The Trobriand Islanders' Ways of Speaking

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The Trobriand Islanders' Ways of Speaking

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Pela latugu vivila nabweligu FRAUKE Pela latugu tau tobweligu SEBASTIAN

Preface

...the goal of ethnographic field-work must be approached through three avenues:

- 1. The organisation of the tribe, and the anatomy of its culture must be recorded in firm clear outline. The method of *concrete statistical* documentation is the means through which such an outline has to be given.
- 2. Within this frame, the *imponderabilia of actual life*, and the *type of behaviour* have to be filled in. They have to be collected through minute, detailed observations, in the form of some sort of ethnographic diary, made possible by close contact with native life.
- 3. A collection of ethnographic statements, characteristic narratives, typical utterances, items of folk-lore and magical formulae has to be given as a *corpus inscriptionum*, as documents of native mentality.

These three lines of approach lead to the final goal, of which an Ethnographer should never lose sight. This goal is, briefly, to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise *his* vision of *his* world.

(Malinowski 1922: 24 f.)

Bronislaw Malinowski's famous programmatic introduction to his monograph "Argonauts of the Western Pacific" that culminates in the maxim quoted above is probably one of the best known reminders of how important the collection of a broad variety of texts produced by members of the researched speech community is for every ethnographic – and ethnolinguistic – field research. The insight that the documentation of a specific ethnic group's oral traditions represents this group's "native mentality" – to use Malinowski's expression – has a rather old tradition. It was especially important for European classic philology for "which texts constituted the basis for the study of languages and texts and languages together constituted an essential frame of reference for the study of culture history" (Bauman 1992a: 145). Influenced by the German 'Sturm und Drang' literary movement and its enthusiastic reception of "Ossian", a (faked) collection of traditional English and Scottish folk songs which James Macpherson claimed to have rediscovered in 1762, Johann Gottfried Herder also collected folk songs from various cultures. He understood this collection of folk songs ("Volkslieder") that were published in two volumes in 1778–79 and that became famous under their later title "Stimmen der Völker in Liedern" (peoples' voices in songs) as the expression of the dynamic relationship between the peoples of the world and their environment and thus as the verbal

manifestation of their mentality (or "Denkart" in Herder's words)¹. And under the influence of Herder's ideas on folk poetry Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm not only collected folk songs for their friends Achim von Arnim and Clemens von Brentano² but also folk tales which they published in 1812–1815 as "Kinderund Hausmärchen" (Grimms' Fairy Tales) in two volumes. For the Grimms these fairy tales represented to a very high degree their tellers' culture, their feelings, joys, hopes and fears. With this collection and with the notes on the collected tales the Grimms laid the foundation for the science of the folk narrative and of folklore. At about the same time linguists like Sir William Jones (1786) and Franz Bopp (1816) worked with Sanskrit text documents and realized that this Indian language was related with other European languages. The important role these Sanskrit texts together with the Vedas – the Old-Indian sacred books – had for establishing Indo-European studies and Indo-European as a linguistic subdiscipline in its own right is well known. Jacob Grimm played also an important role in the founding of this new discipline. In his linguistic research, in particular in what was to become known as "Grimm's law" he demonstrated the principle of the regularity of correspondence among consonants in genetically related languages, a principle also observed earlier by Rasmus Rask; this finding had an enormous influence on the study of Indo-European languages. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century the importance of texts not only for linguistic but also for ethnographic studies was recognized by scholars like Franz Boas and Edward Sapir. However, it was Malinowski's "ethnographic theory of language" (see Malinowski 1920; 1923; 1935; also Senft 1996a; 1999a; 2005), his "pragmasemantics" (Schmidt 1984) which – with its claim that the meaning of of a word lies in its use in a given situational context – equates meaning with pragmatic function that was highly influential for the development of the "ethnography of speaking" paradigm in the 1960s (see, e.g., Hymes 1964; Bauman 1992a: 147; Senft 2005). Malinowski developed his ethnographic theory of language mainly in connection with his attempts to translate the Trobriand Islanders' magical formulae. In

¹ See e. g., Herder (1978a; 1978b, Vol. 1: "Volkslieder": 105 ff; Vol. 2 "Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker": 229 ff; "Volkslieder. Zweiter Teil. Vorrede": 295 ff).

² These songs were included in Achim von Arnim's and Clemens von Brentano's collection of songs that was published in 1805–1808 under the title "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" ('The boy's wondrous horn', my translation, GS).

³ The Trobriand Islanders belong to the ethnic group called 'Northern Massim'. They are gardeners, doing slash and burn cultivation of the bush; their most important crop is yams. Moreover, they are also famous for being excellent canoe builders, carvers, and navigators, especially in connection with the ritualized 'Kula' trade,

his second volume of "Coral Gardens and their Magic" he not only explicitly presents this theory together with "some practical corollaries" (Malinowski 1935 Vol II: 3–74) but also documents his "Corpus Inscriptionum Agriculturae Quiriviniensis" (Malinowski 1935 Vol II: 79–342). However, with the exception of a few examples of actual Kilivila⁴ utterances that are scattered over his Trobriand œuvre and that illustrate some other Kilivila speech genres (see e. g. Malinowski 1922: 455 ff; 1929: 240 ff, 265 f., 333 ff, 401 ff, 529, 555 ff) he himself did not come up with a 'corpus inscriptionum' that documents, illustrates and analyses the Trobriand Islanders' various ways of speaking.

One of the main aims I have been pursuing in my research on the Kilivila language and the Trobriand Islander's culture is to fill this ethnolinguistic niche. This book pursues this goal, too. For the first time it presents, documents and illustrates the Trobriand Islanders own indigenous typology of their non-diatopical registers – which I have called 'situational-intentional' varieties – and their constitutive genres.

The monograph is based on empirical research and relies on the corpus of Kilivila data which I have gathered during my by now 39 months of field research on the Trobriands in 1982/83, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2004 and 2006. However, it goes without saying that it also

an exchange of shell valuables that covers a wide area of the Melanesian part of the Pacific (see Malinowski 1922). The society is matrilineal but virilocal.

⁴ Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders, is one of 40 Austronesian languages spoken in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. It is an agglutinative language and its general unmarked word order pattern is VOS (Senft 1986). The Austronesian languages spoken in Milne Bay Province are grouped into 12 language families; one of them is labeled Kilivila. The Kilivila language family encompasses the languages Budibud (or Nada, with about 200 speakers), Muyuw (or Murua, with about 4,000 speakers) and Kilivila (or Kiriwina, Boyowa, with about 28,000 speakers); Kilivila is spoken on the islands Kiriwina, Vakuta, Kitava, Kaile'una, Kuiawa, Munuwata and Simsim. The languages Muyuw and Kilivila are split into mutually understandable local dialects. Typologically, Kilivila is classified as a Western Melanesian Oceanic language belonging to the 'Papuan-Tip-Cluster' group (Ross 1988:25, 190 ff, Senft 1986:6; for an outline of the grammar of Kilivila see Appendix III).

⁵ See Senft 1985 a–c; 1987a,b; 1991 a,b: 1992b; 1994; 1995a; 1998a 1999b, c; 2000a; 2001b, d: 2003a; 2004; Senft, Senft 1986.

⁶ There is no metalinguistic expression in Kilivila that can be compared with this etic concept of 'situational intentional varieties'. However, it is obvious that the Trobriand Islanders differentiate these varieties metalinguistically (see also Senft 1991a: 246; also Agha 2004).

refers to Bronislaw Malinowski's oeuvre and to a few other published materials on Kilivila⁷.

The introductory chapter first discusses briefly the technical term 'genre', its research history, its usage and the functions genres are claimed to fulfill. It then points out that this study is rooted in 'the ethnography of speaking' paradigm (Hymes 1962, 1964) as it has been integrated and further advanced in the 'anthropological linguistics' / 'linguistic anthropology' approach (Foley 1997, Duranti 1988; 1997). It ends with a critical summary of Malinowski's classification of Trobriand 'folklore'.

Chapter 2 gives a general overview of the non-diatopical registers or the what I have called "situational-intentional varieties" (Senft 1986; 1991a) the Trobriand Islanders themselves differentiate with indigenous metalinguistic labels; it also briefly lists the metalinguistically labeled genres that constitute these registers. The following chapters then present the emic typology of genres or text types in Kilivila that constitute these 'situational-intentional varieties' of Kilivila and provide illustrative examples of these genres. I would like to point out once more that this typology is exclusively based on the indigenous Kilivila labels – the Trobriand Islanders' metalinguistic terms – for the 'situational intentional varieties' of Kilivila and the genres that constitute them.

Chapter 3 presents the two 'paramount' varieties 'biga bwena' - 'good speech' and 'biga gaga' - 'bad speech' in detail and discusses their relevance for the Trobriand Islanders' ways of speaking in general. It also presents the 'matua' - the 'swear words' of Kilivila as a specific genre that co-constitutes the paramount 'biga gaga' register.

Chapter 4 presents the 'biga baloma' or 'biga tommwaya' register, the 'speech of the spirits of the dead' or the 'old peoples' speech' variety and the 'wosi milamala', the 'songs of the harvest festival'. These songs that are also sung at certain mourning ceremonies represent the genre that constitute this situational intentional variety.

⁷ In 1996 Scoditti published a selection of what he calls 'Kitawa Oral Poetry' or 'Nowau poetic formulae'. Chapter 3 of his book presents these 'poetic formulae'. Unfortunately, Scoditti is unable to differentiate the genres presented there (Scoditti 1996: 56). His 'poetic formulae' represent magical formulae (see 5.2 below), songs that are sung during the harvest festivals and during a certain period of mourning (see 4.2 below) and the '*vinavina*' type of mocking verses (see 9.2.6 below). However, because Scoditti does not differentiate these 'poetic formulae' with respect to genres, I will not use them for illustrating the various genres of Kilivila. For other published Kilivila texts – with and without comments and accompanying analyses – see Baldwin (1945, 1950); Hutchins (1980); Kasaipwalova (1978; 1979), Kasaipwalova and Beier (1978a&b; 1979), and Leach (1981).

Chapter 5 discusses and illustrates the 'biga megwa', the 'magic speech' variety and presents actual 'megwa', i.e., magical formulae that constitute this register.

Chapter 6 presents the more recent 'biga tapwaroro' register, the 'language of the church'. This variety is constituted by translations of the bible and the catechism and by prayers and songs. Bible, catechism, and prayers, blessings, etc. are subsumed under the genre label 'tapwaroro' – 'church (matters)' and the Christian hymns constitute the genre 'wosi tapwaroro' – the 'songs of the church'.

Chapter 7 illustrates the 'biga taloi', the 'greeting and parting' speech variety and presents the 'taloi', the greeting and parting formulae as the genre constituting this register.

Chapter 8 presents the 'biga pe'ula' or 'biga mokwita' register, the 'heavy speech' or 'true speech' variety and its constituting genres 'yakala' – 'litigations', 'kalava' – 'the counting of baskets full of yams', 'kasolukuva' – 'the mourning formulae', and 'liliu' – 'the myths' that are believed to have happened in former times.

Chapter 9 illustrates the 'biga sopa', the 'joking or lying speech' or the 'indirect speech' variety with its constituting genres 'sopa' - 'jokes, lies', 'kukwanebu sopa ' - 'jokes in form of a story', 'kukwanebu_(l)' - 'tales', 'kasilam' - 'gossip, rumour', 'wosi' - 'songs' (with four subgenres), 'butula' - 'personal mocking songs' 'vinavina' - 'ditties' (with four subgenres), and 'sawili' - 'harvest shouts'.

Chapter 10 presents genres that combine features of the 'biga sopa' and the 'biga mokwita' varieties, namely 'kukwanebu₍₂₎' – 'stories', 'kavala' – 'personal speeches' and 'luavala' – 'admonishing speeches', and '-nigada-' – 'requesting'. It is indeterminate whether these genres belong to the 'biga sopa' or to the 'biga mokwita' variety – the Trobriand Islanders themselves classify these genres as 'kena biga sopa kena biga mokwita' – 'either joking speech or true speech'.

Chapter 11 gives a final summarizing overview over the situational-intentional varieties of Kilivila and the genres and subgenres that constitute these registers and discusses the relevance of genres for researching the role of language, culture and cognition in social interaction. Moreover, it presents an attempt to assess the contribution of this study to the 'the ethnography of speaking' paradigm.

Appendix I presents other metalinguistic expressions for 'speech action patterns' and Appendix II presents an example of a mother's verbal interaction with her 3 ½ months old baby. And Appendix III outlines central grammatical features of Kilivila to ease the reader's understanding of more complex grammatical structures in the texts presented.

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The interested reader of this book has the opportunity to access the internet and listen to the original data presented in the various chapters of this book. In some cases the genres presented here are also video-documented. The reference to the URL (www.mpi.nl/trobriand) is given in a footnote after every genre that is documented in this way. The website mirrors the structure of the book, i.e., the various audio- and video-data are listed under the respective chapter, section and subsection numbers. It is compulsory to first read the metadata description that goes with each of these audio- and/or video-documents. The readers' computers must have a modern browser, a Java and a Quicktime plug-in.

Acknowledgements

This book is the result of 25 years of researching the language and culture of the Trobriand Islanders in Papua New Guinea. Writing this book would have been impossible without the help of many people and institutions. First I would like to thank the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG: Ei-24/10-1-5; Se-473/2-1-2) especially Ursula Far Hollender and Manfred Briegel; the Research Unit for Human Ethology of the Max-Planck-Society and its director Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt; and the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group (now: Department of Language and Cognition) at the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics and its director Stephen C. Levinson for their support during and after my field research.

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I want to thank my wife Barbara for her patience and perseverance in discussing my research with me, criticizing it, and living and working with me in the field in 1983 and in 1989.

xiv Acknowledgements

Last but by no means least I would like to thank our children for their understanding that their father almost annually left the family to do his field research and for living with their parents in Tauwema in 1989. I dedicate this monograph to Frauke and Sebastian.

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Abbreviations

1.	first person	Fut	Future, Irrealis
2.	second person	incl	inclusive
3.	third person	Loc	Locative
CP	Classificatory Particle,	[P]	Pause
	classifier	PL	Plural
Dem	Demonstrative	PP IV	fourth series of posses-
Dir	Directional		sive pronouns indicating
Emph	Emphasis		inalienable possession
excl	exclusive	Redup	Reduplication