermarry with other groups. The land is very steep, rocky and inhospitable between Kasikasi and Guleguleu, which limits travel and social interaction. Kasikasi school is the only one on this island where the children do not have good fluency in Dobu.

Here, as in other parts of Duau, I have noted a few words which have recently been borrowed from Bunama, which is the most prestigious language in the Duau area. In some places where people are struggling to think of the original word in their own language they often give the Bunama word. I believe this is because Scripture and other literature is now being circulated in the Bunama language, and read throughout all of Duau. Grammatical cognate counting shows that Bunama and Duau are one linguistic unit.

The cognates shared between Kasikasi and Bunama have increased from 78% in 1964 to 91% now, so we see that Kasikasi, like Auhelawa, is being influenced by Bunama.

The languages with little change on Fergusson Island are interesting.

Minevega is related linguistically and culturally to the adjacent mainland languages of Wedau and Taupota. That it does not belong with the other island languages is shown by its very low grammar cognate count with Dobu – 14%. I have data signifying two-way borrowing of lexicon and grammatical features between Minevega and its adjoining Molima dialects, Ukeokeo and Fagululu.

The Yamalele people all live inland, away from the coasts which are mangrove-lined. In 1964 they had a very low level of bilingualism with Dobu and Bwaidoka. Since then they have had their own programme of literacy and literature production including the New Testament, so their dependency on other church lingua francas is reduced, and Yamalele has the lowest level of comprehension of Dobu in this study. The level is higher in the Mayadom dialect of Yamalele, where Dobu Scriptures are still used.

Fagululu is a small group, near Yamalele, remote from Dobu, and the influence of Dobu is not strong, though it is used in both the Catholic and United Churches.

At Kalokalo the Bwaidoka church language and lingua franca competes with Dobu. There are Bwaidoka migrants who have settled on land between Kalokalo and Yamalele, and also a group of Salakahadi refugees from clan fighting who have established a settlement on the coast north of Kalokalo. Dobu Scriptures are used in the church, and Dobu fluency is much better than at Yamalele, but still somewhat low.

Bosalewa is a mixed language. The origins of the clans according to their oral history is as follows:

- one clan originally from Bosalewa;
- two clans from Galeya (Basima);
- three clans from Dobu-speaking areas on Fergusson Island;
- five clans from the Molima area. Actually most of the Molima group were refugees from fighting, who were driven from Salakahadi by the present Salakahadi dwellers. Other refugees from this group went east to the Dobu-speaking area.

Bosalewa people now claim to be part of the Molima language group. The language of the one original Bosalewa clan has been submerged mainly by Molima and Dobu. As there are Yamalele dialects on both sides of Bosalewa it was probably Yamalele. Dobu fluency is very high. There is frequent contact with people of the Dobu-speaking area by a walking track through the centre of the island. There has been much mixing and changing in the past, but the language is now stabilised.

In 1976 (Lithgow 1976:449) I classified Bosalewa with Molima in the Dobu language family. For Molima I used data from the Dobuanised Ailuluwai dialect. From the word lists and elementary grammatical data which I used this was the only possible conclusion. In 1989 using detailed grammatical data I found that all of Molima, Salakahadi, Fagululu and Bosalewa are one linguistic unit, and that in the Ailuluwai dialect and Bosalewa there has been extensive borrowing from Dobu. Molima, like all languages of western Fergusson Island and Goodenough Island has patrilineal descent. Basima, Dobu and all Normanby Island societies are matrilineal. However Bosalewa, the Ailuluwai dialect of Molima, and the Mayadom dialect of Yamalele have become matrilineal.

Comparing Bosalewa word lists between 1964 and 1990 shows the following changes:

- for 5% more words the Dobu word has become one of the alternatives given;
- 3% have changed from being like the Dobu word, but 1% of these are still cognate with Dobu;
- a further 5% have changed including 3% to English (all are words for colours) and 1% to Molima.

Thus the net change to Dobu in the last 25 years is only 1-2%.

8. SAMPLE WORD LIST

Herewith are the Pwanapwana dialect of Sewa word lists taken in 1964, 1982 and 1989. The informants in 1964 were a group of men, in 1982 a man of 18 years, and in 1989 a boy of 14 years.

The group in 1964 were hesitant and unsure of their real words. The list in 1982 does not show much change. In 1982 a Bunama pastor stationed at Pwanapwana had been trying to produce some translations of hymns in the Sewa language and he told me that it was the younger men there who had the best knowledge of their true language. It would seem that the older people did not think about their language; they just used it, whereas younger men were linguistically aware and interested in the language they were in the process of losing. The 18-year-old man who gave me the list in 1982 evidently had the knowledge and ability to recall many of the older Sewa words. In the first seven words he included three more old words than are found in the 1964 list.

In 1989 I chose an intelligent schoolboy, and got the list where we could not be observed or interrupted by other people. I believe that his data show accurately what is common vocabulary in the language now.

If I had got the word list from a schoolboy in isolation in 1964 I am sure it would have contained more Dobu words, and the same for 1982. Thus there would have been a smaller percentage change over that period. The change, is so great, however, and the pattern so consistent throughout the Sewa language, that the overall picture is quite clear.

| English | Dobu | 1964 | 1982 | 1989 |
|---------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| hair | 'uya'uya | <i>deba</i> | <i>bwaima</i> | <i>deba</i> |
| head | <i>deba/bulubulu</i> | <i>kuyakuya</i> | <i>kuyakuya</i> | <i>kuyakuya</i> |
| mouth | 'awa | <i>awa</i> | <i>awa</i> | <i>awa</i> |
| nose | 'abusu | <i>ebusu</i> | <i>ebusu</i> | <i>ebusu</i> |
| eye | <i>mata</i> | <i>mata</i> | <i>mata/wee</i> | <i>mata</i> |
| belly | <i>gamwa</i> | <i>gamwa</i> | <i>gamwa</i> | <i>gamwa</i> |
| skin | <i>bwala</i> | <i>bwala</i> | <i>bwala/wapi</i> | <i>bwala</i> |
| knee | 'aetutu | <i>ketutu</i> | <i>ketutu</i> | <i>gudugudu</i> |
| man | <i>tai</i> | <i>tau</i> | <i>tau</i> | <i>tau</i> |
| woman | <i>waine</i> | <i>waine</i> | <i>waine</i> | <i>waine</i> |
| bird | <i>manuwa</i> | <i>biwe</i> | <i>biwe</i> | <i>manu</i> |
| dog | <i>kedewa</i> | <i>kedewa</i> | <i>kedewa</i> | <i>kedewa</i> |
| sits | <i>miyatowa</i> | <i>towa</i> | <i>towa</i> | <i>towa</i> |
| stand | <i>toolo</i> | <i>toolo</i> | <i>toolo</i> | <i>toolo</i> |
| lie | 'eno | <i>abui/eno</i> | <i>abui</i> | <i>eno</i> |
| walk | <i>tauya</i> | <i>taya</i> | <i>taya</i> | <i>taya</i> |
| road | 'eda | <i>aiwalo</i> | <i>aiwalo/eda</i> | <i>eda</i> |
| stone | <i>gulewa</i> | <i>gulewa/dakule</i> | <i>dakule</i> | <i>gulewa</i> |
| big | <i>sinabwana</i> | <i>koyawe</i> | <i>koyawe</i> | <i>sinabwana</i> |

| | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| small | <i>gidalina/giokuna</i> | <i>giokuna</i> | <i>giokuna</i> | <i>gidalina</i> |
| fire | <i>kaiwe</i> | <i>kedama/kaiwe</i> | <i>kaama</i> | <i>kaiwe</i> |
| smoke | <i>'asu</i> | <i>mwayou/nabwau</i> | <i>nabwau</i> | <i>nabwau</i> |
| ashes | <i>kalikau</i> | <i>poma/opapa</i> | <i>kopapa</i> | <i>kalikau</i> |
| ear | <i>tena</i> | <i>teniya</i> | <i>teniya</i> | <i>teniya</i> |
| tongue | <i>meya</i> | <i>meya</i> | <i>meya</i> | <i>meya</i> |
| tooth | <i>sala</i> | <i>soi</i> | <i>sala</i> | <i>sala</i> |
| breast | <i>susu</i> | <i>taguli</i> | <i>susu</i> | <i>susu</i> |
| hand | <i>nima</i> | <i>nima/taluwa</i> | <i>nima</i> | <i>nima</i> |
| foot/leg | <i>'ae</i> | <i>kae</i> | <i>kae</i> | <i>kae</i> |
| sun | <i>sinala</i> | <i>ala</i> | <i>ala</i> | <i>ala</i> |
| moon | <i>nawalae</i> | <i>waikena</i> | <i>waikena/nawalae</i> | <i>nawalae</i> |
| star | <i>kwadima</i> | <i>kubwana</i> | <i>kubwana</i> | <i>kwadima</i> |
| cloud | <i>pwana</i> | <i>budibudi</i> | <i>yalowa</i> | <i>budibudi</i> |
| rain | <i>'usana</i> | <i>augwa/use</i> | <i>augwa/use</i> | <i>use</i> |
| water | <i>bwasi</i> | <i>waupa/waila</i> | <i>waupa/waila</i> | <i>bwasi</i> |
| root | <i>lamuna</i> | <i>edoidola</i> | <i>idoedolo</i> | <i>dolodolo</i> |
| leaf | <i>yawana</i> | <i>yawaina</i> | <i>yawaina</i> | <i>yawaina</i> |
| meat | <i>esiona</i> | <i>bayumana</i> | <i>bayumana</i> | <i>bunuma</i> |
| fat | <i>mononana</i> | <i>yapana</i> | <i>yapana</i> | <i>mononana</i> |
| egg | <i>pou</i> | <i>kaniyatu/pou</i> | <i>pou</i> | <i>pou</i> |
| eat | <i>'ai</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>ai</i> |
| give me | <i>'ebwa'egu</i> | <i>bwayegu</i> | <i>bwayegu</i> | <i>bwayegu</i> |
| see | <i>'ita</i> | <i>dune/ita</i> | <i>dune</i> | <i>dune</i> |
| come | <i>mai</i> | <i>tauyama</i> | <i>tauyama</i> | <i>tauyama</i> |
| louse | <i>'utu</i> | <i>tuma</i> | <i>tuma</i> | <i>utu</i> |
| one | <i>'ebweu</i> | <i>kaideka/kaikeda</i> | <i>kaikeda</i> | <i>kaikeda</i> |
| two | <i>'eluwa</i> | <i>manau/luwa</i> | <i>manau</i> | <i>luwa</i> |
| back | <i>gwau</i> | <i>gwau</i> | <i>gwau/tulu</i> | <i>gwau</i> |
| shoulder | <i>'aala</i> | <i>aala</i> | <i>aala</i> | <i>aala</i> |
| forehead | <i>'isawa/mani</i> | <i>isawa</i> | <i>isawa</i> | <i>deba</i> |
| elbow | <i>nimatutu</i> | <i>nimagolugolu</i> | <i>nimagodu</i> | <i>nimagodu</i> |
| liver | <i>'ate</i> | <i>ate</i> | <i>ate</i> | <i>ate</i> |

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| bone | <i>lulu</i> | <i>tuwatuwa</i> | <i>tuwatuwa</i> | <i>tuwatuwa</i> |
| blood | <i>lala</i> | <i>buyai</i> | <i>buyai</i> | <i>lala</i> |
| feather | <i>dagula</i> | <i>dagulina</i> | <i>dagulina</i> | <i>dagulina</i> |
| wing | <i>pape</i> | <i>pape</i> | <i>pape</i> | <i>pape</i> |
| tail | <i>yuyuna</i> | <i>wiyuna</i> | <i>wiyu</i> | <i>siyapudu</i> |
| lad | <i>tubuwau</i> | <i>gomagale</i> | <i>gomagale</i> | <i>tubuwau</i> |
| lass | <i>gomagweine</i> | <i>gomalaulau</i> | <i>gomalaulau</i> | <i>gomalaulau</i> |
| baby | <i>gwama</i> | <i>yaya</i> | <i>yaya</i> | <i>yaya</i> |
| old man | <i>'inapwana</i> | <i>taubada</i> | <i>taubada</i> | <i>inapwana</i> |
| old woman | <i>kaiyale</i> | <i>kilemwaya</i> | <i>kilemwaya</i> | <i>sibawa</i> |
| person | <i>tomota</i> | <i>kaleya</i> | <i>kaleya</i> | <i>tomota</i> |
| father | <i>tamana</i> | <i>tamana</i> | <i>tamana</i> | <i>tamana</i> |
| mother | <i>sinana</i> | <i>nawae/sinana</i> | <i>nawae</i> | <i>sinana</i> |
| brother | <i>tasina</i> | <i>tasina</i> | <i>tasina/aletana</i> | <i>tasina</i> |
| sister | <i>nuuna</i> | <i>nuuna</i> | <i>nuuna</i> | <i>nuuna</i> |
| name | <i>esana</i> | <i>waeya</i> | <i>waeya</i> | <i>esana</i> |
| pig | <i>bawe</i> | <i>bulukwa</i> | <i>bulukwa</i> | <i>bawe</i> |
| wallaby | <i>kelei</i> | <i>kiaga</i> | <i>kiaga</i> | <i>kelei</i> |
| flying fox | <i>meyaweda</i> | <i>guliliya</i> | <i>guliliya</i> | <i>guliliya</i> |
| snake | <i>mwata</i> | <i>weso</i> | <i>weso/mwata</i> | <i>mwata</i> |
| fish | <i>iyana</i> | <i>iya</i> | <i>iya</i> | <i>iya</i> |
| taro | <i>bolo</i> | <i>waupiyo</i> | <i>waupe/boko</i> | <i>bolo</i> |
| sugarcane | <i>tou</i> | <i>gwaito</i> | <i>gwaito</i> | <i>gwaito</i> |
| yam | <i>bebai</i> | <i>bebai</i> | <i>bebai</i> | <i>wateya</i> |
| banana | <i>udi</i> | <i>yapae</i> | <i>yapae</i> | <i>yapae</i> |
| sweet potato | <i>komwala</i> | <i>kumwala/topoya</i> | <i>putete</i> | <i>komwala</i> |
| axe | <i>kunuwai</i> | <i>lelenumo/tamioko</i> | <i>lelenumu/kunuwai /tamioko</i> | <i>kunuwai</i> |
| knife | <i>'ila/naipi</i> | <i>kelepa</i> | <i>kelepa</i> | <i>naif/naipi</i> |
| spear | <i>gita</i> | <i>gita/sino</i> | <i>sino</i> | <i>gita</i> |
| basket | <i>kodo</i> | <i>bayawa/kodo</i> | <i>bayawa</i> | <i>kodo</i> |
| house | <i>anuwa</i> | <i>lobe</i> | <i>lobe</i> | <i>anuwa</i> |
| earth | <i>bale'u</i> | <i>baleyu</i> | <i>baleyu</i> | <i>baleyu</i> |

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| sand | <i>kaukau</i> | <i>negwanegwale</i> | <i>negwanegwale/ kaukau</i> | <i>kaukau</i> |
| mountain | <i>'oya</i> | <i>oya/wetewete</i> | <i>oya/wetewete</i> | <i>oya</i> |
| wind | <i>yagila</i> | <i>yaumai</i> | <i>yaumai/yagila</i> | <i>yagila</i> |
| vine | <i>malakwa</i> | <i>walowalo</i> | <i>walowalo</i> | <i>malakwa</i> |
| seed | <i>'atu</i> | <i>ewani</i> | <i>ewani</i> | <i>ewani</i> |
| tobacco | <i>tapwa'e</i> | <i>tapwae</i> | <i>tapwai</i> | <i>tapwai</i> |
| morning | <i>gonagona</i> | <i>tomwatomwa</i> | <i>tomwatomwa</i> | <i>gonagona</i> |
| afternoon | <i>'asuinuwanuwa</i> | <i>leilei</i> | <i>leilei</i> | <i>leilei</i> |
| night | <i>boiboi</i> | <i>goluwana</i> | <i>goluwana</i> | <i>goluwana</i> |
| yesterday | <i>boga</i> | <i>naboimo</i> | <i>naboimo</i> | <i>nabonimo</i> |
| tomorrow | <i>gibwa'i</i> | <i>nabwa</i> | <i>nabwa</i> | <i>nabwa</i> |
| white | <i>wakewakekena</i> | <i>wadawadayana</i> | <i>wadawadaena</i> | <i>wait</i> |
| black | <i>gagai</i> | <i>lugaina</i> | <i>gagai/golos</i> | <i>blek</i> |
| yellow | <i>laulauna</i> | <i>yawayawana/ laulauna</i> | <i>loyawayawana</i> | <i>yelo</i> |
| red | <i>bweyabweyalina</i> | <i>megayana</i> | <i>megayana/ lupwalana</i> | <i>red</i> |

9. ENGLISH INFLUENCE

Much influence from English is evident in this whole area, especially when introduced technology and procedures are involved, such as meetings of Council, School Boards, Church etc. In such Westernised contexts English words are often used even though there is an adequate local word. The introduced English words are usually put into a local grammatical form, including reduplication for continuous mode, for example, *i-com-complain* 'he keeps complaining'. The common Dobu word is *i-lomu-lomugi*. Other examples are *ya-sup-support* for 'I support this'; *si-against* or *si-lo-against* for 'they oppose'.

It would be interesting to measure the frequency of such borrowings in recordings of normal conversation. Few English borrowings are found in elicited word lists, except for numbers greater than three, and colours, which are usually taken straight from English. The numbers usually have a final vowel added, but may occur without it, and may be modified to fit the phonology of the language. Thus 'five' could be *faivi*, *paivi*, *paibi*, *paib*, *paib*, *paiv*, *faiv*. Colours may have an added word-final vowel, but they usually also reduplicate and take a final affix to conform to the grammatical pattern for descriptive modifiers. Thus 'red' could be *red*, *led*, *redi*, *ledi*, but usually *lediledina*. There is usually a local term for 'black', but English borrowings for the other colours.

In the Summer Institute of Linguistics word list colours and numbers above two are found after the first hundred words. Thus if cognates are counted from only the first hundred words there are usually no borrowings from English, but about 5% if the whole list is used.

10. AGE DISTRIBUTION

At each place I enquired as to what age-group mixes the language most. Some people blamed the children and youth, but in most places they said, 'We all do it', and I believe that is generally true.

11. CONCLUSION

It is clear from the above description that Dobu has had, and is having, a profound effect on the languages of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands. These changes are directly relateable to the use of Dobu as a church lingua franca and subsequently the general lingua franca for this area.

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CULTURE CHANGE, LANGUAGE CHANGE: THE CASE OF ABU' ARAPESH, SANDAUN PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

OTTO NEKITEL

Time changes all things: there is no reason why language should escape this
universal law. (Ferdinand de Saussure 1949:77)

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper describes some of the changes that have occurred in my mother tongue Abu' Arapesh and associated culture as a result of contact with other languages and cultures. In general, linguistic changes have followed changes in Abu' culture and are most obviously reflected in the vocabulary used to refer to material items of that culture although phonology and grammar have also been affected to some extent. There is one case also of a borrowed linguistic item having an effect on Abu' culture.

The study is based on a number of interviews conducted in my language area in 1982 as part of fieldwork carried out for my PhD at the Australian National University (Nekitel 1985).¹

2. THE ABU' ARAPESH

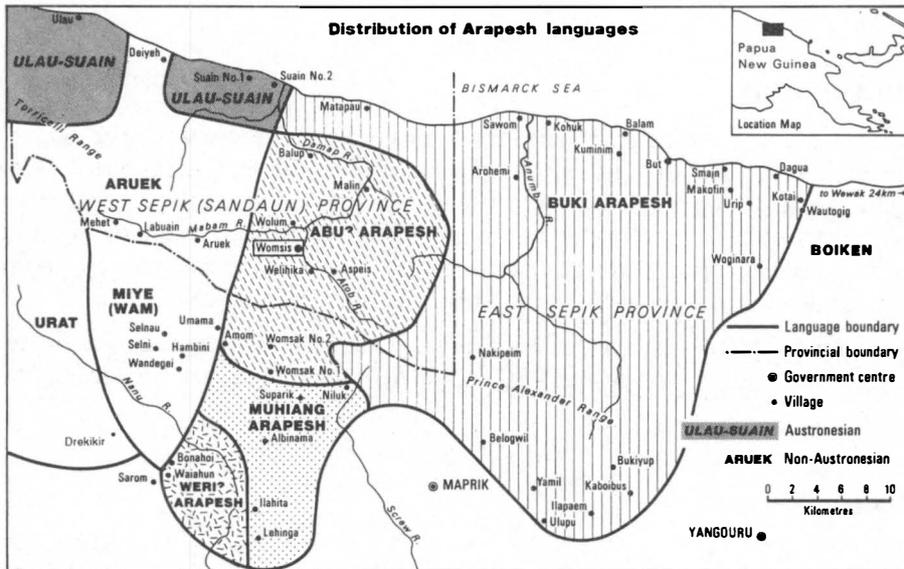
2.1 LINGUISTIC SETTING

Abu' Arapesh is a member of the non-Austronesian (or Papuan) Arapesh language family and is most closely related to Mountain Arapesh – see map. Speakers of this language live in the Torricelli mountains in nine main villages dispersed along the border of the East Sepik and Sandaun (formerly West Sepik) Provinces. According to the 1980 national census there are about 5,000 speakers of Abu' Arapesh. The area occupied by them is roughly 300 square kilometres. Being landlocked the community shares its northern border with the

¹These interviews were conducted at Womsis, Wolum, Balup, Malin, Amom, Hambini (a Wom village) and Womsak. My principal informants were six elderly men (viz. Benedict Sa'uan (a former luluai of Womsis), Bubata of Balup, Barak of Amom, Mahite Butehe of Hambini and John Naisoh, Andreas Wehitesim and Ignatius Nararama' of Womsis who were interviewed in 1982 and subsequently in 1988 when I rechecked data). These men were chosen according to such variables as age (they were elders in the community), reliability (they were known by the community to be reliable informants), social status (they were important persons, i.e. members of the exclusive tambaran clubs), and their knowledge of Abu' (they were acknowledged to be good speakers of Abu'). Except for John, Andreas and Ignatius, all these men have since died. Other people of Abu' (both male and female) were also interviewed as time and opportunity permitted.

coastal Austronesian speech community of Ulaui-Suain, its north-west and south-west borders with the distantly related languages of the Kombio Stock, Aruek and Wam (known locally as Miye), and its southern and eastern borders with the more closely related Muhiang and Buki Arapesh, members of the Arapesh language family. With the exception of the Ulaui-Suain all Abu' southern, western and eastern language neighbours speak distantly related and typologically fairly similar languages, either of the same (i.e. Arapesh) language family or of the same (Kombio) Stock (Wurm & Hattori 1981).

There are two Abu' dialects: my dialect of Abu' Womenika (the ridge dwellers) and Abu' Ounibisima (inhabitants of the low riverine valleys). Since intra-group marriage has taken place the dialects are spoken concurrently in some villages such as in my village of Womsis.



THE ABU' LANGUAGE AREA

2.2 CONTACT HISTORY

The Abu' were in contact with neighbouring communities long before the arrival of Europeans and other foreigners. A certain amount of barter was, and still is, practised especially by the Womsak villagers who traded their homemade clay pots for other traditional implements and food items with relatives and friends from neighbouring and more distant Arapesh, Wam, Urat and Aruek and Ulaui-Suain-speaking villages. Inter- and intra-group marriages, social and cultural activities and so on were also claimed to exist long before the Abu' came into contact with peoples from outside their immediate area (Nekitel 1985).

The first non-Papua New Guinean groups with whom the Abu' had contact were probably Malay bird of paradise traders (Seiler 1985). These were followed by German and Australian colonial administration officials, and later by gold prospectors and surveyors who came into the area in the 1930s (McCarthy 1936). German priests of the Divine Word also

began establishing contact with Abu' villagers in the mid-1930s and recruiting Abu' men to attend schools at Yakamul.

Oral and available written reports of gold prospecting activity in the Abu' area show that prospectors brought in foreign, non-Abu' labourers to work on the Womsis-Welihiga goldfields. These labourers and Catholic priests and their catechists were probably responsible for introducing Tok Pisin into the Abu' area. This activity was interrupted, if not ended, by World War II.

Several Abu' men were indentured during the late 1800s to work on different German plantations in the New Guinea Islands region. Unfortunately the last member of this group died in 1974 at the age of about 80 before he could be interviewed on tape. It is thus hard to find anyone who had first-hand experience of the Germans nowadays. Oral reports confirm that the effect of the Germans' presence was marginal.

Of all the known sociohistorical experiences had by the Abu' none made such an impact on them as the Pacific phase of World War II. To many Abu' the war was the most horrendous experience in their lives. They were forced to move from their clan-based villages or homesteads to army-built camps located at the coastal Austronesian language-speaking villages of Ulau-Suain and Matapau. The Allied Forces then moved in to mop up the Japanese soldiers who had penetrated into the Abu' area earlier. Although the war experience was generally regarded as traumatic some informants admired the technological advances they saw. The war planes, bombs, ships, cars, food, clothes and other paraphernalia were beyond their wildest imaginations.

The post-war recruitment of Abu' to work on plantations, to go to schools, to work with missionaries as catechists, to go to towns and hospitals where they lived and interacted with members of other ethnic groups have contributed also towards the kinds of changes the Abu' have come to live and cope with.

Of all the foreign languages spoken by the Abu' the distantly related Wam is the second most widely spoken one after Tok Pisin. Suain-Ulau and Aruek are rarely used. The reasons for this situation are purely sociocultural, being determined by inter-ethnic marriages and contacts. But even the use of Wam is declining as the number of Abu'-Wam marriage descendants declines and as Tok Pisin has become the lingua franca in the area.

The position of Tok Pisin as the more important language of intra- and inter-ethnic communication among the Abu' and their foreign visitors is now well entrenched.² Salient social forces observed in the early 1980s to have influenced the Abu' to prefer the use of Tok Pisin over Abu' are:³

1. inter-ethnic marriages;
2. the insistent use of Tok Pisin by agents of change;

²The Abu' situation is not unique. Parallel situations have been reported for other Papua New Guinea communities as well. General observations in many essays by language-major students in the University of Papua New Guinea's sociolinguistic classes in the past five years on the issue of language shift affirm this trend. A most detailed report of a shift from less use of a vernacular to more use of Tok Pisin in a village-type setting such as the Abu', is aptly exemplified by the Numbami case study by Bradshaw (1978). General indications seem to point towards a shift from less use of the local vernaculars to an increasing use of Tok Pisin. The trend seems to be on the increase in a good number of Papua New Guinea villages.

³These factors remain valid today. Similar factors have been noted in causing language shift or decline in the Pacific during the latter part of the 1980s (Crowley 1986; Dixon 1991; Dutton & Mühlhäusler 1991; Kamene, in press).

3. the preferential use of Tok Pisin by labourers returning from plantations to show off their relative degree of sophistication;
4. the varying degrees of decline in both passive and active knowledge of Abu' by Abu' children who attend schools outside the Abu' language area;
5. the general movement of Abu' to and from towns or hospitals;
6. the general parental negligence in not encouraging children to learn and use their mother tongue.

Other factors are also at work. These include demands made on children particularly in such domains as the school, the church, the local clinic, the playground and the shop especially where such are located in multi-ethnic settings. Add to these such external forces as a deliberate language policy which prohibits or restricts indigenous communities from using their languages in official domains such as in schools (Johnson 1977; Nekitel, in press). Also the German and Australian colonial governments did not give any official status to the 854 indigenous languages in Papua New Guinea.⁴ While English and German were declared the official languages of the then colonial administrations the de facto language of much of the day-to-day communication outside of the official domains was Tok Pisin. Since Papua New Guinea adopted English as its official language at independence some Papua New Guineans appear to be devaluing their vernaculars. Indeed some even despise them (Nekitel, in press).

In a recent article (Nekitel 1984) I made the following general observations about the Abu' linguistic situation as it was known then:

Abu', the symbol of ethnic and cultural uniqueness and hence of Womsis consciousness, is dwindling in varying degrees. The acquisition of Abu' as a first language, by children born of Abu'-speaking parents, is no longer as common as it was a decade ago. Children are generally left to learn what they encounter as the medium of communication among peer groups. Since Tok Pisin is the predominant language of communication in the village, and especially among children and the younger generation of Womsis parents, naturally it is becoming the first language among children.

3. CULTURE CHANGE: LANGUAGE CHANGE

As might be expected the Abu' have borrowed items of material culture from various sources over time as a result of their contacts with different groups. In some cases the Abu' have borrowed the words associated with those aspects directly from their donors, in other cases not. Thus, for example, they have borrowed words like *keina* (PL *keinab*) 'bow', *luwa* or *luwe* (PL *luwahas* or *luwehes*) 'a container made from the sheath of the dark-palm with an extended sling for carrying goods on the head', and *uriahah* (PL *uriahah*) 'fish net' that women use for trapping both sea and river fish, shrimps and lobsters' from neighbouring Austronesian Ula-Suain speakers on the coast with whom they had, and still have, trading and other relationships. Or again the Abu' use words like *beten* 'prayer', *kaiser* 'king', *maisel* 'chisel', *mak* 'a German shilling', *malen* 'to paint' which reflect contact with Germans who were their first colonial masters and many of whom have been Catholic priests in the area since then. Finally there are words of Tok Pisin and English origin in

⁴As was done in Indonesia and Paraguay for example (Badib 1989; Rubin 1968).

Abu' which reflect contact with these languages since Australia took over control of the area from the Germans.⁵

Where the Abu' borrowed cultural items without also borrowing the corresponding words from the donor language they have either created their own words or broadened the meaning of already existing words to incorporate the new items. A good example of Abu' word creation is their word for a vehicle of any kind. The first such vehicle that the Abu' saw was apparently an aeroplane. To refer to this they coined the word *krahu'* out of *kr* 'rumble' and *hu'* 'move away' – the *a* is epenthetic – which literally means '(something) that moves away rumbling'. This word, suitably qualified, was then extended in meaning to cover cars, boats, and ships when these came on the scene as in:

| | | |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>krahu'</i> | <i>iluhu'i</i> | aeroplane |
| vehicle | sky.of | |
| <i>krahu'</i> | <i>itafu'i</i> | car, truck, bus |
| vehicle | land.of | |
| <i>krahu'</i> | <i>ausu'i</i> | boat, ship |
| vehicle | sea.of | |

This new word *krahu'* assumes feminine gender morphology to reflect the Abu' cosmic view that any object which has to do with bearing or carrying people must (by analogy with female humans) be associated with the female gender.

In other cases where an introduced item was similar in form or function to something already existing in their culture the Abu' merely extended the meaning of their own word to refer to the new object. Thus when European knives were first introduced the Abu' simply called them *nukatefikl* (PL *nuketes*), the word they used to refer to bamboo blades previously used for shaving or cutting soft objects and food. This was then extended in meaning to cover such other knife-like objects as razor blades, table-knives, and pocket-knives. Similarly plates were named *nuburawa* or *aureh* (from the Abu' words for 'coconut-shell bowl' and 'wooden bowl' respectively) and money became known as *utaba* and *suus* (from the Abu' words for 'stone' and 'leaf' respectively). More recently when the Abu' saw pictures of trains they named them *titiakamuna* (PL *titiakamunab*) after millipedes because of their perceived similarity to those creatures when trains are seen from a distance.

In a few cases the Abu' have created words for foreign concepts by calquing or translating literally the foreign expression. This method has been used by the Abu' in creating greetings corresponding to European ones. Thus *luwahef* 'good morning' literally means 'morning',

⁵It is possible, although it cannot be proven one way or the other at the moment, that some words in Abu' are borrowings from Malay through contact with Malay bird of paradise hunters. Consider for example the following:

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Abu' | | Malay | |
| <i>sirsar</i> | confused | <i>sarasar</i> | confused |
| <i>adil</i> | true | <i>adil</i> | just, fair |
| <i>adeh</i> | I exclaim | <i>aduh</i> | exclamation of pain |
| <i>deh</i> | exclamation of pain | | |
| <i>aiwa(h)</i> | father | <i>ayah</i> | father |
| <i>kani</i> | in, into | <i>ke(dalam)</i> | into |
| <i>suf</i> | leaf | <i>suf</i> | tablecloth |
| <i>butum</i> | penis | <i>butuh</i> | penis |

(y)afuhi numunah 'good day' literally means 'good day', uwabi geb 'good afternoon' literally means 'afternoon' and (y)afubi uwab 'good-night' literally means 'good night'.

Finally contact with other cultures has led in areas of specialised vocabulary to the loss of that vocabulary as the aspects of culture to which that vocabulary once referred have been lost. A particularly good example of this is *sesade' kwianif*, the expression used to refer to a rigorous form of oratory staged during traditional feasts held to reinforce social obligations that feast partners have to each other. After cooking, the food is displayed. Then after eating and sharing out the food disputants or spokespersons take delight in representing their clans in a display of a highly formalised oratory. The participants in this debate walk to and fro along a line and pound their feet on the ground while delivering speeches fiercely critical of each other's clans for mediocrity or failure to meet expected levels of performance in feast exchanges.⁶ Sadly *sesade' kwianif* has fallen out of use as cult worship has fallen into disuse following acceptance of Christianity.

4. LINGUISTIC EFFECTS OF BORROWING

While the types of borrowing noted above reflect changes in material aspects of culture and imply an adjustment to new ways their effects on the Abu' language go beyond merely the acquisition or loss of vocabulary although these may be subtle and not easily documentable in the short term. Apart from the acquisition of new phonemes⁷ two aspects of structure that are already being affected by such changes are the Abu' noun class and tense systems.

4.1 NOUN CLASS SYSTEM

Abu' Arapesh, like other Arapesh languages has an elaborate noun class system with nominal concord.⁸ Like many typologically similar languages this system requires nouns and all syntactically connected elements to be in concord with the governing noun in respect of its class and number.

There are two types of concord affixes in Abu', a verbal set and an adjectival set. The verbal set consists of pre-verbal subject referring pronouns (SRP) and post-verbal object referring pronouns (ORP) in transitive verb clauses, the former being obligatory whilst the latter only occur in those constructions which do not have an overt object. These sets of nominal concord affixes form the outer layers of the verb phrase:

- (1) *Alibal b-a-tufa' aleman.*
 knife SRP-R-cut man⁹
 The knife cut the man.

⁶See Nekitel (1985, 1986) for more details.

⁷For example, in Abu' [f] and [p] are free variants of /f/. However, since Abu' began to attend English medium schools in the 1960s and became aware of the phonemic contrast between /f/ and /p/ in English the two sounds have come to be treated as different phonemes in Abu' formal speech although they are still in free variation in informal speech.

⁸Elaborate gender systems are also features of many other languages throughout the rest of the world including Papua New Guinea, e.g. Chambri (Pagotto 1976), Baining (Capell 1969), Sare (Sumbuk 1988), other Sepik languages (Foley 1986) and some Southeast Asian and Bantu languages (Lyons 1968).

⁹In this and other examples R = Realis.

- (2) *Alibal b-a-tufa-n-a.*
knife SRP-R-cut-ORP-DEM
The knife cut him.

The affixes are usually of the same phonological form as the final consonants of the head noun.¹⁰

The adjectival set of concord markers consists largely of proximal (PROX) and distal (DIST) deictics whose respective bases are *a(e)Ca/e* 'this/these' and *Ca(e)/Ci* 'that/those'. The consonant C represents the nominal concord marker which encodes the nominal concord SRP as in:

- (3) *aleman* *a-n-a*
man.SG PROX-SRP-PROX
this man
- (4) *aleman* *n-a-n-i*
man.SG SRP-DIST-SRP-DIST
that man
- (5) *redio* *e-n-e*
radio.SG PROX-SRP-PROX
this radio
- (6) *redio* *n-e-n-i*
radio.SG SRP-DIST-SRP-DIST
that radio
- (7) *alemam* *a-m-a*
man.PL PROX-SRP-PROX
these men
- (8) *alemam* *m-a-m-i*
man.PL SRP-DIST-SRP-DIST
those men

For inherited Abu' words previously unheard or unelicited plural forms of SRPs could fairly reliably be predicted from elicited or heard singular forms. However, for borrowed nouns this is not the case because even though they generally retain the same forms as in the source language in the singular they often have unpredictable SRPs in the plural. For example *buk* 'book' ends in *k* yet assumes the nominal concord affix *n-* whereas *lawak* 'tree' takes *k-* as its SRP. As both *buk* and *lawak* end in *k* one would expect them to be subject to the same concord rule. The following set of examples illustrates the range:

| SG | PL | SRP.SG | SRP.PL | Meaning |
|----------------|------------------|---------------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>pater</i> | <i>paterimi</i> | <i>n-</i> | <i>m-</i> | priest |
| <i>kiap</i> | <i>kiapimi</i> | <i>n-</i> | <i>m-</i> | patrol officer |
| <i>siste</i> | <i>sistewa</i> | <i>kw-/-'</i> | <i>w-</i> | sister |
| <i>nes</i> | <i>nesiwa</i> | <i>kw-/-'</i> | <i>w-</i> | nurse |
| <i>kerahu'</i> | <i>keralhuwa</i> | <i>kw-</i> | <i>w-</i> | plane |

¹⁰Except for those nouns, which, for semantic reasons, are perceived of as being inherently masculine or feminine. Although these two sets of nouns may end either in a consonant or a vowel their SRP will be *n* for singular masculine nouns and *m* for plural ones and *kw* and *w* for singular and plural feminine ones.

| | | | | |
|---------------|------------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|
| <i>balus</i> | <i>balusihes</i> | <i>kw-</i> | <i>w-</i> | plane |
| <i>ain</i> | <i>ainab</i> | <i>n-</i> | <i>b-</i> | iron |
| <i>bataul</i> | <i>bataukuh</i> | <i>l-</i> | <i>h-</i> | bottle |
| <i>suga</i> | <i>suga</i> | <i>n-</i> | <i>n-</i> | sugar |
| <i>rais</i> | <i>rais</i> | <i>s-</i> | <i>s-</i> | rice |
| <i>bia</i> | <i>bia</i> | <i>n-</i> | <i>n-</i> | beer |
| <i>buk</i> | <i>buk</i> | <i>n-</i> | <i>n-</i> | book |
| <i>lufah</i> | <i>lufokwih</i> | <i>h-</i> | <i>h-</i> | laplap, loincloth |
| <i>redio</i> | <i>redio</i> | <i>n-</i> | <i>n-</i> | radio |
| <i>ti</i> | <i>ti</i> | <i>n-</i> | <i>n-</i> | tea |
| <i>dram</i> | <i>dref</i> | <i>m-</i> | <i>f-</i> | drum |
| <i>waia</i> | <i>waialeh</i> | <i>n-</i> | <i>h-</i> | wire |

The semantic or syntactic reasons for this kind of variation are unclear but such variation could eventually have an important effect on the structure of Abu' noun classes.

4.2 TENSE SYSTEM

As noted above there are many borrowings from Tok Pisin in Abu'. However, where this is most obvious is in interlanguage code-switching. An Abu' speaker may commence his/her speech in Abu' but code-switches to Tok Pisin and vice versa as the sentence proceeds as, for example, in the following sentences (in which the Tok Pisin items are underlined):

- (9) *M-e-hara-'-e* *m-a-ahe'* *kani* *hausik*
 we-P-carry-her-and we-R-go to hospital
 We took her to the hospital.
- (10) *Oret* *na* *kaunsola* *n-a-da'* *salim-a*
 all.right and councillor he-R-make send-it
dikebeseh *uma* *amum*.
 message to them.M
 Okay, so the councillor sent a message to them (males).

The increasing use of one form in particular, notably *bai* 'future', as in the following sentence, is likely to have far-reaching consequences for Abu' in the long term.

- (11) *A'u'* *na* *iye'* *bai* *u-k-ahe'*.
 she and I FUT we-FUT-go
 She and I will go.

In particular the structure of the Abu' verb is likely to be affected. Whereas at the moment future tense is marked inside the verb (as in example (11)) this marking is likely to gradually lose its force as *bai* takes over, with the result that the future form of the verb will become an irregularity. In that case it may even interfere with other verb tenses.

5. LANGUAGE CHANGE: CULTURE CHANGE

So far I have tried to demonstrate the sorts of effects culture change has had on the Abu' language. In one case at least it appears that borrowing has affected Abu' culture. This is

the case of *wau* 'maternal uncle' which has been borrowed from the Austronesian language-speaking Ulau-Suain. This word is gaining popularity amongst the Abu', being preferred to Abu' *sahalina* (PL *sahalinab*). Not only that but the semantic range of the term is being extended by stages (set out below) to include such kinship terms as *numa'ita* (PL *numa'itowk*) 'male-in-law' (i.e. father-in-law, son-in-law) and *defenu'* (PL *defenuwa*) 'female-in-law' (both mother-in-law and daughter-in-law) which are traditionally taboo words:

| | | | |
|----------|------------|---|---|
| Stage 1: | <i>wau</i> | replaces | <i>sahalina/sahalu'</i> |
| Stage 2: | <i>wau</i> | replaces | <i>sahalina/sahalu'</i> + <i>numa'ita/defenu'</i> |
| Stage 3: | <i>wau</i> | is established (without gender distinction) | |

As a result this new term is undermining the strong respect the Abu' have for traditional Abu' in-law terms. Social taboo, respect and obligation that *numa'ita* and *defenu'* reinforce in society are being neutralised by the introduction of *wau*. Whereas formerly jokes between in-laws who had to be avoided were not possible they are now. The possible danger, from the Abu' point of view, is therefore that if *wau* is fully absorbed into the language, future generations of Abu' may no longer value the social or cultural significance that is encoded by two former Abu' in-law terms. Consequently the Abu' may have to either re-emphasise the cultural significance of the two terms by accentuating their use or transfer the cultural connotations from the old terms to the loan word thus giving it a new meaning and cultural significance. For the moment *wau* is more neutral than the Abu' terms.

This example demonstrates how a loan can have an effect on the changing attitudes of speakers and how certain social and cultural values associated with the terms may be denuded from the old forms. The ad hoc process involved in borrowing Ulau-Suain *wau* has done just what many culture-conscious persons do not want to see happen, notably, damage to Abu' social relationships.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have attempted to show how culture change and language are interrelated by drawing on examples from my own culture and language. Although it is generally recognised that cultural change is most often reflected in the vocabulary of a language it may also affect the phonology and grammar of a language. At least in one case in Abu' effects of the reverse kind are to be found.

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VALUES AND SEMANTIC CHANGES IN YAGARIA, EASTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

GÜNTHER RENCK

1. INTRODUCTION

It is a well-known fact that under the impact of cultural, economic, social and political changes, languages in Papua New Guinea over the past decades have changed at a much faster pace than ever before, and maybe faster than languages elsewhere in the world. In Papua New Guinea languages have been 'eroded' through different influences and the integration of 'foreign' language elements has altered some languages to such an extent that their speakers fear, if not for the existence, then at least for the identity of their languages.

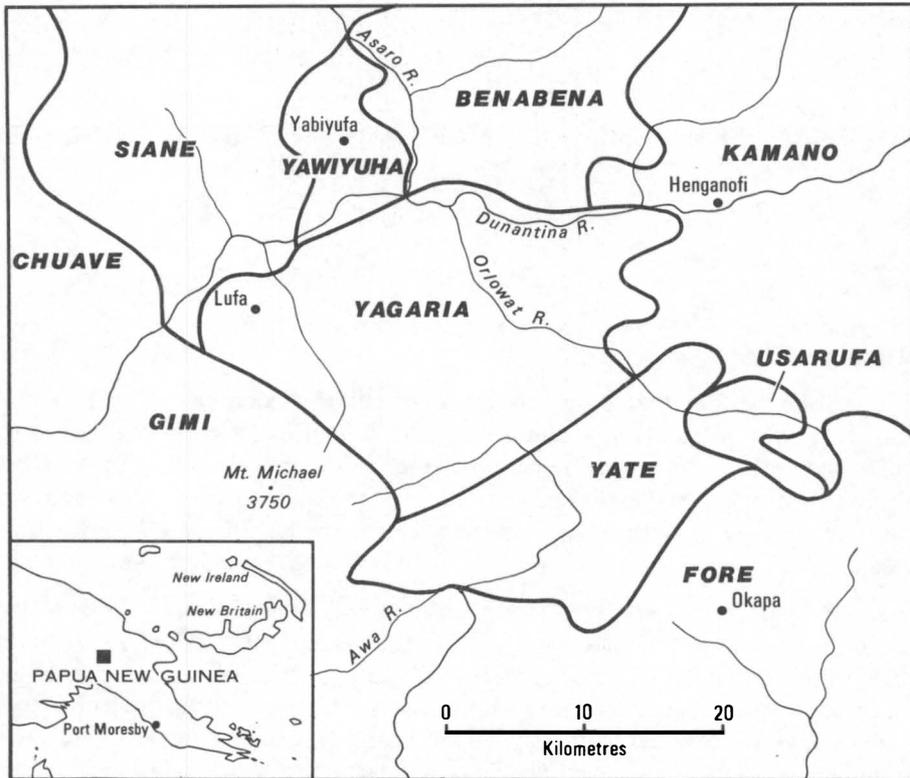
This paper describes and briefly evaluates changes in different semantic fields which have occurred over the past four decades in Yagaria, a non-Austronesian (or Papuan) language spoken by approximately 23,000 people in the Lufa district of the Eastern Highlands Province – see map.¹ Special attention will be given to the manner in which changes in the sphere of values have been accommodated by the language, and a comparison between this process and the developments in the fields of economics and physical culture will be made.

2. VALUES AND RELIGION

Language is invariably used to denote peoples' values. To speak of values in Papua New Guinea means to speak of religion, as religion for Papua New Guineans was always wholistic and permeated all spheres of life, the life of the individual as well as that of the community. Religion was an integral part of birth, marriage and death, of gardening, hunting and warfare, as well as of initiation, the male cult societies, morals and ethics, magic and counter-magic. Everything was intrinsically connected with religion, and nothing of life was without it.

In the field of religion there have been considerable changes in Papua New Guinea and this has resulted in very definite semantic changes in language. Much of the traditional religion has disappeared and with it some of the language expressing traditional values. Christianity as a new form of religion has been substituted, but what has happened to language in the process of this substitution?

¹This description is based on observations of the development of this language over a period of about thirty years and discussed in more detail in Renck (1990).



THE YAGARIA LANGUAGE AREA

The values of the new religion differed from those of the traditional one, though there were certain similarities or points of relation. But one thing was essentially the same: as with the old values language was needed for the new ones to be expressed and to be communicated.

It cannot be denied that missions have exerted negative influences as far as the languages of this country are concerned. There were instances where through mission work the vernaculars were devalued, and a person unable to speak a trade language (or in some cases a 'mission' language) was ridiculed and regarded as a kind of 'second class' Christian. There are, however, many examples of a different kind of development, and one of them is apparent in Yagaria.

3. CHANGES IN YAGARIA CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

In the Yagaria area Christian mission work was started in 1949 by Lutheran evangelists. Some of these came from mountainous areas of the Huon Peninsula, and some from the Kafe/Kamano area between Henganofi and Kainantu in the Highlands. Seventh Day Adventists arrived also at that time followed a little later by the New Tribes Mission and the Faith Mission.

At the time when the missions came, and the area opened up to the 'outside world', many culturally foreign items came in, and they helped gradually to change the lifestyle and working habits of the people. This sometimes occurred in connection with the work of the missions but often also quite independently of it.

Thus two kinds of innovations had to be accommodated linguistically, the one reflecting cultural innovations of a physical nature, the other those of an altered value system. In both fields there seem to have been two stages of development and change.

Cultural innovations were first of all linguistically adapted with expressions from Yagaria. The following examples illustrate this:

| | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| <i>dekana</i> | bone needle | was used to denote | nail |
| <i>eimuta</i> | place where someone sits | was used to denote | chair |
| <i>emuta</i> | digging stick | was used to denote | spade |
| <i>eve</i> | sugarcane | was used to denote | sugar |
| <i>ganina</i> | cane torch | was used to denote | lamp |
| <i>ganuna</i> | rain mat | was used to denote | umbrella |
| <i>gaveda</i> | vine | was used to denote | radio |
| <i>gonā</i> | bamboo tube | was used to denote | bottle |
| <i>gukae</i> | apron | was used to denote | loincloth |
| <i>haeya</i> | leaf | was used to denote | banknote |
| <i>hage</i> | ash salt | was used to denote | salt |
| <i>hagita</i> | bamboo sliver | was used to denote | knife |
| <i>luna</i> | stone adze | was used to denote | hatchet |
| <i>samo</i> | clay pot | was used to denote | saucepan |
| <i>yavana</i> | stone | was used to denote | coin |

But rather soon loan words from Tok Pisin were introduced to denote these cultural innovations. These loans were structurally adapted to Yagaria. The method of adaptation can best be demonstrated with nouns. There are two main noun classes in Yagaria, one comprising words ending in a glottal stop or the suffix *-na* (class 1), the other one ending in an open syllable (class 2). Every introduced noun was first of all phonologically and then also structurally adapted to fit into one of the two noun classes. The following list gives some examples of this.

Categorised as class 1 nouns were the following:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| <i>lediona/ledio'</i> | radio |
| <i>lipitina/lipiti'</i> | tea |
| <i>popona/popo'</i> | pawpaw |
| <i>pulumakana/pulumaka'</i> | cattle |
| <i>siana/sia'</i> | chair |
| <i>solena/sole'</i> | salt |
| <i>sukana/suka'</i> | sugar |
| <i>tomatona/tomato'</i> | tomato |
| <i>viduana/vidua'</i> | window |

Categorised as class 2 nouns were the following:

| | |
|------------------|----------|
| <i>abalala</i> | umbrella |
| <i>botole</i> | bottle |
| <i>dili/nili</i> | nail |

| | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>goti</i> | court |
| <i>lamu</i> | lamp |
| <i>lavalavo</i> | loincloth |
| <i>savole</i> | shovel, spade |
| <i>sopu</i> | soap |
| <i>uvalisi</i> | radio |

For tools which eventually replaced a traditional counterpart entirely no loan was introduced. Instead the traditional term was simply applied to the new form of the tool, e.g. *luna/lu* 'axe', and *hagita* 'knife'.²

In the field of values, and here we speak primarily of religious values, a slightly different development took place. There were also two stages, but these were in a different order from those noted for introduced material items discussed above. In the first some, but not many, loans were borrowed into Yagaria from other languages. However, only a few of these remained later. They thus seem to have been regarded only as stopgaps until a vernacular term had been found. The majority of these loans were eventually replaced by Yagaria expressions in the second stage of development.

In that stage Yagaria words and phrases that had been used from the start were never replaced by loans later on. The evangelists, who were rather poor speakers of Tok Pisin at that time, brought with them a religious terminology either in their mother tongue, the neighbouring Kafe/Kamano language, or in the Kâte language from the Finschhafen area, which at that time was used by the Lutherans as a school language and one of the three lingue franche in the evolving Lutheran Church in New Guinea. Over the years the evangelists, assisted by indigenous Yagaria speakers, tried to create a corresponding terminology in Yagaria. Actually, it would be more correct to say that it was those Yagaria speakers who had learned either Kâte or Kafe, who, guided and assisted by the evangelists, proceeded to coin Christian terms, using Yagaria words. Consequently in this value system only Yagaria terms were used, and loan words were hardly needed. The terms appeared in a great number of newly-created Christian hymns being sung.

The system remained the same even when more and more Yagaria people learned to speak Tok Pisin properly and eventually had command of a Christian terminology in Tok Pisin. The newly-coined Yagaria terms were never replaced by loans since the new values had apparently been adapted in the original wholistic way to the life of the people, and had truly become part of their thinking and value system.

To demonstrate how Christian terms developed in Yagaria, a few typical examples will be given.

Firstly, some of the few loans will be presented which came from or through Kâte, and have remained in use to date. The best known of these loans is the word for 'God', *Anutu*, which was introduced also in many other languages of Papua New Guinea. This name has often been regarded by other missions and churches as a peculiarity, or maybe even as an invention, of the Lutherans. However, it originated in the coastal Austronesian languages of Jabêm (Finschhafen)³ and Bel (Madang), and through the medium of Kâte,⁴ it spread to many areas of the interior. This widespread Austronesian word, with many cognates,

²Similar linguistic developments have been described by Fischer (1962:28-30) for the Buang area.

³cf. Streicher 1982:13-14.

⁴cf. Flierl & Strauss 1977:5.

denotes 'spirit', 'ghost', 'deity' in many languages of the Pacific region, and is used widely by Christian Churches (most of them non-Lutheran) to denote 'God' (e.g. *Atua* in Maori and many other languages in Polynesia).⁵

Another loan from Kâte, *nunumu* 'prayer', apparently was introduced so early that many Yagaria speakers later on regarded it as a word from their own language and Lutheran Christians resisted all efforts to use a different word.

A third loan from Kâte which has been used is *malipu* 'cross', in the phrase *malipu yava* 'cross-tree' (as Tok Pisin *diwai kros*). The term appears to have been incorporated into Yagaria very early and it must have assumed a very special ('sacred') meaning right away, so that no local term seems to have been felt appropriate to replace it. This, by the way, parallels the adaptation of the Latin word *crux* 'cross' into the Germanic languages of Northern Europe in the early Middle Ages, denoting a (visible) religious symbol which had cultural significance at the same time.

Apart from the few loans most value terms, however, came from Yagaria itself, either through a change in meaning of existing words or phrases or by loan-translations (calques) being formed under the influence of the languages which the evangelists spoke. Some examples will be given here.

Existing terms which changed their meanings through constant use in the Christian sense include:

– *bonona/bono'*. This word originally denoted the instructions on customs, cult, etc., given to the young men before initiation. The word could be glossed as 'instruction' or 'directions for a good, correct way of life'. The expression changed its meaning to denote now the whole of Christian teaching with all its implications, and could nowadays best be glossed 'religion'. (Most neighbouring languages have the cognate *mono*, and there seem to be cognates of this in other parts of the Highlands, e.g. in Melpa (Hagen): *man* 'instruction');

– *bo'ava'a*. This word formerly meant 'his tutor' and denoted a man responsible for the upbringing of a boy with special responsibilities at the time of preparation for and going through initiation. In the Christian context it was adapted to denote 'godfather';

– *deyana/deya'*. This is a term from initiation, and originally denoted a bunch of sharp-edged grass or cane leaves which were pushed into the nostrils of the initiands to induce bleeding. The word was then used in phrases to denote people who had been initiated: *deya' bade* 'initiated boy', *deya' yuva* 'community of the initiated'. As initiation was replaced by confirmation phrases like these came to be used for Christians after confirmation;

– *souve* 'chief', formerly used to denote an important man or fight leader, it was used to express 'Lord', that is, the unspeakable name of God in the Old Testament and the title for God and Jesus;

– *amuna* 'breath' was used to denote the divine 'spirit';

– *eipa ageta havi-* 'to think attentively' or 'to have something in mind' was used to express 'to hope';

⁵For this term see Wurm and Wilson (1975:54, 89, 107, 197ff.).

- *eipa hago-* ‘to be kind, to be tender-hearted’ (*eipa* means ‘bowels’) was employed to express the Christian concept of ‘love’ or ‘mercy’;
- *feipana* ‘offence’, an ethical term in traditional language, was used to denote the Christian concept of ‘sin’. Also *gumina*, actually meaning ‘theft’, changed its meaning to denote ‘sin’ in a wider sense;
- *fugigina* ‘rainbow’ and *halo* ‘light’ came to denote ‘glory’;
- *fuluna* ‘coolness’ was used to denote ‘peace’;
- *gokudana* ‘sky’ was used for ‘heaven’;
- *hou’ ei-* ‘to protect’ (*houna/hou* ‘liver’) was used to express ‘to save’;
- *lusa* ‘good spell’ or ‘good magic’ came to denote the concept of ‘blessing’;
- *oune* ‘image’, originally denoting the shadow or the reflection of a person in water, and also the ‘spirit’ of a dead person, was used for the concept of ‘soul’;
- *vato’* or *aeto’* ‘set apart, by itself’, expressing something which engendered awe in people in the traditional culture, came to denote the concept of ‘holy’.

Some expressions denoting cultural matters which were connected with religion, entered the value system, and have been retained, as they have to do with Scripture and other religious literature:

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|--------------|---------|
| <i>haeya</i> | leaf | was used for | page |
| <i>viva</i> | larger partition in garden | was used for | chapter |
| <i>fologana</i> | smaller partition in garden | was used for | verse |

In quite a number of instances Yagaria terms were used to form calques or ‘loan-translations’. Models for these ‘manufactured’ expressions came from either Kafe/Kamano or from Kâte.⁶

Examples:

- *age* ‘report, reputation’ and *soko* ‘good’ were put together to form the phrase *soko age*, denoting ‘good news, gospel’;
- *einaga* ‘inside, mind’, was connected with *yahae’ hu-* ‘to turn’ to form the phrase *einaga yahae’ hu-* to denote ‘to repent’. This calque was formed from a Kâte phrase but could have been drawn as well from the Tok Pisin expression *tanim bel*;
- *amuna/amu’* ‘breath’, together with *vato’* ‘holy’, resulted in the phrase *Vato’ Amu’* to express the Christian concept ‘Holy Spirit’;
- the word *bonona/bono’* ‘religion’ was used in the formation of quite a number of calques, like *bono’ nina* ‘religion water’ for ‘baptism’, *bono’ yona* ‘religion house’ for ‘church’ or ‘chapel’, *bono’ yoke* ‘religion song’ for ‘hymn’, *bono’ ge* ‘religion word’ for ‘sermon’ or for ‘Bible’.

⁶Nida (1964:214) describes such loan translations as “manufacturing terms with indigenous lexical components”, and McElhanon (1975:130ff.) who describes the same process in Selepet, speaks of “literalizations of Kâte expressions”.

4. CONCLUSION

The question which arises from the observations in Yagaria is: do these different developments in the various linguistic fields have any special significance, as far as language change in general is concerned?

The fact that loans are mainly used for cultural innovations but that indigenous lexical material is mainly employed for alterations in the field of values points to the important conservative and retarding role which the values and the terms standing for them obviously play in the development and change of a language. In the wake of cultural change language change is inevitable. If such change is achieved only through the introduction of loans, the language, even if it remains structurally the same, may soon become changed beyond recognition. Terms to denote values are therefore important factors not only in keeping a language alive but in preserving the identity of the language in the midst of all changes.

The wholistic character of religion has disappeared in many indigenous societies of Papua New Guinea and life has become 'compartmentalised'. Yet now that there is such a compartment as 'religion' with a 'language' used to express and to communicate the values which are important in this compartment it seems that here is a factor which should not be underestimated in its importance for the survival of languages.

Even without the work of the missions the traditional religious values in their wholistic form most probably would have been doomed under the impact of all the new outside influences. It is obvious that the terms denoting them survived, but survived only by being adapted to denote the new religious values.

Through semantic changes in its vocabulary the language was adapted to the changing times and could continue to be used. That the values had also undergone changes, and these changes had been implanted in the language, was of additional benefit for the survival of the language at this time. Nowadays Yagaria is still being used for Christian life and worship. Many hymns in Yagaria, with local tunes, are still sung. Religions, having a retarding and conserving element about them, are strong agents in keeping traditions, including linguistic traditions, alive.

As the French sociolinguist Calvet (1978:64) notes: "It is known that religions have succeeded in keeping alive the languages which they have defended against the winds and waves of history". Thus a language, intrinsically connected with an established and practiced religion, has an added advantage for survival.

In support of this statement I would like to relate some personal experience from Europe. I spent part of my childhood during the years preceding World War II in the Sorbic area in the eastern part of Germany. During the Third Reich in Germany linguistic minorities like the Sorbs, who speak a West-Slavic language, had a hard time retaining their cultural and linguistic identity, since the official policy was that everything had to be 'Germanised'. Sorbic schools were not allowed any more, and the speaking of Sorbic in public was ridiculed. Within families Sorbic was widely used of course, sometimes exclusively. And another place where the power of the state did not succeed in eradicating the Sorbic language was in church. Sorbic church services were still conducted, and the attendance at those services exceeded by far that at the German services. Thus religion has contributed strongly to the survival of the Sorbic language to date.

The fact that religion is very vital for language conservation ought to be realised in Papua New Guinea today especially in view of the threat to the survival of many of its languages.

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'AS TIME GOES BY...': CHANGES OBSERVED IN TROBRIAND ISLANDERS' CULTURE AND LANGUAGE, MILNE BAY PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

GUNTER SENFT

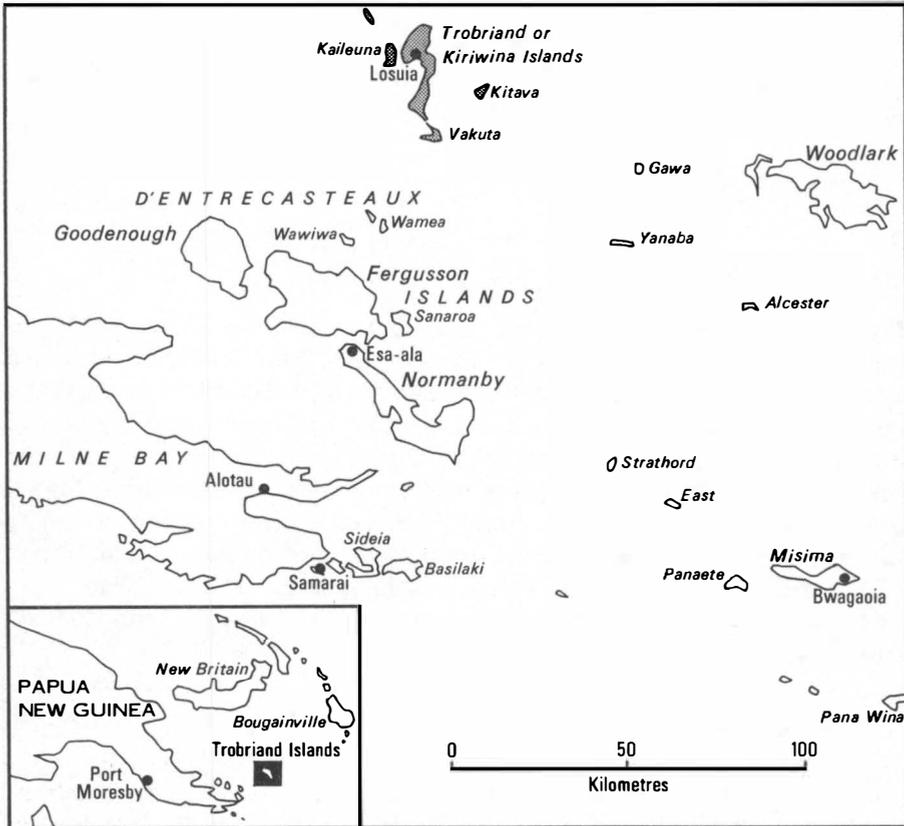
The first experience can never be repeated. The first love, the first sunrise, the first South Sea Island, are memories apart and touched by a virginity of sense.
(Stevenson 1987[1896]:6)

1. INTRODUCTION¹

In May 1989 I returned to the Trobriand Islands in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea to do linguistic field research for a period of four months. The main aim of this visit was to study the system of classificatory particles used in Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders (Senft 1986). Coming back to the field, coming back to 'our' village, Tauwema, on Kaile'una Island and to our friends and language helpers there after six years now evoked not only the old "feelings of intense interest and suspense" (Malinowski 1922:51) but also a rather strange mixture of emotions. From my various sources of personal and written information about the social situation of Papua New Guinea generally and the fundamental changes this country, its various ethnic groups, and its languages have been undergoing for years, I expected, somewhat grudgingly, that the Trobriand Islanders had also been affected by these changes. However, I had no idea at all about the degree with which these changes had affected the Trobriand Islanders. That the processes of change affect Trobriand Islands society rather fundamentally was something I immediately noticed

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upon setting foot on Trobriand Islands soil again. On our first visit in 1982, contrary to what was really happening,² I had the quite romantic feeling as I stepped out of the aircraft that brought us from Alotau, the provincial capital, to the Trobriand Islands that it was like stepping right into the picture so vividly presented in Malinowski's ethnographic masterpieces of the first quarter of this century. By the time of our second visit in 1989 the situation had completely changed.



THE TROBRIAND ISLANDS

This paper describes the changes I experienced and observed on the islands. It then discusses aspects of cultural and language change presented with respect to the questions concerning who and/or what is responsible for these changes and whether they have to be regarded as signs of cultural and linguistic decay and impoverishment or simply phenomena in which the natural course of events manifests itself. The essay ends with some suggestions as to what can be done given the Trobriand Islands situation as it is – or, to be more accurate, as I see it – to steer change in a direction beneficial to the people and the culture.

²See for example Austen (1945), May (1982) and Weiner (1982).

2. ASPECTS OF CULTURAL CHANGE AND LANGUAGE CHANGE OBSERVED

Every linguist interested in, and concerned with, the history of the philosophy of language must be familiar with the idea that language mirrors culture. As Herder (1978[1770]:149ff.) and Humboldt (1836) did before him, Schleiermacher (1977[1838]:78), for example emphasises that:

Rede ist nur zu verstehen aus der Totalität der Sprache...Ebenso ist Rede immer nur zu verstehen aus dem ganzen Leben, dem sie angehört, d.h., da jede Rede immer nur als Lebensmoment des Redenden in der Bedingtheit aller seiner Lebensmomente erkennbar ist, und dies nur aus der Gesamtheit seiner Umgebungen, wodurch seine Entwicklung und sein Fortbestehen bestimmt werden, so ist jeder Redende nur verstehbar durch seine Nationalität und sein Zeitalter.³

Given this insight, the inference that culture change must affect language and thus must itself be reflected in some way or other in the language of the speech community undergoing this change is just inevitable. In the following pages I will use these insights as a starting point for discussing the observations I made on the Trobriand Islands in 1989 with respect to aspects of culture and language change that have been taking place over the last six years. I group my observations as follows: I will first describe the changes that affect the Trobriand Islanders' concept of aesthetics; then I will discuss the observed changes in the social construction of Trobriand Islanders' profane reality; finally, I will present the changes that affect Trobriand Islanders' "magic, science and religion" (Malinowski 1974). In general, I always start with the cultural changes observed and then discuss their linguistic consequences.

2.1 CHANGES IN TROBRIAND ISLANDERS' CONCEPT OF AESTHETICS

In the past almost all objects of everyday use, be they things necessary for survival or things that make life easier, more pleasing, or happier, were made by the Trobriand Islanders out of material provided by their environment. These objects ranged from children's toys, balls, rattles, vessels, bowls, tools, combs, dresses and ornaments to houses, sheds, yam houses, and canoes.⁴ In general, these objects were produced in such a way that their maker was giving a distinctive character and personal note to these things – either by a special arrangement of the components of the object, or by a personal decoration and ornamentation. Thus, the making of these things did not only require personal skills and some proficiency in manufacturing, it also always included a concept of aesthetics on the part of the manufacturer which he/she intended deliberately to be reflected in the appearance of the completed object or artefact. This concept of aesthetics was used as a means of expressing the manufacturer's personality and identity, his/her skills, of course, but also his/her pride and joy at being able to make the respective object. I would even go so far as to state that in 1982/83 a

³"Speech can only be understood from the totality of language...Equally, speech is always to be understood from life as a whole, of which it is a part, i.e., because every speech is perceptible only as a moment of the speaker's life, in the conditionality of all his moments of life, and this only from the totality of his surroundings that determine his development and his continued existence, so every speaker is only understandable by his nationality and his era". (Schleiermacher 1977[1838]:71 – my translation, G.S.)

⁴See for example Malinowski (1922, 1929, 1935); Powell (1957); Scoditti (1985); Weiner (1976, 1988); Keesing (1981, especially pages 178, 208, 273).

considerable number of objects of everyday use represented works of art, albeit small and trivial. Even young adolescents were able to assign certain objects to their respective manufacturers on the basis of design alone.

In 1989 the majority of these self-made objects was replaced by things made out of plastic (e.g. combs), glass (e.g. tumblers), or metal (e.g. vessels, bowls), which the Trobriand Islanders bought in stores. Of the remaining self-made objects, those that still conveyed their manufacturer's personal aesthetic concept had greatly diminished in number. We no longer observed as many young boys and girls and adolescents trying to manufacture objects of everyday use and seeking help and advice from experts. When we asked these younger people why they no longer make these things themselves they told us very proudly that there was no need to do so any more because one could now buy these objects in trade stores. Our young informants were proud to point out to us the development that had taken place which was explicitly 'proved' to be positive. The days of old were gone and 'modern times' had finally made their entrance to the Trobriand Islands with all its 'blessings'. Consequently, almost all villagers assigned much more prestige and status to these modern goods than to their traditional self-made counterparts. I do not want to deny at all that some imported goods of so-called 'Western' culture (like the steel axe for example) improved the life of the peoples of Papua New Guinea greatly.⁵ However, I want to note here that Western economics, a cash economy and expanded trade are obviously on their way to superseding the Trobriand Islanders' local production of a number of everyday goods. They repress especially the various personal concepts of aesthetics expressed in the form or decoration of these objects. Personal aesthetic input expressed not only the manufacturer's pride and joy in making these objects and artefacts, but the objects were also respected and admired by the villagers in general. With the introduction of store-bought goods the importance and impact of these expressions of aesthetic concepts has decreased dramatically.

Another related and obvious change that presented itself to us was the abandonment of traditional forms of dress. Almost no women wore traditional colourful skirts made out of banana leaves. During our entire stay on the Trobriand Islands we saw only two old women wearing these skirts during and after a skirt distribution ceremony, the most important women's mortuary ceremony (Weiner 1976). Skirts and dresses made out of cotton, and more often, plastic fibres have replaced the traditional ones. Moreover, the traditional dress of the men, the loincloth made out of the leaf sheath of a betel palm, has also been replaced by shorts and trousers. We saw only two old men wearing traditional loincloths. Shorts and trousers could also be seen much more often than the waistcloth, the so-called 'lap-lap' or 'sulu' made out of cotton, a form of introduced dress now rather common in Papua New Guinea and the South Pacific. As documented in some illustrations in Senft and Senft (1986) this change had already announced itself in 1983. However, that it has developed in the meantime to such a degree that not even young girls were wearing their traditional 'grass skirts' or *doba*, surprised us. While in 1982 the majority of Trobriand Islanders still proudly praised their traditional forms of dress for their beauty, comfort and adaptation to the tropical climate, and while then most parents proudly presented their children in their traditional clothes, the majority now, while sweating in their garments made out of plastic fibres, praise the replacements as being more modern and more 'decent' – especially according to the missionaries' and local village priests' (*misinar*) criteria. The 'modern' dresses are for sale in the stores on Kiriwina Island and in July a second-hand shop for clothing was opened on

⁵See for example references in Mikloucho-Maclay (1871-1883) and Conolly and Anderson (1987).

the island. Together with the substitution of traditional clothes by 'Western' garments we noticed a profound change in the dyeing of the traditional skirts that continue to play their important role in connection with mortuary ceremonies. Chemical dyes that can be bought in the stores have superseded traditional natural dyes. However, this process was already becoming apparent in 1983.

Moreover, we observed a decrease in the manufacture of body decorations and adornments, especially those made out of shells (like the *doga*, *gine'uba* and *mwalikepwa*) and fibres (like the *kwasi* and the *kwepitapatila*).⁶ This is not unexpected as modern clothing most often covers those parts of the body where these adornments are traditionally worn. Given that these adornments, but especially those made out of shells, were generally manufactured by expert craftsmen, it is little wonder that there is now almost no demand for their skills. However, it is not only these craftsmen who are affected by the cultural change taking place on the Trobriand Islands.

Thus plastic of different kinds is being used for making sails, plastic bags, baskets, nets, and other things. Owning such Western articles confers more social prestige on the possessors than possessing the same article manufactured by Trobriand Islands expert craftsmen. As a result these craftsmen can no longer sell their products or barter them for compensation in the form of betel nuts, yams, tobacco, or other natural products. Moreover, they have difficulties in finding young relatives to whom they can bequeath their skill and knowledge; most adolescents have lost their interest in becoming one of these obviously outmoded expert craftsmen and, in turn, these craftsmen just cease to manufacture traditional items. The original and characteristic Trobriand Islands product with the personal aesthetic touch of its maker is thus substituted by the standardised Western mass-produced article (which is, by the way, quite often made in China).

For similar reasons the Trobriand Islands art of carving is in decline (Silas 1924; Ranck 1979). Access to real carving knowledge that qualified the artist as a *tokabitam* 'master carver' had always been restricted for social and economic reasons (Campbell 1978; Scoditti 1982). Only a *tokabitam* could ask for a rather high price for his products. Moreover, being a *tokabitam* also meant being of high social status and influence (Campbell 1978:8ff.). A *tokabitam* generally had only one apprentice to whom he transmitted his skills, his knowledge and especially his carving magic. With the increase in tourism on the Trobriand Islands the elaborate carvings of the master carvers paradoxically lost their value. Most tourists just buy anything, without looking at the quality of the carved piece. Moreover, representatives of big souvenir shops in Port Moresby, the national capital, come to the islands and buy carvings by the hundredweight. Most of these purchasers are not able to judge the artists' craftsmanship, either. Thus, from the materialistic point of view it actually no longer pays the master carver to invest much time and his skill in carving his works of art: they make more or less the same profit as poorly carved pieces, anyhow. We saw only a few really excellent carvings in 1989. However, their prices were appropriately high and therefore did not sell readily. Again, mass production supplants the elaborately carved work of art. The master carver, however, faces the same problem as all the other expert draftsmen on the islands: he can hardly find an apprentice to whom he can, and wants to, bequeath his skill, knowledge and magic. In consequence the important role that carving played in rituals that accompanied the construction of houses, yam houses, and canoes on the one hand, and in the trading of

⁶See Senft (1986) and Weiner (1976:237ff.).

canoes on the other hand is in decline. The ritual impact of carved ornaments on houses and canoes gradually loses its social importance; it is no longer appreciated and respected, and people cease to believe in its magical power. With the death of the last master carvers this social, ritual, and economic aspect of carving is dying as well.

Now let us turn to the question of the consequences that these aspects of cultural change have for Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders.

First of all we have to note that with the decline of the importance and appreciation of craftsmen's work, with a repression of various personal concepts of aesthetics expressed in ornaments of manufactured objects of everyday use, and with the changing dress style on the Trobriand Islands a loss of certain areas of vocabulary is to be observed. Thus, the vocabulary of the wickerworker, of the net maker, of the manufacturer of adornments, and of the master carver is in great danger of being lost, so much so that it is likely that in a few years it will be rather difficult to find a Trobriand Islander who will be able to name all the various parts of a basket or fish trap (Senft 1986:436ff.), all the various names of special ornaments and designs to be found on traditional objects of everyday use, old canoes and canoe boards (Narubutal 1975; Scoditti 1985), or who is able to describe the manufacturing of a shell adornment or of a sail or of the various net types and who can still enumerate all the materials needed to make such objects.

That this danger is indeed critical is emphasised by the results of my research on processes of language change in progress that are affecting the system of Kilivila classifiers (Senft 1990). Here the data show (as will be discussed in the next section) that classifiers associated with technical language are among those formatives that are extremely rare or almost obsolete.

Another linguistic change is observed in connection with the manufacturing of so-called 'grass skirts'; it affects Kilivila colour terms which undergo important processes of language change. As noted elsewhere (Senft 1987a:318ff., 327ff., 338ff.) Western chemical dyes were easily available to Trobriand Islands women in 1983. These dyes have now completely replaced traditional natural dyes that were prepared from certain plants. This has resulted in the loss of the traditional knowledge of folk-botany with respect to the dyeing of skirts. In consequence, the folk-botany terms that were used to refer to the respective colours of these natural dyes are dying out now.

Similarly, with the substitution of the self-made objects of everyday use by 'Western' mass-produced articles a number of loan words from English make their entry into the Kilivila lexicon. Here we can roughly distinguish between two types of loan words that are incorporated into Kilivila. Firstly we find a number of words that had no equivalent at all in the Kilivila lexicon proper. Examples of these are: *keteli* 'kettle', *susipani* 'saucepan', *seya* 'chair', *sedī* 'shed (with corrugated iron roof)', *penta* 'paint', and *tara'utusi* 'trousers'.⁷ Secondly, there are a number of loan words that have one or even more equivalent(s) in the Kilivila lexicon. However, loan words that are incorporated into the lexicon generally have a somewhat different range of connotation than their Kilivila counterparts. Examples of these loan words are: *boli* 'ball' (vs *moi* 'ball made out of pandanus fibres'), *beleta* 'belt' (vs

⁷The traditional dress of male Trobriand Islanders is a loincloth. The Kilivila word for this loincloth made out of the leaf sheath of the betel palm is *mwaibua*; the Kilivila word for the 'lap-lap' type loincloth which was introduced to the Trobriand Islands years ago is *sulu* (this word may be borrowed from Fijian (Tom

duliduli, *pegala*, *segigi*, *vakala* 'different types of self-made belts'),⁸ *kara* 'colour' (vs *noku* '(natural) colour'), *peledi* 'plate' (vs *damavau*, *kaboma*, *kenuya*, *kevagi* 'different types of wooden plates'), *sipuni* '(metal) spoon' (vs *kaniku*, *keneva* 'different types of self-made spoons'), *uk* 'hook' (vs *bani* '(self-made) hook', and *dores* 'dress' (vs *dabe*-(PP IV) 'clothes, dress'), to name just a few. I have discussed these loan words elsewhere in more detail (Senft 1991a). However, in connection with the last-mentioned loan word *dores* and its Kilivila equivalent *dabe*-(PP IV) I would like to note the following: the abbreviation 'PP IV' represents one of a fourfold series of possessive pronouns found in Kilivila. This series indicates an intimate degree of possession. The fragment '*dabe*-' represents one of the nouns that cannot be used in actual speech production without possession-indicating pronominal affixes. With the entry of the loan word *dores* into the lexicon we have one example of a loan word that may in the long run substitute the morphologically rather complex Kilivila nominal equivalent. Moreover, with the loan word *dores* as well as with the loan word *uk* mentioned above we observe closed syllables with syllable-final /s/ and /k/. These closed syllable patterns do not agree with the indigenous Kilivila syllable patterns (Senft 1986:20ff.). It may well be that processes of language change induced by language contact like the cases just mentioned may have severe consequences for Kilivila morphology and phonology.

Finally, the changes noted also affect Kilivila pragmatics. In connection with the decline of the importance and estimation of the work of Trobriand Islands experts like wickerworkers and carvers it was noted that these experts have difficulties in finding apprentices to whom they can bequeath their skills and knowledge. This implies that fewer and fewer young Trobriand Islanders experience specific conversation situations which are characterised by status differences between the participants, namely prestigious experts and their young apprentices. The interaction between these persons was characterised by the use of elaborate strategies subsumeable under the label "politeness phenomena" (Brown & Levinson 1978). In the course of his/her apprenticeship a Trobriand Islander not only acquired the respective expert skill and knowledge; he/she also received an excellent and highly elaborate training in the culturally appropriate use of linguistic 'politeness' strategies. Thus the changes in the Trobriand Islanders' concept of aesthetics also imply for the young generation a loss in the range of language-use strategies. This loss itself most probably will cause further changes with respect to the Trobriand Islanders' construction of social reality, for up till now a person who mastered the whole range of Trobriand Islanders' rhetoric, versatility and erudition could exercise much political influence in Trobriand Islands society (Senft 1987b:185ff., 200ff., 209ff.; 1991b). A loss of such linguistic means of influencing political decision-making processes necessarily implies shifts in the sophisticated balance of political power in this society. In the following pages I discuss some actually observed changes in the social construction of the Trobriand Islanders' profane reality and their importance with respect to language change.

Dutton, pers.comm.) as Fijians were among the first United Church missionaries). However, 'trousers' are certainly different from 'loincloths'.

⁸For the detailed explication and definition of the respective lexical entries quoted here see Senft (1986:185-437).

2.2 CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF TROBRIAND ISLANDERS' PROFANE REALITY

Among the first impressions we had upon returning to the Trobriand Islands was that the population of the islands had increased substantially. Although we were informed that because of a severe drought the islands were hit by a famine in 1988, which affected the inland villages on Kiriwina Island in particular and which caused several deaths, our impression of population increase was rather strong. It is not possible to provide any exact information with respect to the situation on Kiriwina Island. However, as to the villages on Kaile'una Island the following picture emerges. Only in the villages of Giwa and Lebola had the population remained unchanged in 1989. All the other villages, Kaduwaga, Kesiga, Bulakwa, Koma, and Tauwema, have many more inhabitants now than six years ago. To give the exact figures for 'our' place of residence, Tauwema; in 1983 there were 239 inhabitants (58 women, 62 men, 52 girls, 67 boys); in 1989 we counted 277 inhabitants (69 women, 76 men, 62 girls, 70 boys). This means an increase in population of 16%! This number may not seem to be too alarming compared with the standard per annum figures of population growth in Papua New Guinea (3–3.5% in 1989), at first sight, at least. However, we must not forget that we are dealing with an island population! And here the spatial rearrangement of the village mirrors the dramatic increase in the number of its inhabitants. Instead of three there are now four village sectors with each having a headman of its own. The headman of the new village sector is the chief's eldest son Topiesi; the villagers' political decision, most probably manipulated by the chief's renowned rhetoric abilities (Senft 1987b:185-194, 202ff., 209, 213ff.), contributes much to the preservation of some political power in the chief's family – Chief Kilagola is now approximately 69 years old and he cannot leave his status of being the *guyau* of the village to one of his sons (see Malinowski 1929:10-14, 81ff.). That his son is now one of the men representing the villagers' political power is not only another sign of the old chief's clever political moves; it is a decision that first of all helps to guarantee continuity of the intact and independent social entity of Tauwema. The village is on the brink of structural breakdown: more population growth would imply population separation and the foundation of a new village, and with the restricted resources of available fresh water and gardenland such a development would cause a number of social conflicts. But Kilagola's politics in this case must also be seen in connection with processes of social change that affect the Trobriand Islands system of kin roles and relationships.

With the establishment of government and mission (M.S.C. and United Church) schools, and especially with the opening of the government Kiriwina High School in Losuia in the late seventies, Trobriand Islanders' children have had the opportunity of getting a good education. However, attending the Kiriwina High School requires the payment of school fees. These school fees are paid by the schoolchildrens' fathers. The Trobriand Islands' society is matrilineal, however, and therefore the childrens' fathers have no kin relationship with, and thus no direct control at all upon, their children. If they 'invest' in their children, they actually invest in their childrens' mothers' matrilineal line. Already in 1983 we had noticed that some schoolchildren claimed that their fathers' given names were their surnames. This phenomenon developed as far as we know independently of the school policy found in some other provinces of Papua New Guinea where the fathers' given names were assigned to schoolchildren as their surnames. In the meantime, all schoolchildren on the Trobriand Islands give as their surname their fathers' given name. In the Trobriand Islands as well as in the whole Massim area (Malinowski 1922:26, Map II) proper names are clan property.

Thus, any Trobriand Islander hearing the given name of another Trobriand Islander can immediately identify the clan membership of the respective individual. If the members of the younger generation with school education now give their proper name (the name they inherit from their mothers' matrilineal line) together with a surname which is actually their father's name (and thus the property of their fathers' mothers' matrilineal line) this may cause some confusion with respect to the identification of kin membership in the Massim area. Now suddenly the father's matrilineal line is mentioned and thus obviously obtains an equal status with the mother's, the 'real' kinfolks', matrilineal line. We are very much inclined to interpret this observation as a first step towards a fundamental change in the complex system of Trobriand Islands kin relationships and roles, and we suspect that the Trobriand Islands society is in the process of changing from a matrilineal to a patrilineal one – for changing economic reasons. That such a change will have fundamental consequences for the Trobriand Islands sophisticated construction of social reality, if it continues, is evident.

An observation of change which is not at all speculative concerns the loss of certain technologies like the construction of the *masawa*-type canoe and the making of the traditional pandanus sails for these canoes (Malinowski 1922; Powell 1950; Koch 1984, Verzeichnis der Exponate, 3ff.; Helfrich 1984:35, 47ff.). The construction of these impressive and beautiful canoes involved from the very beginning a number of different experts and required strict adherence to the rules of a number of various rituals. Although it was always an individual who initiated the construction of such a canoe, namely its future owner, the whole enterprise had important social implications (Malinowski 1922:113ff.). With the process of the canoe construction the security and stability of the social network of a village community was permanently tested and controlled. To initiate the construction of a canoe meant a communal effort which relied upon the support of expert magicians, expert carvers, and expert sailmakers. They all had to cooperate in good spirits to ensure the success of the canoe under construction, and they all had to be paid after certain stages in the construction process in the form of adequate food distribution ceremonies. These distribution ceremonies again were among the highlights of the Trobriand Islanders' year and automatically involved experts as well as the entire village community (or in bigger villages the whole village sector community). The former were more publicly honoured than paid during these ceremonies.⁹ In 1983 inhabitants of Tauwema owned eight *masawa*-type canoes, excluding two new ones under construction. In 1989 Tomtava and Nusai were the owners of the last two *masawa* in Tauwema. Only five men in the village still know the correct rituals and ceremonies that accompany the construction of such a canoe, but they themselves are no longer able to initiate the construction of a *masawa*, and they have no one to whom they can bequeath their knowledge. The *masawa*-type canoe is superseded by the much less splendid *ligataya*-type canoe and the rather simpler and smaller *kemolu*-type canoe (Malinowski 1922: plates 21, 23; 1929: plates 68, 80, 81; Koch 1984:35). The construction of these canoe types can be carried out with a minimum of ritual knowledge, including knowledge of magical formulae. Moreover, as already noted, the traditional sails made out of pandanus leaves are also replaced by ugly plastic ones now. The skill and knowledge of how to make these pandanus sails is lost as well. Thus, we have to note not only a loss of technologies, but also a loss of the social events that were intertwined with these technologies. These social events had the important function of rituals as forms of social bonding (Eibl-Eibesfeldt & Senft 1987;

⁹Among the data I collected in 1983 is an impressive description of the process of constructing such a canoe. I hope to publish this description together with other transcribed recordings concerning Trobriand Islands canoes in due course.

Heeschen 1987; Senft 1987c, 1991b). The only possible social events we observed that may take over these important social functions of the rituals and ceremonies accompanying the construction of the *masawa* canoes are activities such as communal prayers and hymn singing outside the church in the centre of the village and meetings of missionaries from neighbouring villages or Christian Women's associations which are conducted by the local missionaries (*missinari*) and involve the whole village community. These get-togethers are generally also accompanied by communal meals, and sometimes there is even a kind of food distribution ceremony preceding these meals (Senft 1987b).

Another observation that must be mentioned here concerns the following: during certain distribution ceremonies that require the counting of the goods distributed, and especially during the important *dadodiga*, the festive filling of the yam houses with the newly harvested yam tubers, which requires the counting of the basketfuls of yams filled into the food-houses, the morphologically rather complex numerals constituting the traditional so-called "quinary vigesimal" Kilivila counting system (Senft 1986:76ff.) are more and more being superseded by English numerals. While all Trobriand Islanders are familiar with their traditional counting system, now only a few 'experts' claim that they can deal with the Western, the English, counting system. That the use of this new system is not without problems and difficulties is documented, for example in Senft (1987b:208). The use of the foreign counting system assigns status to the individuals that use it. However, whether this person actually deserves this status cannot be judged by other members of the group unfamiliar with this system. Here the Trobriand Islanders are confronted with a completely new experience: until recently the way in which a person acquired and maintained status, other than status inherited by being a member of a high ranking clan, was controlled by the village community. The various magicians in particular had to prove their expertise whenever they were asked to perform their skills. The change in the counting system used during socially important ceremonies creates a situation which is open to political manipulation and to shifts in the social power structure within the community. This situation may have fundamental political consequences for Trobriand Islanders' society, a society which is highly competitive (Malinowski 1935; Weiner 1976, 1988).

What further consequences do these aspects of change in the social construction of Trobriand Islanders' profane reality have for the Kilivila language?

It must be expected that changes affecting the Trobriand Islands system of kinship, kin roles and relationships will have their consequences for Kilivila kinship terminology. The semantics of kinship terminology will have to change and must be redefined to the same degree in which kin roles are redefined in the political process of social change. If the Trobriand Islands society is indeed changing from a matrilineal to a patrilineal society it can be expected that the terms referring to the father's relatives will be defined more precisely; this can even result in some neologisms. On the other hand, the sophisticated system of terms referring to the mother's relatives may gradually become less and less important – and it may be more and more difficult for future generations to find adequate kinship terms to refer to some of their mothers' relatives. So far, however, this remains mere speculation.

The consequences of the alphabetisation campaigns and of the establishment of schools on the islands, however, are already evident. The schools foster the processes of language change induced in Kilivila through contact with English. Although the number of English loan words does not seem to have increased much during the last six years the status that the speech community assigns to their use is rising continuously. Whereas six years ago only a

few individuals used English loan words now many Trobriand Islanders use them to express their views in public. It must be noted that English loan words are now used to indicate the speaker's degree of modern orientation and education, and are thus beginning to serve the function of sociolinguistic variables (Labov 1972:237ff.) in a changing society. Some of these loan words are beginning to replace Kilivila expressions. Probably the two most dramatic changes here are firstly, the substitution of the kinship terms *inagu* 'my mother' and *tamagu* 'my father' by the English words *mama* and *papa*, a fundamental change, indeed, and secondly, the substitution of Kilivila numerals by English numerals. If the latter continues it will affect the Kilivila classifier system as well: Kilivila is a numeral classifier language (Malinowski 1920; Senft 1985a, 1986, 1990) and if its numerals – in the word formation of which the classifiers are involved – are substituted by English numerals we may be left with a so-called 'numeral' classifier language that employs its classifiers only in deictic and anaphoric expressions and with some adjectives. However, as my research on classifiers and their use in actual language production shows, classifiers are most often used with demonstrative pronouns anyway; the use of classifiers with numerals can be observed at only a slightly higher degree than their use with adjectives. I did not observe that Kilivila speakers use English numerals instead of the respective Kilivila numerals in complex noun phrases that consisted not only of noun and numeral but of a noun, numeral, demonstrative pronoun, and adjective. Moreover, the system of classificatory particles seems to be so important for Kilivila that up to now no loan word whatsoever was incorporated completely or in (some morphological) part into this complex system of formatives. Thus, so far the linguistic *core* of this classifier system seems to be quite resistant to change. This general observation is not inconsistent with the above mentioned fact that the discussed processes of change affect classifiers associated with technical language. Obviously, these classifiers have always been rather rarely used within the speech community by only a few specialists. Malinowski had already foreseen this in 1920 as he differentiates the classifiers with respect to their "degree of obsolescence" (Malinowski 1920:55ff.). Thus, we can infer that this complex system of formatives has always been affected by processes of linguistic change. However, this change obviously resulted only in a re-ordering of the formatives and their status according to the frequency of their usage within the speech community. My studies of the classifier system (Senft 1990) show that we can divide the Kilivila classifier inventory into three groups, namely, a core group of classifier types, a group of classifiers that play an inferior role in actual speech production, and lastly a group of classifier types that are associated with technical language and that are extremely rarely used, and which are almost obsolete. It is the last two groups that are affected by language change, though this language change must not (necessarily) be induced from outside the language community (for example by language contact). The core group of the Kilivila classifiers, however, and the classifier morphology seem to be quite resistant to change, indeed! What should be mentioned in this discussion, however, is the fact that we observe a change in the pragmatic rules regulating who is permitted to use what classifier in serious (-and not joking-) public speech production. Within the inventory of Kilivila classifiers we find a number of formatives that serve the function of sociolinguistic variables (Labov 1972:237ff.). Until recently, a person not belonging to the highest ranking Malasi clan and using such a formative in public speech would have earned but scorn and derision. These classifiers are only to be used by the members of this highest ranking clan within the highly socially stratified Trobriand Islands society as a means of verbally marking their special status. Nowadays, the *misinari*, most of whom belong to the two lowest ranking clans on the Trobriand Islands, use these classifiers too – thus marking their recently gained social and political status. This is an important

aspect of linguistic-cum-pragmatic change. However, it also supports the argument that the system of classifiers is so important for Kilivila native speakers that its structure and morphology is quite resistant to change.

I would like to note here that up until now Tok Pisin, the main lingua franca of Papua New Guinea has had no effect on the Kilivila language at all. In contrast to Hiri Motu (formerly Police Motu), which a number of Trobriand Islanders speak and understand, Tok Pisin has never been a lingua franca on the Trobriand Islands. This situation may change, however, because a number of individuals working for the provincial government on the Trobriand Islands come from different parts of the Papua New Guinea highlands. Most of them came with their families to the islands and live in the vicinity of Losuia on Kiriwina Island where the government offices are located. These government employees speak Tok Pisin with one another. As a result a small Tok Pisin speech island is developing in and around Losuia. Moreover, some Trobriand Islanders having lived and worked in other parts of Papua New Guinea, especially in Madang, Lae and Port Moresby, now come back to the islands with some knowledge of Tok Pisin. The consequences this may have for Kilivila are not predictable at the moment.

The loss of certain technologies and skills like the construction of the *masawa*-type canoes, and the making of the traditional pandanus sails imply the loss of the respective expert vocabulary in the Kilivila lexicon. However, as indicated above, all of these experts rely in their work on the power of magical formulae which they inherited as apprentices from their expert teachers (who were generally their relatives). These experts are convinced that they can only carry out their work properly with the help of the power of their magic. The construction of a *masawa*-type canoe as well as the making of a traditional sail requires the use of a complex variety of magical formulae. With the *masawa* being superseded by the *ligataya*- and *kemolu*- type canoes this complex variety of magical formulae is being lost. We will discuss this loss of a complete Kilivila text category again in more detail below. In connection with our remarks here, however, another observation must be emphasised: we have already mentioned that the construction of the *masawa* is a social event that includes a number of ceremonies and rituals. All these ceremonies and rituals were accompanied by speeches that were clearly defined with respect to their adequateness to the stage of the construction process. From what my informants told me I infer that these speeches have their own pragmatics. The knowledge of these pragmatics is lost as well now. However, I mentioned that activities of the local missionaries may take over the social functions of these communal events, rituals and ceremonies. These church activities centred on Christian beliefs are completely different in structure from the traditional events, speeches and other forms of verbal communication within these social events that follow completely different rules.

Such are the changes that affect the social construction of Trobriand Islanders' profane reality. The changes observed with respect to Trobriand Islanders' magic, science and religion will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

2.3 CHANGES IN TROBRIAND ISLANDERS' MAGIC, SCIENCE AND RELIGION

In 1894 the Methodist Church commenced work on the Trobriand Islands. In 1935 Roman Catholic Missionaries (M.S.C.) began their work and in the late seventies the Church of the Seventh Day Adventists started to perform their missionary work in a few villages on

the Trobriand Islands. The church encompassing most believers is the Methodist Church. Today all priests and missionaries are Papua New Guineans, and every village with a Methodist church has at least one local village priest, the so-called *misinari*. Up to 1988 the Roman Catholic Church was represented by two Australian priests from the Mission of the Sacred Heart. The bishop of the Massim diocese allowed the Italian P.I.M.E. Mission to start their work on the Trobriand Islands, and moved the two highly respected M.S.C. missionaries to Alotau and to a small island in the Louisiade Archipelago. Now there are two Italian priests on the Trobriand Islands who started their work by first learning Kilivila. The Roman Catholic Church has fewer members than the Methodist Church. However, the Catholics took over the policy of the Methodists and established a network of local lay priests in the villages the inhabitants of which confess to the Catholic Church. These lay priests are also called *misinari*. The Church of the Seventh Day Adventists plays a marginal role only on the Trobriand Islands. However, Annette Weiner (1989, pers.comm.) notes that the rivalry between adherents to this new church and those of the two previously established religious missions on the islands causes some tension between different sectors of larger villages on Kiriwina Island.

As Robert Louis Stevenson had already noted in 1896, with respect to the South Seas, there "is but one source of power and the one ground of dignity – rank" (Stevenson 1987[1896]:282). This holds true for Trobriand Islands society, too. Ever since Malinowski (1929, 1935) we have known that Trobriand Islands society is highly stratified socially. The most important access to political power is membership to the highest ranking sub-clans. There are other avenues available to acquire status within the society, such as being a versatile rhetorician, a master carver or an expert magician. However, compared to the political significance of in-born rank these alternative avenues are of secondary importance. In former times individuals belonging to the two lowest ranking clans of the four main Trobriand clans had little chance of gaining status or of exercising any kind of political influence. With the growing influence of the Christian churches on the Trobriand Islands members of these two lowest ranking clans engaged themselves in these new institutions of political impact. With the increase of the churches' power, being a *misinari* implies being a woman or a man of rank. This political development was already obvious in 1983. Then official speeches were opened with a ritualised formula which first mentioned the chiefs, then the *misinari*, and then the rest of the villagers.¹⁰ Thus, the *misinari* were already at the top of the hierarchy. The only thing they could not do was to reach and compete with the status of the members of the highest sub-clans. However, in 1983 they were competing with other villagers of political influence whose status was based on expertise of various sorts. All such skill implies knowledge of magic, however. Magicians represented, and still represent, the old traditional belief system (Malinowski 1974; Senft 1985b, 1985c; Weiner 1988). In 1983 Trobriand Islands Christians lived in an interesting form of syncretism that combined traditional belief in magic and Trobriand Islands eschatology (Malinowski 1974) with Christian ideas. In 1989 these syncretic features of Trobriand Islands Christianity had decreased dramatically. Belief in magic is not denounced directly as something heathenistic. Instead, the strategy pursued to fight these 'pagan' customs – according to the village priests' judgement – is much more subtle: the *misinari*

¹⁰This formula runs: *Agutoki kweguyau, agutoki misinari, agutoki tomota...* (name of the respective village) which translates as: Honourable chiefs, dear village priests, dear people from... The word *agutoki* is a loan word from the Dobu language. Besides its use in this ritualised formula it has the connotations 'my thanks, thanks' and 'please'.

argue that there are two ways to live one's life these days. One way is the old, traditional way, which includes magic and the eschatological belief in the immortal spirits of the dead living in the underground paradise on Tuma Island. The other way is the new Christian way of life with its specific Christian beliefs and its own eschatological ideas. Both ways are mutually exclusive, or, to say it in the local priests' words: "one can either walk on the way of the ancestors or on the Christian way together with *Jesu Keriso*, the Lord Jesus Christ". Women especially accept this more recent way of Christian preaching and self-presentation, and the clear and simple alternatives cause much tension in families where the husbands of pious wives are expert magicians. Magicians, both female and male, are increasingly losing influence in the society, and accordingly the estimation of their magical skills and their knowledge of magical formulae decreases. However, the Trobriand Islanders' belief in the magical power of words included their conviction in magic as a means of controlling nature as well as the incidents affecting their personal lives (Senft 1985c:68ff.; Frazer 1922). Once this conviction is lost a political and ritual power vacuum remains – and *misinari* and missionaries use this vacuum for their own means and ends. The magician's ritual and political power is substituted by the priest's ritual and political power in Trobriand society.¹¹ "So simply...the changes come" (Stevenson 1987[1896]:25, 239).

With increasing political influence the *misinari* also biases the moral standards of the society, which was always characterised by rather strict rules of moral behaviour anyhow (Malinowski 1929; Stevenson 1987[1896]:278, 280, 284). In the eyes of village priests modern clothing is more decent – especially for women – than the traditional Trobriand clothes. For a girl or a woman to walk bare-breasted and to wear the traditional skirt without a cotton skirt underneath and for children to walk naked has become a form of behaviour which is denounced and looked at as being indecent.

Moreover, the *misinari* try to suppress and to put an end to a number of games, play accompanying verses, and dances that topicalise the breaking of certain taboos and that 'play' with obscene language varieties. It is not taken into account at all that these games and the playful use of a certain vocabulary allow the – verbal – breaking of taboos in a clearly defined situation only. This situation serves as the forum that permits a specially marked way of communication about something 'one does not talk about' otherwise and thus serves the function of so-called 'safety valve customs'. These customs can be found in every society (Bornemann 1974; Rühmkorf 1967) because they actually help to secure the observance of important taboos within a society (Senft & Senft 1986; Senft 1987c, 1991b).

What consequences do these changes have for the Kilivila language?

The increasing influence of Christian belief and the growth of the local village priests' status and political power has been causing the loss of magical formulae for the last two years or so. This loss affects all kinds of magic – garden magic, weather magic, canoe magic, carving magic, 'black' magic, beauty magic, health magic, love magic, dance magic, and magic for protection against sharks and witches. In 1983 the chief of Tauwema, Kilagola, gave me parts of his canoe magic as a present, when he adopted me as one of his sons. His brother Weyei made me a similar present consisting of five formulae of his weather magic as a sign of his friendship. And Vaka'ila, one of the oldest men of the village, presented me with a number of formulae of his garden magic because I reminded him

¹¹For an excellent discussion of these problems see *Zeitschrift für Mission*, 12/4, 1986, especially the contributions by Volker Heeschen and Meinhard Schuster.

of his late brother Keyalabwala. These three men were the only persons who offered me such personal and secret information – and I was rather proud of being honoured by these men in this way. In 1989, however, more than 12 women and men approached my wife and me and offered to sell magical formulae for money and tobacco. We felt as if we were in the middle of a big closing-down sale for magic. This is clear evidence of the fact that the magical formulae have lost their importance for the majority of Trobriand Islanders. This meant that they had also lost their value as personal property which a person hands down to his/her young relatives. If the formulae have lost their value there is actually no need any longer to bequeath them to one's younger relatives, and the members of the younger generation see no sense in learning these formulae in a number of long lessons their elder relatives used to teach them. This results in the loss of the text category 'magical formula'.

But the changes in the evaluation of the concepts 'magic' and 'religion' do not only affect a whole text category. They are also responsible for the loss of a complete 'situational-intentional' variety¹² of Kilivila, the speech 'register' the Trobriand Islanders call *biga tommwaya* (old people's language) or *biga baloma* (language of the spirits of the dead). In 1983 this archaic language variety was very rarely used as a kind of sociolinguistic variable indicating high social status in everyday discourse and conversation. In 1989 we could no longer observe or document any such utterance in the *biga baloma* variety in everyday language use. This situational-intentional variety is also used in magical formulae. We just stated that this text category will most probably be lost in the not too distant future. Moreover, songs that are sung during the harvest festival (*milamala*) and during a certain period of mourning (Senft 1985b) are also sung in the *biga baloma* variety. These songs have been passed on from generation to generation. Already in 1983 the majority of the people singing these songs no longer understood their meaning. In 1989 I found only four informants who could sing a variety of these songs and who could also translate the *biga baloma* variety into 'ordinary' everyday Kilivila. These songs serve (and still serve for those who sing them) two functions: on the one hand they welcome the spirits of the dead to the ceremonies and festivities of the harvest festival; on the other hand these songs are sung to make it easier for the spirit of a dead person to leave the community of his/her relatives just after his/her death, because the songs very poetically and quite erotically describe the life the spirits of the dead lead in their Tuma Island paradise. In the first case the immortal spirits of the dead are believed to leave their paradise on Tuma Island to visit their former villages of residence and see whether the villagers living there now still know how to garden, how to celebrate a good harvest, and how to behave even while celebrating exuberantly. In the second case the gradual substitution of the indigenous eschatology by Christian eschatology means that these songs lose their meaning and significance for the society. All my observations indicate that in the near future these songs may still be sung to preserve some part of the ritual aspect of the harvest festival and of the respective mourning ceremony, but then definitely the singers of these songs will no longer know what they are singing about. Thus, in addition to the loss of a whole text category there is the prospect of the loss of a

¹²With 'situational-intentional' varieties of Kilivila I refer to language varieties or 'registers' that are used in a given, special situation and that are produced to pursue a certain intention or certain intentions. The Kilivila native speakers differentiate at least seven of these varieties. For detailed information see Senft (1986:124-129; 1991b).

complete language variety!¹³ Moreover, the village priests' censoring of dances, games, and play accompanying verses may also affect parts of the situational-intentional variety called *biga sopa*, the 'joking or lying language' the 'indirect language' that among other things provides an important verbal safety valve for everyday social life on the Trobriand Islands.¹⁴

It must be emphasised that the losses, observed or suspected, affect indigenous forms of ritual language. In general we can regard ritual language as the recognised culmination of the learning of knowledge which is basic and fundamental for the social construction of the society's reality. This reality, in turn, fosters its stability with the help of the relative stability of ritual language (Fox 1975:127, 130). Changes that affect this language variety are induced by cultural change, of course. However, such a language change, once induced, will have severe consequences for the organisation and construction of the culture of the respective society in turn because it escalates the dynamics of change.

But before speculating on the future of Trobriand Islands language and society I would first like to summarise the facts presented thus far. Then I attempt to answer the question who and/or what is responsible for these processes of change. Finally I will discuss the question whether these changes observed in Trobriand Islands culture and language are signs of decay and impoverishment or should be interpreted as manifestations representing the natural course of events.

3. CULTURE AND LANGUAGE CHANGE: RESPONSIBILITY, DECAY, IMPOVERISHMENT, AND THE NATURAL COURSE OF EVENTS...

In the preceding pages I have described the changes that I have observed in the culture and language of the Trobriand Islanders. With respect to the culture these changes affect the Trobriand Islanders' concept of aesthetics as it is manifested in the Islanders' material and artistic culture; they affect the social construction of Trobriand Islanders' profane reality with respect to the islanders' complex system of kin roles and relationships and the profane aspects of ritual and ceremony. They also affect Trobriand Islanders' magic, morals, science and religion, especially indigenous eschatology. Moreover, the changes in religion change the society's immanent rank structure.

As for the Trobriand Islanders' language these changes affect the Kilivila lexicon with respect to experts' vocabulary, to colour terms, to loan words entering the lexicon, numerals (but not the core of the classifiers), and kinship terminology. They affect Trobriand Islands morphology with respect to loan words that may replace or are in the process of replacing Kilivila words which follow quite complex word formation rules – at least in simple phrases. They affect Kilivila semantics with the entering of loan words, and they affect Kilivila pragmatics with respect to the scope and the variety of rhetoric abilities Kilivila pragmatics provide for the native speaker in general and with respect to Kilivila politeness phenomena and forms of ritual and rank marking language in particular. On the Trobriand Islands cultural change seems to be more important than language change and precedes it.

¹³Compare Stevenson (1987[1896]:32): "pleasures are neglected, the dance languishes, the songs are forgotten", and Stevenson (1987[1896]:238): "and yet in a sense these songs also are but a chatter; the words are ancient, obsolete and sacred; few comprehend them".

¹⁴By the way this kind of 'situational-intentional variety' is also to be found in other cultures of Papua New Guinea and probably all over Melanesia (see Strathern 1975; Parkin 1984).

But who and/or what is responsible for these changes? Although I did not ask this question explicitly in the previous section I have already answered it more or less implicitly.

A number of changes that affect the Trobriand Islanders are due to the changing political and economic situation of Papua New Guinea as a whole.

The peoples and cultures of Papua New Guinea must adapt to the economic prerequisites of a modern capitalistic economy. The substitution of barter and exchange by a cash economy is inevitable – at least in the long run. A cash economy needs and creates markets – and it is a fact that a free enterprise economy has rather specific and complex rules that do not care for (romantic?) attempts to preserve alternative but competing economic systems. Profit maximisation disregards such 'trifles' as cultural traditions, even if this implies the loss of (or characteristic features of) a peoples' cultural identity. This may be sad, but it has proved to be a fact. However, as recent developments in Papua New Guinea emphasise, a cash economy is a prerequisite for the survival of an independent Papua New Guinea.

Another prerequisite is the creation of a national identity and unity in the Papua New Guinea "parliament of a thousand tribes" (White 1972) with its 869 spoken languages (Dutton & Mühlhäusler 1991:1). One means of achieving this national identity is to establish a national language. The official national language of Papua New Guinea is English. It is thus inevitable that all the indigenous languages of Papua New Guinea will be influenced by contact with the national language in the long run. That language change induced by language contact does not imply the 'death' of the language should always be kept in mind. All natural languages of the world that are still spoken are constantly affected by processes of language change in progress. After all, a natural language is characterised by its dynamics – and it is this characteristic feature that makes languages so fascinating.

In addition to these political and economic factors we should mention the tourist and the missionary – and maybe also the scientist – as being responsible for changes which affect the Trobriand Islanders' culture and language.

Tourists, and also scientists, who come to Papua New Guinea and the Trobriand Islands in particular with the intention of staying there for a certain period of time – be it for some days only or for months – belong to a different culture – as manifested by the tourist's and scientist's behaviour, his/her outfit and equipment, his/her standards, and his/her language. Both the tourist and the scientist present certain images of their cultural background to the people they either visit or study. At the same time they also arouse wants and desires hitherto unknown to them. In this role the tourist as well as the scientist fosters economic change. Moreover, the tourist and the scientist are sources of cash: the tourist offers cash for items of Islanders' material culture and works of art,¹⁵ and the scientist pays for information and for living in the Islanders' villages. The share of the tourist's and the scientist's responsibility for cultural and language change should not be underestimated.

¹⁵It is here that I must mention the sad fact that we find much sex tourism of the worst kind on the Trobriand Islands. People who have never read Malinowski's masterpiece on Trobriand Islanders' sexuality (Malinowski 1929) come to the islands to experience the 'sexual life of savages', and there are many unscrupulous tourist agents who foster this kind of tourism. It is depressing to state that the *epitethon ormans* 'Islands of Love' has only negative effects for the Trobriand Islanders (see also Senft 1987b:192).

With respect to the relation between tourism and anthropology see, for example, the interesting though provocative paper by Errington and Gewertz (1989), and the literature quoted therein.

And there is the missionary, of course – or should I say the institution of the ‘Christian Church’ (of sorts)?!¹⁶ I am completely aware of the fact that “it is easy to blame the missionary” as Stevenson (1987[1896]:41) once noted. However, as Stevenson also noted at the same time “it is his business to make changes”. Moreover, “the missionary ... is something else besides a minister of mere religion ... he is condemned to be an organ of reform, he could scarce evade (even if he desired) a certain influence on political affairs” (Stevenson 1967[1892]:274). The influences which the missionary and his assistant, the local village priest, exert on Trobriand Islands culture and the Kilivila language are described in detail in the preceding section on changes in Trobriand Islanders' magic, science and religion and need not be discussed again here. However, what has to be mentioned here is the possibility that the Christian Gospel may provide better answers to the peoples' daily worries and fears (see Heeschen 1986:207). Moreover, some missionaries in Papua New Guinea have developed excellent means and ways to combine the old, indigenous traditions and beliefs with the new testament, the new belief.¹⁷

What remains now is to give a final evaluation and estimation of these changes.

In 1922 Malinowski (p.xv) made the following statement with respect to the position of ethnology in a changing world:

Ethnology is in the sadly ludicrous, not to say tragic, position, that at the very moment when it begins to put its workshop in order, to forge its proper tools, to start ready for work on its appointed task, the material of its study melts away with hopeless rapidity. Just now, when the methods and aims of scientific field ethnology have taken shape, when men fully trained for the work have begun to travel into savage countries and study their inhabitants – these die away under our very eyes.

If we keep Hockett's declaration in mind that "linguistics without anthropology is sterile; anthropology without linguistics is blind" (Hockett 1973:675),¹⁸ and if we remember Malinowski's pioneering examples for anthropological and linguistic interdisciplinary research, we can relate Malinowski's statement on the situation of ethnology in a changing world to the situation of (field) linguistics in our time as well. However, with respect to the Trobriand Islands situation I can (so far) only accept his ‘melting’ metaphor but must reject the ‘death’ metaphor – at least in its fatal totality. Papua New Guinea in general has been undergoing periods of fundamental change over the last decades. During this process of change we certainly see and note many cases of cultural and linguistic ‘decay’ and impoverishment with respect to the power and influence of traditional custom, oral tradition, and the power of rhetoric in many of the indigenous societies within the country. This paper tried to describe and discuss some of these changes that have been affecting Trobriand Islands society. It goes without saying that some aspects of culture and language on the

¹⁶There are more than 50 so-called ‘Christian Churches’, ‘Sects’ and ‘Congregations’ listed in the Papua New Guinea Telephone Directory for 1982 for the highlands areas of Papua New Guinea.

¹⁷See, for example, the video documentation of the Catholic mass celebrated by Philip Gibbs (SVD) in Par parish, diocese of Wabag, Enga Province, Papua New Guinea, in 1988. It was published in 1989 under the title *Misa Enga* (see references). See also footnote 11 above. Another example of an attempt to combine tradition and custom with the new belief is the effort of the Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea to incorporate traditional songs and melodies into their services.

¹⁸I would like to thank Volker Heeschen for drawing my attention to this quote and to Hockett's book.

Trobriand Islands as well as in other Papua New Guinea cultures are really dying out.¹⁹ However, most aspects and features of culture and language that are affected by the changes observed here are not just 'chopped off' from the body of a living speech community and society. On the contrary, change substitutes something new and foreign for something old and traditional. If we visit folklore museums in Europe (like, for example, the Skansen Museum in Stockholm, the Openlucht Museum in Arnhem, or the Freilichtmuseum des Bezirks Oberbayern an der Glentleiten between Murnau and Kochel) we realise how profoundly processes of change have been affecting European cultures in the last decades of our century. If we look at the publications of linguists like Nancy Dorian who is working on dying languages like Scottish Gaelic (Dorian 1981) and Lukas Tsitsipis who does research on Arvanitika, a variety of Tosk Albanian (Tsitsipis 1988, 1989) we also realise what fundamental processes of change have been affecting European languages. However, if we attempt to ignore changes in our own society or to see them as positive, while at the same time we notice and lament changes that affect foreign – and in our eyes more 'exotic' and 'original' – cultures and their languages, it is difficult for us to avoid traces of ethnocentrism and ideological romanticism left over from the 'noble savage' myths of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Stein 1984a, 1984b, 1984c; Theye 1984; Ritz 1983). But cultures as well as languages are dynamic phenomena – that's the way it is – and our primary task as scientists is to describe and document these dynamics. On a secondary level of our research we may more or less subjectively evaluate these dynamics and their results. It is on a completely different and much more political than scientific level, however, that we have the chance to influence the directions of these dynamics – on the basis of our scientific insights, of course. But as to the scientific level of our argumentation the facts force us to accept that in all cultures and in all languages we observe dynamic processes that result in cultural and linguistic change. These dynamic processes are something fundamental, and we all know that, as Hupfeld (1931) expressed it in his now rather famous song composed for the film 'Casablanca', "the fundamental things apply, as time goes by".

4. "AND LASTLY, ONE WORD AS TO THE FUTURE..."²⁰

Upon the whole, the problem seems to me to stand thus: –Where there have been fewest changes, important or unimportant, salutary or hurtful, there the race survives. Where there have been most, important or unimportant, salutary or hurtful, there it perishes. Each change, however small, augments the sum of new conditions to which the race has to become inured.

(Stevenson 1987[1896]:41)

With this quote I would like to start my final remarks. I understand these statements as political in the sense defined in the preceding paragraph. One of the main arguments I put forward in evaluating the changes that affect the Trobriand Islanders' language and culture

¹⁹I would like to mention in this context that in 1983 I collected three versions of one of the Trobriand Islanders' most important myths: a rather old man, Mokopei from Kaduwaga village, who was in his late sixties then, told me the first version of this myth. It took him about ninety minutes. Coincidentally, his nephew Gerubara, a man in his thirties, told me a second, much shortened version of this myth. This took him about twenty minutes. The third version of the myth is just a song which was sung by the young men and adolescents of Tauwema village. This song consists of three stanzas which are partly in English and partly in Kilivila.

²⁰See Stevenson (1967[1892]:319).

was that we must accept these changes as manifestations of the dynamics that are immanent in linguistic and social systems. However, I also argued that we may have chances to influence the direction of these changes. Here the scientist can only roughly outline what would be done; the action must be taken by the people and the politicians of countries like Papua New Guinea that are affected by these changes, of course.

If we take Stevenson's quote as seriously as it deserves to be taken, and if we remember that "it is a commonplace in the body of literature on ethnicity to find language identified as one of the chief markers of ethnic identity" (Dorian 1980:33) we must try to preserve those features of culture and language that are most characteristic and vital for a society and speech community affected by processes of change.

In this paper I have also tried to identify some of the causes of change on the Trobriand Islands. First and foremost among these is the changing economic situation in Papua New Guinea. However, from an economic (and capitalistic) point of view the characteristic features of the different Papua New Guinea societies in general and of the Trobriand Islanders in particular are attractive for tourism. Without tourist agents who have a deep understanding of the importance of cultural and linguistic features for the society, who represent the people's and not only their own personal interests, and who care for the welfare of the people, tourism can have a very negative cultural impact. With respect to the Trobriand Islands situation this would require a completely new organisation of the concept of tourism including guidelines for tourists' conduct – on the basis of my own experience with tourists on the Trobriand Islands I must say that most tourists there behave like bulls in a china shop. However, as far as I am informed, the responsible politicians in Port Moresby and Alotau are already preparing some action in this direction. If we draw another parallel to Europe, it was only in the frame of folklore that many features characteristic of various ethnic groups including linguistic ones had a chance to survive.

Other agents of change in addition to the economic situation mentioned above are tourists and scientists. In recent years the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies (IPNGS) did its best to monitor the reputation of scientists and the respectability and seriousness of the research they want to conduct in the country. Such efforts help to prevent too many so-called 'scientists' invading the country, misusing the hospitality of the peoples of Papua New Guinea, and exploiting their hosts.²¹ Moreover, in cooperation with the provincial governments IPNGS takes care that the results of scientific research conducted in the country flow back to Papua New Guinea. I assume that it would also help to guide the behaviour of tourists in a similar way. Tourists should, and usually do, want to know from the very beginning of their visit to Papua New Guinea how they should act to give the peoples and cultures of the country due respect. To say it more extremely and polemically, it is only primitive people who misbehave in societies in which the developmental stages are different from those of their own, and these societies should refuse to host such visitors.

The Christian Churches in Papua New Guinea, probably the most important agents of change, should without exception strengthen their attempts to combine the new belief and the old customs and traditions. I have already mentioned excellent examples for such a synthesis

²¹In Papua New Guinea I have heard incredible stories with respect to the behaviour of so-called 'scientists' who exploited their hosts not only with respect to information that was told to them confidentially; they even exploited their hosts financially. Some of them obviously behave more like traders than researchers. However, I do not want to spread myself on this disgusting subject in more detail here.

above. People whose cultural roots are destroyed and who have lost their identity cannot be transformed into members of a Christian community. In my understanding of Christianity, every community that claims to be Christian must consist of individuals who are deeply rooted in their culture because this is a prerequisite for being deeply rooted in the religion itself.

Teaching culture and the indigenous languages in schools and preschools is another means of securing the peoples' social and personal roots. I am sure that Papua New Guinea education politics will foster and support steps in this direction.

If the capitalist with his/her economic interests, the tourist and the tourist agent, the scientist, the missionary, the priest, the teacher, and the politician together respect the cultural and linguistic characteristics of the people with whom they are living or whom they represent, if they all accept that every society needs cultural diversity and distinction, and if they all put more emphasis on the individuality of their fellow men as human beings, not as possible customers, exotic foreigners, interesting informants, possible converts and voters, only then will people like the Trobriand Islanders have a chance to preserve their language and culture. Such a shift of perspective in all agents of cultural and linguistic change may help to control and channel these changes and contribute to the survival not only of the Massim people of the Trobriand Islands but of all the ethnic groups of Papua New Guinea in particular and of Melanesia in general.

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LANGUAGE CHANGE AND CULTURE CHANGE AMONG FIJI INDIANS

JEFF SIEGEL

1. INTRODUCTION

It is axiomatic that languages, like the cultures they are associated with, are always changing. The changes that occur can be roughly placed into two categories: internally motivated (change from within) and externally motivated (change resulting from outside influences).

Language change often goes hand in hand with culture change, and is also both internally motivated ('normal change' as studied in diachronic linguistics) and externally motivated (resulting from contact with other languages). Language change said to result from culture change is mostly studied in relation to the lexicon, but may also be apparent in grammar.

Although it is clear that rapid cultural change and linguistic change often co-occur, it is difficult to show that one is the cause of the other, as some have suggested. This is because some of the phenomena that bring about culture change, such as technological advances, migration and subjugation, are also responsible for new phases of language contact, which itself is a great initiator of linguistic change.

In this paper I examine some of the changes that took place in the culture and language of East Indians when they were transplanted to the faraway Fiji Islands. Then I discuss the possible relationships between these cultural and linguistic changes.

2. BACKGROUND

From 1879 to 1916 more than 60,000 indentured labourers from India were brought to Fiji by the British colonial government, mainly to work on the country's cotton, copra and sugarcane plantations. About 60% of them stayed on after their indenture and today Fiji Indians make up nearly half of the country's population of approximately 700,000.

The geographic origins and social characteristics of the approximately 45,000 recruits who were shipped out of the Calcutta depot have been described in detail by Lal (1980, 1983). According to his computer analysis of information given on the emigration passes, 46.5% were from the north-west Provinces, 29% from Oudh (these two areas were later combined to form the United Provinces, the modern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh), 10.5% from Bihar and 6.2% from the Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh). The remaining 7.8% came from other areas of India and from neighbouring countries, such as Nepal. The districts which provided the largest numbers of Calcutta emigrants were Basti (supplying

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14.1%), Gonda (7.9%) and Faizabad (5.1%). These and all the other districts providing 2% or more of the Calcutta emigrants are in present-day Uttar Pradesh, with the exception of Shahabad, which is in Bihar.

With regard to social background, religion and the hierarchical caste system were of course the most important features of North Indian culture. Mayer (1963:15) says of the labourers:

Some 85% of emigrants were Hindus and members of castes. These were populations separated by the prohibition of intermarriage; they were also ranked in a complex hierarchy based on rules against eating together and sometimes even touching each other, as well as on exclusive hereditary occupations and different customs within the over-all Hindu way of life.

According to Lal (1983:68), "those who came to Fiji formed a fair cross section of rural Indian population". He goes on to say (p.70):

Almost all the castes and sub-castes found in the United Provinces were represented in the indentured population migrating to Fiji..It is clear that for most castes, with the exception of Brahmans, there is a broad correlation between their numerical strength in the United Provinces and their contribution to the emigrating indentured population.

But Lal also notes (p.74), that the number of high caste Hindu migrants was much larger than has been previously thought.

Using figures for district of origin from Lal (1980) and from Grierson's massive *Linguistic Survey of India* (1903-27), I worked out a linguistic profile of the North Indian labourers (Siegel 1987:140-44). Approximately 94% were from the Hindi-speaking areas of India. (See Table 1 below). The regional dialects which had the most speakers were Avadhi (34.5%) and Bhojpuri (33.4%), both spoken in the eastern part of the Hindi dialect chain. With the percentages for other closely related dialects added, 76.5% of the Calcutta immigrants spoke eastern dialects of Hindi. The other 17.6% spoke dialects of Western Hindi or Rajasthani. Figures are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1: LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS OF CALCUTTA EMIGRANTS

| language/dialect | estimated number | percentage |
|------------------------------|------------------|------------|
| Bhojpuri: | | |
| Western Bhojpuri | 4,019 | 8.8 |
| Sarwaria | 7,341 | 16.2 |
| Other Bhojpuri | 3,816 | 8.4 |
| TOTAL: BHOJPURI | 15,176 | 33.4 |
| Maithili | 977 | 2.2 |
| Magahi | 1,715 | 3.8 |
| TOTAL: BIHARI | 17,868 | 39.3 |
| Avadhi | 14,949 | 32.9 |
| Bagheli | 743 | 1.6 |
| Chattisgarhi | 1,179 | 2.6 |
| TOTAL: EASTERN HINDI | 16,871 | 37.1 |
| Kanauji | 1,708 | 3.8 |
| Braj | 2,451 | 5.4 |
| Bundeli | 1,428 | 3.1 |
| Bangaru | 457 | 1.0 |
| Khariboli | 668 | 1.5 |
| (Delhi) | 191 | 0.4 |
| TOTAL: WESTERN HINDI | 6,903 | 15.2 |
| TOTAL: RAJASTHANI | 1,111 | 2.4 |
| TOTAL: OTHER LANGUAGE AREAS | 1,546 | 3.4 |
| Overseas colonies or unknown | 1,140 | 2.5 |
| TOTAL | 45,439 | |

In addition to the locally spoken Hindi dialects, another form of the language, usually called 'Hindustani', was used as a lingua franca. Based on the Khariboli dialect spoken in several districts of the United Provinces north-east of Delhi, it spread throughout the subcontinent as the language of wider communication of the Moghul Empire (Grierson 1916:44). During the indenture era, this Hindustani was spoken in urban centres not only in the 'Hindi' area of northern India but also outside in cities such as Bombay and Calcutta. Since a large proportion of the labourers were recruited in urban centres outside their own dialect areas (Lal 1983:65-67) it seems likely that they had some knowledge of this lingua franca.

A literary form of Hindustani, known as Urdu, became the official language of local administration under British rule. But because it contains a large number of words of Persian and Arabic origin and is written with the Perso-Arabic script, Urdu was associated with Islam and therefore not accepted by Hindus. Eventually another literary form was created, still based on spoken Hindustani, but using the Devanagari script and replacing Perso-Arabic loan words with Sanskrit ones. This literary language became known as

Hindi. Thus, Standard Hindi and Urdu are based on the same informal spoken language and differ only in written and formal styles (see Gumperz & Naim 1960).

At the opposite end of the scale there is what Khubchandani (1983:116) calls 'lowbrow' casual Hindustani: "It is evaluated as the substandard speech of uneducated urban speakers and is labelled 'Bazaar Hindustani'." The Hindustani lingua franca, then, is a continuum with Bazaar Hindustani (BH) at the basilectal end and the formal varieties, either Standard Hindi (SH) or Urdu, at the acrolectal end (see Polomé 1980:187). Since the great majority of the indentured labourers were uneducated, it is likely that the Hindustani they knew was at the basilectal end of the continuum.

In summary, the varieties of Hindi spoken by the northern Indian migrants to Fiji included many different geographical dialects as well as basilectal forms of the Hindustani lingua franca.

3. CULTURAL CHANGE

Cultural change among the indentured labourers began in the emigration depots in India and was intensified on the way to Fiji when people of different geographical areas, religions and castes found themselves literally in the same boat. In these crowded quarters, commensal restrictions, one of the pillars of the caste system, could not be maintained. Later, on the plantations where nearly all Indians were agricultural labourers, another pillar of the system, occupational distinctions, also could no longer exist.

As described by Gillion (1962:123): "The breaking down of caste distinctions was not in all cases sudden and it was by no means complete, but the change was nevertheless remarkable". Jayawardena (1971) describes in detail what he calls the 'disintegration' of the caste system, but Lal (1983) prefers to call it a process of 'fragmentation'. Nevertheless, it was clear that a loss of certain social customs and a levelling of traditional social differences were the most important changes that took place in the Indian culture in Fiji.

At the same time, however, as Lal (1983:33-35) points out, "a process of reconstruction was taking place in which new ideas, new values and new associations were being formed". Mayer (1961:5) puts it this way: "In some ways the social conditions of the indenture period can be seen as a 'breakdown' of those of the parent society. But after indenture the immigrants did not rebuild their old society. Instead, they were forced to build an entirely new one – the Fiji Indian – which was a response to conditions in Fiji, even though many of its ways were still Indian."

4. LINGUISTIC CHANGE

The fragmentation and reconstitution in Fiji Indian society was not only cultural but also linguistic. As there was a loss of certain social customs and a levelling of traditional social differences, there was a loss of certain lexical items and grammatical constructions and a levelling of linguistic differences in the Hindi spoken by the labourers. As a new society was being built, a new language was being developed – Fiji Hindi (sometimes called Fiji Hindustani) – unique to Fiji but similar in some ways to varieties of Hindi spoken in India (Siegel 1975; Moag 1977).

4.1 FRAGMENTATION AND LOSS

4.1.1 LEXICON

As would be expected, many of the lexical items referring to the intricacies of the caste system disappeared as the system itself broke down. Lal (1983:69) lists the names of 133 Hindu castes and sub-castes, which were given on the emigration passes of the original indentured labourers. A study done twenty-five years ago (Schwartz 1967) showed that only thirty-two such names remained in Fiji.

Also, many lexical items found in the Bihari and Eastern Hindi dialect areas of India for different aspects of material culture have been lost in Fiji, some suddenly and some gradually over the years. Similar lexical loss has been described by Mesthrie (1988) among the descendants of Indian indentured labourers in South Africa. In 1990-91 I conducted a small survey to see whether forty items selected from those discussed by Mesthrie were still used in Fiji, and if not, whether they were known at all. Fifty people, ranging in age from 15 to 101 and from both rural and urban areas, were asked orally if they recognised each of the words, and their responses for each were placed in one of six categories:

1. never heard the word
2. heard the word, but meaning unknown
3. heard the word, but with a different meaning
4. knows the word and meaning, but never uses it (used only by old people)
5. uses a similar word with the same meaning
6. knows and uses the word with the same meaning

The full list of words is given in the survey form in Appendix 1. Responses were tallied (N = number) for four age-groups: 60-101 (N=13), 40-59 (N=12), 30-39 (N=11) and 15-29 (N=14).

Some of the specific items still remain in Fiji and the words for them are still widely used by all age-groups:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| <i>tāwā</i> | iron plate for cooking <i>roti</i> |
| <i>cimṭā</i> | tongs for arranging firewood |
| <i>lāhgā</i> | underskirt (female's) |
| <i>dhotī</i> | loincloth (male's) |
| <i>jāghiyā</i> | tight fitting shorts (now used for men's underwear) |

Some terms, however, were not familiar to any of the interviewees and may indicate that the items did not survive in Fiji:

| | |
|---------------|--|
| <i>cilaun</i> | sieve for catching fish (only nets are used) |
| <i>karnā</i> | vessel for boiling milk |
| <i>jālā</i> | water jar |
| <i>parāī</i> | special saucer for covering vessels |

Other lexical items may have survived for a time, as mostly informants over 60 use or remember the terms:

| | |
|---------------|--|
| <i>āgī</i> | cloth-bottomed sieve for sifting flour |
| <i>calāī</i> | small grinder for <i>dahl</i> |
| <i>patilā</i> | earthen cooking vessel |

In some cases there seems to have been a loss of specific terms, with a generic term now generally being used or one formerly specific term being adopted as a generic term:

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>kantor</i> | small box | (<i>dibbā</i> or <i>bākas</i> used) |
| <i>sandūkh</i> | container | |
| <i>jhulā</i> | blouse | (<i>kurtī</i> used) |
| <i>colī</i> | short blouse | |
| <i>curidār</i> | tight pants | (<i>paijāmā</i> used) |
| <i>mohridar</i> | pants loose at ankles | |
| <i>hāḍā</i> | large pot for boiling rice | |
| <i>taslā</i> | round vessel for boiling rice | (<i>hāḍī</i> used, formerly 'a small cooking pot') |
| <i>dekcā</i> | cooking pot used at weddings | |

Except for *kantor* and *jhulā*, these terms were recognised by a few in each age-group and used by some over 60.

4.1.2 GRAMMAR

With regard to grammatical loss, usually known as 'reduction', we will look at two main areas: verb morphology and the pronoun system.

VERB MORPHOLOGY:

The Indian dialects of Hindi and acrolectal Hindustani generally have a complex system of verbal suffixes which, in addition to marking aspect (imperfective or perfective) or modality (irrealis or realis), indicate person, number and gender. Fiji Hindi (FH), in contrast, has a much reduced system: first and second forms are the same, there is no gender distinction, and number distinction is found only in third person perfective. The FH verbal suffixes are shown in Table 2 below:¹

TABLE 2: FIJI HINDI VERBAL SUFFIXES

| | imperfective | perfective | irrealis | |
|----------|--------------|------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| | | | (definite future) | (indefinite future) |
| 1SG, 1PL | -tā, -at | -ā | -egā | -ī |
| 2SG, 2PL | -tā, -at | -ā | -egā | -ī |
| 3SG | -e | -is | -ī | -ī |
| 3PL | -e | -in | -ī | -ī |

The reduction that occurred in FH can be seen in Tables 3 to 5 which compare the FH verbal suffixes with those in the main Hindi dialects brought to Fiji (Bhojpuri, Avadhi and Braj), and with those in BH, showing even greater morphological simplicity. Information on these dialects is from Grierson (1903, 1904, 1916), Tiwari (1960) and Saksena (1971). Information on BH is from Chatterji (1972).

¹Abbreviations used are as follows: ACC = accusative; FUT = definite future; IMPF = imperfective; INF = infinitive; NEG = negative; NOM = nominative; OBL = oblique; PERF = perfective; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; SG = singular; 1,2,3 = first, second, third person.

TABLE 3: IMPERFECTIVE SUFFIXES

| | | Bhojpuri | Avadhi | Braj | BH | SH | FH |
|-----|---|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| 1SG | M | <i>ō</i> | <i>at, it, tā</i> | <i>at(u)</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>tā, at</i> |
| | F | | | | | <i>tī</i> | |
| 1PL | M | <i>ī</i> | <i>at, it, tā</i> | <i>at(u)</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tā, at</i> |
| | F | <i>yū̃</i> | | | | <i>tī</i> | |
| 2SG | M | <i>e, as(i)</i> | <i>at, it, tā</i> | <i>at(u)</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>tā, at</i> |
| | F | <i>is</i> | | | | <i>tī</i> | |
| 2PL | M | <i>a(h)</i> | <i>at, it, tā</i> | <i>at(u)</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tā, at</i> |
| | F | <i>ū</i> | | | | <i>tī</i> | |
| 3SG | M | <i>e, a, o, as</i> | <i>at, it, tā</i> | <i>at(u)</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>e, at</i> |
| | F | | | | | <i>tī</i> | |
| 3PL | M | <i>an(i)</i> | <i>at, it, tā</i> | <i>at(u)</i> | <i>tā</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>e, at</i> |
| | F | <i>in</i> | | | | <i>tī</i> | |

TABLE 4: PERFECTIVE SUFFIXES (INTRANSITIVE)

| | | Bhojpuri | Avadhi | Braj | BH | FH |
|-----|---|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1SG | M | <i>lō lī</i> | <i>eū, ā</i> | <i>(y)ay, o</i> | <i>ā</i> | <i>ā</i> |
| | F | | <i>iū</i> | | | |
| 1PL | M | <i>lī, lī̃</i> | <i>ā, an, en</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>ā</i> | <i>ā</i> |
| | F | <i>lyu</i> | | | | |
| 2SG | M | <i>le, lâ, las</i> | <i>es, is, au</i> | <i>(y)au, o</i> | <i>ā</i> | <i>ā</i> |
| | F | <i>lī, lis</i> | <i>is(i)</i> | | | |
| 2PL | M | <i>lā(h)</i> | <i>eu, ū, eo</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>ā</i> | <i>ā</i> |
| | F | <i>lū</i> | <i>ī̃</i> | | | |
| 3SG | M | <i>las, le(s)</i> | <i>is, es, ai</i> | <i>(y)au, o</i> | <i>ā, is</i> | <i>is, ā</i> |
| | F | <i>lī</i> | <i>ī, isi</i> | | | |
| 3PL | M | <i>lan(i)</i> | <i>in, en, aī̃</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>ā, in</i> | <i>in, ā</i> |
| | F | <i>lin</i> | <i>ī̃, ini</i> | | | |

TABLE 5: DEFINITE FUTURE SUFFIXES

| | Bhojpuri | Avadhi | Braj | BH | FH |
|-------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| 1SG M | <i>bō, ab</i> | <i>bu, ab</i> | <i>ihaũ, ũgau</i> | <i>egā</i> | <i>egā</i> |
| F | | | <i>ũgī</i> | | |
| 1PL M | <i>ab, bī, iha</i> | <i>ab</i> | <i>ihaī, aīgai</i> | <i>egā, ěge</i> | <i>egā</i> |
| F | <i>ib, ibī</i> | | <i>aīgī</i> | | |
| 2SG M | <i>bē, ba</i> | <i>be, ihai</i> | <i>(a)ihai, (a)igau</i> | <i>egā</i> | <i>egā</i> |
| F | <i>bī, bis</i> | | <i>igī</i> | | |
| 2PL M | <i>bā(h)</i> | <i>bo, bau</i> | <i>(a)ihau, augai</i> | <i>egā, ěge</i> | <i>egā</i> |
| F | <i>bū</i> | | <i>augī</i> | | |
| 3SG M | <i>ī</i> | <i>ī, ihai, e</i> | <i>(a)ihau, agau</i> | <i>egā</i> | <i>ī</i> |
| F | | | <i>agī</i> | | |
| 3PL M | <i>ihe, ihen</i> | <i>ihaī, aī</i> | <i>(a)ihaī, aīgai</i> | <i>egā, ěge</i> | <i>ī</i> |
| F | | | <i>aīgī</i> | | |

PRONOUNS:

The FH pronoun system is shown in Table 6. It is also less complex than the pronoun systems of most Hindi dialects in that it does not have separate nominal and oblique forms. Furthermore, it has only familiar and polite second person pronouns rather than the three sets (intimate, familiar and polite) found in most other varieties of Hindi (except Bazaar Hindustani). This can be seen in Tables 7-9. It should be noted, however, that the polite second person pronoun *āp* has only restricted usage in FH, for example when speaking to a teacher or government official. It is not used by many uneducated speakers and is not generally used between strangers.

TABLE 6: FIJI HINDI PRONOUNS

| | | singular | plural |
|-------------|------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1 | NOM | <i>ham</i> | <i>hamlog</i> |
| | POSS | <i>hamār</i> | <i>hamlogke</i> |
| 2 familiar | NOM | <i>tum</i> | <i>tumlogke</i> |
| | POSS | <i>tumār</i> | <i>tumlog</i> |
| 2 polite | NOM | <i>āp</i> | <i>āplog</i> |
| | POSS | <i>āpke</i> | <i>āplogke</i> |
| 3 proximate | NOM | <i>ī</i> | <i>īlog</i> |
| | POSS | <i>iske</i> | <i>īlogke</i> |
| 3 remote | NOM | <i>ū</i> | <i>ūlog</i> |
| | POSS | <i>uske</i> | <i>ūlogke</i> |

TABLE 7: FIRST PERSON PRONOUNS

| | Bhojpuri | Avadhi | Braj | BH | FH |
|------|---|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| 1SG | | | | | |
| NOM | <i>mē, ham</i> | <i>maī</i> | <i>maī, ho</i> | <i>ham</i> | <i>ham</i> |
| OBL | <i>mohi, mo, hamrā</i> | <i>mo</i> | <i>mo, muj</i> | <i>ham</i> | <i>ham</i> |
| POSS | <i>mor, more, hamār, hamre</i> | <i>mor</i> | <i>merau</i> | <i>hamārā, hamār, mor</i> | <i>hamār</i> |
| 1PL | | | | | |
| NOM | <i>hamni, haman, ham log(an), ham sab</i> | <i>ham</i> | <i>ham</i> | <i>ham log</i> | <i>hamlog</i> |
| OBL | [= NOM] | <i>ham, hamre</i> | <i>ham, hamaū</i> | <i>ham log (ō)</i> | <i>hamlog</i> |
| POSS | [NOM+ke] | <i>hamār</i> | <i>hamārau</i> | [OBL+kā] | <i>hamlogke</i> |

TABLE 8: SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

| | Bhojpuri | Avadhi | Braj | BH | FH |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 2SG INTIMATE OR CONTEMPTUOUS | | | | | |
| NOM | <i>tē, tū</i> | <i>taī, tū</i> | <i>tū, tai</i> | -- | -- |
| OBL | <i>tohi, to</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>to, tuj</i> | -- | -- |
| POSS | <i>tor, tore</i> | <i>tor, tuhar</i> | <i>terau</i> | -- | -- |
| 2SG FAMILIAR | | | | | |
| NOM | <i>tū</i> | <i>tum, tū</i> | <i>tum</i> | <i>tum</i> | <i>tum</i> |
| OBL | <i>tohrā</i> | <i>tum, tumre</i> | <i>tum, tumhaū</i> | <i>tum</i> | <i>tum</i> |
| POSS | <i>tohār, tohre (ke)</i> | <i>tohār, tuhār</i> | <i>tumhārau, tihārau</i> | <i>tum(h)ārā, tor, tohār</i> | <i>tumār</i> |
| 2PL | | | | | |
| NOM | <i>tohni, tūnhan, tū log(an)</i> | <i>tum, tū</i> | <i>tum</i> | <i>tum log</i> | <i>tumlog</i> |
| OBL | [= NOM] | <i>tum, tumre</i> | <i>tum, tumhaū</i> | <i>tum log(ō)</i> | <i>tumlog</i> |
| POSS | [NOM+ke] | <i>tohār, tuhār</i> | <i>tumhārau, tihārau</i> | [OBL+kā] | <i>tumlogke</i> |
| 2 POLITE | | | | | |
| NOM | <i>rauwa, raurā, apne</i> | <i>āp(u)</i> | <i>āp</i> | <i>āp</i> | <i>āp</i> |
| OBL | [= NOM] | <i>āp(u)</i> | <i>āp</i> | <i>āp</i> | <i>āp</i> |
| POSS | <i>rāur, raure, apan</i> | <i>apkar</i> | <i>āp kau, āp ke, āp kī</i> | <i>āp kā</i> | <i>āpke</i> |

TABLE 9: THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS

| | Bhojpuri | Avadhi | Braj | BH | FH |
|---------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| 3SG PROXIMATE | | | | | |
| NOM | <i>ī</i> | <i>ī</i> | <i>yah</i> | <i>ī, ie</i> | <i>ī</i> |
| OBL | <i>e</i> | <i>e, eh(i)</i> | <i>yā</i> | <i>is</i> | <i>is</i> |
| POSS | <i>ekar</i> | <i>ekar</i> | <i>yākau</i> | <i>iskā, ekar</i> | <i>iske</i> |
| 3SG REMOTE | | | | | |
| NOM | <i>ū</i> | <i>ū</i> | <i>wah, wo</i> | <i>ū, uo</i> | <i>ū</i> |
| OBL | <i>o</i> | <i>o, oh(i)</i> | <i>wā</i> | <i>us</i> | <i>us</i> |
| POSS | <i>okar</i> | <i>okar</i> | <i>wākau</i> | <i>uskā, okar</i> | <i>uske</i> |
| 3PL PROXIMATE | | | | | |
| NOM | <i>inhan,</i> <i>ī log</i> | <i>in</i> | <i>ye</i> | <i>ī log,</i> <i>ī sab</i> | <i>īlog</i> |
| OBL | [= NOM] | <i>in</i> | <i>in, inhaū</i> | <i>in, in log</i> | <i>īlog</i> |
| POSS | [NOM+ke] <i>inkar</i> | <i>inkar</i> | <i>inkau</i> | <i>inkā,</i> <i>in log kā</i> | <i>īlogke</i> |
| 3PL REMOTE | | | | | |
| NOM | <i>unhan,</i> <i>ū log</i> | <i>un</i> | <i>we</i> | <i>ū, ū log</i> <i>ū sab</i> | <i>ūlog</i> |
| OBL | [= NOM] | <i>un</i> | <i>un, unhaū,</i> <i>win(i)</i> | <i>un, un log</i> | <i>ūlog</i> |
| POSS | [NOM+ke], <i>unkar</i> | <i>unkar</i> | <i>winikau</i> | <i>unkā,</i> <i>un log kā</i> | <i>ūlogke</i> |

4.1.3 PIDGIN HINDUSTANI

Even greater lexical and grammatical fragmentation occurred in the development of Pidgin Hindustani in Fiji (Siegel 1990). The earliest form of this pidginised variety emerged as a result of contact between European overseers and northern Indian labourers on the large sugarcane plantations owned by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR). It was company policy that the European (mostly Australian) employees should speak 'Hindustani' to the labourers, but many of them learned it only imperfectly and spoke a pidginised form.

However, in 1903 another new phase of contact began. South Indian indentured labourers began arriving from the port of Madras. From that year until the end of indenture in 1916 more than 42% of the labourers were South Indians, the vast majority of whom did not speak any form of Hindi (Siegel 1987:134). It was the policy of the CSR to have interpreters on the plantations so that South Indian languages, such as Tamil and Telugu, could be used. But in reality, overseers expected the South Indians to pick up the plantation Hindustani quickly on their arrival and they too spoke a pidginised form (Siegel 1987:162). When these pidginised forms of Hindustani were used as a contact language among North Indians, Europeans, and South Indians (and also Fijians and other Pacific Islanders) on the plantations, a stable Pidgin Hindustani developed.

One of the salient linguistic features of this pidgin was drastic reduction of verb morphology to only one form, the imperative suffix *-o*. This became fused to the stem as a general verb ending used for all persons and tenses.

4.2 RECONSTITUTION: DIALECT CONTACT

We have just seen that in the linguistic fragmentation that occurred in Fiji, a multitude of linguistic alternatives were lost from among the Hindi dialects spoken by the indentured Indian labourers. However, as mentioned above, a new variety, Fiji Hindi, was constructed out of the rubble, using building blocks from many different sources. These sources became available as a result of the new patterns of linguistic contact established in Fiji. Firstly there was *dialect contact* between the various forms of Hindi which were brought from India. Secondly, there was *language contact* between Hindi and Fijian, the indigenous language of Fiji, and English, the colonial language. As a result, Fiji Hindi shows a mixture of features from these sources, especially in the lexicon and in some grammatical areas that we have been looking at, such as verb morphology and pronouns. First we will look at the elements of Fiji Hindi from a mixture of Indian sources and then at those from Fijian and English.

4.2.1 LEXICON

A large number of lexical items in FH are characteristic of both Eastern Hindi and Bihari dialects. Some examples are:

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>bār</i> | hair | <i>ākhī</i> | eye |
| <i>kerā</i> | banana | <i>agor-</i> | wait |
| <i>machrī</i> | fish | <i>bīg-</i> | throw |
| <i>khassī</i> | goat | <i>hal-</i> | go inside |
| <i>gor</i> | leg, foot | <i>sut-</i> | sleep |
| <i>ghām</i> | sunlight | <i>gardā</i> | dust |
| <i>bistuiyā</i> | lizard | <i>cauwā</i> | cattle |
| <i>maṭṭī</i> | soil | <i>kamṭī</i> | less |

Other lexical items belong to the Hindustani lingua franca or to some Western Hindi dialects, such as Khariboli, from which it originated. Some examples are:

| | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| <i>aurat</i> | woman | <i>ciṛiyā</i> | bird |
| <i>acchā</i> | good | <i>peṛ</i> | tree |
| <i>kuttā</i> | dog | <i>kharid-</i> | buy |
| <i>ādmī</i> | man | <i>choṭā</i> | small |

These FH lexical items are found in the entire range of the Hindustani continuum, but others are found mainly at the basilectal end, and are more typical of Bazaar Hindustani, for example:

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| <i>māg-</i> | want |
| <i>khalās</i> | finished |
| <i>nagij</i> | near |
| <i>muluk</i> | place of origin |
| <i>is/us māṭik</i> | like this/that |

Many of the words of Hindi/Hindustani origin have shifted meaning in FH. Some examples are:

| FH | FH meaning | original meaning |
|-----------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>julūm</i> | beautiful, fantastic | tyranny, difficulty |
| <i>ek dam</i> | completely | suddenly, quickly |
| <i>fokaṭiyā</i> | useless | bankrupt |
| <i>ṭītā</i> | spicy hot | bitter |
| <i>kamānī</i> | small spear (for prawns) | wire, spring |
| <i>pallā</i> | door | shutter |

4.2.2 GRAMMAR

VERB MORPHOLOGY:

Tables 3-5 above also show that the FH verbal suffixes have several origins. The source of the first and second person imperfective suffixes seems to be Avadhi or the Hindustani continuum. But the alternative *-at* suffix (usually used in periphrastic past tense constructions) is also sometimes found in Braj. Another variation found in FH can also be attributed to Avadhi – the suffix *-it*, now going out of use and considered rustic. The source of third person imperfective suffix *-e*, however, clearly appears to be Bhojpuri.

The third person perfective suffixes (for transitive verbs), *-is* for the singular and *-in* for the plural, again seem to be derived from Avadhi. However, these also may have been reinforced by BH. The first and second person perfective suffix *-ā* is more likely attributable to Hindustani, especially in the second person where it is not found in the regional dialects.

With regard to the FH definite future suffixes, the third person *-ī* is found in both Avadhi and Bhojpuri. In contrast, the first and second person *-egā* occurs only in BH, and therefore it appears to be the most likely source.

PRONOUNS:

The FH pronoun system can also be attributed to a combination of different dialects, as shown in Tables 7-9. The first person singular *ham* and the possessive *hamār* are general features of the Bihari area (Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Maithili). The second person singular familiar *tum* and formal *āp* are found in Eastern Hindi and in some Western Hindi dialects. The third person singular proximate *ī* and remote *ū* are characteristic of both the Bihari and Eastern Hindi areas. The FH periphrastic plural pronouns (singular pronoun plus *log* 'people') are characteristic of Magahi, but are also found in some subdialects of Bhojpuri as well as in SH. Again, however, some of these and other features may have come into FH via the Hindustani lingua franca. For example, the second person familiar possessive *tumār* is not found in any dialect, and is most likely derived from BH *tumārā*.

4.3 RECONSTITUTION: LANGUAGE CONTACT

Many of the changes that took place in Indian culture in Fiji were the result of contact with new cultures and the new environment. This is reflected linguistically mainly in the many words in FH originating from the languages of the cultures with which the labourers came in contact: Fijian and English. But it is also evident in certain areas of grammar.

4.3.1 LEXICON

About one third of the Indian immigrants worked on small European-owned plantations with Fijian and other Pacific Islands labourers. Here the plantation language was Fijian or Pidgin Fijian (Siegel 1982). From this contact, many Fijian words for cultural and environmental concepts or unfamiliar flora and fauna came into FH. It must be remembered that nearly all the early immigrants came from temperate inland areas of India, so much was unfamiliar in tropical island Fiji. As a result, many FH words for marine life and local plants, as well as for other aspects of Fijian culture, are derived from the Fijian language. (A complete list is given in Siegel 1987:272-277.) Some examples are:

| | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| <i>kāivītī</i> | Fijian |
| <i>moto</i> | spear |
| <i>ūbī</i> | yam |
| <i>dālo</i> | taro |
| <i>koro</i> | Fijian village |
| <i>lokā</i> | waves |
| <i>meke</i> | Fijian dance |
| <i>sūlū</i> | sarong |
| <i>besī</i> | hardwood tree |
| <i>dākuā</i> | kauri tree |
| <i>wālū</i> | kingfish or mackerel |
| <i>kuītā</i> | octopus, squid |

Fijian loan words were also used as phrasal verbs with proverb *kar-* 'do':

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>kerekerekar-</i> | ask for the possession of another |
| <i>lobo kar-</i> | bake in a pit oven |
| <i>sevūsevū kar-</i> | make a customary presentation of kava |

Perhaps the custom of kava drinking was adopted from the Fijians at this time. This is an important aspect of the new 'Fiji Indian' culture. (See, for example, Mayer 1961:70). Its importance is reflected in the many associated words from Fijian now found in FH:

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| <i>nengonā</i> | kava (< Fijian <i>na yaqona</i>) |
| <i>bito</i> | coconut shell bowl for drinking kava |
| <i>kānikāni</i> | scales and roughness of skin caused by excessive kava drinking |
| <i>kasou</i> | very drunk |
| <i>kosā</i> | dregs of kava |
| <i>lewenā</i> | kava stem |
| <i>wākā</i> | kava root |
| <i>tākī</i> | command to serve <i>yaqona</i> |

A much larger proportion of the FH lexicon, however, comes from English. The majority of the Indian labourers worked on the larger sugarcane plantations run by the CSR. Although the language used to run these plantations was Hindustani or Pidgin Hindustani, many English words having to do with previously unfamiliar aspects of plantation life came into FH during the indenture period. Some of these were:

| | |
|----------------|-----------|
| <i>astabal</i> | stable |
| <i>breik</i> | brake |
| <i>esṭeṭ</i> | estate |
| <i>geŋ</i> | work gang |

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| <i>girmiṭ</i> | indenture (< 'agreement') |
| <i>iṣṭimā</i> | steamer (ship) |
| <i>kicin</i> | kitchen |
| <i>kantāp</i> | sugarcane flower (< 'cane top') |
| <i>wil</i> | legal document (< 'will') |
| <i>māriṭ</i> | civil marriage |
| <i>kulubāl</i> | crowbar |
| <i>kulambar</i> | overseer (< 'call number') |
| <i>lāin</i> | barracks (< 'lines') |
| <i>masīn</i> | machine |
| <i>mil</i> | mill |
| <i>pāiamān</i> | fireman (on locomotive) |
| <i>sabal</i> | shovel |
| <i>sukhlāi</i> | replacing dead plants with new (< 'supply') |

Other English words for new material items also came into FH early in its development (see Siegel 1987:278-279):

| | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>kek</i> | cake | <i>brā</i> | bra |
| <i>lolī</i> | lolly | <i>siḡleṭ</i> | singlet |
| <i>biskiṭ</i> | biscuit | <i>nepkin</i> | napkin (diaper) |
| <i>breḍ</i> | bread | <i>ṭaul</i> | towel |
| <i>jem</i> | jam | <i>keṭin</i> | curtain |
| <i>gilās</i> | drinking glass | <i>ges</i> | gas |
| <i>kap</i> | tea cup | <i>lorī</i> | truck |
| <i>sosā</i> | saucer | <i>glu</i> | glue |
| <i>pleṭ</i> | plate | <i>rīf</i> | reef |
| <i>keṭlī</i> | kettle | <i>koral</i> | coral |
| <i>ṭin</i> | tin (can) | <i>ṭoc</i> | torch (electric) |
| <i>aiyan</i> | clothes iron | <i>bāskil</i> | bicycle |
| <i>baṭan</i> | button | <i>mīṅ</i> | meeting |
| <i>būṭ</i> | boot | <i>ṭoileṭ</i> | toilet |
| <i>farāk</i> | dress (< 'frock') | <i>huṭel</i> | hotel (pub) |

At the same time, some English words replaced existing Hindi words for what were most probably familiar items. The reason for this is unknown, unless the items found in Fiji were somehow different from those found in India. Some examples are:

| FH | English origin | Hindi equivalent |
|--------------|----------------|---------------------|
| <i>āpul</i> | apple | <i>seb</i> |
| <i>boṭ</i> | boat | <i>nāo</i> |
| <i>buk</i> | book | <i>pustak/kitāb</i> |
| <i>gāden</i> | garden | <i>baḡīcā</i> |
| <i>girās</i> | grass | <i>ghās</i> |
| <i>hāmā</i> | hammer | <i>hathorī</i> |
| <i>nīlā</i> | nail | <i>khil</i> |
| <i>pen</i> | pen | <i>kalam</i> |
| <i>pīnaṭ</i> | peanut | <i>mūḡphalī</i> |
| <i>rūm</i> | room | <i>kamrā</i> |
| <i>ṭaun</i> | town | <i>ṣahar</i> |

| | | |
|-------------|-------|---------------|
| <i>noṭ</i> | north | <i>uttar</i> |
| <i>sāuṭ</i> | south | <i>dakṣin</i> |
| <i>īṣṭ</i> | east | <i>purab</i> |
| <i>weṣṭ</i> | west | <i>paścim</i> |

As with Fijian loan words, English verbs came into FH as phrasal verbs with the pro-verb *kar-* 'do':

| | |
|-------------------|-------|
| <i>boil kar-</i> | boil |
| <i>cek kar-</i> | check |
| <i>ṭeṣṭ kar-</i> | taste |
| <i>ripoṭ kar-</i> | sign |
| <i>sāin kar-</i> | sign |
| <i>mis kar-</i> | miss |

The Hindi equivalents of the above English loan words are seldom, if ever, heard in everyday FH. The same is true of the loan words in the following categories:

(a) those showing semantic shift, for example:

| FH | English origin | FH meaning |
|---------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>geṭ</i> | gate | paddock |
| <i>moṭar</i> | motor | car |
| <i>sirias</i> | serious | very ill |

(b) those showing semantic restriction, for example:

| FH | English origin | FH meaning |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>grāūd</i> | ground | playground |
| <i>ṭicā</i> | teacher | female teacher |
| <i>māṣṭā</i> | master | male teacher |

(c) those showing semantic expansion, for example:

| FH | English origin | FH meaning |
|--------------|----------------|--|
| <i>buk</i> | book | book, magazine, pamphlet |
| <i>frēṭ</i> | friend | friend, sexual partner (if opposite sex) |
| <i>pāip</i> | pipe | pipe, tap |
| <i>mācis</i> | matches | matches, cigarette lighter |

In addition, the domains of post-indenture technology, such as automobiles, radios and television, and more recently computers and videos, contain nearly all words of English origin without Hindi equivalents.

However, there is another category of English loan words in FH for which there are commonly heard synonyms of Hindi origin. Some of these came into FH during the indenture era. Examples are:

| English loan | Hindi synonym | meaning |
|----------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>gorment</i> | <i>sarkar</i> | government |
| <i>bul</i> | <i>bail</i> | bull |
| <i>ekar</i> | <i>bighā</i> | acre |
| <i>fulāwā</i> | <i>hal/har</i> | plough |

| | | |
|-------------|------------------|-------|
| <i>lef</i> | <i>bāyā̃</i> | left |
| <i>rāit</i> | <i>dāyā̃</i> | right |
| <i>ṭāim</i> | <i>samay/bār</i> | time |

Other English loan words which also have not replaced their FH synonyms have come into FH more recently in another phase of cultural change – widespread education in English which has occurred since World War II (Siegel 1989). They are found more often in urban varieties of FH and partially result from the increase in the use of English, rather than Pidgin Fijian or Pidgin Hindustani, as the lingua franca among different ethnic groups in Fiji.

| Loan word | English origin | Fiji Hindi synonym |
|----------------|----------------|------------------------|
| <i>īsī</i> | easy | <i>sahaj</i> |
| <i>rāiṭ</i> | correct | <i>ṭhīk</i> |
| <i>smāṭ</i> | smart | <i>hoshiyār</i> |
| <i>reḍī</i> | ready | <i>taiyār</i> |
| <i>lak</i> | luck | <i>takḍīr</i> |
| <i>fanī</i> | funny | <i>mazākīyā</i> |
| <i>ovā</i> | over, finished | <i>khalās</i> |
| <i>dējā</i> | danger(ous) | <i>khatārnāk</i> |
| <i>leizī</i> | lazy | <i>sūstī</i> |
| <i>cīp</i> | cheap | <i>sastā</i> |
| <i>ḍīp</i> | deep | <i>gaharā</i> |
| <i>āilan</i> | island | <i>ḍīp</i> |
| <i>envelop</i> | envelope | <i>lifafā</i> |
| <i>femas</i> | famous | <i>nāmī</i> |
| <i>leṭā</i> | letter | <i>ciṭṭhī</i> |
| <i>baibī</i> | baby | <i>beccā</i> |
| <i>bodī</i> | body | <i>ṣarīr</i> |
| <i>sāiz</i> | size | <i>nāp</i> |
| <i>sop</i> | soap | <i>sābun</i> |
| <i>ṭāyā</i> | tire | <i>pahiyā</i> |
| <i>vinigā</i> | vinegar | <i>sirkā</i> |
| <i>hevī</i> | heavy | <i>garhū</i> |
| <i>leṭ</i> | late | <i>derī</i> |
| <i>wāif</i> | wife | <i>aurat</i> ('woman') |

Two lexical domains where English loan words have been gradually replacing FH words of Hindi origin are numbers and colours. Hindi numbers over 12 are rarely heard and the following colour terms are in concurrent usage:

| | | |
|-------------|--------|-------------------|
| <i>reḍ</i> | red | <i>lāl</i> |
| <i>blū</i> | blue | <i>nīlā</i> |
| <i>grīn</i> | green | <i>hariyar</i> |
| <i>yelo</i> | yellow | <i>pīlā/pīyar</i> |
| <i>wāiṭ</i> | white | <i>ujjar</i> |
| <i>blek</i> | black | <i>kariyā</i> |

Again, many of the recent English loan words have come into FH as phrasal verbs, used concurrently with their FH synonyms:

| Loan word | English origin | Fiji Hindi synonym |
|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>pei kar-</i> | pay | <i>paisā de-</i> |
| <i>pul kar-</i> | pull | <i>ghic-</i> |
| <i>weiṭkar-</i> | wait | <i>agor-</i> |
| <i>ṭrāīkar-</i> | try | <i>kośis kar-</i> |
| <i>yūz kar-</i> | use | <i>prayog kar-</i> |
| <i>bleim kar-</i> | blame | <i>doś lagā-</i> |
| <i>saspek kar-</i> | suspect | <i>sādeh kar-</i> |
| <i>cēj kar-</i> | change | <i>badal-</i> |
| <i>ges kar-</i> | guess | <i>andāzlagā-</i> |
| <i>fāīndāuṭkar-</i> | find out | <i>pattālagā-</i> |
| <i>promis kar-</i> | promise | <i>wādā kar-</i> |
| <i>fiks kar-</i> | fix | <i>banā-</i> |
| <i>demejkar-</i> | damage | <i>nuksān kar-</i> |
| <i>fos kar-</i> | force | <i>majbūr kar-</i> |
| <i>frāī kar-</i> | fry | <i>bhūj-</i> |
| <i>cīṭ kar-</i> | cheat | <i>beīmānīkar-</i> |
| <i>ṭīc kar-</i> | teach | <i>paṛhā-</i> |
| <i>sṭāṭ kar-</i> | start | <i>śurū kar-</i> |
| <i>help kar-</i> | help | <i>madad kar-</i> |
| <i>kis kar-</i> | kiss | <i>cūm-</i> |
| <i>miks kar-</i> | mix | <i>milā-</i> |
| <i>lāik kar-</i> | like | <i>acchālag-</i> |
| <i>lav kar-</i> | love | <i>pyār kar-</i> |

One interesting phenomenon is that several English loan words have two forms – an older one from when the word was first borrowed, probably during the indenture era, and a newer one, closer to English in pronunciation. Some examples are:

| older form | newer form | English origin |
|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>saṭ</i> | <i>šeṭ</i> | shirt |
| <i>ṭibil</i> | <i>ṭeibal</i> | table |
| <i>burūs</i> | <i>braš</i> | brush |
| <i>simiṭ</i> | <i>sament</i> | cement |
| <i>sakis</i> (< 'circus') | <i>filam</i> | film, cinema |

4.3.2 GRAMMAR

The new patterns of culture and language contact in Fiji also led to some linguistic changes in areas other than the lexicon. FH has some morphological and syntactic features not found in any variety of Hindi in India. The most likely origin of these constructions is the Pidgin Hindustani which arose on the plantations and is still spoken as a contact language between Fiji Indians, Fijians and Chinese. A morphological feature of FH most probably derived from Pidgin Hindustani is the *-o* infinitive verb ending used in a variety of constructions. Firstly, it is used as a suffix for gerunds, as in this example (from Pillai 1988):

- (1) *Hamār kām jhurā lakṛī lā-o kūā me se pānī bhar-o.*
 my work dry wood bring-INF well in from water fill-INF
 My work's to bring firewood, get water from the well.

This suffix is also frequently used in the infinitive in clausal objects following certain verbs (sometimes called auxiliary verbs), namely: *māṅ* 'want', *jān*- 'know', and *sak*- 'can, be able'. In such constructions, these verbs also end in *-o* as in the following example:

- (2) *Nahī māṅ-g-o sun-o to ham nahī batā-egā.*
 NEG want-INF hear-INF then 1SG NEG tell-FUT
 If you don't want to listen, then I won't talk about it.
- (3) *Tum āj sak-o ā-o?* (Moag 1977:115)
 2SG today can-INF come-INF
 Can you come today?

Furthermore, the *-o* suffix is sometimes used with these same verbs when the clausal object uses a different infinitive suffix:

- (4) *Ājkal kuch kām banā-e māṅ-g-o to paisā de-ke paṛ-e.*
 nowadays some work make-INF want-INF then money give-IMP have.to-IMP

Nowadays, if you want to get anything, it costs money.

Finally, the *-o* suffix is used with these verbs even if there is no clausal object, as in these examples from Siegel (1987:197):

- (5) a. *Ham nāī jān-o.*
 1SG NEG know-INF
 I don't know.
- b. *Tum sak-o?*
 2SG can-INF
 Can you do it?
- c. *Kauncī māṅ-g-o?*
 what want-INF
 What do you want?

As the *-o* suffix is not used in these ways in any variety of Hindi/Hindustani in India, it appears to be derived from the Pidgin Hindustani spoken in Fiji in which *-o* is the generalised ending for almost all verbs.

Some features of FH syntax as well are not found in any variety of Hindi/Hindustani in India. Firstly, in Indian dialects of Hindi, the grammatical object generally precedes the verb, but in FH it frequently follows the verb, especially if it is a clausal object. Examples are found throughout Pillai (1988) and three are reproduced here:

- (6) *Ab aise koi sak-e khetī kar-e?*
 now this.way anyone can-IMP faring do-INF
 Can anyone be a farmer this way?

- (7) *Ham māṅ-ta ekdam Kenadā cal de.*
 1SG want-IMPF quickly Canada move give+INF
 I want to go straight to Canada.
- (8) *Wakil bol-e ki tume ab cāh-ī tribunal ke pās*
 lawyer say-IMPF that 2SG+ACC now have to-FT tribunal POSS near
apīl kar-e.
 appeal do-INF
 The lawyer says that now you'll have to appeal to the tribunal.

This feature may be the result of the influence of either English or Pidgin Hindustani, both of which have this word order.

It is also a unique feature of FH that *sak-* can function as an independent verb as in examples (3) and (5a) above. The source of this feature also may be Pidgin Hindustani.

5. DISCUSSION

The relationship between the lexicon of a language and the culture of its speakers has always been recognised as being relatively straightforward. So we would expect certain lexical changes, such as extensive borrowing, to occur as a result of changes in culture. The lexicon of Fiji Hindi clearly reflects some of the changes that have occurred in Indian society in Fiji.

However, many linguists have also tried to show that certain grammatical changes are direct consequences of changes in society. For example, in a classic study, Brown and Gilman (1968) describe the change from the non-reciprocal to the reciprocal use of polite and familiar pronouns in several European languages during the last 100 years. They conclude (p.263) that non-reciprocal use is "associated with a relatively static society in which power is distributed by birthright and is not subject to much redistribution" and maintain that the change to more reciprocal use corresponded to an increased "social mobility and an equalitarian ideology". With regard to English Leith (1983:108) also notes that reciprocal pronouns are more likely to be used when "social relations become more fluid". He describes (p.109) how the reciprocal use of *you* and the eventual loss of *thou* began with the rise of the middle class in sixteenth century England:

It has been suggested that this was motivated by an egalitarian ethic. More likely was it a reflex of middle class insecurity. In sixteenth-century urban society...social relations were not fixed...there was no means of knowing who was entitled to *you* and who to *thou*. The best solution was to stick to *you*, which would not offend.

With regard to FH, then, it might be tempting to say that the loss of the intimate or contemptuous second person pronoun and the general reciprocal use of the familiar *tum* may be the consequence of the breaking down of caste distinctions and the general social levelling that occurred in Fiji. However, I feel it would be inaccurate to claim such specific correlations between language change and culture change when more general linguistic processes can also account for the changes.

Firstly, before we can make any claims about the causes of grammatical change, we have to be sure that the changes are not internal ones which would have occurred anyway without

any outside interference. For example, Brown and Gilman (1968:265) note that the disappearance of *thou* may have been part of "a general trend in English toward simplified verbal inflection". Thus, a change may simply be a natural or 'normal' one as studied in diachronic linguistics.

Another point of view might be that the general trend towards simplified verbal inflection in English was not 'natural' but rather motivated by language contact between English and French. This brings me to the second point: that language contact is often the source of grammatical as well as lexical change. For example, Bavin (1989) describes the contact between Warlpiri and English in Australia as having led to the reduction of morphological complexity in Warlpiri as well as borrowing of lexical items from English. So, contact between Hindi and English in Fiji could have been responsible for the reduction in the FH pronoun system rather than changes within Indian society.

Pidginisation is, of course, the extreme result of language contact, and also leads to morphological reduction and lexical mixing. I have shown above how Pidgin Hindustani may have influenced some aspects of FH grammar and there is no reason to dismiss its influence in the pronoun system as well.

Koineisation is yet another linguistic process which was obviously involved in the development of FH (Siegel 1985, 1987; Trudgill 1986). In contrast to borrowing and pidginisation, both involving contact between different languages, koineisation involves contact between dialects of the same language and therefore leads to internally rather than externally motivated change. The process of koineisation includes not only dialect mixing and levelling but also simplification (here meaning reduction of forms and increased regularity). So the reduction of the FH pronoun system, for example, could also have been the result of dialect contact in Fiji rather than any specific cultural change.

It is obvious, however, that various dialects can be in contact for long periods of time without koineisation occurring. What is necessary is some large-scale political, economic or demographic change in society which causes increased interaction among speakers of different dialects and decreased inclination to maintain linguistic boundaries. This may lead to the development of a 'koine' or compromise dialect. For example, the original Greek Koine (from which the terms koine and koineisation are derived) arose with the increased economic and social interaction between speakers of different Greek dialects that accompanied the spread of panhellenic culture (Thomson 1960:34). Also, Arabic koine developed with the spread of Islam (Ferguson 1959).

In addition to koineisation leading to the development of 'regional koines', it may also lead to 'immigrant koines' such as FH. Migration of speakers of different dialects to the same location also brings about increased interaction and, as described by Domingue (1981:150), "the need for unification among speakers of different dialects in a new environment".

To conclude, general large-scale political, economic or demographic changes in society, such as subjugation or mass migration, may lead to specific changes in culture and language. The co-occurrence of the linguistic and cultural changes, then, can be explained by a common catalyst rather than by any causal relationship between them.

APPENDIX

SURVEY

Name: _____ From: _____

Occupation: _____ Age: _____ Level of school finished: _____

1. never heard the word, doesn't know the meaning
2. heard the word, but doesn't know the meaning
3. heard the word, but with a different meaning (give the meaning)
4. heard the word, knows the meaning, but never uses the word (only old people say it)
5. uses a similar word with the same meaning (write the word)
6. knows and uses the word with the same meaning

| | | | |
|-----------------|--|--|--|
| <i>āgī</i> | cloth-bottomed sieve for sifting flour | | |
| <i>chilaun</i> | sieve for catching fish | | |
| <i>ḡātā</i> | hand-grinding mill for grain | | |
| <i>cakrī</i> | small grinder for <i>dahl</i> | | |
| <i>pīrhā</i> | stool (chair with no back) | | |
| <i>maciyā</i> | stool or table to keep pots on | | |
| <i>rātal</i> | large scale (for weighing things) | | |
| <i>tarāju</i> | small scale (for weighing things) | | |
| <i>lāthī</i> | long stick | | |
| <i>dāḡā</i> | short walking-stick | | |
| <i>suṡkun</i> | thin stick for whipping | | |
| <i>thēghunī</i> | walking-stick used by lame people | | |
| <i>ḡibbā</i> | small container | | |
| <i>sandūkh</i> | container, box | | |
| <i>kantor</i> | small box | | |
| <i>taslā</i> | round vessel for boiling rice | | |
| <i>hāḡā</i> | large pot for boiling rice | | |
| <i>dekcā</i> | cooking pot used at weddings | | |
| <i>tāwā</i> | iron plate for cooking <i>roti</i> | | |
| <i>kalchūl</i> | large spoon for serving | | |
| <i>loṡā</i> | brass globe-shaped drinking vessel | | |
| <i>cimtā</i> | tongs for arranging firewood | | |

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| <i>sorāhī</i> | pot for keeping water | | |
| <i>gagrī</i> | vessel used for drawing water | | |
| <i>dīyā</i> | small vessel used as lamp | | |
| <i>patilā</i> | earthen cooking vessel | | |
| <i>karnā</i> | vessel for boiling milk | | |
| <i>jālā</i> | water vessel | | |
| <i>parāī</i> | saucer for covering other vessels | | |
| <i>pagrī</i> | turban | | |
| <i>dhotī</i> | loincloth | | |
| <i>lāgoṭī</i> | small loincloth for boys | | |
| <i>curidār</i> | tight pants | | |
| <i>mohridār</i> | pants loose at the ankles | | |
| <i>jāghiyā</i> | tight-fitting shorts | | |
| <i>lāhgā</i> | underskirt | | |
| <i>oṛhnī</i> | veil, cloth worn over the head | | |
| <i>jhulā</i> | blouse | | |
| <i>colī</i> | short blouse | | |
| <i>ghanghrī</i> | type of petticoat | | |

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LANGUAGE OBSOLESCENCE IN MOROBE PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA: TWO CONTRASTING CASE STUDIES

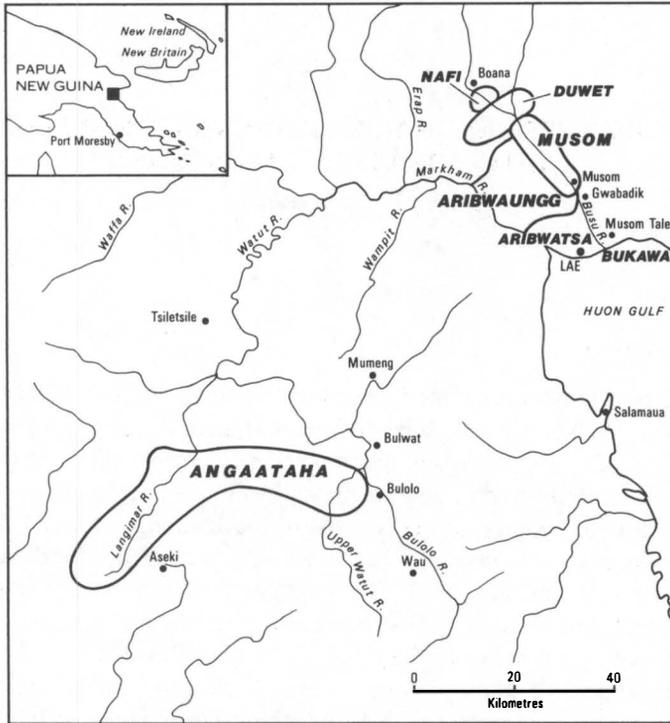
GEOFF SMITH

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper looks at prospects for the survival of two small languages in Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. It is based on a brief survey of language change currently taking place in these languages. The first is Susuami, spoken in two settlements in the Upper Watut Valley near Bulolo, and the second is Musom, spoken in a village and two settlements near Lae – see map. Susuami belongs to the Non-Austronesian Angan Family, while Musom is an Austronesian language belonging to the Busu subgroup of the Markham group of the Huon Gulf Family (Holzknecht 1988). The language communities are analogous in some respects: they are of similar size and both contain a mixture of speakers of a variety of languages. However, they differ in the degree to which Susuami and Musom are being retained in their respective communities. This appears to be due not to any inherent differences between Austronesian and Non-Austronesian languages, but to a number of social and demographic factors.

2. SUSUAMI

The Susuami language is spoken in the Upper Watut Valley outside Bulolo. It is an enclave within the Eastern part of the Angaataha-speaking area and is a member of the Non-Austronesian Angan language family. In two previous papers (Smith 1990, 1992), an account of the decline of the Susuami language was presented. In Smith (1990) attention was drawn to the existence of the language, which had previously been overlooked by fieldworkers. When the first information was recorded in 1979 the language was spoken by about fifty people in the village of Manki and the 'Co-op' and 'Council' settlements surrounding the site of the now defunct Watut-Sei Rural Progress Society a few kilometres outside Bulolo. On the basis of cognate comparisons with word lists of other Angan family languages published in Lloyd (1973), it seems evident that Susuami is an Angan language, probably most closely related to the dying Kamasa language which is spoken by a few people in Katsiong refugee village near Menyamya (McElhanon 1984:29).



THE ANGAATAHA AND MUSOM LANGUAGE AREAS

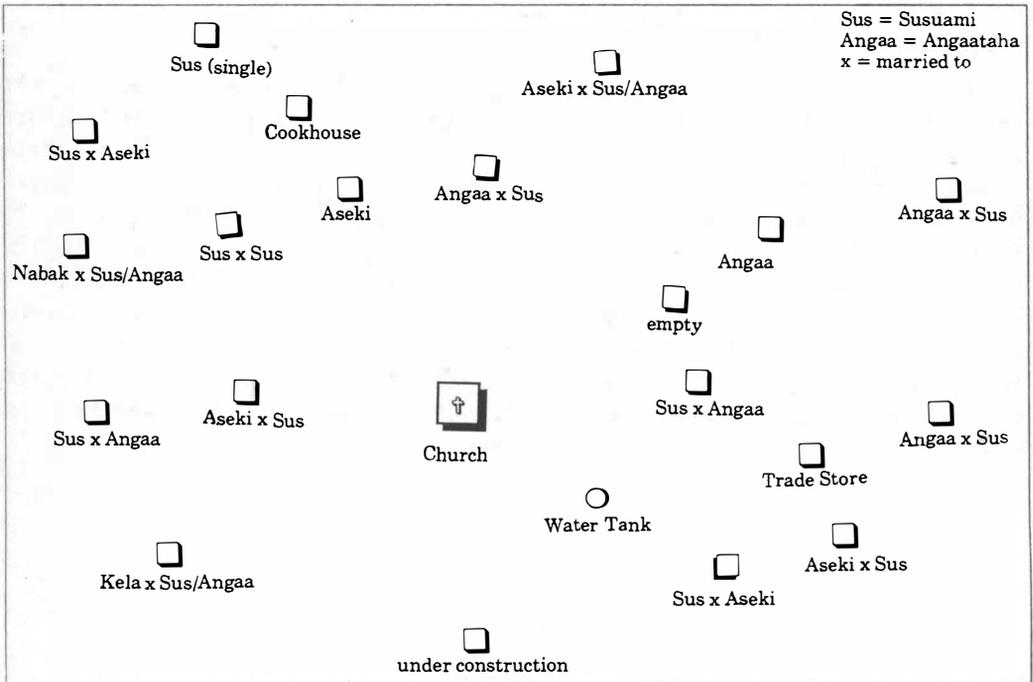


FIGURE 1: LANGUAGES OF MANKI HOUSEHOLDS

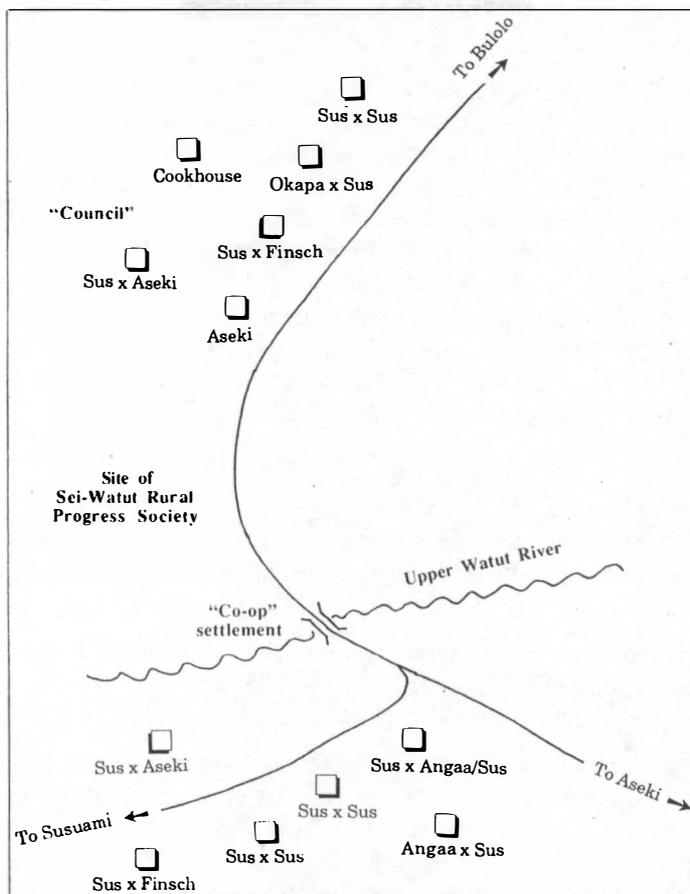


FIGURE 2: LANGUAGES OF SUSUAMI HOUSEHOLDS IN THE CO-OPERATIVE AND COUNCIL SETTLEMENTS

Manki village was the field base of the anthropologist Beatrice Blackwood in the 1930s and 1940s, but she did not record the presence of the Susuami language in her 1978 monograph. It appears that the present settlement known as Manki is located several kilometres from Blackwood's base, which was higher on the range towards Bulolo. Even in 1936 Blackwood (1978:8) notes that the Manki settlement was an artificial amalgamation of two separate groups for administrative convenience. One spoke Langimar and the other 'Kiapou' (Hamtai). In the present settlement known as Manki, the majority of inhabitants (from Old Manki) speak the Langimar (Angaataha) language, while Susuami-speakers were incorporated into the settlement from a former village further down the Watut River.

In 1980 a census of Susuami speakers and the languages spoken in their households was conducted (Smith 1990). A number of interesting observations emerged from this. Firstly, Manki village showed extreme multilingualism, with some inhabitants using up to four, five or six languages on various occasions. The dominant languages were Angaataha and Tok Pisin, with a sizable minority speaking Hamtai. In addition, marriage partners from other language groups in Morobe and further afield were represented. Primary school children

were now all taught in English, after an abortive attempt to establish a Yabêm-medium mission school in the 1950s.

Secondly, nearly all Susuami speakers were living in households where one marriage partner was not primarily a Susuami speaker. Languages spoken in the households of the Susuami-speaking area are shown in detail in Figures 1 and 2. It can be seen that out of a population of some fifty speakers, there were only seven households where both parents were native speakers of the language. The effect of these factors on transmission of Susuami to children appeared to be substantial. While young children talked with their parents in the language, older children failed to use it in playgroups. In spite of admonition or stronger censure by parents, these children showed an overwhelming preference for Angaataha and especially Tok Pisin. Parents complained that their children, who understood Susuami, would only reply in Tok Pisin. This is similar to the "dual-lingualism" described by Lincoln (1975). Such individuals are not likely to transmit the language to the next generation.

To use Laycock's (1979:92) terminology the Susuami language is in a "swamp" situation:

A swamp situation occurs when a language has virtually no monolingual speakers - that is, all adult members of the community speak two languages, one of which is restricted to that community, and one which is spoken by a larger community.

Such swamped languages are considered by Laycock to be in acute danger. The forty or so Moraori language-speakers of Irian Jaya in the 1950s are given as an example (p.94). Swamped by surrounding languages, the Moraori language now appears to be extinct.

All Susuami speakers also knew other languages; in particular the language was swamped by Angaataha. In this situation, the language must be considered to be vulnerable. An additional hazard was the fact that there was no residential community where Susuami was the preferred language. There was no oasis into which Susuami speakers could retreat to speak the language undisturbed, as is the case with some other single-village languages. The largest residentially discrete units of Susuami speakers were clusters of two and three households within a larger settlement.

Attitudes to Susuami by non-Susuami speakers were at best equivocal. There was a marked reluctance on the part of affines to make what was perceived as a massive and futile effort to learn a language not likely to be of much use. In a settlement with an already confusing constellation of languages, it seems that the demands of coping with multilingual communication were exerting severe pressure on the smallest of the languages. The Susuami speakers themselves were not in a position to insist on the use of their language in the community. Having been forcibly merged with another group, the small minority of Susuami were dominated by speakers of other languages.

Considering the above factors, the prognosis for Susuami in 1980 appeared to be gloomy. A follow-up survey ten years later showed that this pessimism was not unjustified (Smith 1992). In Manki and the surrounding settlements in late 1990, only fifteen people could be found who claimed to speak the language. Many of the older speakers had died, and children were failing to acquire more than a passive understanding. Such acquisition as existed among young people appeared to be confined to the two remaining households where both parents were native speakers. Even in these households, parents lamented the fact that their children could understand a little, but would not speak the language. All other speakers were immersed in a social environment where other languages dominated. Considering the

rate of decline it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the language is doomed to die with the present generation of adult speakers.

3. MUSOM

Musom is the dominant language spoken in a single village some twenty-five kilometres north-west of Lae. A minority of Musom speakers are also living in the settlements of Gwabadik and Musom Tale. The former settlement is about fifteen kilometres inland from Lae, shared with speakers of Nabak and Mesem (Momolili) from villages further inland. Musom Tale is near the coast east of Lae, and Musom speakers live in close association with speakers of other languages, especially Bukawa. The number of Musom speakers is estimated to be 231 (McElhanon 1984:20).

Although Musom is a small language, it is surrounded by a number of similar languages of the Busu sub-group. Aribwaungg (Yalu), spoken in Yalu village and Nambom (also known as Sirak or Nafi) spoken in Banzain village, are very closely related. The languages are even claimed to be identical by some informants, although independent linguistic observation does not support this (McElhanon 1984; Holzkecht 1988). In addition, the Duwet (Guwot) language of four neighbouring inland villages is closely related. Holzkecht (1988:70) claims that Musom shares many linguistic features with the Aribwatsa language, now virtually extinct.

Like Manki, Musom village is multilingual. Nearly everyone speaks Tok Pisin and the Nabak and Duwet languages of neighbouring villages appear to be well known by many. The language used by the Lutheran mission in the area, Yabêm, is also well known. In contrast to the Susuami settlements, however, in Musom village the majority of households include married couples who both have Musom as their first and preferred language. Nevertheless, there were still a considerable number of non-Musom speaking marriage partners living there. A census in 1990 showed that out of twenty-nine households in the village, sixteen were occupied only by Musom speakers, while thirteen contained marriage partners of different languages. Constraints of exogamy dictate that a considerable number of marriage partners will have to be found from other language groups.

In the two settlements containing a minority of Musom-speakers, the Musom language is swamped in a way not unlike Susuami. However, in Musom village, in spite of the influx of outsiders, the Musom language seemed to be in a relatively healthy position. Communication with children is normally in Musom. Perhaps more importantly, affines appeared to be successful in learning the language. Of the thirteen households containing affines not of Musom origin from areas including other parts of the Morobe, Eastern Highlands, Sepik and East New Britain Provinces, at least half appeared to be fluent in Musom and use it regularly with children. This may be related to attitudes towards affines in Musom. Only marriage partners are welcome to reside in the village - their unattached relatives are not permitted to settle there. There is a pride in the language and identity of the village, and an ideology that newcomers must adapt to village norms of language and culture. Musom speakers are optimistic that the language is alive and well and not under threat of extinction.

In spite of Musom speakers' confidence in the language's viability, however, there are some ominous signs that the process of decline may be under way. A look at the size and number of the separate exogamous clans in the village shows that the number of Musom-

speaking marriage partners available to other Musom speakers is strictly limited. It is now apparent that most future marriages of Musom speakers will be with speakers of other languages. This is likely to have a profound affect on the number of children growing up fluent in Musom.

Some parents observed that children had a habit of replying in Tok Pisin when addressed in Musom. Although this was remarked on as a curiosity rather than a cause for alarm, it does suggest that the younger generation may not be such successful agents for the transmission of Musom as their parents. Tok Pisin is very widely spoken, and is now used frequently in church services in addition to Yabêm, formerly used exclusively for mission purposes. Tok Pisin is the automatic choice when addressing visiting non-Musom speakers, and appears to be increasingly popular in children's playgroups. A road to Lae has led to frequent visits to the city, especially to sell food in the market and visit the hospital, and this has no doubt increased the currency of Tok Pisin. The Tok Pisin spoken by young people is increasingly that of fluent first language speakers similar to the urban residents of Lae, rather than a second language with a marginal role.

Such factors, combined with the 'English-only' policy in the local primary school suggest that the onset of decline of a language may precede villagers' perception of its declining health and viability. In the absence of some effort to maintain the language, it is not impossible that a terminal degeneration may not be more than two generations away.

4. FUTURE PROSPECTS

Predictions concerning the fate of Susuami and Musom (and many other minority languages in the country) involve a certain amount of conjecture dependent on various unknown factors. One of these is the possibility of conscious intervention to preserve or maintain the languages. A number of such activities are widespread in Papua New Guinea. The Summer Institute of Linguistics has translation teams in twenty or so Morobe languages and many others in different provinces. In many parts of the country linguists carry out field work leading to descriptions of grammars or sociolinguistic phenomena.

Apart from Holzkecht's comparative study of Markham languages (1988) no detailed work has been carried out for either Musom or Susuami. For neither language has the grammar been described or translation of religious tracts attempted; in fact there is no written material whatsoever in either language. No plans to begin work are currently being considered by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. More linguistic work could provide a stimulus for maintenance of the languages.

However, all of the above refer to efforts from outside the community. A more promising prospect would be an initiative from within the community, relying on internal resources, and with minimal input from outside advisers. One such activity which has had some very encouraging results in Papua New Guinea is the establishment of vernacular literacy programmes. Although the main aim of such schemes is the promotion of literacy, it could also be a powerful agent for maintenance of minority languages such as those described in this paper. Detailed advice on how to set up such programmes is contained in Stringer and Faraclas's comprehensive guidebook (1987), and schemes can be self-sustaining given sufficient motivation.

In the case of Susuami this is unlikely to happen in the absence of a determined and sustained effort on the part of the adult speakers. There may be additional problems with

lack of support or active discouragement from others in the community. In the case of Musom the introduction of a vernacular literacy programme would seem both possible and highly desirable. There is a primary school on the outskirts of the village with a multilingual intake from Musom, Gawam and some villages further afield. Like most other community schools this one uses English as its medium of instruction. A preschool vernacular literacy programme could achieve the multiple aims of improving literacy skills, transmitting traditional cultural values and maintaining a language rapidly being swamped by others.

5. CONCLUSION

The Susuami and Musom languages both appear to be in danger of submersion and obsolescence. While Susuami's decline is at an advanced stage, danger signals about Musom are perhaps more evident to an outside observer than to its own speakers. It is recommended that speakers of such threatened minority languages engage in vernacular literacy programmes, both for language maintenance and the more obvious literacy skills they promote.

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY AND OTHER FACTORS EFFECTING CHANGE IN NORTH-WESTERN NEW BRITAIN, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

WILLIAM R. THURSTON

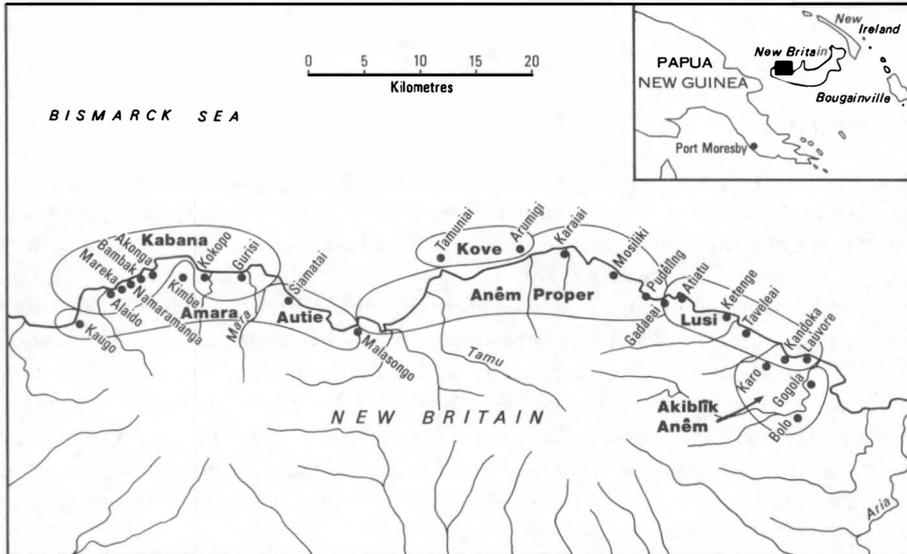
1. BACKGROUND

In the context of Papua New Guinea, the discussion of lingua francas tends to focus more on Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu than on vernaculars, with a contrast usually being made between those languages that function as lingua francas on one hand and strictly-vernacular languages on the other. In north-western New Britain, however, certain vernaculars are used only for communication among members of well-defined ethnic groups, while others double in function by being used both as local vernaculars and as lingua francas. Evidence collected since 1975¹ suggests that some of the strictly vernacular languages are undergoing processes of purification and neoconservatism, while others are falling into disuse. At the same time, those vernaculars that also function as lingua francas are undergoing grammatical change, lexical reduction and relexification, features often associated with pidginisation. Parallel to these linguistic changes are sociocultural changes intertwined with ethnic identity.

The value of a lingua franca derives from its usefulness as a tool for communication, and not necessarily from the ethnic tradition which it represents and in which it might be embedded. In the absence of writing to legislate prescriptive norms, any language used as a lingua franca becomes exoteric, belonging to the public domain and, consequently, beyond many of the constraints placed on esoteric languages, vernaculars that are solely the property of an ethnic group. With a lingua franca, transmitting information successfully is more important than expressing the message in a style that conforms to time-honoured constraints sanctioned by a social group. As a result, a language which functions as a lingua franca is under the pressure of exoterogeny – to become easy to learn, easy to speak and easy to understand. It is much less restrained by the tradition-based value judgments of a social group that normally tends to inhibit the exchange of resources among esoteric languages. People for whom the vernacular language is an emblem of ethnic identity may come to view changes introduced in their language in the course of exoterogeny as a debasement of their heritage.

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In north-western New Britain, certain vernaculars with a tradition of being used as lingua francas seem to have shifted from the languages most likely to replace neighbouring languages to languages with diminishing esteem among their speakers. Meanwhile, those vital vernaculars with no value as lingua francas have developed high loyalty among their speakers. Here, linguistic loyalty seems to correlate with attitudes towards other aspects of traditional culture.



ANÊM AND OTHER LANGUAGES OF NORTH-WESTERN NEW BRITAIN

2. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC HISTORY OF NORTH-WESTERN NEW BRITAIN

The reconstructible prehistory of the area can be divided into three phases: (1) a pre-Austronesian phase, (2) an early Austronesian phase and (3) a recent Austronesian phase. During each of these periods indigenous vernaculars have ceased to be spoken and introduced languages have spread and multiplied. This seems to have been accomplished through processes of language shift, rather than by the displacement of local populations by immigrant settlers. The period since European contact is a fourth phase, characterised by the introduction of Tok Pisin and English, both Germanic languages. Each of these has remodelled the region both linguistically and socially.

Depending on how they are counted, there are now between six and eleven vernacular languages spoken in the Kaliai and Bariai census divisions of West New Britain Province. On the basis of endolexical² similarity, these can be classified into four groups:

²The endolexicon of a language is the set of morphemes usually included under the heading of basic or core vocabulary plus all the grammatical functors; it constitutes the minimum set of morphemes required to speak the language at the most basic level.

- (1) Anêm, a non-Austronesian isolate consisting of two dialects – Anêm proper and its closely-related, and nearly-extinct sister dialect, Akiblîk, formerly spoken in the villages of Karo, Bolo and Gogola;
- (2) Austronesian languages of the Bibling group – Mouk, Aria, Tourai and Lamogai;
- (3) Austronesian languages of the Bariai group – Kabana, Lusi and Kove; and
- (4) the Austronesian isolate, Amara, consisting of two dialects – Amara proper and its closely-related sister dialect Autie, formerly spoken in the villages of Siamatai and Malasongo (along with Anêm) – see map.³

Anêm is the only non-Austronesian language spoken in the area. The nearest non-Austronesian languages are Kovai, spoken on Umboi Island to the west, and Pele-Ata (=Wasi), spoken east of Kimbe. Greenberg (1971) places Anêm in the New Britain branch of the Indo-Pacific language family, while Wurm (1982:235) classifies Anêm as a family-level isolate within the New Britain Stock of the East Papuan Phylum. Both of these classifications are based on a small body of poor-quality data, and subsequent re-examination of the available data (Thurston n.d.) has revealed no support for either hypothesis. While there are a few intriguing similarities among Anêm and other non-Austronesian languages, there is no compelling evidence for the genetic classification of Anêm with Kovai, Pele-Ata, Baining or any other language. Like Basque and Japanese, Anêm is a language isolate.

The Anêm are now completely surrounded by speakers of Austronesian languages. In Austronesian languages spoken in the immediate area, along the south coast of New Britain and as far east as Kimbe, however, there are a few lexical items that appear to be related to Anêm etyma rather than directly inherited from Proto Oceanic (Thurston 1987:89). Such evidence suggests that Anêm is the sole surviving member of a non-Austronesian language family that once extended over much of what is now West New Britain Province. West of the Willaumez Peninsula, all of these languages, except Anêm, have been replaced by Austronesian languages which retain features of a non-Austronesian substratum.

The data from north-western New Britain suggest that, in general, the anthropological and linguistic literature has placed far too much significance on the distinction between Austronesian and non-Austronesian. At least in Kaliai and Bariai this distinction is based on lexical dissimilarity alone. Generations of marriage and trade across linguistic boundaries, the longstanding tradition of regional multilingualism, and the spread of languages by way of language shift have all conspired to produce regional similarity in phonology, syntax, semantics, social structure, economy, cosmology and values. While lexical differences are among the most important markers of identity, they should not be allowed to mask the more prominent similarities found among linguistic groups in this region. Aside from lexical form, the speakers of Austronesian languages in north-western New Britain share much more with the Anêm than they do with speakers of distant Austronesian languages that are lexically more similar.

To the south and south-east of the Anêm territory are speakers of languages of the Bibling group, also known as the Lamogai language family (Chowning 1969) or the Lamogai chain (Ross 1988). West of Anêm, Amara used to occupy roughly what is now Bariai census division, but Kabana (one of the Bariai languages) has now replaced Amara as the primary

³Note that the boundaries shown on this map do not necessarily coincide with traditional land boundaries – they are merely convenient ways of showing the locations of the languages and dialects spoken in the area relative to one another.

vernacular of the area. In terms of neogrammarian-derived criteria used for the genetic classification of languages, Amara is not clearly related to any of the surrounding languages, except in so far as it is Austronesian. Ross (1988:162) classifies Amara and the Bibling languages as coordinate members of the South-West New Britain network, a taxon that makes them equally related to languages such as Sengseng and Bebeli. Compared with taxa such as Polynesian, relationships among member branches of the South-West New Britain network are remote.

There is a consensus among all current groups in north-western New Britain that Anêm is the first language of the area and that all the Austronesian languages have developed subsequently. Amara and the Bibling languages are modern representatives deriving from a period of early Austronesian contact that clearly predates the arrival of the Bariai languages on New Britain by a long span of time. Following a model proposed by Renfrew (1987) for the spread of Indo-European, it is even possible that the languages antecedent to modern Amara and/or the Bibling languages arrived in New Britain with the introduction of horticulture, but this is speculation based on slim evidence. The Anêm lexicon contains words with Austronesian etymologies that are obvious only when the Bibling equivalents are available for comparison. For example, Anêm *aba* 'pig' is most likely related to Mouk *abax*, a reflex of Proto Oceanic **boRok* (Ross 1988:459). In any case, contacts among speakers of Anêm, Amara and the Bibling languages have been quite longstanding.

The final phase of prehistory in north-western New Britain is characterised by the recent arrival of the Bariai languages in New Britain. Kove, Lusi (=Kaliai) and Kabana (=Bariai) were initially classified, along with Maleu (=Kilenge + Lolo), as the Bariai language family by Chowning (1969), and later subsumed into the larger Siassi group (Hooley 1976:344, fn.5; Chowning 1976:368-369) which encompasses languages spoken on the Siassi islands and along the north-eastern coast of Papua New Guinea. Recognising the more salient similarities among Lusi, Kove and Kabana on New Britain and Gitua on the Papua New Guinea mainland, Ross (1988:160-177), following Lincoln (1976), distinguishes Lusi, Kove, Kabana and Gitua from Maleu as members of the Ngero group. For several reasons that are of no concern here, Goulden (n.d.) suggests that Bariai be reserved as a taxonomic label covering Lusi, Kove and Kabana only. In the context of this paper Goulden's terminology is most relevant. The arrival of the Bariai languages on New Britain coincides with a shift from a primarily terrestrial economy to one which exploits the resources of the sea to a much higher degree. It has also resulted in a primary sociocultural and sociolinguistic split between forest people and maritime people.

Anêm, Amara and the languages of the Bibling group are spoken by people who maintain a traditional orientation toward the rainforests of the mountainous interior, while the languages of the Bariai group are spoken by people who associate themselves with the sea. The forest people see themselves as the original and rightful inhabitants of the area and the maritime people as intruders with little depth of tradition. Until the 1950s, the interior peoples and all Lusi-speaking groups except the Kaliai lived in tiny hamlets high on the mountain ridges away from the mosquitoes, crocodiles and seafaring peoples who were a nuisance on the coast. Although Anêm, Mouk and Amara have indigenous words for canoe, all the vocabulary for canoe building, reef fishing and maritime travel has been acquired recently from the Lusi, Kove and Kabana. Consequently, while this maritime vocabulary contains many obviously-Austronesian etyma, it is largely common to all the languages of the region regardless of their classification as non-Austronesian or members of one of the three Austronesian subgroups.

Kove is restricted to small islands along the north-western coast of New Britain; Kabana is spoken along a narrow coastal strip in Bariai; and the Lusi are totally surrounded by speakers of Anêm. Until the 1950s, all Lusi patriclans except Kaliai were located inland on sites away from the coast following settlement patterns identical to those of the Anêm. Recollections among elders in Lusi, Mouk and Anêm communities suggest that, until the Germans established a plantation at Iboki, early in the twentieth century, the people of Kaliai maintained a monopoly on coconut palms and the variety of broad-leafed pandanus now used for sleeping mats. The Kaliai, now represented by the village of Teveleai, have always lived on the coast. Elders in other patriclans remember that, when they were children, the coconuts of Kaliai were remarkably tall in comparison with those planted in their interior villages. These and other facts suggest that Kaliai is the original dispersal point for what has become the Lusi language.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the new coastal villages in Kaliai and Bariai were not yet fully integrated into the regional social system. One index of this is that, shortly after German contact, an alliance of several Anêm, Mouk and Amara patriclans mounted an attack on a Kabana settlement at the mouth of the Kakasi river with the aim of exterminating the entire community. The 1975 description of this event by an Anêm elder who took part in the battle indicates that, at that time, the Kabana were still perceived as intruders. The Kabana had not yet achieved social integration with the surrounding groups through the exchange of marital partners. If they had, such an attack could not have taken place.

Details of genealogy make it clear that, while the maritime peoples of the area speak languages that have arrived only within the last two centuries, the majority of modern speakers are actually descendants of people who spoke interior languages. That is, the Lusi have ancestors who were mostly Anêm (and perhaps Tourai) and the Kabana are descended from speakers of Amara. While the Lusi and Kabana acknowledge their forest ancestry, it plays only a minor role in how they currently perceive themselves, which is as maritime people in contrast with the old-fashioned folk of the mountains, for whom they have a mixture of respect and contempt. Until the last decade or so, language shift has led to a steady erosion in the number of speakers of Anêm and Amara. The Akiblik dialect of Anêm is now functionally extinct, having been replaced by an incipient dialect of Aria; and Amara is nearing the end of a language shift to Kabana. In contrast, Anêm proper has been steadily gaining in the number of speakers. These cases are discussed in greater detail below.

From the beginning, contact between forest and maritime peoples has involved an exchange of marriage partners to normalise the relationship between potentially hostile groups, and, subsequently, sociocultural complexes such as the rituals pertaining to mortuary rites have created a web of socioeconomic obligations that link individuals in many directions to people in several different linguistic groups. A concomitant exchange of technology has left a salient mark in each language in the form of a large body of lexicon copied from the language of the group which is the source of the technology. For example, virtually all of the Anêm vocabulary pertaining to the sea has been copied directly from Lusi, and consequently, Anêm, Lusi, Kove and (to lesser extent) Kabana now share most of the vocabulary in this domain. At the same time, Lusi has copied many of its names for plants, insects and sounds from Anêm, thus creating an important feature distinguishing Lusi from Kove and Kabana (Thurston 1982, 1987).

With a total population of about 6,000 individuals speaking eleven named languages, this sociolinguistic area is already relatively complex, but, in addition to vernaculars, the majority

of people also speak Tok Pisin, and the number of English speakers is increasing steadily. That Friederici (1912) used Tok Pisin while conducting research in Bariai in 1908 indicates that Tok Pisin has been known in the area for almost a century and that its spread has far outpaced its use for communicating with Europeans. In most of the communities of north-western New Britain, Tok Pisin is a language of primary acquisition along with one or more vernaculars, while English is being taught with increasing effectiveness in local community schools and in the high schools of Kandrian and Kimbe. Both languages are now acting as major sources for new lexical items. Nevertheless, in all communities, vernacular languages continue to be the most salient marker of ethnic identity. Where a vernacular is being abandoned, it is generally in favour of another vernacular, not Tok Pisin. The introduction of Tok Pisin, however, has resulted in a general reduction in the degree of multilingualism, and, in some cases, in a loss of traditional referential detail in vernaculars.

Even though multilingualism is the norm throughout the area, it is asymmetric and differs in kind with the sociolinguistic typology of the group: maritime people exhibit chiefly bilingualism in their own vernaculars and Tok Pisin to the exclusion of other languages; and forest people tend to have functional multilingualism in their own vernaculars, Tok Pisin, at least one language of the Bariai group, and often other vernaculars as well. Since the maritime languages are so similar in endolexicon, knowledge of one of these languages provides access to communication in the others. For example, since most Anêm know Lusi, they can have dual-lingual (Lincoln 1975) conversations with speakers of Kabana and Kove as long as the discourse is limited either to basic vocabulary or to the domain of maritime phenomena. Furthermore, since Amara has copied its maritime vocabulary from Kabana (and Maleu), even those Anêm who know no Amara can decipher most Amara references to items from the sea.

Similarly, the depth of detailed knowledge people retain in their own vernaculars differs systematically from group to group and seems to depend, at least in part, on whether the vernacular also functions as a lingua franca. In general, speakers of maritime languages tend to have a rather superficial knowledge of their own vernaculars, while even Anêm youngsters know Anêm well. Akibîk and Amara are distinct cases because they have both come so close to the threshold of extinction. All of these cases are discussed in greater detail below.

3. ANÊM

In overall structure, all languages in north-western New Britain are syntactically and semantically almost identical (Thurston 1987), but compared with the other languages of the area, Anêm is difficult for the following reasons, among others:

- (1) It has two back unrounded vowel phonemes \hat{e} [ɤ] and \hat{i} [ɯ] that are difficult for speakers of other languages either to recognise or to pronounce.
- (2) It has consonant clusters that violate the basically CVCV canon of the maritime languages:

| | | | |
|-------------|-------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>kɔ̃x</i> | black | <i>mîkdɔ̃t</i> | your mats |
| <i>kmî</i> | fire | <i>blaŋ</i> | another |

- (3) Many of the most common root morphemes are difficult for potential language learners to identify because they are phonemically short, many consisting of either single consonants or consonant clusters:

| | | | |
|------|-----|------|-------|
| -kɲ- | cut | -b- | hit |
| -k | go | -tɫ- | spear |

- (4) Anêm is the only language in the area with grammatical gender. Demonstratives following masculine nouns begin with *l-*, while those following feminine nouns begin with *s-*; verbal prefixes agree in gender with the head of the subject noun phrase; and possessive suffixes agree in gender with the possessed noun:

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>êdîŋlê u-pêg</i> | the coconut fell |
| <i>ezim sê i-pêg</i> | the betel nut fell |
| <i>tî-ga led u-lî</i> | my foot here is swollen |
| <i>tîm-nae sed i-lî</i> | my hand here is swollen |
| <i>Paulus ki-lo</i> | Paul's hair |
| <i>Maria ki-lêm</i> | Maria's hair |

- (5) Several of the most common lexemes have suppletive stems which alternate according to the number of either the subject or the object:

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>u-k</i> | he went | <i>i-ul</i> | they went |
| <i>u-sêm</i> | he slept | <i>i-tel</i> | they slept |
| <i>u-l-o</i> | he got it | <i>u-s-u</i> | he got them |
| <i>u-b-î</i> | he hit him | <i>u-pel-it</i> | he hit them |

- (6) It has an obligatory distinction of mood lacking in all the other languages of the area:

| | | | |
|------------|--------------|-------------|----------------------|
| <i>a-k</i> | I go; I went | <i>da-k</i> | if I went; I will go |
|------------|--------------|-------------|----------------------|

- (7) Although the Bariai languages of the area have three classes of possession for nouns, the same affixes are used in the different constructions. For example, in Lusi, *-gu* always means 'my': *a-gu gaea* 'my pork', *le-gu gaea* 'my pig', *mata-gu* 'my eye'. Anêm, however, has many noun classes based on the morphologically-conditioned paradigms of suffixes marking the possessor. These mark many more distinctions than are possible in any of the surrounding Austronesian languages:

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>aŋ-nae</i> | my tree (I planted it) |
| <i>aŋ-at</i> | my tree (I'm cutting it down) |
| <i>aŋ-dat</i> | my tree (I'm sitting on it) |
| <i>aŋ-le</i> | my firewood (I carry it on my head) |
| <i>beta-mat</i> | my sore |
| <i>pom-ka</i> | my chest |
| <i>eil-i</i> | my eye |
| <i>ki-le</i> | my hair |
| <i>pol-ga</i> | my shoulder |
| <i>taba-lexi</i> | my tail |
| <i>pên-ui</i> | my garden |
| <i>aba-ke</i> | my pig |
| <i>gi-ŋe</i> | my child |

This complexity is carried over into the suffixes marking the pronominal objects of verbs:

| | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>u-kel-e</i> | he saw me | <i>u-b-a</i> | he hit me |
| <i>u-sama-dat</i> | he looked for me | <i>u-tl-i</i> | he speared me |
| <i>u-dajo-eat</i> | he tied me up | <i>u-uae-kî-le</i> | he told me about it |

- (8) Some common verbs and nouns, but not all, have morphologically conditioned vowel harmony:

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|
| <i>ne-kel-e</i> | you see me | <i>el-i</i> | my image |
| <i>no-kol-o</i> | you see him | <i>ol-u</i> | his image |
| <i>nê-kêl-ê-m</i> | you see her | <i>êl-î-m</i> | her image |

In Lusi-speaking villages, the children of Lusi-Anêm marriages inevitably resist learning Anêm well enough to be able to act as models for the transmission of the language to subsequent generations. In this way, the descendants of Anêm speakers become Lusi speakers. In Anêm villages, however, children have no choice but to learn both Anêm and Lusi.

In 1975, Anêm was spoken in three coastal villages – Pudêlîng, Karaiai and Malasongo. At this time, almost everyone's speech was larded with obvious copies from Lusi, Mouk and Tok Pisin. Even where equivalent Anêm words were available, the use of copied words was common. For example:

- (a) attested *a-laikim-dî tabak*
 I-want-it tobacco
- (b) prescribed *ɲil-i-dî uas*
 want-my-it tobacco
 I would like some tobacco

Sentence (a) above contains two copies from Tok Pisin – *laikim* 'want' and *tabak* 'tobacco'. While morphologically correct, it conforms to Tok Pisin in using a verbal lexeme for 'want' rather than the prescribed nominal lexeme given in sentence (b). Although such sentences were common, even teenagers quickly judged (a) as wrong and suggested that I should record only (b) as proper Anêm. By the end of my first period of field research, people began to insist that I avoid recording what they considered to be improper Anêm.

This intensified over the following three periods of research in Anêm villages and culminated, during the last field trip, with the informal creation of what amounts to an Anêm academy of language to act as a watchdog on the recording of Anêm. Almost every evening for six weeks in 1988, a group of Anêm elders convened to oversee my elicitation sessions in Anêm. I was systematically checking each entry in a draft dictionary that I had prepared on the basis of the previous four field trips. They checked the pronunciation, morphology, meaning and etymology of each word, and offered not only corrections, but also synonyms and other contexts, such as idioms, in which the word could be used. Much of the discussion revolved around the etymological status of a word, and they searched their knowledge of Lusi, Mouk and Tok Pisin to check for possible copies. I was impressed, not only with their knowledge of other languages, but with the sophistication of their judgements on the etymology of words. In most cases, they were able to distinguish a word copied from Lusi into Anêm from a word copied from Anêm into Lusi. They were quite aware, for instance, that most of their names for saltwater fish were copied from Lusi, and they

accepted these words as proper Anêm with the acknowledgment that their ancestors did not have much vocabulary dealing with the ocean.

On some occasions, this drive for linguistic purity became a bit overzealous and elicited divergent opinions within the community. For instance, the men decided that plates should be called *êmêx*, the name for a leaf that is used as a plate, instead of *pelet*, copied from Tok Pisin. The women, however, objected vociferously, pointing out that *êmêx* were cut in the forest for free and then thrown away after use, while *pelet* were bought in towns with cash, washed after use, kept in the village, and given as gifts; they could not think of the two as the same. The feelings of Anêm women are echoed by the Kove (Chowning 1983:198-199), who use Tok Pisin copies in reference to European goods, while preserving vernacular terms for traditional items with the same function.

It was unusual that these sessions were held at all, let alone that the informants never seemed to tire of them, but even more remarkable was the fact that these sessions were well attended by most of the village. Older men and women acted as resources for the most archaic Anêm; men deferred to the greater knowledge of women in certain fields; and young people were there, eager to take advantage of this intense opportunity to observe and learn a lot of detailed trivia about their own vernacular. Sometimes I arrived back in the village after the afternoon swim to find a linguistic debate already in progress. On numerous occasions, I overheard people of all ages being ridiculed for using Lusiisms or Tok Pisinisms in their Anêm. Some of the boys had devised a competitive word game aimed at exposing one another's ignorance of the name for an obscure vine or bush; in order to keep ahead, boys were asking older people, secretly, for words they could use to try tricking other boys. A variation of this word game involved Anêm youths asking Lusi youths for the Lusi names for obscure plants and insects; once it was clear that the Lusi youths offered no challenge in the game they started on the Lusi elders. Exposing respected Lusi elders to public ridicule is risky because of the possibility of retaliation through sorcery; it is also disrespectful and unkind. Consequently, the Anêm youths altered their game so that only the Anêm and we anthropologists would understand what was going on. The results demonstrated quite clearly, however, that not only do young Anêm men know Anêm better than Lusi elders know Lusi, but even young Anêm men tend to know nearly as much Lusi as Lusi elders know.

The Anêm are well aware that there are fewer speakers of Anêm proper than Lusi, and that if they are not careful, their language could follow the path of Akiblîk Anêm to extinction. Undoubtedly stimulated, in part, by the attention of two linguists, their zealotry has become exaggerated in the last thirteen years, but Anêm interest in language is a longstanding part of their culture. All Anêm speak Anêm, Lusi and Tok Pisin; many also speak Mouk; and, particularly in Malasongo, many also speak the Autie dialect of Amara. Knowledge of Lusi provides access to Kove and Kabana, but most Anêm are also aware of many of the salient differences among these three languages. Similarly, many are able to convert their knowledge of Mouk into passable Aria. Aside from a few Mouk and Lusi of Anêm descent and a few non-Anêm married into Anêm villages, however, only the Anêm speak Anêm. Since the endolexicon is totally unlike that of any other language, Anêm cannot serve as a lingua franca. It is, however, the ultimate marker of ethnic distinctiveness. The Anêm feel linguistically superior to others in the area, because they can entertain in the languages of most visitors, while possessing an exclusive and distinctive language of their own.

Since 1975, the Anêm have removed their children from the schools where their children were outnumbered by Lusi and Kove children and established a school at Pudêlîng where most of the coastal Anêm children are concentrated and where Lusi is a minority language. Following the language etiquette established by their parents, Anêm children speak Lusi when playing in a group that includes a Lusi child. Since 1982, two new Anêm villages, Mosiliki and Gadaeai, have been established, raising the number of Anêm villages (excluding Bolo, where Akiblîk is spoken) from three to five. The use of lexical copies from Tok Pisin and Lusi when speaking Anêm has declined dramatically among all speakers, and this is particularly important, because young people are showing as much interest in the purity of their language as elders. The use of Tok Pisin to make public announcements in the village has shown a similar decline.

For the Anêm, language is only one part of the cultural package they are trying to preserve. While learning vocabulary, Anêm children are encouraged to learn about the things each word labels. For instance, traditional Anêm hunting involves a variety of traps, each one with a technical vocabulary for its construction and use. One afternoon, as much for the instruction of Anêm boys as for we anthropologists, a group of young men was sent off to build operational model traps. This required detailed information about the plants used in the construction and the names of individual parts. Lusi has cognate names for several of these traps, but even older men were only vaguely aware of how they were built, let alone the names of the parts. Pride in language correlates with pride in other areas. For example, the Anêm are proud of the orderliness of their villages compared with the boisterous (and, from the Anêm point of view, rowdy) Lusi and Kabana villages. They insist that elders be respected for their wisdom and position, that women be respected by men, and that respect be earned. They particularly despise the openly obscene humour characteristic of maritime peoples. These distinctions in behaviour encourage the Anêm to further differentiate themselves linguistically from their neighbours. They see the preservation and transmission of their traditions to the younger generation as an important investment in the future.

Although the Anêm consider themselves to be morally superior to the maritime peoples of New Britain and to Europeans, they are not xenophobically closed to change. They are willing to take advantage of what Westernisation has to offer, particularly if it involves money and improvements in health, but not at the expense of important traditional values. They point out that others in Papua New Guinea have indiscriminately embraced aspects of Western culture and have lost the traditional fabric that holds their societies together. For instance, although they have begged for years to have a road extended either from Kimbe or from Cape Gloucester into their area, they are now hesitant to encourage it out of fear that a road might bring alcohol and crime to their area as it has in the area immediately surrounding Kimbe.

4. THE MARITIME COMMUNITIES

The situation in Lusi and Kabana villages is very different from that in Anêm villages. At first glance, Lusi, Kove and Kabana appear to be the same to an outsider; indeed, in the wrong context, I have often mistaken one for another, but this is because the similarity among them resides primarily in the endolexicon; that is, most of the words that occur frequently in mundane discourse are almost identical in the three languages, making it possible to use any of the three languages in the same conversation, while maintaining a high degree of understanding. To most people from Bariai west, there is no distinction between

Lusi and Kove. It is in the non-core vocabulary that the major differences among these languages emerge. In the names for trees, vines and insects, for instance, Lusi resembles Anêm more than either Kove or Kabana (Thurston 1982, 1987).

Largely because of the endolexical similarity, Lusi, Kove and Kabana function as lingua francas, not only among maritime peoples, but also among the forest peoples who live immediately inland. For instance, all Amara speak Kabana; all Anêm speak Lusi; and, as far as I can tell, many Mouk and Aria speak either Lusi or Kove. For forest peoples, speaking one of these languages gives them access to basic communication in the other two. Speakers of Anêm, Amara and the Bibling languages also find the Bariai languages, which exhibit almost totally regular morphology (Counts 1969; Thurston 1987), much easier to learn than their own languages. Consequently, in north-western New Britain, the maritime languages have come to function as lingua francas as well as vernaculars.

There are two major sociolinguistic effects of this on the communities in which maritime languages are spoken as vernaculars. Firstly, the ability to use Lusi, Kove or Kabana as lingua francas reinforces asymmetric multilingualism in the area, because the people who speak these languages as vernaculars rely on only their own vernacular and Tok Pisin. Since most other people in the region already speak one of the maritime languages, the Lusi, Kove and Kabana are under no pressure to try to learn Anêm, Amara, Mouk or Aria. They have come to expect to be able to use their own languages with people from the interior. In the cases where this fails, they fall back on Tok Pisin and show a certain degree of chauvinistic contempt for unworldly forest people in doing so, thus further encouraging forest people to put greater effort into acquiring maritime languages well. At the same time, since the Lusi, Kove and Kabana do not speak other vernaculars, they are at a constant linguistic disadvantage in all contacts with people from the interior who can use the interior vernaculars as a secret language. Older Lusi men, who grew up when Tok Pisin was still new in the area, recognise the importance of being able to communicate in languages other than Lusi, if only to be able to anticipate danger from conversations overheard in a foreign village, but very few Lusi born after World War II know the language of any interior group. Consequently, maritime people feel uneasy in interior villages, and tend to avoid travel inland.

Secondly, while the burden of learning languages is easy for people who grow up speaking Lusi, Kove or Kabana, their vernaculars are poor markers of ethnic distinctiveness relative to the languages of forest people. When pushed to contrast themselves with the Kove, for instance, the Lusi tend to exaggerate the significance of minor endolexical differences between Lusi and Kove. As shown in the table below, the endolexical distinctions among Lusi, Kove and Kabana are trivial compared with those among Anêm, Mouk and Amara.

| Maritime | | | Forest | | | |
|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------|
| Lusi | Kove | Kabana | Anêm | Mouk | Amara | |
| <i>matagu</i> | <i>matagu</i> | <i>matag</i> | <i>eili</i> | <i>omtogu</i> | <i>motok</i> | my eye |
| <i>luma</i> | <i>luma</i> | <i>luma</i> | <i>ene</i> | <i>ninu</i> | <i>eivin</i> | house |
| <i>-rau</i> | <i>-hau</i> | <i>-rau</i> | <i>-b-</i> | <i>-mluk</i> | <i>-pun</i> | hit |
| <i>rua</i> | <i>hua</i> | <i>rua</i> | <i>niak</i> | <i>oxuo</i> | <i>ruo</i> | two |
| <i>manu</i> | <i>manu</i> | <i>man</i> | <i>êkŋîn</i> | <i>monuk</i> | <i>emen</i> | bird |

Consequently, interior peoples have blatant evidence in their languages that they are different from other groups, while maritime peoples have to look hard to find something to make them feel linguistically special.

As a result, people of maritime groups tend to seek distinction from interior groups by using markers other than language, and, in the process, come to approach language pragmatically, more as a mere tool for communication than as an ethnic emblem. As reported in Counts (1969), Lusi has been larded with Tok Pisin words for a long time. In 1981, we found that young people failed to understand fairly basic Lusi words and constructions, as, for example, 'I like it':

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|------------------|---------|
| (1) | Lusi syntax and lexicon | <i>mana-gu</i> | like-my |
| (2) | Tok Pisin syntax, Lusi lexicon | <i>ŋa-mana</i> | I-like |
| (3) | Tok Pisin syntax and lexicon | <i>ŋa-laikim</i> | I-like |

While Tok Pisin words are used in all languages of the area including Anêm, they are strikingly prominent in Lusi, Kove and Kabana. In comparison with other languages spoken on New Britain, Chowning (1983:198) reports that the

degree of receptivity to the introduction of Pidgin [=Tok Pisin] terms...was greatest in Kove, where my attempts to record Kove text with Pidgin translations might produce so-called Kove in which every fifth word was Pidgin.

This characterisation of Kove is equally true of Lusi and Kabana, where, even among themselves, public meetings are often conducted in Tok Pisin rather than in the vernacular.

By functioning as lingua francas, the maritime languages have passed into the public domain where the aim is communication with the least investment in vernacular language learning. Since Tok Pisin words are understood by everyone, their use among otherwise vernacular sentences does not impede communication whatsoever: since vernacular words cannot be used to keep a conversation private in front of outsiders who already know the language, Tok Pisin words are just as good as vernacular words; and since maritime vernaculars are poor emblems of ethnic distinctiveness, there is little impetus to attempt to keep them free from lexical copies from other languages. Elders who would like to retain Lusi or Kabana as distinct languages and markers of their traditional identity say that they are fighting a losing battle against younger people who have generally lost respect not only for the vernacular, but for other aspects of traditional culture as well.

Younger speakers of maritime languages are much more interested in distinguishing themselves both from the traditions of forest people and from the traditions of their own maritime groups by assimilating as much as possible to urban and Western ways of life. Many would prefer to dispose of all the old-fashioned rituals which impose obligations on personal time and resources in favour of a purely cash economy modelled on what they perceive to be European customs. Both in Lusi and in Kabana villages, there are individuals who want to abandon the vernaculars entirely. For these people, speaking English has become the mark of prestige. Since, in certain contexts, what qualifies as English extends from highly-anglicised Tok Pisin, to basic-level English, to educated New Guinean English, the degree of competence in English among maritime peoples is sometimes exaggerated to make invidious comparisons with forest peoples.

To the extent that sea transport provides coastal communities with easier access to the cash economy, coastal communities have a major advantage over interior groups like the Mouk and Lamogai, but given the lack of roads, all the people of north-western New Britain are at

a disadvantage when compared with groups closer to Kimbe or Rabaul. A growing number of young people have invested in expensive educations in the promise of getting work in the cash economy, but have ended up unemployed, back in the village, expected by elders to remain involved in the traditional activities from which they feel alienated. Consequently, they are bitter and prone to cause trouble. Since 1975, the decline in maritime vernaculars has been accompanied by a corresponding increase in disorderliness in Lusi and Kabana villages. In contrast, educated young people who have returned to Anêm villages are among the most active participants in cultural revitalisation and in the dictionary project itself.

5. AMARA

Like Anêm, Amara is spoken by people whose ancestors lived in interior villages, but unlike Anêm, Amara has come virtually to the point of extinction, because, over generations, speakers of Amara have become speakers of Kabana, and, during this century, they have been thoroughly assimilated into Kabana sociocultural institutions. Amara is spoken only by semi-speakers (Dorian 1983); that is, although Amara is learned fluently in the intimate surroundings of kin, Kabana is the dominant language in virtually all contexts. Consequently, the Amara know Kabana and Tok Pisin in greater depth than they know Amara.

As it is spoken now, Amara consists mostly of an endolexicon retaining much of its original, highly-irregular morphology, but little else. The result is that speakers of Amara can carry on mundane conversations about common things without resort to Kabana or Tok Pisin, but when they require more than basic vocabulary, they are forced either to switch to Kabana or to incorporate the needed Kabana or Tok Pisin words into their speech. This characterisation applies to the language as it is spoken both by low-status teenagers and by respected elders who have achieved their position through Kabana institutions. Most Amara have now assimilated to Kabana culture to such an extent that they have become alienated from their traditional orientation to the forest. Like maritime people in general, they are remarkably ignorant about the rainforest just inland from where they live, and tend to avoid travel to the interior. Language and recent ancestry are the only markers left to distinguish the Amara from the Kabana.

In an effort to arrest further erosion of the vernaculars and to preserve Amara culture as distinct from Kabana, several Amara elders from Kaugo, Kimbe and Siamatai met in 1982 to discuss the founding of a new Amara village in which all the remaining speakers could congregate and regain control over the fate of their language. They even got as far as clearing the new village site, but shortly thereafter, the plan was vetoed by an Amara elder for whom the maintenance of connections through Kabana institutions was more important than retention of the Amara language.

Given the apparent decline of the language even among seniors in 1982, I was surprised to hear Amara being spoken spontaneously by teenagers in 1988. Although they fumbled for even basic vocabulary on occasion, they seemed to enjoy showing off their knowledge of Amara in front of Kabana speakers of the same age. In contrast with the Kabana youth, the Amara youngsters seemed to wear their heritage with pride and were less in awe of European lifestyles. If this trend continues, the Amara spoken by these young people may act as the model for future generations of Amara speakers.

6. AKIBLĪK ANÊM

The case of Akiblĭk Anêm is further advanced towards language shift than Amara. The establishment of Iboki plantation by the Germans early in the twentieth century cut off the Akiblĭk from their traditional access to the ocean. In the 1950s, in order to facilitate patrols, Australian officers moved most of the interior groups of the area closer to the ocean and required several of the Mouk patriclans from further inland to establish villages on Akiblĭk land. As a result, the Akiblĭk have become isolated from the other Anêm by the intervening Lusi territory and have had to throw their socioeconomic lot in with the neighbouring Aria, Mouk and Lusi. In 1975 and 1981, there were still several elders who spoke Akiblĭk Anêm fluently and competently, but by 1988, the remaining elders were all semi-speakers, most of them dispersed among the neighbouring Lusi and Aria villages. During the 1981 sessions for eliciting Akiblĭk Anêm, all the discussion about the proper Anêm forms took place in Aria, and several middle-aged individuals who claimed to speak Akiblĭk Anêm as their first language, struggled to remember even basic vocabulary items. They seemed incapable of reproducing several of the phonological and morphological contrasts that are characteristic of coastal Anêm and of the speech of the few very old people still competent in the Akiblĭk dialect.

Even in 1975, the primary language of Bolo, the main Akiblĭk village, was a new dialect of Aria. The language survey of the area that Rick Goulden and I conducted in 1981 and 1982 established that the language of Bolo was a version of Aria, but that it was rejected as proper Aria in other Aria-speaking communities where they claimed that the language of Bolo was really Mouk. Meanwhile, speakers of Mouk, Anêm and Lusi identified the language of Bolo as Aria. Despite all evidence to the contrary, the people of Bolo themselves assert that they speak Anêm.

In the mid 1980s, in an attempt to dissociate themselves from the Lusi, several nominally-Anêm families living in Lusi villages established a new village called Karo, located several kilometres inland from the Lusi village of Kaini-Aoa (=Kandoka). Although semi-speakers in the Akiblĭk dialect, the old people asserted with pride that they were re-establishing a traditional Anêm village in which visitors could be entertained in any language, and demonstrated with short dialogues in Akiblĭk Anêm, Mouk, Aria, Lusi, and even Amara. The younger (now middle-aged) generation, however, are not going along with the grand plan; for now, they are humouring their elders, and although they claim to be able to understand all the languages spoken by the old people, like other Lusi, they speak only Lusi and Tok Pisin. Consequently, they cannot act as models for the transmission of Akiblĭk Anêm to their own children.

7. LOSS OF LANGUAGE AND TRADITION

Among the communities of north-western New Britain, knowledge is considered to be the source of all power over the universe, but since old people die without transmitting all they know, a fragment of power is lost with each generation. The way people respond to this, I believe, is partly tied up with language. Only through massive effort can linguistic groups keep themselves distinct from neighbouring groups, and only by emphasising their uniqueness can they slow down the loss of traditional knowledge and retain a degree of respect for older generations while they acquire, piecemeal, the knowledge of foreigners that is integrating them into the global community. If respect for and pride in tradition is lost in

the process of Westernisation, they run the risk of social fragmentation that has led to a relatively high degree of asocial behaviour in some communities.

The Anêm have no difficulty in demonstrating their ethnic distinctiveness to themselves or to outsiders. Although language is still the most salient marker, the Anêm are able to contrast the greater peacefulness and solidarity within their own villages with the trouble in neighbouring Lusi and Kabana villages. If the ships stop running and cut off their access to stores, they know how to get everything they really need in the forest.

The Lusi and Kabana, on the other hand, have little they can claim for their own distinctive ethnic markers. Their languages are similar to one another and to Kove; their rituals are borrowed from other groups and shared among all communities of the area; and, in some cases, their traditional claim on the land they occupy is open to dispute. Speaking languages which function as *lingua francas*, they have the lowest degree of language and culture loyalty in the area. Older Lusi and Kabana men and women say that their languages are finished. Indeed, much of the esoteric vocabulary collected during earlier field trips is no longer even recognised because it was elicited from wise old men and women who have since died, taking this knowledge with them. By turning their backs on traditional life and seeking prestige in the new forum provided by government work and business, the current generation of Lusi and Kabana may be gaining economically on the interior peoples, but they are at a distinct disadvantage when compared with communities that are connected by roads to Kimbe, Lae and Rabaul. According to the Anêm, they have turned their backs on their heritage and can expect only trouble in return.

Initially, the *lingua franca* function probably helped to promote languages of the Bariai group to the extent that, without external European interference, they might have replaced the other languages of north-western New Britain completely. With the introduction of Tok Pisin, which functions as a *lingua franca* over a much wider range, however, the shift to Bariai languages was interrupted before completion, and the Bariai languages were forced into an intermediate position – as *lingua francas*, they are not as useful as Tok Pisin; and as markers of ethnic identity, they are not as good as interior languages. With both these functions impaired, there is now little impetus to cherish them and keep them distinct from other languages.

Akiblik Anêm is just about extinct, but the shift to Aria has resulted in the addition of a new dialect to Aria. Similarly, the non-Austronesian languages of the pre-Austronesian period of New Britain are also gone, but they have been replaced by a plethora of new Austronesian languages. Languages of the Bibling group, for instance, appear to have been based on a single Austronesian language, but there are now seven named languages/ dialects in its place. In addition, Kabana, Lusi and Kove are all obviously derived from the same Bariai proto-language, probably spoken in the nineteenth century, but have, on New Britain, multiplied into three distinct languages. The extinction of previous linguistic traditions has been synchronous with the development of new languages.

At the same time, the basic framework for building languages appears to be little changed from the pre-Austronesian period to the present. That is, as described in greater detail in previous works (Thurston 1982, 1987), the basic phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of these languages have remained essentially the same; only the lexical inventories and the degree of morphological irregularity distinguish one language from another in north-western New Britain. While there have been many processes of language shift, important components from previous linguistic traditions seem to persist.

8. THE BUTTERFLY EFFECT

Prediction in the social sciences is much like forecasting the weather – tiny differences in the initial starting position and seemingly inconsequential phenomena can become magnified over time and eventually result in changing the course of developmental processes that might have been predicted to unfold along other lines. This is called the butterfly effect (Gleick 1987:23).

The Butterfly Effect acquired a technical name: sensitive dependence on initial conditions. And sensitive dependence on initial conditions was not an altogether new notion. It had a place in folklore:

“For want of a nail, the shoe was lost;
 For want of a shoe, the horse was lost;
 For want of a horse, the rider was lost;
 For want of a rider, the battle was lost;
 For want of a battle, the kingdom was lost!”

The serendipitous events leading to my conducting field research in Anêm villages literally include such crucial turning points as choosing to have a beer with a friend instead of spending an afternoon in the library working on a research proposal in another area. In 1975, Anêm was well into a process of massive lexical copying from Lusi and Tok Pisin. As measured by the lack of care they took to keep their language free from lexical mixture with other languages, the Anêm had only a low level of pride in the distinctiveness of their language from neighbouring Austronesian languages. I am convinced that, merely by focusing attention on Anêm, I was a factor in effecting a shift in the community consensus on the importance of preserving the fullest possible set of distinctively Anêm etyma, thereby altering the course of the development of the language. Similarly, the arrival of speakers of Bariai languages may have depended on such phenomena as a volcanic eruption, a storm, or a marital dispute that divided a community and led to a small number of individuals founding a new settlement with the resulting chain of impacts.

Consequently, the most that social sciences can offer by way of prediction is a statement of how things appear to be going at the moment. With respect to the fate of languages in north-western New Britain, various logging and mining projects that are currently in the proposal stage may result in the dispersal of local populations into urban settings where the personal networks required for language maintenance may be difficult or impossible to preserve. The achievement of widespread literacy in English might open different opportunities and eventually tip the community consensus in favour of abandoning all the vernacular languages. Even with all the currently valid facts in hand, no one can predict the fate of vernacular languages on New Britain with any degree of confidence. At the moment, the importance of group distinctiveness appears to be sufficiently important to encourage the maintenance of vernacular languages in most communities. Even in communities where a language shift is taking place, the shift is to another vernacular and not to either Tok Pisin or English.

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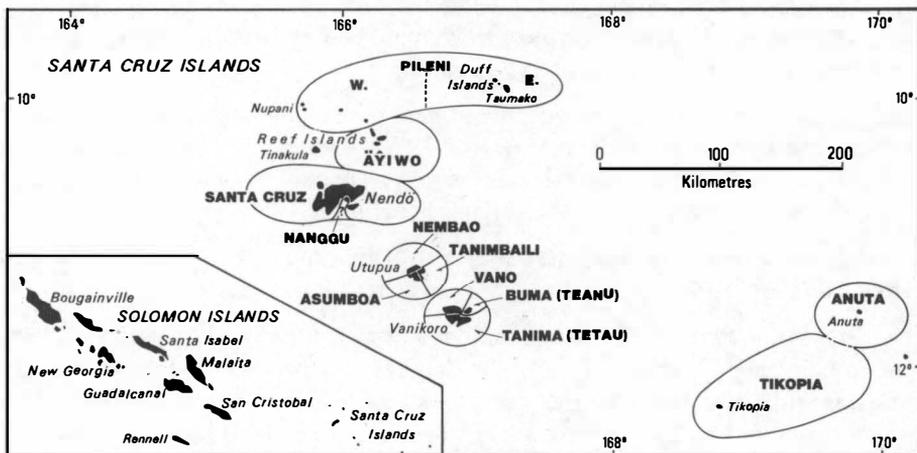
CHANGE OF LANGUAGE STRUCTURE AND TYPOLOGY IN A PACIFIC LANGUAGE AS A RESULT OF CULTURE CHANGE

S.A. WURM

1. INTRODUCTION

In many languages of the world, more or less far-reaching changes in language structure have taken place over periods of time, sometimes involving even changes in typology. It appears that changes in structure may happen spontaneously, without necessarily being a consequence of strong cultural and/or linguistic influence from outside. Changes in typology are, on the other hand, usually linked with, and can be regarded as a result of, external influences.

In this paper I describe the particularly interesting case of Äyiwo, a Papuan language of the Reef Islands, Solomon Islands. By way of introduction, however, I would like to make some general remarks about structural and typological changes in a variety of other languages.



LANGUAGES OF THE SANTA CRUZ ARCHIPELAGO, SOLOMON ISLANDS

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2. STRUCTURAL AND TYPOLOGICAL CHANGES IN INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

One case of structural change in Indo-European languages has for instance been the gradual erosion, and even disappearance of the original overt three-gender system with nouns in several Germanic and Iranian languages, in Albanian and in all present-day Romance languages.

In the major contemporary metropolitan Scandinavian languages, that is, Danish, East Norwegian (Bokmål) and Swedish, but not in Icelandic, Faroese and Nynorsk (West Norwegian), the original masculine-feminine-neuter three-gender system of Old Norse has given way to a two-gender system, which in the case of East Norwegian is the result of Danish influence, whereas in Danish itself and in Swedish it seems to have been a more or less spontaneous development. In several dialects of Norwegian for instance, the old three-gender system has been preserved, and in East Norwegian it has now been artificially re-introduced through language planning and the school system – a process which has gone on step by step for over two decades and is still continuing.

In Western Germanic languages, the old three-gender system with nouns has, in the metropolitan languages, been reduced to a two-gender system in Dutch, and has completely disappeared in Afrikaans and English. In the former, indirect influence from local South African languages through the employment of numerous local people in households and other places whose Afrikaans was, especially in the old days, severely limited, may have played a part in this. At the same time, it may have to be remembered that the relevant African languages possess either a three-gender system (in Nama and the other languages spoken by the Hottentots) or a multiple-class noun classification system which is present in all Bantu languages. For speakers of such languages, the Dutch two-gender system should therefore not be something completely new as it would be for speakers of languages with no gender or noun-class distinctions, such as Hungarian.

In Albanian the original overt three-gender system with nouns has tended to be reduced to a two-gender system in Albanian dialects (Byron 1976). However, it has been maintained in the unified standard written language, though only two genders, masculine and feminine, are distinguished with adjectives and pronouns (Hetzer & Finger 1989).

The modern Romance languages all have an overtly indicated two-gender system with nouns which has changed from the three-gender system of Latin.

It is significant that even in the cases mentioned in which the gender system in nouns has disappeared, as in English and Afrikaans, the languages concerned have preserved gender distinctions in third person singular pronouns. They are therefore still languages typologically characterised by the presence of some sort of gender distinction. All the cases mentioned constitute therefore a change in the nature of one of the structural features of the given languages, but not a change in typology.

The situation is however different with some Iranian languages. Old Persian had an overtly indicated three-gender system with nouns, though the neuter gender played a subordinate role and was separated from the masculine gender only in a few inflected forms. The contemporary Iranian languages have mostly preserved an overtly indicated two-gender system in nouns. However, some of them, such as Modern Persian, have lost the gender-system in nouns entirely, and it has also disappeared from the pronoun system. Modern Persian has therefore changed typologically from a language type characterised by the

presence of gender distinction to one characterised typologically by the lack of gender distinction. The use of a demonstrative pronoun for third person singular in many parts of the Persian-speaking area when referring to animals and lifeless objects is a secondary development, and not related to the Old Persian gender distinction – it is a human versus non-human class distinction and typologically different from a gender distinction in nouns. The disappearance of gender distinction in Modern Persian may perhaps in part be the result of influence by other, Turkic languages spoken in the area.

What has been said so far has served to indicate that changes in the structure of well-known European languages and languages spoken near the European orbit do occur in the course of time, be it spontaneously or as a result of influence from other languages. In some instances, such changes go beyond being changes in the structure of a language, and affect its linguistic typology.

3. CHANGES IN LANGUAGES RESULTING FROM CHANGES IN THE CULTURE OF THE SPEAKERS

3.1 TURKISH

In the cases mentioned so far, the question of changes in language structure and typology being the result of a change in the culture of the speakers of the languages involved has not been raised. While this factor may well have played some role in producing these changes, for instance in the case of English, Afrikaans, the Romance languages, and Modern Persian, it may not have been very important, except perhaps in the case of Afrikaans, and to some extent in those of English and Modern Persian. However, there are many instances of such changes observable in other languages in which changes in the culture of the speakers have played a significant part in producing structural and typological changes in their languages (Wurm 1987a). A case in point is a marked tendency of the Turkish spoken by members of the young generation, especially in large cities in Turkey such as Istanbul and Izmir, to show a predilection for the expression of several successive actions through a number of successive coordinate verbs linked by conjunctions. This is radically different from the traditional Turkish way of expression in which the verb indicating the last of several successive actions occupies a key position, with the other verbs subordinate to it, and no conjunctions being used. The reason for this can be seen in the fact that a very large number of Turks went to Western Europe, especially Germany, as migrant workers. Many of these stayed there for decades and their children having been born and having grown up there, became culturally very strongly Westernised and acquired a complete command of German, the language of the country of their residence. In German, several successive actions are expressed by successive coordinate verbs, with conjunctions linking them. This manner of expression is typologically different from that characteristic of traditional Turkish, but has been increasingly adopted by the young Westernised Turks in Germany. Even their parents who did not acquire a good command of German were exposed, albeit in a rudimentary form, to the conceptual thinking of German speakers as expressed in the German language, with some effects upon the typology of the Turkish spoken by them. This exposure took place through the widespread use of a pidginised version of German serving as a means of inter-communication between Turks and German speakers, and also between Turks and other migrant workers whose largely Indo-European (Slavic, Romance and Greek) languages are typologically similar to German. That Pidgin German reflects the typology of German in the manner in which successive actions are expressed. Many thousands of Turks

have returned to Turkey in recent years, especially to the large cities, bringing back with them changed types of linguistic expression. These returned Turks are often highly respected and influential, having money and bringing back with them new knowledge and experiences. Because of this, local Turks, in particular members of the young generation, tend to admire and imitate their manner of speaking Turkish, which contributes to the spread of the typologically non-Turkish features mentioned above.

3.2 MEDNYJ (COPPER) ISLAND ALEUTIAN

Another striking example of cultural change having a profound influence upon the structure and typology of a language is that of the Aleutian dialect of Mednyj (Copper) Island in the Bering Strait (Vakhtin & Golovko 1987). These Aleutians had come under very strong Russian cultural influence during the Russian domination of the Bering Strait and Alaskan areas, and their traditional culture largely disappeared as a result. This had a profound influence upon their highly complex, entirely suffixing, language which is a member of the Eskimo-Aleutian language family. One consequence of this influence was the adoption of the comparatively simple Russian person and number marking systems, together with the Russian suffixes themselves, for the Aleutian verbs in place of the highly complex indigenous systems and forms, as well as the Russian formal and systemic indication of the present and past tenses. Of particular interest is the fact that for the indication of the future tense, the Russian auxiliary verb used for the marking of it in verbs in Russian was adopted in an abbreviated form as a prefix to the Aleutian verbs which is completely at variance with the totally suffixing nature of the language. Similarly, traditional Aleutian has no infinitive form of the verb, but the Russian suffix *-ty* which marks the infinitive in most Russian verbs, has been adopted in Mednyj Island Aleutian to produce a verb form in it which syntactically functions like the infinitive in Russian – two typological changes from traditional Aleutian as a result of cultural change and influence from a metropolitan language.

4. STRUCTURAL AND TYPOLOGICAL CHANGES IN LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN PACIFIC

4.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Particularly striking instances of changes in languages as a result of culture change are met with in the south-western Pacific region, especially in the highly complex Papuan languages of the New Guinea area. Their often very elaborate grammatical structures, in which individual elements have special functions and express concepts which are based on features and characteristics of the indigenous cultures of the speakers of such languages, are especially vulnerable to culture change. With the change, breakdown and disappearance of the traditional cultures, usually resulting from clashes with a metropolitan culture, some of the complex features of such languages which are rooted in the traditional cultures of their speakers, lose their significance to them and cease to have meaningful functions against their often radically changed cultural background. Therefore, such features fall into disuse and eventually disappear entirely from the languages.

4.2 AN AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL EXAMPLE

Similar developments to those that have been briefly outlined above have been encountered in Australian Aboriginal languages. So for instance, the Kamilaroi (Gamilaraay) language which was formerly widespread in northern New South Wales, had a complicated tense system in the verbs which, in addition to other features, indicated a number of points of time during the day related to the rising and setting sun. This special tense system in the verb had important cultural significance for the Kamilaroi, because it was connected with the daily cycle of behaviour of animals which the Kamilaroi hunted for food. The Kamilaroi culture disintegrated rapidly following European contact and the language headed towards extinction. The last fluent speakers of Kamilaroi were interviewed and recorded over thirty years ago, largely by the present writer, and it was found that much of this special tense system which had been described by interested persons almost a century ago, had disappeared from the language. These last speakers of the language were very old men who had no longer been hunting animals for many years, and the elaborate tense distinctions relating to animal behaviour were no longer culturally significant for them. They had thus ceased to be part of their daily language and had been forgotten.

4.3 STRUCTURAL AND TYPOLOGICAL CHANGES IN PAPUAN LANGUAGES AS A RESULT OF CULTURAL CHANGE

As has been briefly mentioned in section 4.1 phenomena of changes in the structure and typology of languages as a result of cultural change are particularly striking in Papuan languages of the New Guinea area and adjacent regions. An important difference between cases observed there, and the Australian Aboriginal example described above in section 4.2 is the fact that Papuan languages thus affected are not heading for impending extinction. Instead they continue as viable languages, though in altered forms which structurally and typologically tend to reflect features of the, usually metropolitan, language associated with the intrusive culture which has, in part and usually only in a rudimentary form, been adopted by the speakers of Papuan languages affected. In this respect the situation of such Papuan languages bears some similarity to that surrounding changed forms of Turkish, and the case of Mednyj Island Aleutian, as described in sections 3.1 and 3.2. However, a distinguishing feature of the Papuan situation is that speakers of changed Papuan languages are quite often not familiar with the metropolitan language involved, which is usually English. However, it seems that various forms of Pidgin English in the areas concerned such as Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands Pijin in the Solomon Islands, play a vital role in the developments mentioned. Virtually all members of the young generations of Papuan speakers in areas pertinent to the present discussion are well acquainted with the relevant forms of Pidgin English. The south-western Pacific forms of Pidgin English reflect in their structures largely indigenous thinking and categorisation of the surrounding world, but only in a rudimentary and very much reduced form. For instance, overtly indicated noun class systems which play an important part in many Papuan languages, are not indicated in them – they are also lacking in English. Temporal systems appear only in rudimentary forms, though the aspect systems tend to be quite complicated.

It seems that the observed changes in the structures and typologies of Papuan languages whose speakers have experienced changes in their cultures as a result of clashes with an intrusive, usually metropolitan, culture, are the result of the penetration of the thinking systems and world view of an alien culture. The carrier of this process is a special linguistic

vehicle, notably, one or the other form of Pidgin English which occupies a transitional position between the two conceptual worlds. As has been said above, the south-western Pacific forms of Pidgin English largely reflect indigenous rather than English thinking and conceptual categorisations, but in some other respects, reflect English and metropolitan thinking and conceptual categorisations. Also, they are simplified in their grammatical structures and tend to indicate categories and concepts in a general, often rather vague, manner, which contrasts markedly with the usually very precise indication of them in indigenous languages. It may therefore be possible to say that in the south-western Pacific area there is an influence, in particular on Papuan languages, through forms of Pidgin English which serve to transmit an alien conceptual system into the indigenous cultural and conceptual system. At the same time these forms of Pidgin English constitute a simplified means of expression which creates pressure directed at the reduction of the grammatical complexity of the Papuan languages. Their speakers tend to yield to such cultural and linguistic pressure. In reducing the complexity of their languages they tend to select for continued use in them, categories which are present in the intrusive alien culture and conceptual system which they have adopted in part, in a rudimentary form. They tend to discard categories rooted in their traditional cultures and conceptual systems which they lose progressively as they adopt the intrusive one. This process is facilitated and accelerated by the fact that the members of the young generation of speakers of indigenous languages in the area are getting more and more thoroughly familiar with the intrusive metropolitan culture and conceptual system.

4.3.1 NOUN CLASSES AND CONCORDANCE SYSTEMS IN PAPUAN LANGUAGES

One feature present in a considerable number of Papuan languages which is especially prone to change, simplification and even disappearance as a result of changes in the culture of their speakers, is that of the presence and overt indication of, several to quite many, different genders and classes of nouns. Such gender and noun class systems are usually accompanied by concordance systems. If this is only in the noun phrase, adjuncts of quality and quantity such as attributive adjectives, possessive pronouns and numerals, and also demonstratives, show variations in form in agreement with the specific gender or class of the noun which they determine. If concordance systems go beyond the noun phrase, indication of the subject, and sometimes also the object, in the verb will differ according to the gender or class of the nouns to which the subject and object markers in the verb refer. Also the forms of the personal pronouns may, to a greater or lesser extent, vary according to the gender or class of the noun to which they refer, be it with third person pronouns only, or also with first (and second) person pronouns.

In quite a few of the Papuan languages which have gender or class systems with nouns, it has been established that the classification systems of nouns have their conceptual base in the traditional culture of their speakers and reflect the categorisation of the concrete and spiritual world surrounding them into a number of distinct units, such as trees, animals and plants of significance to the traditional indigenous life, objects connected with food production such as gardening, fishing, the utilisation of water, things and concepts connected with night when feared spirits and other supernatural beings are about, or matters connected with persons of either sex in babyhood, childhood, adolescence, or adult manhood and womanhood. The traditional cultures of speakers of such languages attributed certain features or values to such concepts and objects, with such features and values marked and distinguished in the

indigenous languages concerned by the assignment of separate genders and classes to the nouns denoting them. With changes in the traditional cultures of speakers of Papuan languages with gender and noun class systems through clashes with intrusive, as a rule metropolitan-based, cultures which eventually lead to the breakdown and disappearance of the indigenous cultures of the peoples concerned and the, mostly partial and rudimentary, adoption of the intrusive culture, the conceptual base for the assignment of certain classes to nouns tends to be forgotten, and the classes fall into disuse and eventually disappear from the language concerned. This results in a typological change of the language from languages with overt noun classification to languages without noun classification. So for instance, a catholic missionary (Kirschbaum 1926) observed the presence of a very complex noun class system comprising twelve classes with accompanying complicated concordance systems, in the Buna language in the northern part of the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. Laycock (1975) carried out fieldwork in that area in 1970-71 and also looked at the Buna language but found that the noun class system reported by Kirschbaum half a century earlier had totally disappeared from the language of the people who had largely lost their traditional culture. Even old people who would have been alive at the time of Kirschbaum's work had no recollection of it any more. Similarly, Laycock (1973) found that the Papuan Murik language of the same area in Papua New Guinea, for which Schmidt (1953) had reported the presence of four noun classes, had completely lost this noun class system in the course of less than twenty years. Also, another Papuan language of the same general area, Mountain Arapesh, which still possessed an elaborate multi-noun-class system which had been reported by earlier observers, was found by Laycock (1975) to be in the process of undergoing a gradual breakdown of this elaborate noun class system.

4.3.2 COMPLEX STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF THE VERB IN PAPUAN LANGUAGES

Other elaborate structural features of Papuan languages which tend to be altered and simplified as a result of cultural changes experienced by their speakers, are complex tense systems of the verbs where changes comparable to those mentioned in section 4.2 in connection with the Australian Aboriginal language Kamilaroi may occur. Other features sometimes affected relate to the precise indication of the number (singular, dual, trial, general plural, collective etc.) of subject and object persons in a verb complex which may become only optionally, instead of obligatorily, indicated or reduced in complexity (Wurm 1986a). Similarly, in sentences in which several successive (or simultaneous) actions are referred to by a number of successive verbs, phenomena similar to those occurring in the traditional form of Turkish as referred to in section 3.1 are found, except that in Papuan languages, these systems tend to be very much more complicated and varied than in Turkish, with identity versus non-identity of the subjects of the successive verbs playing a major role in many languages in giving rise to a large number and complicated combinations of verb forms (Wurm 1987a).

4.3.3 UNUSUAL COUNTING SYSTEMS (IN PAPUAN LANGUAGES)

Another feature of a number of Papuan languages which is highly sensitive to culture change is the presence of unusual counting systems in which for instance parts of the bodies of the speakers are used as tallies, beginning with the fingers of one hand, proceeding to the wrist, elbow and shoulder on the same side, then across the tip of the nose to the other

shoulder and down the other arm to the fingers of the other hand, then continuing with the nipples of the breasts to the navel and eventually down the legs and to the toes. Up to thirty-seven consecutive counting points have been observed (Williams 1941). The numeral words in languages with such counting systems are derived from the parts of the bodies used as tallies. With the change, breakdown and loss of the traditional culture of the speakers of such languages through culture clash, these unusual counting systems tend to rapidly disappear and to be replaced by the abstract decimal counting systems of Pidgin English (i.e. Tok Pisin) or English along with the adoption of the Tok Pisin (or English) numeral words by the speakers (Wurm 1991a).

5. THE ÄÏWO LANGUAGE, REEF ISLANDS, SANTA CRUZ ARCHIPELAGO, SOLOMON ISLANDS

5.1 GENERAL REMARKS

One language in the south-western Pacific constitutes a particularly interesting case in connection with changes in it as a result of culture change. It is the ÄÏwo language of the Reef Islands in the Santa Cruz Archipelago situated at the eastern end of the Solomon Islands chain. With over 4,000 speakers it constitutes a sub-family-level isolate in the Reefs-Santa Cruz family of languages established by the present writer (Wurm 1969, 1982). This family includes, in addition to ÄÏwo, the Santa Cruz sub-family comprising two languages, Santa Cruzan (with about 3,500 speakers) consisting of the Northern Santa Cruzan and the South-Western Santa Cruzan (about 1,200 speakers) sub-languages, and the small Nanggu language (with about 250 speakers). The languages of this family were originally Papuan languages distantly related to other Papuan languages located in the Solomon Islands. They have taken over much from Austronesian languages, especially lexical elements and relatively simple and transparent structural elements. Thus they have taken over the system of indicating possession with nouns (Wurm 1972, 1981a), and some seemingly Austronesian affixes functioning in a framework of Papuan structural principles and systems, with their functions sometimes at variance with those of formally similar affixes in Oceanic Austronesian languages. The core features of the noun and verb structures of the languages of the family are very much at variance with what is usually found in an Oceanic Austronesian language, and very much in line with features encountered in Papuan languages, in addition to formal agreements with such features occurring in Papuan languages located in the Solomon Islands (Wurm 1978). A glance at the elaborate noun classification system in ÄÏwo (Wurm 1981b) and the intricate structure of the final verb in Northern Santa Cruzan (Wurm 1992) would confirm this, as would a look at the semantics and world view of ÄÏwo (Wurm 1985, 1987b).

5.2 ÄÏWO IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGING AS A RESULT OF CULTURE CHANGE

5.2.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

A particularly interesting and important circumstance concerning ÄÏwo is the fact that it is a language in the process of undergoing structural, and in part also typological, changes, with this fairly rapid process of change observable over a considerable period of time.

5.2.2 THE ÄÿIWO NOUN CLASS SYSTEM AND OTHER STRUCTURAL FEATURES WHICH ARE AFFECTED BY CHANGES

5.2.2.1 GENERAL REMARKS AND DESCRIPTION

At the core of this process is the elaborate semantically-based system of noun classes, which is accompanied by concordance systems in the noun phrase (Wurm 1991b). In addition, Äÿiwo has a possessive class system and a construct possessive class system of which the latter in particular is affected by the process of change. The three systems are cross-cutting and bear little relationship to each other. Also involved in this process is a system of classifying verbs through the addition of prefixes to them which indicate modes of action, that is, that an action is carried out using one's hand, or a tool etc., or constitutes a single violent exertion of power, etc. Similarly, a special system in the language by which semantically related concepts are indicated by phonologically similar words (e.g. *temenge* 'skull of a living person', *tepeke* 'skull of a dead person, dead skull') is involved. Finally, Äÿiwo has polysynthetic features inasmuch as many of its lexical items are composed of small meaningful elements some of which do not occur in isolation, but carry specific meanings. A large portion of its vocabulary is descriptive in nature and many lexical items are verbal nouns consisting of a verb stem, with or without affixes, provided with one of the quite numerous class or gender prefixes found in Äÿiwo. This feature is also affected by the process of change.

5.2.2.2 THE ÄÿIWO NOUN CLASS AND CONCORDANCE SYSTEM IN DETAIL

Most classes in the semantically-based noun-class system indicates the nature, and in one instance the location, of the items denoted by nouns carrying the class prefixes. The class prefixes appear either with what seem to be original noun bases or, more commonly, verbs which function as verbal nouns when the class markers are prefixed to them. Many of the bases involved in this appear not only with one particular class prefix, but can be found with one or the other of a range of class prefixes, for example, *va* 'to be immature', *gi-va* 'male human baby' (*gi-* male human class), *sî-va* 'female human baby' (*sî-* female human class), *me-va* 'human babies (collective)' (*me-* human collective class), *pi-va* 'small adolescent' (*pi-* human adolescent class), *vä-va* 'small chicken' (*vä-* chicken class), *u-va* 'tiny banana' (*u-* banana class), *bo-va* 'tiny shark' (*bo-* shark class), *nwa-va* 'tiny fruit' (*nwa-* fruit class). So far, thirty-nine such classes have been encountered in Äÿiwo. They can be called variable noun classes.

Eight other noun classes have been met with in Äÿiwo which indicate the shape, appearance, and the specific nature of the relationship to other things, of the items referred to by the nouns appearing with such class prefixes. The bases to which they are added are mostly original noun bases. Apart from a few spectacular exceptions, most of the noun bases involved appear only with one particular class prefix of this type. However, sometimes variable noun class prefixes are themselves prefixed to a class prefix of this second type. The classes indicated by this second type of class prefix could perhaps be referred to as fixed noun classes. Examples: *nyigîle* '(its) tail' (*nyi-* pointed, protruding and standing out class), *no pû* 'gill (of a fish)' (*no-* indistinctly set off parts of a whole class), *neve* 'bone' (*ne-* sharply set off parts of a whole class), *nada* 'louse egg' (*na-* closely linked and co-occurring items class: louse eggs co-occur with lice).

Sixteen of the thirty-nine variable noun classes are accompanied by concordance phenomena of varying complexity within the noun phrase. When taking the use of the language by an average speaker aged over sixty years today as an example, it has been observed that with only five of these noun classes is there full agreement of attributive adjectives, numerals and possessives with the class of the noun which they determine (type a). With four further noun classes which denote persons (i.e. male, female, collective and adolescent), agreement is only with adjectives and emphasised possessives, but not fully with numerals which for all of these noun classes, take the person class prefix *pe-* (type b). With five further noun classes, agreement is only found with adjectives, and rarely with numerals, and possessives are provided with the general adjunct prefix *mi-* if possession is emphasised (type c). With two more noun classes, agreement is only found with numerals, with possessives carrying *mi-* as in type c, if possession is emphasised (type d). With the remaining twenty-three variable noun classes and the eight fixed noun classes, there is no concordance with the class of the noun in the noun phrase. Adjectives carry the general adjunct prefix *mi-*, numerals carry no prefix, and possession markers carry *mi-* if possession is emphasised (type e).

One example of each of the types (a)-(e) may be given here, after a short explanation of the Äÿiwo practical alphabet which was devised by two educated Äÿiwo speakers, Patrick Bwakolo and Martin Moÿiyä, who both have had some linguistic training and experience. The alphabet was originally fully phonemic, but when used in teaching Äÿiwo pupils in school settings, it was found necessary to include the indication of some sub-phonemic features in it because of the complexity of factors conditioning whispered vowels and whispered *ÿ*, syllabicity and glides between vowels (Wurm 1986b).

Very briefly, the alphabet is as follows:

| VOWELS | CONSONANTS |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| i u | p t k |
| e | b d dy g |
| o | kw |
| ä | bw gw |
| a ä | n ny ng |
| length: doubling aa | ngw |
| drop and rise of intensity | v s |
| in long vowels a.a | l |
| whispered vowels î,û,ê | w y |

GLIDES: labial w, palatal y, whispered palatal *ÿ*

Concordance type (a):

vä- chicken class, e.g. *opwa* 'to be white', *lakî* 'to be small', *eve* 'three', *nugo* 'my (food)': *väwopwa välakî väÿeve vänûgo* 'my three small white chickens'.

type (b):

gi- male human class, e.g. *va* 'to be immature, *nyigî* 'one', *nou* 'my (babies; general)': *giva gîlakî penyigî ginou* 'my one small male baby'. (Note: in affixes and bases containing *-i-*, *-u-*, this vowel changes to *-î-* or *-û-* in many instances when the affixes are added to words, or affixes to bases containing *-i-*, *-u-*).

type (c):

oli- cut nut class, e.g. *pâko* 'good': *olîwopwa olîpâko nyigî minûgo* 'my one good cut nut (with white flesh)'.

type (d):

nwa- fruit class, e.g. *nwanyigâ* 'pandanus fruit': *nwanyigâ milakî nwanyigî minou* 'my one small pandanus fruit'.

type (e):

be- basket class, e.g. *nûmuwamû* 'fish (generic: caught)': *benûmwamû milakî nyigî minûgo* 'my one small fish basket'.

5.2.2.3 EROSION OF THE CONCORDANCE SYSTEMS

With younger speakers, there is an increasing tendency, in direct proportion with age level, for fluctuating free variation between the types of concordance described and illustrated under (a)-(d) and what has been mentioned under (e). With teenagers (e) is used prevalently or almost exclusively. For instance, the examples given above can be observed in the following decaying forms:

- | | | |
|----------------|---|---|
| a) <i>vä-</i> | : | <i>vâwopwa vâlakî eve vânugo; vâwopwa vâlakî eve nugo; vâwopwa milakî eve nugo.</i> |
| b) <i>gi-</i> | : | <i>giva pelakî penyigî ginou; giva milakî nyigî ginou.</i> |
| c) <i>olî-</i> | : | <i>olîwopwa mipâko nyigî (mi)to.</i> |
| d) <i>nwa-</i> | : | <i>nwanyigâ milakî nyigî (mi)nou.</i> |

5.2.2.4 EROSION OF THE NOUN PREFIX SYSTEM

What has been outlined above in section 5.2.2.3, indicates the gradual erosion and disappearance of the concord systems in the noun phrase in Äÿiwo. However, the system of class prefixes itself is subject to erosion because the bases for the classification itself are rooted in the traditional culture and with the changing and gradual loss of that culture the reasons for the use of the various class prefixes are no longer fully understood by the speakers. As a result dropping of some of the variable and also of fixed noun class prefixes (in the latter case, only if the same base can appear with several of them) has been observed with young speakers. For instance in present-day 'correct' Äÿiwo, 'coconut' is *nenû*, and 'coconut palm' *nyânenû*, with the tree class prefix *nyâ-*. Only in noun phrases can the *nyâ-* be dropped. However, young speakers use *nenû* for both 'coconut' and 'coconut palm' in all cases. As another example, the noun base **-paa* 'sliver of wood or metal', which does not occur in 'correct' Äÿiwo without noun class prefixes, appears in the following forms and meanings: with the pointed objects class prefix *nyi-* as *nyipaa* 'a chip' ('pointed sliver'), with

the indistinctly set off parts of a whole class prefix *no-* as *nopaa* ‘pieces of bark beginning to peel off a tree trunk’ (i.e. ‘slivers indistinctly set off and still attached to the thing to which they belong and of which they form a part’), with the moving away into the distance class prefix *nyo-* as *nyopaa* ‘type of arrow’ (i.e. ‘sliver-type object which moves away into the distance’), and with the foreign, in particular Polynesian, provenance class prefix *te-* as *tepaa* ‘nail’ (i.e. ‘sliver of metal of foreign origin’). Young speakers tend to omit the prefixes and only use *paa* by itself in all four of the meanings mentioned.

5.2.2.5 EROSION OF OTHER COMPLEX STRUCTURAL FEATURES

Similar erosion is taking place in connection with the other structural features mentioned in section 5.2.2.1. With construct possessive class markers, young speakers tend to confuse them and to give preference to the most common marker amongst them, which is *(y)ä*. They also tend to mix up the verb prefixes which indicate modes of action and apply them incorrectly. Of the pairs of phonologically similar words which indicate semantically related concepts, young people tend to use only one member of each pair for both concepts, for example, *tepeke* for both ‘skull of a living person’ and ‘skull of a dead person’, *taula* for both *taula* ‘to float (freely)’ and ‘to float (tied up, like a canoe)’ which in the usage of old speakers is *taulaa*. Young speakers also have difficulty with understanding and correctly using some of the lexical items which are composed of small meaningful elements, some of which do not occur in isolation. They tend to truncate them or to replace some of them by loans from Solomon Islands Pijin.

What has been mentioned above in section 5.2 so far indicates that, as a result of the gradual loss of the traditional culture of the Äÿiwo and its replacement by the different culture of the modern world, the Äÿiwo language has been losing much of its structural complexity, with several of its structural features undergoing significant changes. At the same time a trend is in progress for the concord system of the language to become more and more simplified and to eventually disappear altogether, or at least to become non-functional and petrified. If this trend continues it will mean a change in the noun class system as well as in the typology of the language from one with an overt noun class system marked on the nouns by prefixes, to one without it, leaving only the possessive noun class system which shows only some, but not radical, signs of erosion and decay.

5.3 OLDER FORMS OF THE ÄÿIWO LANGUAGE

5.3.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

It has been mentioned elsewhere (Wurm 1992) that there were indications from pieces of information obtained from very old informants that until recently, the concordance system in the noun phrase in Äÿiwo was more extensive and complex and included the third person singular pronouns. Further information of this kind obtained recently and assessed in the light of the earlier fragmentary pieces of information reveals the following.

5.3.2 CONCORDANCE SYSTEMS IN THE NOUN PHRASE

It seems that the concordance systems in the noun phrase were, a couple of generations ago, present in the language with more of the noun classes than today – fragmentary

information on this covers eight variable noun classes which today have no concordance systems accompanying them, bringing the total number of noun classes with concordance to twenty-four, out of thirty-nine variable plus eight fixed noun classes. Also, the concordance systems appear to have been fuller in all instances, that is, more of type (a) than (b), (c) and (d). It stands to reason to assume that more, if not all, the variable noun classes at least (and possibly also the fixed noun classes) were accompanied by concordance systems not so long ago – probably of the type (a), with full concordance in the noun phrase.

While this seems plausible, it is more striking that the class system appears to have extended to the third singular personal pronoun too.

5.3.3 THE NOUN CLASS SYSTEM AFFECTING THE THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns in Äÿiwo and the other languages of the Reefs-Santa Cruz Family are verbal nouns, based in Äÿiwo on the defective existential verb *i-~ÿi-* ‘to be, to exist (as)’ (Northern Santa Cruzan *ni-*) to which possessive suffixes largely borrowed from Oceanic Austronesian are added to form verbal nouns denoting ‘the fact of my, your, our, their existing’ = ‘I, you, we, they’. In Äÿiwo, this is not quite according to an Austronesian pattern, that is, ‘I’ is *ÿi-u*, with the *-u* a common first person singular possessive suffix in Oceanic Austronesian, and also used elsewhere in Äÿiwo, for instance for some terms of relationship, for example, *sÿpeu* ‘my daughter’. (If possession is indicated by the direct adding of possessive suffixes to a noun – the mark of one of the very many possessive classes in Äÿiwo – the marker of the first person singular is often zero or sometimes another suffix.) The form *ÿiu* becomes the base form for possessive pronouns for other persons, for example, *ÿiu-mû* = ‘you(sg)’, *ÿiu-de* ‘we (four or more, inclusive)’. However, the third person singular personal pronoun is *ina* which appears to be the verb *i-~ÿi-* mentioned above, accompanied by the common Oceanic Austronesian third person singular possessive suffix *-na* which is very rare in Äÿiwo. Northern Santa Cruzan has a more regular system of personal pronouns, with the more usual of the two possessive suffix sets met with in the language added to the verb *ni-* mentioned above to form verbal nouns as in Äÿiwo, for example, *ni-ngä*, *ni-m*, *ni-du* ‘the fact of my, your (sg), our (three or more, inclusive) existing’ = ‘I, you (sg), we (three or more, inclusive)’. One of the many types of verbal nouns in Northern Santa Cruzan is regularly formed through the adding of possessive suffixes to verb stems, with the meaning of ‘the fact of my...ing’, for example, *ngü* ‘to eat’ (*ü* is a high front rounded vowel), *ngü-ngä* ‘the fact of my eating, my eating (+ object)’. In Äÿiwo, the same type of construction occurs, but less commonly than in Northern Santa Cruzan.

While the formation of personal pronouns in contemporary Äÿiwo is as described above, rare instances of a quite differently formed third person singular personal pronoun have been encountered, especially in magic invocations and songs, and texts with a mythological content. The forms *giwä* ‘he’, *sÿwä* ‘she’ and *mewä* ‘they (human beings)’ were recorded. Once, *sÿwä* was found in a text dealing with daily mundane matters, referring to a woman with considerable emphasis. In all these instances, the informants were very old men, aged about eighty years. These forms are clearly verbal nouns of a type very common in Äÿiwo, consisting of a class marker prefixed to a, mostly static, verb, and indicating concrete items and denoting ‘something that is X’, or ‘something that is in the state of being X’. For instance, the word *giva* ‘male human baby’ given in section 5.3.2.2. can be analysed as *gi-*

'something that is human and male' plus *va-* 'something that is immature', with *gi+va* as verbal noun meaning 'a male human that is in the state of being immature'. The static verb *-wa* appearing in the third person singular personal pronoun forms given above occurs as *g-wa* and means 'to be at rest', 'to be unmoving', 'to be unchanging'. The form *giwa* could therefore be analysed as 'a male human that is unchangingly in that (male human) state' = 'he remains he' = 'he'. A very old informant volunteered the information that, in his boyhood his grandfather had told him that when he was an adolescent, old people had been using forms such as *giwa*, *sîwa* as third person singular pronouns regularly, especially when employing emphasis. There were many more of these forms then, and the informant was able to remember several of those which his grandfather had told him. They were, in addition to *giwa*, *sîwa* and *mewa*, the personal pronouns *piwa* for adolescents, *miwa* for animals or lifeless objects, or human beings referred to in general in the singular, *vâwa* for chickens, *bowa* for sharks and shark-like fish, *kawa* for animals and things that tended to change position and appearance quite suddenly, *nyâwa* for trees, and *nwawa* for fruits. The class prefixes in these forms are all used to form verbal nouns in contemporary Äyiwo – most of them have already been mentioned in section 5.3.2.2. The informant further indicated that the personal pronouns as used today were used by the old people in his grandfather's youth, including *ina* for third person singular, but that the latter was uncommon and regarded as 'bad and careless' language use by the old people. The period of time referred to by this informant is about the middle of the nineteenth century, at the beginning of major culture contact with missionaries and mission-influenced Melanesians from neighbouring areas in the area in question. It seems that the decaying process in Äyiwo had just started then and accelerated soon afterwards.

As already indicated in section 5.1 it appears that the Äyiwo language and its speakers had been under strong outside (i.e. Austronesian) influence thousands of years ago. Linguistic, prehistoric and other interdisciplinary evidence suggests that perhaps three or more thousand years ago speakers of a Papuan language ancestral or related to the present-day Yele language of Rossel Island (which itself seems to be related to Central and Western Solomons Papuan languages) arrived in the Central Solomons area, probably from further west. There is prehistoric evidence for an obsidian trade route from New Britain to the Santa Cruz area across the Solomon Islands and a possible connection between South Bougainville and the Reefs-Santa Cruz area for which there is also linguistic evidence. Movement along these routes has brought Papuan speakers of ancestral forms of the perhaps interrelated South Bougainville and Yele type languages to the Reefs-Santa Cruz area, along with speakers of Oceanic Austronesian of an archaic type – the latter may have antedated the former, or the former accompanied them in an inferior capacity, perhaps as slaves. Further prehistoric evidence indicates that movement along these routes may have ceased about two thousand years ago, for perhaps a millenium, resulting in a relative isolation of the Reefs-Santa Cruz area for a long time. This appears to have lead to disturbances in the suggested previous Austronesian-Papuan cultural relationship and to increasing linguistic interaction between speakers of the two language types, resulting in the linguistic forms observable today (see 5.1). For further details see Wurm (1978:988-990) and the literature quoted there.

5.3.4 THE NOUN CLASS SYSTEM AFFECTING THE SUBJECT MARKING IN VERBS

5.3.4.1 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

The old informant mentioned above volunteered another startling piece of information about the Äÿiwo language of the past period referred to in section 5.3.3, remembering his grandfather's words. In Äÿiwo, the indication of the subject of intransitive verbs is by prefixes preceding aspect prefixes to the verb stem. These are: *i-* for first person singular, *mi-* for second person singular, again *i-* for third person singular, *de-* for first person plural (more than three, inclusive), etc. The informant said that in the past period referred to the third person singular prefix *i-* was used but regarded by the old people as 'bad' usage. More commonly, class markers were used for the third person singular object. With the verb *meÿi* 'to sleep', for which the third person singular form of the continuing aspect is, in contemporary Äÿiwo, *i-kî-meÿi* irrespective of the noun class of the subject, the informant recalled, from the forms mentioned to him by his grandfather, the forms *gi-kî-meÿi* for an adult male human subject, *sî-kî-meÿi* for an adult female human subject, *pi-kî-meÿi* for an adolescent human subject, *vä-kî-meÿi* for a chicken, *bo-kî-meÿi* for a shark and other shark-like fish, *ka-kî-meÿi* for animals and things tending to change position and appearance quite suddenly, *pe-kî-meÿi* for a person irrespective of sex, and *de-kî-meÿi* for an animal. From the reported reaction of the old people to the use of *i-* for the third person singular subject, it appears that the decay in the class systems in the language began, like that affecting third person singular pronouns described above, in the middle of the nineteenth century. However, from what has been outlined herein, it also seems that in the original form of the language, the noun class system and its accompanying concordance were much more elaborate than even with very old speakers today, and that the latter extended beyond the noun phrase to also affect the third person singular personal pronouns and the third person singular subject markers of intransitive verbs.

5.3.4.2 TRANSITIVE VERBS

With Äÿiwo transitive verbs subject suffixes are employed which differ in several cases from the subject prefixes appearing with intransitive verbs. The question arises whether class markers played a role in the past with the marking of the subject of transitive verbs. The old informant mentioned above had only a vague recollection of his grandfather talking about something in this connection. It may seem unlikely that class markers entered into the suffixal indication of the subject of transitive verbs because the class markers are always prefixal in nature. However, the old informant thought that he remembered vaguely his father mentioning the forms *giÿivägûlogumû* and *sîÿivägûlogumû* for 'he hit you (sg)' and 'she hit you (sg)'. In contemporary Äÿiwo, 'he (or she) hit you (sg)' is *i-vä-gûlo-gu-mû*, which can be analysed as follows: *i-* perfect aspect marker, *vä-* action carried out with one's hand, *gûlo* 'to hit', *-gu* third person singular subject marker appearing only if followed by a non-third person object marker, *-mû* second person singular object marker. In the old forms given above, the male human class marker *gi-* and the human female class marker *sî-* are prefixed before the aspect marker *i-* (with the *-ÿ-* connecting glide required by Äÿiwo morphophonemics to be interposed) to denote the class of the subject. It seems likely that other classes of this subject were also indicated by class prefixes in a similar manner, especially with human and animal subjects, producing forms such as **piÿivägûlogumû* for an adolescent human subject, **väÿivägûlogumû* for a chicken as subject, **boÿivägûlogumû* for a shark and other shark-like fish as subject (the last two would imply a fluttering chicken

hitting someone with its wing, and a shark brushing past someone hitting him with its fin), **kaŷivägûlogumû* for animals tending to change position and appearance quite suddenly (such as crocodiles, grasshoppers etc.), **peŷivägûlogumû* for a person irrespective of sex, and **deŷivägûlogumû* for an animal.

5.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE ÄYIWO LANGUAGE

What has been outlined in sections 5.1-5.3 seems to indicate that as soon as the Äyiwo people suffered culture clash with resulting changes in their culture from around the middle of the nineteenth century, structural and typological changes began to appear in their language. These changes accelerated after the turn of the century and especially in recent decades, and resulted in the present form of the language as spoken by the young generation in which only vestiges of the former elaborate semantic noun class system and concordance remain, with other complex structural features of the language also in the process of breaking down. During the last two decades, a revivalist movement has been in progress which has arrested the further decay of the language and the culture of its speakers, and may succeed in reversing the decaying process somewhat (Wurm 1991b).

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