

“Bakavilisi Biga” or What Happens to English Words in the Kilivila Language?*

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1. English Words in the Kilivila language

Kilivila is one of 40 Austronesian languages spoken in the area of Milne Bay Province in Papua New Guinea. The Austronesian languages spoken in this province are grouped into 12 language families; one of them is the Kilivila language family. It encompasses the languages Budibud (Nada), Muyuw (Murua), and Kilivila (Kiriwina, Boyowa). The languages are spoken by about 20,600 speakers; the majority of these speakers (about 17,200) live on the Trobriand Islands. Typologically Kilivila is a VOS-language (Senft 1986a) that belongs to the Papuan Tip Cluster group (Ross 1988).

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During my field research on the Kilivila language,¹ especially during my research on the Kilivila lexicon, I came across a number of English words that have been adopted into the Kilivila lexicon. When I asked my informants about these words they either declared *Mabigana biga biga dindim wala* ‘This word is just an English word’, or *Oluvi mabigana biga biga dindim, taga bakavilisi biga!* ‘Originally this word was an English word, but we can turn the language (translate), of course’.

This paper attempts to describe in more detail what really happens to English words in the Kilivila language. Moreover, it discusses why Kilivila speakers incorporate English words as loan-words into their language.

2. What Happens to English Words in the Kilivila Language?

The speakers of the Kilivila language have borrowed a wide variety of English words covering various aspects of life. This section will first discuss the borrowing of color terms, proper names and numerals. Then, other loan-words will be presented and the ‘mechanisms of interference’ (Weinreich 1953:1,7) that can be observed with these lexical entries will be described and discussed in detail.

2.1. Color terms

As discussed elsewhere (Senft 1987b), some English color terms are in the process of being adopted and integrated into the Kilivila lexicon as unassimilated words, i.e. without any change whatsoever. These color terms are *white, black, red, yellow, green, blue, brown, orange,* and *pink*. School children, especially girls, as well as male local church leaders,² are probably responsible for this process. The adoption of these color terms as unmodified words has almost completely replaced processes that incorporate some English color terms

¹ The results of this research so far are documented in a number of publications. In the references I list some of these papers. The orthography of the Kilivila examples given here is based on the system proposed in Senft (1986a:14-16).

² These church leaders are Trobriand Islanders who receive training at their mission station. They are called *misinari*. On Kiriwina Island there are four United Church mission stations and two Roman Catholic mission stations. In some villages on Kiriwina Island and in Kaisiga on Kaile’una Island there are now also missionaries from the Seventh Day Adventists.

as loan words, i.e. as words that are transformed in certain ways to fit into the mold of Kilivila word formation. These color terms are *kwinin* 'yellow' (Quinine pills were yellow!), *pepol* 'purple', *bulum* 'blue', and *kwegulini* 'green'.³ The process of integrating some English color terms into the lexicon of Kilivila has only partly affected the use of traditional 'basic' color terms. They are still acquired by children, but their scope has become narrower. However, this process has affected the use of folk botany terms as color terms⁴ rather dramatically: the use and probably also the knowledge of these terms has greatly decreased.

2.2. Proper names

Weinreich's (1953:52) observation that, "Proper name interference is particularly common," is also true with respect to the Kilivila situation. However, only proper names that fit into the phonetic/phonological and syllable structure paradigms are adopted without any changes. To give just two examples, *Barbara* and *Nina* remain unchanged. Other proper names are structured and modified in such a way that they agree with the inherent segmental constraints in Kilivila (see Senft 1986a:11-17). Thus, to give a few examples, the proper names *Ruth*, *Renate*, *Wulf*, and *Gunter* become *Luti*, *Genata*, *Wulupi*, and *Kunita*.

What must be mentioned in connection with English proper names, however, is the following fact: at baptism the local village clergy or lay-leader insists that the child is given an English proper name as her/his Christian name. This name is the child's mission name; however, most children have another Kilivila proper name besides this English Christian name.

2.3. Numerals

The numeral system of Kilivila is rather complex. It is an imperfect decimal system of

³ I will not discuss the mechanisms of interference in connection with color terms, proper names, and numerals here; they are discussed in section 2.4.

⁴ The use of folk botany terms for colors is a very old strategy used by Trobriand women which probably has its origin in the dying of skirts that are made out of banana leaves (see Weiner 1976: 240f.). For example, *tauvau* is the name of the yellow blossom of a taro plant (Senft 1987b:331).

notation, a so-called “quinary vigesimal” counting system. Five numerical units are counted, then the system proceeds by counting ‘5+1’, ‘5+2’, ‘5+3’, ‘5+4’, up to the next decimal unit. Moreover, the cardinal numbers and the ordinal numbers that are used to count portions of a subdivided whole are among the word classes whose formation involves the complex system of ‘classificatory particles’ (Malinowski 1920; Senft 1986a:68-84; 1985d; 1987c). I will not discuss Kilivila numerals and their word formation in detail here. In this context I must emphasize the following fact: the more the changing socio-economic situation on the Trobriand Islands demands the unproblematic and effective dealing with numbers, the more the Kilivila native speakers are forced to substitute for their system the system of English numerals.⁵ It is especially this gradually increasing importance of a money economy on the islands which is responsible for the fact that the numerals in Kilivila are in real danger of being replaced by the English numerals. These English numerals are adopted in such a way that they agree with the inherent segmental constraints in Kilivila word formation. For example, *two* becomes *tu*, *three* becomes *tiri*, *first* becomes *pesita*.

2.4 Other loan words

There are three more types of loan words to be dealt with here. These loan words fall into the categories ‘assimilated loan words,’ ‘loan translations and “hybrid” forms’ (Weinreich 1953:51f.), and ‘unclear cases.’ These categories are discussed in the following paragraphs.

2.4.1. Assimilated loan words

During my research on the Kilivila lexicon I found 143 assimilated loan words. These are listed in Appendix 2 together with their English equivalents/meaning and possible Kilivila synonyms.⁶ These assimilated loan words encompass 113 nouns,⁷ examples of which are given in (1); two nominal expressions, given in (2); 22 verb stems, examples of which are

⁵ The Kilivila numeral system is quite complex and intricate, indeed, especially if one wants to do basic arithmetic (see Senft 1986a:84).

⁶ The notational conventions for Kilivila lexical entries are defined and explained in Senft (1986a:177-79). For the inventory of Kilivila phonemes see Appendix 1.

⁷ For the answer as to why in the usual lists of loan words nouns figure so prominently, see Weinreich (1953:37).

given in (3); two adjectives, given in (4); one adverb, given in (5); and three interjections, given in (6).

- 1)a. *adenda* 'agenda' (#1)
- b. *maboli* 'marble' (#55)
- 2)a. *laki* 'God bless you' (#48)
- b. *sikyusmi* 'excuse me' (#106)
- 3)a. *-kilinim-* 'to clean' (#36)
- b. *-leni-* 'to learn' (#53)
- 4)a. *-spidi* 'speedy' (#113)
- b. *-tiriki* 'tricky' (#127)
- 5) *lasta* 'at last' (#49)
- 6)a. *luki* 'bless you' (#48)
- b. *plisi* 'please' (#89)
- c. *yesi* 'yes' (#142)

With some of these loan words we note a change in meaning in comparison with the respective English source, as shown in (7).

- 7)a. *koroba* 'small iron rod', not 'crowbar' (#40)⁸
- b. *memba* 'group', not 'member' (#61)
- c. *-tebeli-* 'to eat on a table', not 'table' (#123)

With others of these loan words we note a broadening of the semantic concept in comparison to the respective English source, as shown in (8).

- 8)a. *-doro 'ini-* 'to sketch' as well as 'to draw' (#23)
- b. *-kari-* 'to dye' as well as 'to color' (#33)
- c. *-sekan-* 'to greet' as well as 'to shake hands' (#99)

⁸ This may have been borrowed from Police Motu.

- d. *turakustop* 'hitchhiking' as well as 'truck stop' (#135)
- e. *turaki* 'car' as well as 'truck' (#136)

All the loan words are grammatically integrated into the Kilivila inflectional morphology system. This observation is quite important especially for the two adjectives and the 22 verb stems; the borrowed adjectives must always be realized with the adequate classifier, and the borrowed verb stems obey all the rather complex rules of the construction of the verbal expression in Kilivila (Senft 1986a:29-42).

Now what about the other mechanisms of interference that can be observed with these loan words? In Appendix 2 the loan words are compared with the phonetic transcription of the English words as represented in *The Macquarie Dictionary* (1988) to determine the phonemic changes the English lexical entries undergo in the process of being borrowed by Kilivila speakers. Of course, in those instances where *The Macquarie Dictionary* does not accurately reflect the source pronunciation the correlations between the source and target are not accurate. In most instances, however, we can assume that the pronunciation indicated in *The Macquarie Dictionary* is a reasonable approximation of the original source pronunciation.

With all these 143 loan words we find 52 deletions, 128 adjunctions, and 148 substitutions that describe the differences between the English word - as represented by its phonetic IPA transcription - and the respective loan word in Kilivila. It is only with two English lexical entries, namely with *-spidi* and *taim* that we do not observe any change whatsoever between the phonetic transcription of the English word and its realization as a Kilivila loan word.

Adjunctions

The majority of the adjunctions observed can be explained by the inherent rules of Kilivila syllable patterns. They also explain why the entry *taim* is borrowed without any change. Kilivila has the five syllable patterns shown in (9): (Senft 1986a:20-22)

- 9)a. CV
- b. V
- c. V₁m (V₁ = /a/, /u/, /ai/)
- d. m
- e. CVm

On the basis of these patterns, we will first look at the adjunctions which have the consequence that the borrowed words end with a final syllable which follows the Kilivila syllable patterns. Almost all English words that end with a vowel other than [ə] end with the same vowel in Kilivila when borrowed, as illustrated in (10);⁹ almost all English words that end with [ə] are borrowed in such a way that their final vowel is [a], as illustrated in (11).¹⁰

- 10)a. *mani* 'money' (#58)¹¹
- b. *menu* 'menu' (#62)¹²
- c. *turai* 'try' (#133/134)
- d. *koroba* from 'crowbar' (#40)

- 11)a. *doketa* 'doctor' (#20)
- b. *leda* 'leather' (#50)
- c. *tapiokwa* 'tapioca' (#120)¹³

Final [ou] in the English word *pillow* also becomes [a] in the Kilivila loan word *pela* (#79) - this change may be due to dialect characteristics of Australian English.

The verb *clean* is borrowed as *-kilinim-*. This loan word ends with a closed syllable - according to the Kilivila syllable pattern CVm. It may be, however, that this loan word documents at least some influence of Tok Pisin on Kilivila (see Dutton 1986).

⁹ One exception to this rule is *sadada* 'Saturday' (#96). However, 'sabbath' (#95) is borrowed as *sabata*, and it may be that the Trobrianders prefer a same final vowel in the loan words for *Saturday* and *Sunday*. But this is sheer speculation, of course. The other exception is *tobaki* 'tobacco' (#130); I cannot offer any explanation for this exception.

¹⁰ The following forms are exceptions to this strategy: #23, 33, 85, 87.

¹¹ Other words ending in /i/ in English and Kiriwina are #38, 48, 66, 106, 110, 113, 127, 143.

¹² Another word ending in /u/ in English and Kiriwina is #141.

¹³ Other words ending in /ə/ in English and /a/ in Kiriwina are #1, 29, 32-33, 39, 54, 61, 72, 78, 94, 97, 103, 111, 117, 124, 128, 138.

We find ten other loan words that end with a closed syllable, but which do not follow the Kilivila syllable pattern. We will discuss these lexical entries later. As to all the remaining loan words in which the English source ends in a closed syllable, we cannot only speculate about, but also observe, the following mechanisms of interference. With all these remaining loan words we find /u/ as the word final phoneme in six cases, as illustrated in (12); /a/ as the word final phoneme in 19 cases, as illustrated in (13); and /i/ as the word final phoneme in 70 cases, as illustrated in (14).

- 12)a. *apu* ‘half’ (#2)
 b. *sopu* ‘soap’ (#112)¹⁴

- 13)a. *buta* ‘boot’ (#15)
 b. *pailata* ‘pilot’ (#73)
 c. *turabora* ‘trouble’ (#132)¹⁵

- 14)a. *doro 'ini* ‘drawing’ (#22)
 b. *sedí* ‘shed’ (#98)
 c. *tiketi* ‘ticket’ (#125)¹⁶

There are two approaches we can take when attempting to account for which particular vowel is adjoined. One approach is to account for it on the basis of the English source word; the other approach is to account for it on the basis of the rest of the loan word as it appears in Kilivila. We will examine the adjunctions using both approaches.

If we compare the Kilivila loan word with the English word, we can speculate that the word final vowel of some Kilivila loan words depends on the vowel within the stressed syllable of the English word borrowed, as illustrated in (15).

¹⁴ Other words in which /u/ is adjoined to the English source are #3, 28, 105, 114.

¹⁵ Other words in which /a/ is adjoined to the English source are #5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 46/47, 49, 57, 80, 82/83, 88, 95.

¹⁶ Other words in which /i/ is adjoined to the English source are #4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16/17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, 34, 37, 41/42, 43, 45, 51/52, 53, 55, 56, 59, 63, 67/68, 69, 70, 71, 75, 76, 77, 81, 84, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 99, 100/101, 102, 104, 107/108, 109, 115, 122, 123, 126, 131, 136, 139, 140, 142.

- 15)a. *bendini* 'benzine' (#7)
 b. *gilikiti* 'cricket' (#27)¹⁷
 c. *lasta* 'last' (#49)¹⁸
 d. *haisikulu* 'high school' (#28)¹⁹

The final sound of the English word, however, seems to have an observable and describable influence on the final vowel of the Kilivila loan word - if a vowel is added, of course (the few exceptions will be discussed later). The correlations between the final vowel of the Kilivila loan word and the final sound(s) of the English word are summarized in Chart 1.²⁰

Chart 1 does not account for the final vowel adjunctions in the Kilivila loan words *apu* 'half' (#2), *apula* 'half' (#3), and *tilipi* 'tea leaf' (#126). To explain these final vowel adjunctions we could make the following (somewhat awkward) observation:

If the final sound of the English word is [f], the final vowel of the Kilivila loan word is either /u/ (#2), or /a/ (#3), or /i/ (#126).

Such an observation, though, is not very satisfying, indeed.

If we look at the Kilivila loan word only we can describe the last two syllables of the Kilivila loan words in the following way: ..\$C₁V₁\$C₂V₂\$. (Note that V₁ may also be a diphthong consisting of two vowels!) With respect to the word final vowels, Chart 2 describes the realization of V₂ in relation to the structure of the last two syllables of the Kilivila loan word.

If we describe the last two syllables of the Kilivila loan word as: \$C₁V₁n\$C₂V₂\$ then:

$V_2 = /i/$ if $C_1 = /m/$; $V_1 = /e/$; $C_2 = /t/$ (#107, 108)

¹⁷ Other words with stressed /i/ taking final /i/ are #9, 16, 17, 37, 45, 56, 63, 67-70, 86, 87, 89, 90, 104, 125, 126.

¹⁸ Other words with stressed /a/ taking final /a/ are #3, 123.

¹⁹ Another word with stressed /u/ taking final /u/ is #105.

²⁰ I concede that these observations may not be very 'elegant,' however, they describe quite effectively and simply what is going on with respect to the word final vowel adjunctions in Kilivila loan words.

Chart 1

English Final	Normal Vowel	Number	Other Vowel	Number (plus word-final sequences)
k	i	5 (#14, 76, 86, 136, 140)		
m	a	1 (#88)		
dʒ	i	2 (#100, 101)		
ɔ	i	1 (#23)		
ɔʊ	a	1 (#13)		
p	u	2 (#112, 114)	i	1 (#59 - æp)
t	i	12 (#25, 27, 67, 68, 75, 77, 90, 102, 104, 107, 108, 125)	a	8 (#6 - lt; #15 - ut; #46, 47 - aut; #49 - st; #73 - ət; #82, 83 - eɪnt)
d	i	6 (#10, 51, 52, 84, 98, 139)	a	1 (#8 - id)
ŋ	i	3 (#22, 37, 69)		
n	i	14 (#4, 7, 9, 16, 17, 24, 30, 43, 53, 70, 81, 91, 109, 115)	a	1 (#57 - lən)
			im	1 (#36 - lin)
l	i	6 (#11, 31, 34, 55, 71, 122, 123)	a	3 (#5 - ɛl; #80 - pəl; #132 - bəl)
			u	2 (#28, 105 - ul)
z	i	7 (#56, 89, 99, 118, 119, 121, 131)		
s	i	8 (#26, 41, 42, 45, 63, 92, 93, 142)	a	1 (#12 - bes)

Chart 2

V ₂	C ₁	V ₁	C ₂	Number
u	{∅ t s d}	{a o}	p	4 (#2, 112, 114, 141)
u	k	u	l	2 (#28, 105)
a	b	i	d	1 (#8)
a			{y v}	2 (#13, 19)
a	b	o	r	1 (#132)
a	b	o	s	1 (#12)
a	l	ai	t	1 (#47)
a	s	i	t	1 (#49)*
a	n	i	t	2 (#82, 83, if 83 = 82)
a	{b l}	{e a u}	t	3 (#15, 73, 95)
a	{p t}	{u i}	l	2 (#3, 46)
a	n	a	p	1 (#80)
a	b	e	l	1 (#5)
i	b	e	l	1 (#123)
i	l	e	n	1 (#53)
a	l	e	n	1 (#57)
i			k	6 (#14, 76, 86, 130, 136, 140)
i	{b k s l w}	{e a ai o}	d	7 (#10, 30, 51, 52, 75, 98, 139)
i	k	a	r	1 (#33)
i	{p b t d k ? s m r l y}	{i e a o u}	n	21 (#4, 7, 9, 16, 17, 22-25, 37, 43, 68-70, 81, 84, 91, 99, 100, 109, 115)
i	{p t k m n r l y}	{i e a ai o u}	s	17 (#26, 41, 42, 45, 56, 63, 85, 87, 89, 92, 93, 101, 118, 119, 121, 131, 142)
i	n	ai	t	1 (#90)
i	s	e	t	1 (#102)
i	{p k m r}	{i e o}	t	5 (#27, 67, 77, 104, 125)
i	b	o	l	2 (#11, 55)
i	{t d v n}	e	l	4 (#31, 34, 71, 122)
i	{m l}	{i a}	p	2 (#59, 126)

* Assuming *lasta* can be analysed as *lasita*, on the basis of *pesita* 'first' (section 2.3).

If we describe the last two syllables of the Kilivila loan word as: $\$C_1V_1m\$C_2V_2\$$ then:

$$V_2 = /a/ \text{ if } C_1 = /l/; V_1 = /i/; C_2 = /k/ \text{ (#88)}$$

This approach to describing the word final sounds of the loan words is not as effective as the first approach, where we looked at the English word first and then described the word final vowels in the Kilivila loan words. However, this approach allows us to argue that there are also Kilivila inherent rules that regulate the adjunction of final vowels to English words that end with consonants in the process of borrowing them. It remains unclear, though, whether these two approaches result in rules and regulations that interact with each other.

The strategy to transfer a word in such a form that it resembles phonemically a potential or actual word in Kilivila as the recipient language (Weinreich 1953:48) is also responsible for the adjunction of phonemes within English words that are borrowed as Kilivila loan words. In examples (16-21) the vowels /e/, /o/, /u/, /a/, and /i/ and even the consonant /v/, respectively, are inserted into English words that are borrowed in such a way that the loan words agree with Kilivila syllable patterns and phonotactics (see Senft 1986a:22-25).

- 16)a. *kandeli* 'candle' (#31)
 b. *poseni* 'poison' (#91)²¹
- 17)a. *dores* 'dress' (#21)
 b. *korosi* 'cross' (#41)²²
- 18)a. *turai* 'try' (#134)
 b. *turaki* 'truck' (#136)²³
- 19)a. *garasi* 'glass' (#26)
 b. *tara utusi* 'trousers' (#121)²⁴

²¹ Other loan words with inserted /e/ are #6, 20, 34, 43, 84, 123.

²² Other loan words with inserted /o/ are #22-23, 29, 40, 42, 55, 132.

²³ Other loan words with inserted /u/ are #132, 133, 135

²⁴ Another loan word with inserted /a/ is #75.

20)a. *potinaiti* 'fortnight' (#90)

b. *takisi* 'taxes' (#118)²⁵

21)a. *tauveli* 'towel' (#122)

b. *voda* 'order' (#138)

Unfortunately, I am not able to formulate any more detailed observations that describe these insertions.

Nonadjunctions

We can observe that the mechanisms of interference more often than not (i.e. in 93% of all cases) lead to Kilivila loan words the final syllable of which agrees with one of the five Kilivila syllable patterns proper. Before we look at the deletion and the substitution of sounds as a result of mechanisms of interference, however, we will now discuss those cases where the loan words do not agree with Kilivila phonological rules.

With the loan words, *adenda* 'agenda' (#1), *bendini* 'benzine' (#7), *medisin* 'medicine' (#60), *misin* 'mission' (#65), *penta* 'paint' (#83), *simenti* 'cement' (#107), and *-sument-* 'to cement' (#108) we observe a closed syllable of the type \$CVn\$. The following complex string, moreover, describes all the other closed syllable patterns that do not agree with the Kilivila syllable patterns proper: \$CV{p t k s f l}\$. These syllable types describe the closed syllables to be found with the following loan words: *taipraitā* 'typewriter' (#117), *turakustop* 'truck stop' (#135), *minit* 'minute' (#64), *titsa* 'teacher' (#128), *pak* 'fuck' (#74), *uk* 'hook' (#137), *dores* 'dress' (#21), *lasta* 'last' (#49), *pasbuki* 'passbook' (#76), *paspoti* 'passport' (#77), *sikyusmi* 'excuse me' (#106), *toas* 'torch' (#129), *kifagol* 'goal keeper' (#35), *kuf* 'group' (#44). Although one may argue that especially the syllables \$CVm\$ and \$CVn\$, but also the syllable \$CVI\$, of course, have in common that they end with a sonorant, and that speakers in fast speech delete word final /i/ quite often if it is preceded by /s/, the syllable pattern of these 21 loan words document that the borrowing of English words affects the rules of Kilivila syllable patterns proper.

²⁵ Other loan words with inserted /i/ are #27, 28, 36, 63, 82, 86-88, 92, 101, 105, 106, 109, 110, 115, 127.

Moreover, as can be observed with the loan words *petropesi* ‘patrol officer’ (#85), *plisi* ‘please’ (#89), *-spidi* ‘speedy’ (#113), *-stopu-* ‘to stop’ (#114), and *turakustop* ‘truck stop’ (#135), the borrowing of English words also leads to syllables with consonant clusters (and I have observed no variation in these forms). They neither agree with Kilivila phonotactics proper, nor with the rules of Kilivila syllable patterns proper.

Substitution and Deletion

In addition to adjunctions, substitutions and deletions also occur in the process of borrowing English words into Kilivila. With most of these rules, the general strategy formulated by Dutton (1982: 168) that “...speakers have no difficulty with sounds that occur in their own languages...but interpret unusual sounds in terms of their ‘nearest perceived’ sound in their own language...” can be applied without much difficulty. Chart 3 shows the substitutions and deletions that have been found as interference mechanisms with Kilivila loan words.²⁶

In addition, English /ə/ is quite often realized as the vowel that is represented in the English orthographic transcription for the respective lexical entry, as shown in (22).

- 22)a. *gabemani* ‘government’ (#25)
 b. *tobaki* ‘tobacco’ (#130)
 c. *tomatosi* ‘tomato’ (#131)

I cannot give any sound explanation for the forms of the loan words *malena* ‘melon’ (#57), *kadi* ‘carton’ (#30), *tara’utusi* ‘trousers’ (#121), and *kifagol* ‘goalkeeper’ (#35). With *kadi* and *tara’utusi* I can only speculate that these entries represent a combination of hearing mistakes and the difficulties Trobrianders seem to have perceiving some consonant clusters. With *kifagol* I can only speculate again that the term *kifa* for *goalkeeper* was borrowed first, and then, to make the reference clear, the term *gol* was added to the first borrowed part of the so constructed compound. It may also well be that this compound construction mirrors the construction of other similar Kilivila compounds like *tolikwabila* ‘landowner’ from *toli* ‘owner’ and *kwabila* ‘land, ground’.

²⁶ The phonemic inventory for Kilivila is given in Appendix 1.

Chart 3

English	Kilivila	Number
h	∅	3 (#2, 3, 137)*
p	f	2 (#44, 35)†
f	p	9 (#2, 3, 74, 84, 85, 88, 90, 92, 126)
ʃ	s	1 (#24)
dʒ	d	1 (#1)
tʃ	s	6 (#87, 97, 100, 101, 103, 129)
ɔ	o	1 (#91)
eɪ	e	4 (#71, 75, 93, 123)
oʊ	o	3 (#40, 120, 131)
aɪ	e	1 (#80)
ɛə	eya	1 (#103)
dʒə	dia	1 (#111)
gr	x	1 (#44)
nj	n	1 (#62)
θ, ð	t, d	2 (#95, 50)
ŋ	n	2 (#37, 69)
l	?	4 (#26, 32, 33, 132)
r	l	4 (#27, 45, 51, 52)?
æ	a	8 (#31, 59, 80, 95, 96, 99, 120, 130)**
ʌ	a	3 (#32, 33, 141)
t	d	2 (#75, 96)
v	b	1 (#25)
z	d	1 (#7)
k	kw	1 (#120)

* Note that *half* (#2, 3) is commonly pronounced with no /h/ in Australian English, too; the only loan word where Trobrianders make a supreme effort to pronounce /h/ is *haisikulu* (this difference may be due to the fact that *haisikulu* is a late borrowing, while the others are earlier).

† Note there is no /f/ within the Kilivila phoneme inventory proper.

? Sometimes /r/ is not changed, documenting again the fluctuation between /l/ and [r] (Senft 1986a:16).

** In one form (#141) /æ/ becomes /ye/.

Finally, examples like *kuf* ‘group’ (#44) document that loan words even introduce phonemes - here the phoneme /f/ - that do not occur within the Kilivila phoneme inventory proper.

Conclusion

With the exception of a few lexical entries this subsection has shown that the process of borrowing English words as Kilivila loan words is a process which is relatively strongly rule governed. Although most loan words are borrowed in such a way that they “fit the (phonological/segmental) paradigm” (Demuth, et. al. 1986:464) of Kilivila as the recipient language,²⁷ the borrowing of loan words leads to syllable patterns as well as to phonotactic patterns that do not agree with the respective ‘canonical’ Kilivila phonological rules. Thus, the mechanisms of interference observed and described so far will most probably have some consequences for Kilivila language change in progress. We return to this topic below.

2.4.2. Loan translations

According to Weinreich (1953:51), Betz has subdivided loan translations into loan translations proper, loan renditions, and loan creations (Betz 1939; 1949; 1959; see also Heidolph et al. 1981:908ff.). With Kilivila loan words I found five loan creations and one loan translation that may be described as a loan rendition.

The first loan creation I found is the term *botelivokwa*. This term refers to a helicopter; the literal translation of *botelivokwa* is ‘empty bottle’.

Ilubulebusi is a verbal expression, actually. However, it is used as a noun to refer to rugby. The literal translation of the verb stem *-lubulebu-* is ‘to quarrel with one’s younger brothers and sisters because they tried to take food from one’s plate’.

Kekwabula pikisi is a loan creation that consists of the Kilivila noun for picture or drawing and of the loan word *pikisi* ‘picture’. This ‘hybrid compound’ (Weinreich 1953:52) is used to refer to a camera.

²⁷ For examples of loan words in other languages see, for example, Downing (1986:346), Dutton (1982:167f.), Weinreich (1953:28, 44ff.). See especially Lichtenberk (1983:615-26).

Kwegilagela is a term that consists of the classificatory particle (-)kwe(-) that is used as the classifier for ‘things’ and of the verb stem *-gilagela-* ‘to utter a sound, to make noise, to crow’. Thus, *kwegilagela* is literally ‘a thing that makes noise’. The term is used to refer to a radio.

Mani kwemamova is a loan creation that consists of the loan word *mani* ‘money’ and the adjective *kwemamova* (*kwe-mamova* ‘thing-living’); its literal translation reads ‘living money’; *mani kwemamova* is used to refer to (money in) cash.

The verb stem *-katukorosi-* may be described as a loan rendition; it consists of the morpheme *katu* which usually expresses the concept ‘to do something with something or someone’ and the loan word *korosi* ‘cross’; the verb stem *-katukorosi-* means ‘to crucify’.

2.4.3. Unclear cases

With the loan words of Kilivila a number of cases remain unclear (at least to me) so far.

The term *anerosi* is used to refer to angel. This term was most probably introduced by the Methodists in Kavataria during their translation of the New Testament into Kilivila. In the two editions of *Bulogala Bwaina* (1979; n.d.) we find the term *anelosi* for angel. The book *History of the New Testament...* (Catholic Mission 1949:10) done by Catholic M.S.C. missionaries in Gusaweta does not translate ‘angel’ at all.

The term *diyapani* refers both to ‘the Japanese’ and to ‘water bottle’; this extension of the semantic concept may be due to the Trobrianders’ World War II experiences.

The term *lusta* refers to rifle or gun. Cochran (1978:863) gives *rusa* as the Kilivila word for ‘to shoot’, and reconstructs proto-Milne Bay **rusa* for ‘to shoot’; although Cochran’s evidence seems to be quite convincing, I have never heard this form *rusa* on the Trobriands.

The verbal expression *-pa'eni-* means to pay. It may well be that Tom Dutton is right to refer this loan word back to the English word *fine* and to speculate that it was borrowed in the times when the Trobriands had an Australian patrol officer - but again this is only a good guess.

The term *parai* refers to ‘plastic (material)’. An anonymous reviewer suggested the

possibility that *parai* is a borrowing from *fly* as in *tent-fly*. It goes without saying that such a canvas sheet makes a good sail - the more recent equivalents are made of plastic. This sounds quite plausible.

Given the above and the fact that Kilivila has a number of synonyms and other verbal resources to create suitable forms to refer to new concepts we have to ask why we observe all these borrowings in Kilivila.

3. Causes of Interference

“Language contact is considered ... as but one aspect of culture contact, and language interference as a facet of cultural diffusion and acculturation.” (Weinreich 1953:5) This insight on the dynamic processes between culture contact and language contact together with Greenberg’s (1948:146) hint that studies of loan words are actually “acculturation studies of the influence of one culture on another” are still the landmarks for any discussion of the question we will pursue within this section of the paper. Thus, we will first discuss the general problem of “contact and interference” and then the sociolinguistic aspects of interference that affect individuals first, then disseminates within certain groups of speakers, and finally may spread throughout the whole speech community.

3.1. Contact and interference

The Trobriand Islands were ‘discovered,’ at least for European cartographers, in 1792 by Antoine Bruni D’Entrecasteaux, who named them after Denis de Trobriand, one of the officers of his ship *Espérance*.²⁸ MacGregor’s 1891 annual report on British New Guinea (MacGregor 1983), Bellamy’s 1914/15 report (Bellamy 1916), Saville’s memoirs, (Saville with Austin 1974), and Malinowski’s masterpieces on Trobriand ethnography document the increasing influence of Europeans, especially Britons and Australians, on the Trobriand Islanders and their society up to the end of World War II.

²⁸ It may be that the Kilivila word for ‘knife’, namely *kutou*, is a kind of verbal “fossilization” that documents contact with Frenchmen. Moreover, the word for ‘good’, *bwena*, also may hint at contacts between the Trobrianders and sailors from the Iberian peninsula.

The Trobriand Islands became part of British New Guinea in 1883/84, and were gradually brought into the administration of the colony by visiting and resident magistrates and patrol officers. This status lasted up to 16 September 1975, the day of full independence of Papua New Guinea. (See Sinclair and Inder 1980.)²⁹

Together with the political/colonial occupation of the Trobriands as a part of British New Guinea, the Overseas Mission Department of the Methodist Church commenced work on the Trobriand Islands as early as 1894.

The political and cultural changes as a consequence of these developments were fostered especially by the patrol officers that were stationed on Kiriwina Island, by the missionaries, and by European traders and pearl-fishers.

If we look at the loan words listed in Appendix 2, we realize immediately that all the loan words document the socio-economic change that is still in progress on the Trobriands and the influence of the missionaries, the mission stations, and the churches that are established on the islands. The exemplary discussion of a few loan words in connection with this topic will suffice for the purposes pursued in this subsection.

The Kilivila loan word *gilikiti* 'cricket' can be referred back to Methodist missionaries (most of the first of whom on the Trobriands were Fijians) who introduced this game to the Trobrianders, although they play the game with their own and very specific variation (see Austen 1945:55f.; Leach 1976). Other loan words like *anerosi*, *bela*, *buki*, *dikoni*, *dores*, *kandeli*, *korosi*, *sabata*, *sikulu*, etc. obviously come from the missionaries' teachings on the Trobriands.

To highlight just three loan words as examples demonstrating the socio-economic change on the islands, I will briefly comment on the words *bosa*, *boya*, and *potinaiti*.

As early as in the beginning of this century a few Trobrianders left their islands and worked for a period of time at Samarai, the former administrative center of the area that is now called Milne Bay Province (with Alotau as the provincial capital now). There they

²⁹ For a more recent survey on the political and economic changes on the Trobriands see Weiner (1982).

acquired the terms for 'boss' and the colonial, ironic, and pejorative diminutive 'boy' that was used by their bosses to refer to them. The term *potinaiti* was quite important for these workers because they got some of their salary every fortnight; the rest was paid into a trust fund to give them when their contracts ran out (Tom Dutton, personal communication).

Even today Trobrianders leave their islands to work mostly at Alotau, Lae, Madang, or even Port Moresby. If they return home, they bring with them a number of English (sometimes even Tok Pisin) expressions and words which they have acquired during their absence from their homes.

So far, we have emphasized religion and (socio-)economy as the most important factors in culture contact situations that lead to interference processes within the language that is linguistically and politically dominated by a foreign culture with a foreign language (see Alleyne 1971:181; Hymes 1971; Schlesier 1961:553; Weinreich 1953:92). But why are the words that are introduced to a dominated speech community finally incorporated into the lexicon of this speech community? The following subsection attempts to answer this question.

3.2. Sociolinguistics and interference

According to Weinreich (1953:118) and Freilich (1970), as a general rule almost all individuals that are involved in contact situations like those described above and that acquire skills in the language of the dominant culture during this contact come back to their community as 'marginal natives.' However, the position of the 'marginal natives' is ambivalent: although they have been alienated from their own culture, the knowledge and the skills they have acquired in the foreign culture and its language adds prestige to them.

With the increasing contact between the two cultures involved, these persons take over the position of interpreters and the role of mediators in commerce and trade. Thus, the prestige position of the dominant culture and language (see Eersel 1971:332) also yields at least some prestige to these persons alienated from their own culture. They document their skills in the foreign language by interspersing their speech with words of this language.

Once loan words get the status of prestigious sociolinguistic variables, these loan words

are incorporated into the lexicon of persons with social upward mobility (see Labov 1972a; 1972b), persons that want to advance in their social position within a community and employ even linguistic means to reach their aim.

In the case of the Trobriands, those individuals with a highly motivated social upward mobility have been employing a second strategy to overcome the strictly hierarchical stratification of Trobriand society. They have been seizing the opportunity offered to them by both the Catholic and the Methodist mission: they undergo a few months training at a mission school to become local village church leaders, or *misinari* as they are called on the islands.³⁰ A *misinari* has learned to master English to a certain degree, to read the four Gospels that were translated (1979) into (a slightly Dobu biased variety of) Kilivila, to interpret and expound the Gospels, and to write (in some way or another). This training is reflected in the village church leaders' speech behavior, too, of course. Thus, the *misinari* gain prestige as specially trained lay-priests or deacons being associated with the influential missions, and by slipping in their speech some loan words that have the status of prestigious sociolinguistic variables (see e.g. Senft 1987d:195ff, 201, 207, 209).

With these pieces of ethnographic information given, it is no wonder that most of the Trobriand *misinari* belong to subclans of the two lower of the four Trobriand clans. Persons that are matrilineally born into these two lower clans normally have almost no chance to gain political influence (if they do not inherit the knowledge of still important special magical formulae). The fact that the *misinari*, although a relatively young group of social climbers, have achieved political influence within the villages is verbally documented by the perfect ritualized greeting formula that is used to start important public speeches. This formula runs: *Agutoki kweguyau, agutoki misinari, agutoki tommota...*; it can be translated as 'Honorable chiefs, dear village church leaders, people (from/of (name of the respective village))...' ³¹

If the traditional elite of the communities that are dominated by the respective culture in

³⁰ The observations in this section regarding *misinari* were made on Kaile'una.

³¹ The role played in Tauwema village by the 'misinari' and the individuals who worked for a certain period of time in other parts of PNG and returned to the Trobriands is documented in Senft (1987b).

contact wants to maintain its influential position, it either must stigmatize and sanction the use of words and phrases that may develop into prestigious sociolinguistic variables, or it must incorporate these prestigious sociolinguistic variables into their own speech behavior, too. In the case of the Trobriand traditional elite, it is the latter alternative that the chiefs and other members of the highest subclan within the highly hierarchical and socially stratified Trobriand society³² decided on to maintain their privileged position as far as possible.

Summarizing the preceding paragraphs we must emphasize that loan words are borrowed by speakers with strong social upward mobility, especially by men, because of their prestige. This confirms the results presented by ethnographers like Schlesier (1961:571) who also emphasize that men first acquire skills in the language of the dominant culture.³³ If we look at the loan words listed in the appendix we do not just notice a “clustering of loans whose content is ... in areas of association with Europeans” (Clark 1982:140). Although Clark’s observation is true for a number of loan words in Kilivila, too, we realize that the loan words listed are indeed quite “randomly distributed throughout the lexicon” (Clark 1982:140). I agree with Clark that ‘prestige’ of loan words alone is not a sufficient answer to the question why we find loan words, especially those that refer to concepts for which Kilivila itself provides already one or even a number of lexical entries. But ‘prestige’ is obviously a very important, if not the most important, aspect to consider in answering this question.

In what follows I list two other aspects that must be taken into consideration with respect to this question:

1. New things and new concepts that are introduced into a culture need new expressions for referring to them verbally in an adequate way (see Clark 1982:138f.). This observation helps to explain why we find loan words like *adenda*, *ayani*, *bela*, *bendini*, *buki*, *la'ita*, *ensini*, *haisikulu*, *laisi*, *mani*, *pailata*, *paspoti*, *petropesi*, *pilimka*, *simenti*, *sodia*, *takisi*, *tiketi*, *turaki*, *yuni*, etc. in Kilivila.

³² With respect to Trobriand society see e.g. Malinowski (1929, 1935), Powell (1957, 1969a, 1969b), Weiner (1976, 1977, 1983, 1988). For loan words in the speech of chiefs see Senft (1987d).

³³ With respect to Trobrianders that worked for a while in cities of PNG, these results also confirm findings of the research on unguided second language acquisition of immigrant workers in Great Britain, Sweden, the Netherlands, France, and Germany.

2. Borrowings “may be brought about by a concept that is not necessarily new, but has not been conveniently lexicalized in the language before” (Clark 1982:139). This aspect can explain why we find loan words like *boli* ‘ball’. In former times the Trobrianders wove balls as toys for their children out of dried pandanus leaves. These balls, like many things made out of pandanus leaves (mats, umbrellas, etc.), were called *moi*. To refer to the new balls made out of plastic or leather, but also to refer to the old *moi*-balls, Kilivila native speakers now use the loan word *boli*. Here we have an example to demonstrate that a loan word may allow a more specific and adequate reference than the indigenous term that referred to this concept so far. The loan word fills a lexical gap for unequivocal verbal reference.

Moreover, Weinreich (1953:56-61) states that besides “a universal cause of lexical innovation” a speech community incorporates foreign words into its lexicon because of

1. “the constant needs of synonyms,”
2. “the ever present need for euphemisms and slangy ‘cacophemism,’” and
3. “the desire for comic effects.”

However, Weinreich does not answer the question why a speech community may feel these needs and desires.

If we want to answer the question why we find loan words in Kilivila, we have to keep all these aspects in mind. However, we must concede that there “is still a need for a convincing theory of the ‘why’ of borrowing, what Weinreich (1953:61) refers to as “one of the unsolved problems of language contact”” (Clark 1982:141).

Before I finish this subsection of the paper I have to note just one more observation. So far I have referred to the *misinari* and to individuals that worked in other places in PNG for a certain period of time as the only promoters of language change in progress that results from the contact situation between English and Kilivila. But a few years before the independence of Papua New Guinea the Australian government started to establish state-maintained schools on the Trobriands. These schools, together with the already existing schools run by the Australian missionaries, were the start of a great alphabetization

campaign that is still going on. Though, with a few exceptions,³⁴ of course, it seems that this campaign produced its first broader results at the beginning of this decade (see Senft 1986b). As I could document with respect to color terms in Kilivila (Senft 1987b), the school children between 8 and 14 years of age, and here especially the girls, seem to acquire English in such a way that they also promote the lexical borrowing processes discussed.

4. Kilivila and English: Some Speculations on Language Change

Vachek (1966) distinguishes between native and nonnative words of a language. Nonnative words like the loan words in Kilivila are at the periphery of the lexicon, while native words form the center of the lexicon of a certain language. The status assigned to these two groups of words must also be assigned to the phonological and other segmental rules that are valid for the structure of the respective lexical entries.

I think Vachek's differentiation provides an excellent description of the status of most of the English loan words within the system of Kilivila. Although the speculation that some of the loan words discussed here may penetrate into the center of the Kilivila lexicon is rather convincing, and although this development may lead to a few modifications with respect to the rules of syllable structure and phonotactics, the borrowing of most of these loan words will not lead to major changes which would affect the grammar of Kilivila in a dramatic way. However, at least three types of borrowings may indeed lead to changes that will affect the grammar of Kilivila rather fundamentally.

The first type of these borrowings encompasses English color terms that enter the Kilivila lexicon. As already discussed elsewhere (Senft 1987b) English color terms have replaced traditional folk botany terms that were used to refer to the respective colors of natural dyes. These folk botany terms are dying out now.

The second type of borrowings encompass English numerals that enter the Kilivila

³⁴ To personify one of these exceptions, one of the more popular poets of Papua New Guinea is John Kasaipwalova, a Trobriander whose talents were recognized and promoted so that he was the first Trobriander to study at an Australian university.

lexicon. In simple noun phrases the Kilivila numeral is superseded by the loan word borrowed from English. If this process of language change continues it will affect the Kilivila classifier system as well. Kilivila is a numeral classifier language (Malinowski 1920; Senft 1985d, 1986, 1987c), and if its numerals, in the word formation of which the classifiers are involved, will be 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 in some adjectives. However, this seems to be true for simple noun phrases only. I did not observe that Kilivila speakers used English numerals instead of the respective numerals in complex noun phrases that consisted not only of noun and numeral but of noun and numeral and/or demonstrative pronoun and/or 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 part into the inventory of Kilivila classifiers. Thus, so far the **core** of this classifier system seems to be quite resistant to change.

The last type of these borrowings encompasses loan words like *dores*. Loan words of this type may in the long run substitute for the morphologically rather complex Kilivila nominal equivalents that consist of a noun that requires possession-indicating pronominal affixes. Borrowings of this type may have severe consequences for the Kilivila morphology. However, I want to emphasize that with the data given at the moment this is sheer speculation.

Be that as it may, it is a rather trivial fact that all natural languages are dynamic systems, and one of our tasks as linguists is to describe and to document the fascinating phenomena of the processes that affect this dynamic system. I hope that this paper could contribute to this linguistic task.

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Appendix 1: Kilivila phonemes

The phonemic inventory of Kilivila is as follows. (See also Senft (1986a:11).)

Consonants

p	b	t	d	k	g	ʔ
pw	bw			kw	gw	
	v	s				
	m		n			
	mw					
			r			
			l			
	w		y			

Vowels

i	u
e	o
	a

Diphthongs

ei	ou
eu	oi
	ai au

Appendix 2: Kilivila loan words ‘proper’

The 143 assimilated loan words discussed in section 2.4.1 are listed in this appendix. Each entry is organized as follows:

- 23 1-*doro'ini-* 3doro'ini
 2(to) draw 4dɔrɔʔʔʔʔ
 5add: to sketch
 syn: *-biyagila-*, *-gini-*

1: The Kilivila loan word

2: The English source word

3&4: The Kilivila loan word and English phonetic form, lined up by phoneme

5: Semantic information, including broadening semantics (add:); change in semantics (chg:); Kilivila synonyms (syn:)

- | | | | | | |
|---|--|---------------------|----|---------------------------|------------------|
| 1 | <i>adenda</i>
agenda | ad enda
əɖɛndə | 10 | <i>bodi</i>
board | bɔdi
bɔdʔ |
| 2 | <i>apu</i>
half | ʔapu
haf ʔ | | syn: <i>kaidauvaga</i> | |
| | syn: <i>mabila</i> , <i>sikipona</i> , <i>-kabulo-</i> | | 11 | <i>boli</i>
ball | bɔli
bɔlʔ |
| 3 | <i>apula</i>
half | ʔapu l a
haf ʔʔʔ | | syn: <i>moi</i> | |
| | see #2 | | 12 | <i>bosa</i>
boss | bosa
besʔ |
| 4 | <i>ayani</i>
iron | ajani
atənʔ | | syn: <i>tokarevaga</i> | |
| 5 | <i>bela</i>
bell | bela
bəlʔ | 13 | <i>boya</i>
boy | boya
bɔɪ ʔ |
| | | | | syn: <i>mwa</i> | |
| 6 | <i>beleta</i>
belt | beleta
bəlʔtʔ | 14 | <i>buki</i>
book | buki
bukʔ |
| | syn: <i>duliduli</i> , <i>pegala</i> , <i>segigi</i> , <i>vakala</i> | | 15 | <i>buta</i>
boot | buta
butʔ |
| 7 | <i>bendini</i>
benzine | benzini
benzinʔ | 16 | <i>dikoni</i>
deacon | dikoni
dikənʔ |
| 8 | <i>bida</i>
bead | bida
bidʔ | 17 | <i>-dikoni-</i>
deacon | dikoni
dikənʔ |
| 9 | <i>bini</i>
bean | bini
binʔ | | chg: to be a deacon | |

18	<i>doa</i> door syn: <i>duyava, taboda, valulua</i>	dɔa dɔθ	32	<i>kara</i> color syn: <i>noku</i>	kara kʌ lə
19	<i>dova</i> door see #18	dɔva dɔθθ	33	<i>-kari-</i> (to) color add: to dye syn: <i>-lalu-</i>	kar i kʌ lə
20	<i>doketa</i> doctor	doketa dekθtə	34	<i>keteli</i> kettle	keteli ketθlθ
21	<i>dores</i> dress syn: <i>dabe-PP IV</i>	dores dθres	35	<i>kifagol</i> goalkeeper	kifa goθl goulkipə(goul)
22	<i>doro'ini</i> drawing syn: <i>kekwabu-PP IV</i>	dorɔni dθrɔŋθ	36	<i>-kilinim-</i> (to) clean syn: <i>-katumigile'u-, -migile'u-</i>	ki linim kθlinθθ
23	<i>-doro'ini-</i> (to) draw add: to sketch syn: <i>-biyagila-, -gini-</i>	dorɔni dθrɔθθθ	37	<i>kini</i> king	ki ni kiŋθ
24	<i>ensini</i> engine	en s ini enɟənθ	38	<i>komiti</i> committee	komiti kəmiti
25	<i>gabemani</i> government	gabeθmanθi gʌvənməntθ	39	<i>kona</i> corner syn: before <i>vakulu</i>	kɔna kɔnə
26	<i>garasi</i> glass add: binoculars, spectacles syn: <i>kailubusi</i>	garasi gθlasθ	40	<i>koroba</i> crowbar chg: small iron rod, sharpened at both ends, used as a weapon; a digging stick syn: <i>kekwa'ula, dema</i>	koroθba kθrouba
27	<i>gilikiti</i> cricket	gilukiti kθrikətθ	41	<i>korosi</i> cross	korosi kθresθ
28	<i>haisikulu</i> high school	haisikulu haisθkulθ	42	<i>-korosi-</i> cross chg: to make a cross, to cross out	korosi kθresθ
29	<i>kapora</i> copra	kəpora kəpθrə	43	<i>koteni</i> cotton (sewing)	koteni kətθnθ
30	<i>kadi</i> carton	kadiθ katən	44	<i>kuf</i> group syn: <i>boda, deli</i>	χ uf grup
31	<i>kandeli</i> candle	k andeli kændθlθ			

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- | | | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------|----|--|----------------------|
| 45 | <i>laisi</i>
rice | rausi
rausθ | 59 | <i>mapi</i>
map
syn: <i>kekwabula valu</i> | mapi
mæpθ |
| 46 | <i>laitila</i>
light
syn: <i>kaidagi</i> | laitila
lautθθθ | 60 | <i>medisin</i>
medicine | mēdisin
medəsən |
| 47 | <i>laita</i>
light
see #46 | lauta
lautθ | 61 | <i>memba</i>
member
chg: group
syn: <i>boda, deli</i> | mēmba
mēmbə |
| 48 | <i>laki</i>
lucky
add: God bless you | laki
laki | 62 | <i>menu</i>
menu
add: cooked food
syn: <i>kaula, kauveluva, luva</i> | mənθu
mənju |
| 49 | <i>lasta</i>
last
chg: at last, in the end
syn: <i>alavigimkoila</i> | lasta
lastθ | 63 | <i>-mikisi-</i>
(to) mix
syn: <i>-katugiaki-, -katumbuliki-, -sekuriki-</i> | mikisi
mikθsθ |
| 50 | <i>leda</i>
leather | leda
lēðə | 64 | <i>minit</i>
minute | minit
minət |
| 51 | <i>lekodi</i>
record | lækodi
rækodθ | 65 | <i>misin</i>
mission | misin
mɪʃən |
| 52 | <i>-lekodi-</i>
(to) record | lækodi
rækodθ | 66 | <i>misinari</i>
missionary
add: local clergy | misinari
mɪʃənθri |
| 53 | <i>-leni-</i>
(to) learn
syn: <i>-gesoseva-, -sau-, -seva-, -takutu-</i> | leni
lənθ | 67 | <i>-miti-</i>
(to) meet
syn: <i>-boda-, -bwadi-, -keyaki-, -vabudubwadi-, -veki-, etc.</i> | miti
mitθ |
| 54 | <i>leta</i>
letter | leda
lētə | 68 | <i>-mitini-</i>
(to) meet
see #67 | mitini
mitθθθ |
| 55 | <i>maboli</i>
marble | maboli
mabəlθ | 69 | <i>mitini</i>
meeting
see #67 | mitɪni
mitɪŋθ |
| 56 | <i>maisi</i>
maize (corn) | maisi
meizθ | 70 | <i>napini</i>
pin
chg: girl with a hair pin | napini
θθpɪnθ |

71	<i>neli</i> nail syn: <i>kevava</i>	neθli neɪlθ	86	<i>pikiniki</i> picnick	pʊkɪnʊki pʊkθnʊkθ
72	<i>namba</i> number	namba nʌmbə	87	<i>pikisi</i> picture syn: <i>kekwabu</i> -PP IV	pʊkɪsɪ pʊkθtʃə
73	<i>pailata</i> pilot	paulata paulətθ	88	<i>pilimka</i> film	pʊlɪmka fɪlθmθθ
74	<i>puk</i> fuck syn: <i>-ke-</i> , <i>-keya-</i>	pak fʌk	89	<i>plisi</i> please syn: <i>agutoki</i>	plɪsɪ plɪzθ
75	<i>paledi</i> plate syn: <i>damvau</i> , <i>kaboma</i> , <i>kenuya</i> , <i>kevagi</i>	paleθdi pθleɪtθ	90	<i>potinaiti</i> fortnight	pɔtɪnautɪ fɔtθnautθ
76	<i>pasbuki</i> passbook	pasbuki pasbukθ	91	<i>poseni</i> poison syn: <i>diginuvayu</i>	pɔθsenɪ pɔɪzənθ
77	<i>paspoti</i> passport	paspɔtɪ paspɔtθ	92	<i>positopesi</i> post office	pɔθsɪtopəsɪ pɔʊsθtɛfəsθ
78	<i>pauda</i> powder	pauda paudə	93	<i>-resi-</i> (to) race add: to cut off syn: <i>-komta'ela-</i> , <i>-bwabu-</i> , <i>-lituli-</i> , <i>-tai-</i> , <i>-tauvali-</i> , etc.	reθsɪ reɪsθ
79	<i>pela</i> pillow	pelaθ pɪlʊ	94	<i>riga</i> outrigger syn: <i>lamina</i>	θθθriga aʊtɪrɪgə
80	<i>penapa</i> pineapple	peθnəpəθ paɪnæpəl	95	<i>sabata</i> Sabbath add: Sunday	səbətə sæbəθθ
81	<i>peni</i> pen	pɛnɪ pɛnθ	96	<i>sadada</i> Saturday	sədədə sætədɪ
82	<i>-penita-</i> (to) paint syn: <i>-gini-</i> , <i>-kali-</i> , <i>-sabi-</i> , <i>-tamwali-</i>	peθnɪtə peɪnθtθ	97	<i>-sata-</i> (to) charter	sətə tʃətə
83	<i>penta</i> paint	peθntə peɪntθ	98	<i>sedi</i> shed	sɛdɪ ʃɛdθ
84	<i>pereni</i> friend	pɛrɛnθɪ fɪrɛndθ			
85	<i>petropesi</i> patol officer	pɛtrθθθpɛsɪ pɛtrɔʊɪɛfəsə			

99	<i>-sekani-</i> (to) shake hands add: to greet syn: <i>-boda-</i>	seθkθa nθθi ʃeɪkħændzθ	113	<i>-spidi</i> speedy syn: <i>gigibula, nanakwa</i>	spidi spidi
100	<i>-seni-</i> (to) change syn: <i>-da'ila-, -katupela-, -mili-</i>	seθn θ i tʃeɪnʤθ	114	<i>-stopu-</i> (to) stop syn: <i>-buyoy-, -dodeva-, -kibwadi-, -ligeva-, -silaboda-, -tobu-, etc.</i>	stopu stɒpθ
101	<i>-senisi-</i> (to) change see #100	seθn θ i s i tʃeɪnʤθθθ	115	<i>susipani</i> saucepan	sus ipani sɔsθpənθ
102	<i>seti</i> shirt	set i ʃetθ	116	<i>taim</i> time syn: <i>tuta, siva</i>	taim taim
103	<i>seya</i> chair	se ja tʃeθə	117	<i>taipraita</i> typewriter	taipraita taɪpraɪtə
104	<i>sigareti</i> cigarette	sɪgaret i sɪgəretθ	118	<i>takisi</i> taxes	t a k i s i θ tækθsɪz
105	<i>sikulu</i> school	s i k u l u sθkulθ	119	<i>-takisi-</i> taxes (to pay)	t a k i s i θ tækθsɪz
106	<i>sikyusmi</i> excuse me add: pardon	θθs i k j u z m i əksθkjuzmi	120	<i>tapiokwa</i> tapioca syn: <i>kasava</i>	t a p i o θ k w a tæpɪoʊkθə
107	<i>simenti</i> cement	səment i səmentθ	121	<i>tara'utusi</i> trousers	tara ' u θ θ θ t u s i tθrɑθuzəzθθθθ
108	<i>-sumenti-</i> (to) cement	sument i səmentθ	122	<i>tauveli</i> towel	tavəli taʊəlθ
109	<i>sipuni</i> spoon syn: <i>kaniku, keneva</i>	s i p u n i sθpunθ	123	<i>-tebeli-</i> table chg: to eat on a table	teθbeli teɪbəlθ
110	<i>sitori</i> story syn: <i>kwanebu, kukuwanebu</i>	s i t ɔ r i sθtɔri	124	<i>temba</i> timber syn: <i>kai</i>	temba tɪmbə
111	<i>sodia</i> soldier	s o θ θ d i a soʊldʒθə	125	<i>tiketi</i> ticket	tuketi tʊkətθ
112	<i>sopu</i> soap	s o θ p u soʊpθ	126	<i>tilipi</i> tea leaf add: tea	t i l i p θ i ti:li:v zθ

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------|-----|---|--------------------------------|
| 127 | <i>-tiriki</i>
tricky
syn: <i>-sasopa, -wabu</i> | t i ruki
tʰruki | 139 | <i>waidi</i>
wide
syn: <i>-beyaya</i> | wai d i
waidʷ |
| 128 | <i>titsa</i>
teacher | titsa
titʃə | 140 | <i>wiki</i>
week | wik i
wikʷ |
| 129 | <i>toas</i>
torch
syn: <i>kaidagi, kaitapa</i> | tʷas
tʷtʃ | 141 | <i>-yedapu-</i>
(to) add up to | y e dapʷu
ʷædʷpt u |
| 130 | <i>tobaki</i>
tobacco
syn: <i>mku, tombaiku</i> | tob a ki ʷ
təbækou | 142 | <i>yesi</i>
yes
syn: <i>bogwa, a, e, we, etc.</i> | jɛs i
jɛsʷ |
| 131 | <i>tomatosi</i>
tomatoes | tomatoʷsi
təmatouzʷ | 143 | <i>yuni</i>
university | jun ʷʷʷ ʷʷʷ i
jun(əvɛ:sət)i |
| 132 | <i>turabora</i>
trouble | turabora
tʰrʌbəlʷ | | | |
| 133 | <i>-turai-</i>
(to) try
syn: <i>-igikwali-, -savali-, -sikwali-,
-vigakola-, -vokwali-, etc.</i> | turai
tʰrai | | | |
| 134 | <i>turai</i>
try | turai
tʰrai | | | |
| 135 | <i>turakustop</i>
truckstop
add: hitchhiking | turakustop
tʰrʌkʷstɛp | | | |
| 136 | <i>turaki</i>
truck
add: car | turak i
tʰrʌkʷ | | | |
| 137 | <i>uk</i>
hook
syn: <i>bani</i> | ʷuk
huk | | | |
| 138 | <i>voda</i>
order
syn: <i>vakota</i> | vɔdʷa
ʷɔdʷə | | | |