What Happened to "The Fearless Tailor" in Kilivila
A European Fairy-Tale – from the South Seas

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Abstract. – This paper presents a fairy-tale from the Trobriand Islands and discusses some consequences the linguistic and cultural contact situation with Australian missionaries had for the islanders. The fairy-tale can easily be recognized as the Kilivila version of the European tale "The Fearless Tailor" (collected by Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm under the German title "Das tapfere Schneiderlein"). A comparison between the European tale and its Kilivila version reveals that although the latter travels between a European and a Trobriand world both linguistically and with regard to the contents – the Trobriand tale combines the European – fairy-tale – world and the Trobriand world – of myths. However, with this combination processes of change on the Trobriands are fostered and supported. [Trobriand Islands, Cultures and languages in contact, fairy-tales, ethnolinguistics, Austronesian linguistics]

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Der Schneider band sich den Gürtel um den Leib und wollte in die Welt hinaus . . .

1. Introduction

"The South Seas," – this is not only the actually misleading name the Spaniard Balboa coined 1513 for the sea modern geographers call the "Pacific Ocean" – by the way another misleading name that was coined by Magellan –, "the South Seas" is also and above all the label for a "European myth" (Ritz 1983; Stein 1984a–c). An important part of this myth consists of the idea of a completely friendly encounter — free from any aggression whatsoever — between Europeans and islanders in Oceania; this idea has its roots in travelogues like Bougainville's (1772) description of his experience with the Tahitians on "La Nouvelle Cythere" or like Cook's (1768–1779) reports on his impressions of, and his experience with, the Tonga Islanders on the atolls, coral and volcanic islands that constitute the kingdom of Tonga which he called "Friendship Islands." It is a fact that the very beginning of the contact between Europeans and islanders — who soon were glorified as "noble savages" — was characterized by aggression on both sides. Thus, a year before Bougainville's visit of Tahiti in 1768 Samuel Wallis landed there with his crew; after about 6 weeks he fought a battle with the islanders — and the cannons of his ship as well as his sailors' muskets "impressed" the Tahitians quite deeply and intimidated these islanders rather effectively. However, these facts have been repressed in Europe in favour of the "South Seas myth." All over the South Seas the contact between Europeans on the one hand and Polynesians, Micronesians, and Melanesians on the other hand has always been an encounter where the representatives of European cultures presented themselves as the masters proceeding on the assumption to dominate the representatives of the cultures they encountered in the South Seas. The difference in the power relation between the cultures involved in these encounters had consequences for the islanders' indigenous languages – from the very beginning of the contact — and with the developing contact between the peoples of Oceania and the Europeans the influence of (Indo-)European languages on the Austronesian and Non-Austronesian languages continues.

This paper deals with an aspect of this linguistic and cultural contact situation between European, i.e., in the present case Australian, missionaries on the one hand and Trobriand Islanders (Papua New Guinea) on the other hand. I already described phonological aspects of language change in progress that is induced in Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders, by its contact with Australian English (Senft 1991b); and just recently
I described the cultural and linguistic changes I observed 6 years after my first field research on the Trobriands (Senft 1990a). Here I want to demonstrate with the example of a fairy-tale what consequences the contact of the Trobriand Islanders with Europeans, with their language and culture, has for the language and culture of these islanders who belong to the ethincal group called "North-Massim."

2. The Kilivila Version of the Tale of “The Fearless Tailor”

Kilivila is an Austronesian language with VOS-word order that is spoken by about 17 000 speakers living on the Trobriand Islands in Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. It is classified typologically as belonging to the “Papuan Tip Cluster” group (Ross 1988: 25). In 1986 I published the first grammar and dictionary of this language.

In the course of my first field research in 1982 some boys and girls living in Tawuema village, the place of residence during our field research, promised – after having recited some songs and verses – to tell me some fairy-tales. I almost put up with the breach of this promise when – on the 25th of July 1983 Yabilosi (about 5 years of age), Towesel (about 6 years of age), Dudauevelu (about 7 years of age), Tolumebu (about 9 years of age), and Dauya (about 9 years of age) approached me announcing that they now wanted to tell me some fairy-tales – as promised. Somewhat ashamedly but nevertheless quite happily I soon after started to document four fairy-tales Towesel told me in one row. At this point Dauya could hardly wait his turn to tell a tale. After I had asked Towesel who told him these fairy-tales (it was his father) Dauya volunteered emphatically to tell some of his tales. I asked him what fairy-tales he knew and he named the titles “Diki Witintani” and “Monagwadi Tosasopa.” It was quite obvious that the first title referred to the tale of “Dick Whittington.” Dauya, however, started with the tale that had the title “Monagwadi Tosasopa.” I was surprised hearing the name “Dick Whittington” in Tawuema, but my surprise increased when I realized listening to Dauya that the tale “Monagwadi Tosasopa” was the Kilivila version of the German fairy-tale “Das tapfere Schneiderlein” (“The Fearless Tailor”) I knew from the fairy-tale collection edited by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm in 1819! This paper analyzes and discusses this fairy-tale with respect to the question of “contact and variation in language and culture.” In what follows I first present the transcription of the Kilivila text (which is based on the orthography proposed in Senft 1986: 14 f.) together with its translation into English followed by the morpheme-interlinear transcription and translation of the text.

**Monagwadi Tosasopa**

1 Kwanebuyee

Monagwadi Tosasopa
Esisuuu.
5 Ikau kekwanisi, ikau
iweya mdaualvi seven.
Ili ... igni o kala
beleta seven dokonikani
10 ekatamata.
E tomota kumwedona ilagisi.
Ivina' usi mtosita
dokonikani seven.
Bogwa elagisi e mtosita.
15 Kini gala, ilagisi.
Isisu ima latula
kini.
20 Igisi Monagwadi
Tosasopa o kore
bereta egini.
Eke'ita eluki
tamala. Ekebiga: Tama

**The little boy “trickster”**

Fairy-tale (Once upon a time there was the) (of the)
little boy “trickster” (pause)
He lived (a long time ago).
He takes a broom, he takes it
and hits (kills) 7 flies.
He ... he writes on his
belt: “7 Dokonikani [man-eating giants/monsters] he killed.”
And all people hear (of it).
They are finished (off) these
7 Dokonikani.
Already they hear it, yes, these (people) there.
The king (does) not, (only) they hear (it).
She is there, she comes, the
king’s child (daughter).
She sees the little boy
trickster (and what) he wrote
on his belt.
She goes back and reports to
her father. She says: “Father,
25 tetala tau egini o koru
bereta “seven dokonikani
ekatamati.” O, kula
kuluki bima.
ila iluki.
30 Ima, ipaisewasi .
ikamkwansi ivanosi.
Ekebiga
magi gu mtosita seven
dokonikani bukwatamati.
35 Isakaula ila
igini o si doa.
Ve . . . Iwa inine’i . .
amyaga . . .
Inine’i imweki teyu
40 dokonikani mina kaukau.
Imwena ila
ila o dogina veva.
Ikipwasebo bima
45 biweya tetala.
Bikikimapusi
ivokwa.
Bisimwesi e bikidebwali
kweyuvela.
50 Bi . . . biweya tetala.
Ikimapusi voa ikimatasi
ikimatasi. Ibusi
ima ikapituni
kayosi. Ika
55 iweyak dokonikani.
Ekebiga: E bogwa mtosita.
Taga mtosita seven.
E ilola ila
60 ivedi o si doa.
Igini . . amyaga . .
yagala. Iligemwa
isakaula.
Ine’i poseni. Ekatupoi
65 kwetala sto: Sita
keta poseni? Isisu.
A makena. Tasekiga.
Ave taim bikariga?
70 Bitaseki galega
nubyea bikariga.
Ipeki. Isakaula
ima kweyuvela.
75 Sita keta poseni?
. . . Amyaga . .
Ekanukwenu evavagisiga.
A makena. Tasekiga.
Ave taim bikariga evavagisiga.
80 Bitaseki bibogi
bikariga. Ipeki.
isakaula isakaula
imweki manakwa.
Sita keta poseni?
85 A, makaena. Tasekiga.
Ave taim bikariga?
A bitaseki bikwayai
bikariga
Ipeki. Isakaula
90 isakaula imweki makaena
lasta.
Sita keta poseni?
A makaena. Tasekiga.
Ave taim bikariga?
95 Evavagisiga: Bitaseki
besatuta bikariga
bogeokwa. Egi . .
egimwali isakaula
imeya imeki
100 mtosita dokonikani seven
o si bwala. I . . ikiya
iswi ila
imasisi imasisi voa.
Emesita mtosita
105 dokonikani. Iholasi voa
imakesi i . . igisesi
yagala. Ikausi
ikatubwagisi bwala.
Imwakesi imasisi.
110 Akam tuta okuma? Evavagiga
evavagiga: Inagu
tamagu ivavegusi voa.
Bogwa lasomaata.
Lasakau lama e. Eisu
115 mtona Monagwadi
Tosasopa. Ekebiga: Avakaga
bavagi mi paisewa.
Evavagisiga: Taga bukutami
amakabomasi. E.
120 Bogeokwa.
Ekanukwenu imwesi
imasisisi iuala.
Ibweliga ti
ivinau isulu asi
125 laisi ivinau iyaya
ikatamwesi asi panikeni.
E itokeya . . anyaga . .
ekatugiyaki mtosita seven
dokonikani . . anyaga . .
130 asi sopi poseni.
Ivokwa mtonaga ala
sopi gala ekatugiyaki
ala laisi gala ekatugiyaki
poseni gala ekatugiyaki.
135 Imesi ekamkwami
ivokwa. Idokesi
bitokeyasi. E bwadamesi
runs he sees this (store).
"(Is there) some poison?
Ah, this one." One gives it (to
him). "When will someone die?"
"One gives it, afternoon will
be coming, and he will die."
He does not like it. He runs,
he runs, he sees this last
(store).
"(Is there) some poison?
Ah, this one." One gives it.
"When will someone die?"
They say: "One gives it, (and)
he will die immediately,
already it is over." He b . .
he buys (it), he runs,
he brings (it), he comes to
these 7 Dokonikani —
into their house. He . . he opens
(the door), he goes inside, he
goes, he sleeps, he sleeps
only. And they come, these
Dokonikani. They go only,
they come, they . . . they see
his name. They take (it),
they open the house.
They see, he is sleeping.
"What time did you come?" He
says, he says: "My mother and
my father only beat me up.
Already I was tired (of it).
I ran (away); I came, yes." He
is there, this little boy
trickster. He says: "What (is
it), I will do your work."
They say: "But you will do
our dishes!" "Yes."
Already it's finished (settled).
He lies down, they go,
(and) they sleep, his brothers.
He cooks tea,
he finishes it, he cooks their
rice, he finishes it, he serves
(it) and he prepares their cups.
And he gets up . . . what's the
name . . . he pours it for these 7
Dokonikani . . . what's the name
. . . in their water, the poison.
He finishes it, this (one), in
his water he does not pour it,
in his rice he does not pour
it, the poison, he does not
pour it (there). They come, they
eat, it is over. They think,
they will get up. "Yes, our
kuke'ula
paledi kula kuvina.

140 Idoki bike'ula
mtona Monagwadi Tosasopa
paledi bila
ivina. Itokeyasi mtosita
ikalulisalosali

145 ikarigasi. Itokeya
ikapituni kayosi.
E'uyaki kini.
Ekebiga: O bogwa mokitaa.
Iveya kini la kwa ... 

150 ve ... latula. Ikarevagasi
kabulutula valu.
Ikarevaga
kabulutula valu.
E bogeoka

155 Monagwadi
Tosasopa.

little brother, you take the
plates, go and wash (them).” He

- this little boy trickster,
the plates, he will go and
wash (them). They get up, these
(ones), they fall down,
they die. He gets up,

he cuts off their throats. He

brings (the heads to) the king.
He says: “Oh, already, true.”

He marries the king’s wi ...

eh ... daughter. They are
responsible for one half of the
country. He is responsible
for one half of the country.
And it is already finished,
(tale of) the little boy

trickster.

story-Emphasis this-male-this-child male-tricky. 3.Ps.-live-Emphasis.

[5] I-kau kekwanisi i-kau i-weya mdauvali seven. I-li...
3.Ps.-take broom 3.Ps.-take 3.Ps.-hit flies seven. 3.Ps.-???

i-gini o kala beleta seven dokonikani [10] e-katamata. E
3.Ps.-write on his belt seven Dokonikani [giants] 3.Ps.-kill. And

tommota kumwedona i-lagi-si I-vina'u-si m-to -si -ta
people all 3.Ps.-hear-Pl. 3.Ps.-finish-Pl. these-male-Pl.-these

dokonikani seven. Bogwa e-lagi-si e m-to -si -ta.
Dokonikani seven. Already 3.Ps.-hear-Pl. yes these-human-Pl.-these.

king not 3.Ps.-hear-Pl. 3.Ps.-live 3.Ps.-come child-his king.

3.Ps.-see Monagwadi Tosasopa [see above] on his belt 3.Ps.-write.

3.Ps.-return 3.Ps.-tell father-her. 3.Ps.-say: father male-one man

e-gini o koro bereta “seven dokonikani e-katamati.” O, ku-la
3.Ps.-write on his belt “seven Dokonikani 3.Ps.-kill.” Oh, 2.Ps.-go

ku-luki bi-ma. I-la i-luki. [30] I-ma, i-paisewa-si

i-kamkwam-si i-vano-si. E-kebiga magi-gu m-to -si -ta seven
3.Ps.-eat-Pl. 3.Ps.-finish-Pl. 3.Ps.-say wish-my these-male-Pl.-these seven
dokonikani bukw-atamati. [35] I-sakaula i-la i-gini o si
Dokonikani 2.Ps.-Fut.-kill. 3.Ps.-run 3.Ps.-go 3.Ps.-write on their
do. Ve ... I-wa i-nine'i ... am-yaga ... I-nine'i
door. Eh ... 3.Ps.-go 3.Ps.-search for... what-name ... 3.Ps.-search for

i-mweti te-yu [40] dokonikani mina kaaukau. I-mwena
3.Ps.-meet male-two Dokonikani these from blind. 3.Ps.-climb up

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bi-weya te-tala. Bi-kikimapu-si i-vokwa.

Bi-simwe-si e bi-kidebuali kwe-yuve-la. [50] Bi...

I-busi i-ma i-kapituni kayo-si. I-kau
3.Ps.-climb down 3.Ps.-come 3.Ps.-cut off throat-their. 3.Ps.-take

i-weyaki dokonikani. E-kebiga: E bogwa m-to-si-ta.
3.Ps.-bring Dokonikani. 3.Ps.-say: Yes already these-male-Pl.-these.

Taga m-to-si-ta seven. E i-lole i-la [60] i-veki
But these-male-Pl.-these seven. Yes 3.Ps.-go 3.Ps.-go 3.Ps.-to go to

o si doa. i-gini ... am-yaga... yaga-la. I-ligemwa
to their door. 3.Ps.-write ... what-name... name-his. 3.Ps.-go away

i-sakaula. I-ne'i poseni. E-katupoi [65] kwe-tala stoa: Sita
3.Ps.-run. 3.Ps.-look for poison. 3.Ps.-ask thing-one store: Part

inanimate-one poison? 3.Ps.-be there. Ah this-inanimate-this.

Ta-seki-ga. Ave taim bi-kariga?
Dual incl.-give-Emphasis. What time 3.Ps.Fut.-die?

[70] Bita-seki-ga
Dual incl.-give-Emphasis.
lagela nubyeya bi-kari-ga. lagela nubyeya bi-kari-ga.

I-peki. I-sakaula i-ma kwe-yue-la. [75] Sita ke-ta

poseni? ... Am-yaga... E-kanukwenu e-vavagi-si ga. A
poison? What-name... 3.Ps.-lie down 3.Ps.-say-Pl.-Emphasis. Ah

ma-ke-na. Ta-seki-ga. Ave taim bi-kari-ga
this-inanimate-this. Dual incl.-give-Emphasis. What time 3.Ps.Fut.-die-Emphasis

e-vavagi-ga. [80] Bi-taseki bi-bogi
3.Ps.-say-Emphasis. Dual incl.-give-3.Ps-Fut.-give 3.Ps.Fut.-night (will be) coming

bi-kariga. I-peki. I-sakaula i-sakaula i-mweki ma-na-kwa.
3.Ps.-die. 3.Ps.-dislike. 3.Ps.-run 3.Ps.-run 3.Ps.-see this-this-thing.

Part inanimate-one poison? Ah, this-inanimate-this.

Ta-seki-ga. Ave taim bi-kariga? A bita-seki
Dual incl.-give-Emphasis. What time 3.Ps.Fut.-die? Ah Dual incl.-give

bi-kwayai bi-kariga. I-peki. I-sakaula
3.Ps.-afternoon (will be) coming 3.Ps.-die 3.Ps.-dislike. 3.Ps.-run

[90] i-sakaula i-mweki ma-ke-na lasta. Sita ke-ta
3.Ps.-see 3.Ps.-see this-inanimate-this last. Part inanimate-one

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poison. Ah, this-inanimate-this. Dual incl.-give-Emphasis. What time

bi-kariga? [95] E-vavagi-si-ga: Bita-seki besatuta bi-kariga
bogoe-kwa. E-gi... e-gimwali i-sakaula i-meya i-meki
already finished. 3.Ps.-b... 3.Ps.-buy 3.Ps.-run 3.Ps.-bring 3.Ps.-come

[100] m-to-si-ta dokonikani seven o si bwala. I...
these-male-Pl.-these Dokonikani seven in their house. 3.Ps... .

i-kiya i-suvi i-la i-masisi i-masisi voo.

E-me-si-ga m-to-si-ta [105] dokonikani. I-lola-si
3.Ps.-come-Pl.-Emphasis these-male-Pl.-these Dokonikani. 3.Ps.-go-Pl.

voa i-make-si i... i-gise-si yaga-la. I-kau-si
only 3.Ps.-come-Pl. 3.Ps.... 3.Ps.-see-Pl. Name-his. 3.Ps.-take-Pl.

i-katubwagi-si bwala. I-mwake-si i-masisi. [110] Akam tuwa oku-ma?
3.Ps.-open-Pl. house. 3.Ps.-see-Pl. 3.Ps.-sleep. When time 2.Ps.-come?

E-vavagi-ga e-vavagi-ga: Ina-gu tama-gu i-vave-gu-si
voa. Bogwa la-somatata. La-sakau la-ma e.

E-sisu [115] m-to-na Monagwadi Tosasopa. E-kebiga:
3.Ps.-to be there this-male-this Monagwadi Tosasopa. 3.Ps.-say:

Avaka-ga ba-vagi mi paisewa. E-vavagi-si-ga: Taga
What-Emphasis 1.Ps.Fut.-make your work. 3.Ps.-say-Pl.-Emphasis: But
2.Ps.Fut.-do our (excl.)-dishes-Pl. Yes. Already finished.

E-kanukwenu i-mwe-si i-masisi-si tua-la. I-bweli-ga
3.Ps.-lie down 3.Ps.-go-Pl. 3.Ps.-sleep -Pl. brothers-his. 3.Ps.-cook-Emphasis
ti i-vinua i-sulu asi [125] laisi i-vinua i-yayeya

i-katamwesi asi panikeni. E i-tokeya ... am -yaga... e-katugiyaki
3.Ps.-prepare their cups. And 3.Ps.-get up ... what-name... 3.Ps.-pour
these-male-Pl.-these seven dokonikani... am-yaga... [130] asi sopi
poseni. I-vokwa m-to-na-ga alo sopi gala e-katugiyaki.
poison. 3.Ps.-finish this-male-this-Emphasis his water not 3.Ps.-pour.

[135] I-me-si e-kamkwam-si i-vokwa. I-doke-si
3.Ps.-come-Pl. 3.Ps.-eat-Pl. 3.Ps.-finish. 3.Ps.-think-Pl.

bi-tokeya-si. E bwada-mesi ku-ke’ula paledi ku-la ku-vina.

[140] I-doki bi-ke’ula m-to-na Monagwadi Tosasopa paledi
3.Ps.-think 3.Ps.Fut.-take this-male-this Monagwadi Tosasopa plate
bi-la i-vina. I-tokeya-si m-to-si-ta i-kalisulasola-si
3.Ps.Fut.-go 3.Ps.-wash. 3.Ps.-get up-Pl. these-male-Pl.-these 3.Ps.-fall down-Pl.

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Dauya’s narration lasted for three and a half minutes. After this fairy-tale he told – as announced before – the Kilivila version of the tale of “Dick Whittington.” Then the children told me 10 more tales. All in all I could record and document 16 fairy-tales during this meeting with my young informants. In this paper, however, I will only deal with the tale I just presented; I only refer to other fairy-tales in my corpus of transcribed speech production data if I think it necessary for the analysis of this tale.

3. What Happened to “The Fearless Tailor” in Kilivila

Before we look at the text in detail, I first have to justify why I classify it as a “fairy-tale.” At the very beginning of his narration Dauya marks the text to come with the expression kwanebuyee. I will discuss the function of this expression that introduces fairy-tales in Kilivila below; but first I have to explain the meaning of this term: In the expression kwanebuyee we can identify the noun kwanebu that translates either as “story” or as “fairy-tale”; moreover, we can also identify the verb stem -kwanebu- which can be translated as “to tell, to tell a story.” Kwanebuyee is a noun, the final vowel of which is elongated and changed into a long /e/ which indicates that what will be told will take some time; this is something to be found in Kilivila normally only in connection with verbal expressions (for the grammatical details see Senft 1986: 36 ff., 117). Thus, kwanebuyee can be translated as “a (longer) story.” The expression is the “ritualized” introductory formula used for the narration of texts like the present one. Therefore, it can also be translated as “fairy-tale,” or – in a free translation that attempts to maintain the character of the text introductory formula – as “Once upon a time . . . .” We find further evidence to justify the translation of the noun kwanebu with “fairy-tale” if we compare this text and its characterizing metalinguistic expressions with other texts and the respective metalinguistic terms that characterize these texts. Moreover, the following analysis of the fairy-tale reveals that we find a number of essential features in this text that are typical for fairy-tales (Braak 1972: 169 ff.; Bremond 1964; Propp 1928).

Dauya starts his narration with the stereotypical, ritualized formula kwanebuyee “Once upon a time . . . .” that introduces all the documented text examples for fairy-tales; he is thus “announcing” the character of the text to come (see de Beau-grande and Dressler: 1981: 82). After this introductory formula Dauya presents the protagonist’s name which is also the name of the fairy-tale, namely “Monagwadi Tosasopa.” The protagonist’s name can be analyzed as an actually rather complex noun phrase: “Monagwadi” is a kind of compound that most probably alludes to a slip of the tongue rather typical for child language in connection with the appropriate usage of the classifier to; the compound consists of the demonstrative pronoun mtona “this-male-this” and of the noun gwadi “child.” Tosasopa is the nominalized form of the adjective tosasopa “male-tricky” that consists of the classifier to and the adjective form -sasopa. This name can be translated as “the little (boy) trickster.”

The lines 4–16 tell us that the protagonist lived a long time ago, that he killed 7 flies with a broom, and that he then wrote on his belt that he killed 7 “Dokonikani.” “Dokonikani” are man eating giants with superhuman power and strength;

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1 Cf., e.g., liliu “myth,” luvalu “admonishing speech” (see Senft 1991a), sopu “joke” (see Senft 1985a and b), vinavina “verse, mocking verses” (see Senft and Senft 1986), butula “gossip,” butu-PPIV “(personal) mocking song,” nanam’sa lwena “good thinking” (see Senft 1987a).
they play a rather important and special role in many myths of the Trobriand Islanders. Because of this belt our protagonist’s fame spreads rapidly — however, the king is obviously the only one who has not heard of “the little trickster” so far. These first 16 lines of the transcription constitute the first part of the “prologue” (Bremond 1964 [1972]: 184), the starting point for what follows in the narration. The main features that characterize this first part of the starting point for the narration make it easy to identify the fairy-tale “Das tapferen Schneiderlein” — collected and documented by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm 1819 (1975: 142–154; 1974: 143–153; for a variant see also Bechstein 1853 [1977: 1–6]) — as the basis for the tale of “Mongwadi Tosasopa.” I will discuss aspects of the comparison of the original with the version that is told on the Trobriand Islands below. Here I want to hint at the following two observations that are important for the contents of this first part of the tale: Firstly, the protagonist writes the phrase “7 Dokonikani killed” instead of “7 at one blow” on his belt — here the narrator introduces the mythical man eating giants into the fairy-tale, but he cannot imitate the ambiguous reference to the killed to be found in the original tale because in Kilivila the numeral asks for a classificatory particle — and this classifier would clearly identify the noun class of the nominal referent; unfortunately flies and giants belong to two different classes. Secondly, with the loanword kini he mentions a certain “king” (line 16) — and this is a social standing which is completely foreign to Trobriand society (see Weiner 1988). Moreover, it should also be noted that Dauya also realizes the two loanwords seven and beleta “belt” here.

The lines 17–31 of the transcription present the second part of the prologue. The king’s daughter is introduced as an acting person. She sees the protagonist and the writing on his belt. She reports this to her father who requests her to bring him before his throne. She meets her father’s request, and the king, his daughter, and the protagonist talk (“work”); line 30) and eat together — in the Trobriand manner (see Senft 1987a).

After this communal meal the king asks the protagonist to kill another 7 “Dokonikani” (lines 32–34).

Immediately after this “plea for help” (Bremond 1964 [1972]: 184) the protagonist sets out to fulfill the king’s request (line 35). Starting to narrate the following episode, Dauya mixes up the order of the adventures to be told (line 36), but he realizes this mistake immediately — as the “editing term” (Levetl 1984: 110) ve he produces (see line 36) indicates —, he restarts his narration and tells the first episode of the tale (lines 37–54). Here the protagonist — on his search for the “Dokonikani” — meets two blind giants who are obviously lying under a mango tree (this fact is not explicitly mentioned, but inferable from the context). “Mongwadi Tosasopa” climbs up to the top of the tree and throws something at one of the “Dokonikani.” This provokes a fight between the two giants, but they soon stop fighting. The protagonist repeats his throw, it provokes another fight between the “Dokonikani,” and this time they kill each other. The protagonist climbs down the tree and cuts off the giants’ heads.

After having passed this first adventure “Mongwadi Tosasopa” returns to the king and brings him the heads of the “Dokonikani.” The King takes notice of the protagonist’s deed, but he renews his task with his question about the 7 “Dokonikani” (lines 54–57).

Again “Mongwadi Tosasopa” sets out to find the “Dokonikani” — and this time he is successful: he finds their house. He writes his name on their door — and after that he immediately sets out to find some poison. During his hasty search for poison he finds four shops that sell poison of different effects. With stereotypical repetition he asks in all four shops for poison and then for the effect of the offered drug. Finally, he buys the poison that is sold in the fourth shop and that is said to be lethal on the spot. With this poison the protagonist runs back to the “Dokonikani’s” house, the door of which he marked with his name. He enters the house and lies down to sleep there (lines 59–103).

With this part of the tale we note again that Dauya produces the loanwords doa “door” (line 60; see line 36), poseni “poison,” stoa “store,” taim “time,” lasta “last,” and seven.

The tale continues with the 7 “Dokonikani” coming home. First they notice our protagonist’s name at their door. Then — inside their house — they find him sleeping peacefully. They wake him up (however, this is not told) and ask him when he came and what he is doing there. “Mongwadi Tosasopa” answers the questions: he states that his parents always beat him — and that this is why he left his home. Then he came to their house and fell asleep — therefore he cannot answer the question properly. Here the narrator fades out of the incidents to be reported and emphasizes once more the unbelievable: namely that this little hero is indeed there — in the midst of the “Dokonikani” (lines 114–116). Then Dauya continues his narration and tells us that the protagonist offers the giants to work for them. After he accepts to even do their
dishes they allow him to stay. Everything is settled now—and all lie down to sleep. The protagonist’s integration within the “domain” (Bremond 1964 [1972]: 184) of the “Dokonikani” is emphasized by referring to the giants as the protagonist’s “big brothers” (*tuala*, line 122). This part of the fairy-tale encompasses the lines 104–122 in the transcription.

Line 123 starts a new part of the tale. Although it is not stated explicitly we can assume that a new day either broke or passed by. The protagonist is cooking tea and rice for the “Dokonikani” and for himself. He sets the table and drips the poison he bought into the giants’ tea cups (and into their rice—however, this is not mentioned). He does not poison his rice and his tea, of course. The “Dokonikani” come to eat. After the meal they let our protagonist clear the table and ask him to do the dishes. “Monagwadi Tosasopa” wants to obey this request immediately. The giants, however, first want to get up from the table, but they fall down—because of the strong effect of the poison—and die. Now it is our protagonist’s turn to get up from the table and to cut off the heads of the 7 poisoned “Dokonikani.” This part of the fairy-tale presents the protagonist’s “execution” of the royal order (Bremond 1964 [1972]: 185). The episode encompasses the lines 123–146 of the transcription. Again we note that Dauya uses the loanwords *ti* “tea,” *laisi* “rice,” *paledi* “plate,” and again *poseni* “poison,” and *seven* in his narration.

The tale now reports the protagonist’s return to the king; as proof and evidence for his successful execution of the king’s order “Monagwadi Tosasopa” presents the heads of the 7 “Dokonikani.” Obviously the king is somewhat astonished—but he reacts only with a rather lapidary statement that consists of two particles and a modal adverb (lines 147–148).

Now the protagonist marries the king’s daughter—here Dauya first produces a slip of the tongue, but corrects his mistake immediately—marking his correction once more with an “editing term” (line 37). Moreover, “Monagwadi Tosasopa” and his wife receive one half of the kingdom. That the protagonist really receives the control of, and the responsibility for, one half of his father-in-law’s kingdom is repeated once more (lines 149–153).

The narration of the fairy-tale ends with the explicit announcement that the tale of “Monagwadi Tosasopa” has come to its end now (lines 154–156).

The following table summarizes the structure of this fairy-tale:

| Structure of the fairy-tale “Monagwadi Tosasopa” | lines |
| parts of the narration | |
| announcement | 1–2 |
| prologue 1st part | 4–16 |
| prologue 2nd part | 17–31 |
| the king’s order | 32–34 |
| 1st episode: death of the two blind Dokonikani | 35–54 |
| renewal of the king’s order | 54–57 |
| 2nd episode: death of the 7 Dokonikani | 59–146 |
| A a) finding the D’s house | 59–62 |
| b) buying the poison | 62–98 |
| c) returning to the D’s house | 98–103 |
| B arrival of the 7 D and their reception | 104–122 |
| of the protagonist | |
| C poisoning of the 7 D | 123–146 |
| returning to the king | 147–148 |
| marriage | 149–153 |
| “end of tale-announcement” | 154–156 |

This table demonstrates that the text Dauya produced shows many important features of the typical fairy-tale. If we compare the structure of the fairy-tale “Monagwadi Tosasopa” with the plot of the tale “Das tapfere Schneiderlein (The Fearless Tailor)” \(^2\) it is evident that the tale Dauya told is based on the fairy-tale collected by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. However, it is also obvious that the Kilivila version of this fairy-tale is different from the European model—not only with respect to its title, but also and especially with respect to the complexity of its structure. The Kilivila version only preserves the main traits of the prologue of the European version and parts of the fearless tailor’s first task—the killing of two giants. \(^3\) When I asked Dauya who told him to tell this fairy-tale, he reported that his father Tokubiyim had heard this story during an alphabetization course for *misinari*, for local village priests, at the mission.

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\(^2\) Here I presuppose that the reader is familiar with the fairy-tale “Das tapfere Schneiderlein.” If this presupposition does not apply, I refer the reader to the above mentioned editions of the “Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Gebrüder Grimm” and to note 3.

\(^3\) For the sake of remembrance here a short summary: In the version of the fairy-tale Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm documented, the “fearless tailor”—after his heroic deed—first meets a giant with whom he passes three tests of his power and strength, whom he helps to carry a tree, and whom he helps to bend down the top of a cherry tree; the tailor survives an attempted murder in the giants’ cave, and afterwards he scares off the murderers just appearing in front of them. He then works for a king, kills two giants, catches the unicorn and a wild bear, marries the king’s daughter, cunningly smashes his wife’s conspiracy against him after she realized that her husband was only an ordinary tailor—and then remains king all his life.
What Happened to “The Fearless Tailor” in Kilivila

centre of the Methodist Church in Alotau. An Australian missionary had used this tale as well as the tale about “Dick Whittington” in one of his lessons. When Tokubiýim returned to Tauwe-
ma he started to tell this story to his children. Unfortunately I could not track down the original of the fairy-tale Dauya’s father Tokubiýim (vgl.
Senft 1987a: 184) must have heard. However, I am convinced – beyond any doubt whatsoever – that this was an (Australian) English translation of the German fairy-tale “Das tapfere Schneiderlein” in a textbook for teaching local missionaries of the Methodist Church. In what follows I will try to answer the question what happened to the “fearless tailor” in Kilivila as exhaustively as possible.

Comparing the text of the tale “Monagwadi To-
asopa” with the European fairy-tale “Das tapfere Schneiderlein” does not only reveal the change of the protagonist’s name and the simplification and shortening of the plot; even a naïve listener (or reader) knowing the European tale will realize immediately how Dauya’s version of the fairy-tale travels between two worlds – between a European and a Trobriand world. The tale mirrors this trav-
eling between two worlds linguistically and with regard to the contents.

Let us first look at the two linguistic worlds in Dauya’s tale. The most striking feature – that is typical for the constitution of almost all texts in Kilivila – is the display of verb clusters and compounds that transmit as much exactness and information as possible to ensure the imparting of what happens in the tale told. The frequent occurrence of serial verbs is a stylistic, idiomatic pheno-
menon characteristic for the Kilivila language (Senft 1986: 29, 39 ff.).

Besides the introductory and the concluding formulae that mark the text as being a fairy-tale we also notice the form of referential clause which is highly typical for Kilivila as well, namely: ekebiga “he says” (see lines 24, 32, 56); however, Dauya does not use this referential device as frequently and intensively as adult Trobriand Islanders do (see, e.g., Senft 1987a; 1991c).

With my research on the system of classifi-
catory particles in Kilivila (Senft 1985c; 1989;
1990b) I observed that fairy-tales also fulfill the function to foster and support the acquisition of this complex classifier system in children. I do not want to discuss the relevant results of this research in detail here; however, I want to note the following: As already mentioned above, in the very title of the fairy-tale we find the classificatory particle to; moreover we note that the classifiers to “male/human,” kwe “thing (unmarked form for inanimates),” and ke “wooden things (unmarked form for inanimates)” are produced in the text in connection with adjectives, demonstrative pro-
nouns, and numerals – that is with three of the four word classes that use classifiers as a means for their word formation; these three classifiers belong to the first formatives children acquire in their language acquisition process. To narrate fairy-tales seems to offer children a good opportunity to exercise their usage of this complex system of classifiers in texts that are relatively easy to grasp.

Besides this practising of the correct use of grammatical forms the fairy-tale also opens chil-
dren the possibility to use and exercise special stylistic features of their mother tongue – actively as well as passively. With our text we find two nice examples from the realm of “politeness pheno-
mena” (Brown and Levinson 1978) Kilivila disposes of and one hint to its speakers’ metalinguistic knowledge about registers, about their meaning, use, and function in the speech community. Firstly, in the episode of the fairy-tale that reports the buying of the poison (table: 2nd episode A b; = lines 62–98) we note the production of the subject prefix that indicates dual inclusive (ta) – with the verbal expressions tasekiga and bitaseki; the dual inclusive is not only used to express the concept “I and you, we too,” but it is also employed as a defocusing, impersonalizing, and impersonalized device characteristic for a stylistically quite sophisticated language usage; in such a context the subject prefix can be translated with the indefinite “one” (Senft 1986: 29 ff.). Moreover, in the same part of the text we notice a variant of the politest request in Kilivila that uses the noun or a shortened form of the noun sitana “part, piece” (see lines 65 and 66, 75, 84, 92; for different ways of how to request, give and take in Kilivila see Senft 1987b: 109 ff.).

Secondly, the title of this fairy-tale refers to a concept that is most important for the commu-
nication on the Trobriand Islands – namely the concept sopa. We can translate sopa as “joke; lie; trick; something one does not really mean.” The Trobriand Islanders distinguish a number of registers that are used in a given, special situation and that are produced to pursue (a) certain inten-
tion(s). Therefore I call these registers “situational-intentional varieties” (Senft 1986: 124 ff.; 1991c). One of these varieties is called biga sopa (biga “language”). This “joking or lying language,” this “‘indirect’ language” is based on the fact that Kilivila, like any other natural language, is marked by certain features that include “ambiguity” and “vagueness.” Both vagueness and ambiguity are

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used by the speaker as a stylistic means to avoid possible distress, confrontation and too aggressive directness in certain speech situations. It also opens room and space where behaviour can be tried out playfully without any fear of possible social sanctions – because the speaker can always recede from what he has said by labelling it as *sopa*, as something he did not really mean to say. The adroit use of this variety distinguishes the good rhetorician – and the title Tosasopa is Honourable, indeed. The protagonist of the fairy-tale illustrates exemplarily aspects of the concept *sopa* – especially while dealing with the “Dokonikani.” I will come back to this concept below.

With the reference to this important concept and the situational-intentional variety of Kilivila that goes with it I want to finish the discussion of linguistic phenomena of the text that are typical for the Kilivila language.

Let us now look at the linguistic phenomena from the “European world” that were introduced into this Melanesian speech community. In the analysis of the structure of the text and of the plot of the fairy-tale I mentioned 11 loanwords which the Kilivila native speakers took from Australian English, namely *beleta, seven, doa, stoa, poseni, taim, lasta, ti, laisi, paledi,* and *kini.* Some speakers on the Trobriand Islands produce English loanwords to emphasize their “progressive,” modern orientation and to refer to their most often just recently acquired school education; these loanwords are in the process of taking over the function of sociolinguistic variables (Labov 1972: 237 ff.). I do not want to discuss the processes of phonological change that go along with these loans in detail (see Senft 1991b). I only want to note that some of these loanwords – like *stoa, ti, laisi,* and *kini* – refer to concepts with which Trobriand society has been confronted in our century only. These loanwords are another evidence for Bailey’s finding: “Sprachliche Variation ist ... der dynamische Reflex von historischem Wandel” (Bailey 1980: 40). These concepts must be interpreted with regard to the contents – therefore, in what follows now I will look at the two different worlds that are mirrored in the contents of the fairy-tale.

I already stated that the tale “Das tapfere Schneiderlein” which served the model for the fairy-tale “Monagwadi Tosasopa” was rearranged. Let us now look at the things and concepts foreign to the Massim culture which the Trobriand version of the fairy-tale took over (besides its plot, of course). At the very beginning of the tale a “king” is mentioned who gives the protagonist the order to kill the 7 “Dokonikani” and who finally makes him his son-in-law giving him with his daughter one half of his kingdom. There is no “king” on the Trobriand Islands – the most powerful and influential man there is the “paramount chief,” a man belonging to the Tabalu-subclan of the highest ranking Malasi-clan; he generally lives in, or close to, the village Oamarakana on Kiriwinia Island. His power is based on, and rooted in, his clan membership, his rhetorical skillfulness and expertise, and his special knowledge of magic and magical formulae. With the exception of some attempts to arrange “cross-cousin marriages” it is almost impossible for a Trobriand Islander – even for this most powerful chief – to influence his children’s choice of a spouse. Moreover, a father on the Trobriand Islands can only hand down his very personal belongings to his children, because in the matrilineal society of the Islanders the father is (said to be) not related with his children and hereditary succession and hereditary titles are regulated via the matrilineal line (see Malinowski 1929; 1935; Fortune 1964; Powell 1960; 1969a and b; Weiner 1976). The narrator of this tale presupposes here – like in all the other Trobriand fairy-tales – that the listener is willing to follow him into the world of this tale – a world with other rules and regulations than those that are valid in the “real” world. Another thing that must be foreign or at least strange for a Trobriand Islander is to hear that the protagonist wants to buy poison at a store. In general the Trobriand Islanders are famous for their knowledge of different kinds of fish poison the taking of which is absolutely lethal. I can only explain this episode which describes the protagonist’s attempts to buy poison at a store by referring to the Trobriand Islanders’ prejudice that assigns status to everything that is imported to the islands and that can be bought in stores on Kiriwinia.

The process of restructuring the European fairy-tale into its Kilivila version did not only take things and concepts into account that are foreign to the Trobriand culture, but it also considered things and concepts that are very familiar for, and rather typical of, the Trobriand culture, of course. First of all we have to mention the 7 “Dokonikani” in this context. Originally, “Dokonikani” is the name of the man-eating giant – Malinowski (1935; 1974: 122 ff., 143, 201, 208 f., 228 ff.) describes him as an “ogre” – whom the “culture hero” Tudava kills before he founds the “Kula” exchange system (Malinowski 1922). Subsequent to the important Tudava myths that report the killing of the “Dokonikani,” the name of this monster was introduced as the prototypical representative.
of the evil in other tales, especially in fairy-tales. Another genuinely Trobriand phenomenon in the fairy-tale “Monagwadi Tosasopa” is the concept of sopka; linked with the protagonist’s name it plays an important role in this fairy-tale. The protagonist first draws attention to himself with his boasting belt; with cunning and trick he provokes the two blind giants to engage in a fatal fight; with cunning – and courage – he sneaks into the 7 “Dokonikani”’s house, tells them stories to explain his entry into their house, and succeeds under these false pretenses to stay with the giants as their “dishwasher.” The fact that the protagonist succeeds to even kill the 7 “Dokonikani” with his cunning and trick actually strains the concept sopka severely – because criminal activities like theft and especially murder cannot at all be excused on the Trobriand Islands with a reference to sopka. If we keep in mind, however, that the 7 “Dokonikani” are more dangerous monsters than human beings, we can accept that in this fairy-tale world the concept sopka is a legitimate means for the protagonist to reach all his aims. With the mentioning of these two important typical Trobriand phenomena that are reflected in the fairy-tale I want to conclude the examination of this text.

To sum up, we can note that “The Fearless Tailor” turned into “Monagwadi Tosasopa.” This fairy-tale took over a few parts of the plot of the European tale. It combines linguistic phenomena as well as phenomena with regard to the contents of both the European (fairy-tale) world and of the Trobriand world (of myths) in such a way that this combination results in a Trobriand fairy-tale, in a fairy-tale from the South Seas.

4. Concluding Remarks

In his speech in honour of Wilhelm Grimm at the “Königlich Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften” in Berlin at the 5th of August, 1844, Jacob Grimm points out the following (Borchardt 1925: 292 f.):

... Umliegende Völker haben sich beeifert zu sammeln, um ergiebigsten ist der Grund gewesen bei solchen, denen man alle Literatur abstritt. Gerade weil ihnen unsere Bildung und Verbreitung mangel, dauern ihnen, gleichsam zum Ersatz, von uralter Zeit bis auf heute und in unverkümmerter und naturgemäß Darstellung diese ewig jungen Märchen fort. Sie sind alle nichts Erdacht, Erfundenes, sondern des ältesten Volksglaubens ein Niederschlag und unversiegende Quelle der eigentlich lautersten Mythen ...

... Statt daß die Missionare früherhin immer die heilige Schrift zur Grundlage wählten, um für die Sprache der Heiden Sammlungen zu veranstalten, wird, wie schon Beispiele dartun, Erzählung von Märchen ein natürliches, lebhaftes Element darreich en, um sich anschaulicher an die Eigenheit aller Volks mundarten zu schmiegen, und damit geschieht durch die Sagensammlung der Aufnahme des Sprachstoffs ein unberechenbarer Vorschub.

If we read these lines just after what I discussed above we must come to the conclusion that even the great Jacob Grimm was not completely free from romantic prejudice with respect to fairy-tales – but we can hardly blame him for that. I only quote these ideas of Grimm’s here to emphasize once more that fairy-tales, too, are affected, influenced, and shaped by processes of language change in progress which are induced into a certain language and culture by its contact with another language and culture. In his paper on “The Role of Language Development in a Theory of Language” Bailey quotes the following considerations he and his colleagues contributed to a brochure on language development for students of linguistics at the Technische Universität Berlin: “Erwachsene entlehnen, Kinder sind die kreativsten Erneuerer und Heranwachsende (und andere) wählen unter den Neuerungen diejenigen aus, die letztlich überleben” (Bailey 1980: 38; see also Bailey 1981: 53). The Trobriand Islanders are a perfect example for confirming this statement – as was demonstrated already in connection with Kilivila color terms (Senft 1987c) and classificatory particles (Senft 1990b; see also 1991b). Obviously it is the fairy-tales children tell each other – at least on the Trobriands and in some of our families – that play a special part in this context. The version of the fairy-tale “Monagwadi Tosasopa” 9 year old Dauya told clearly demonstrates how new linguistic forms like, e.g., the loanwords from English on the one hand and how new concepts like, e.g., the “king” and his role and function in the tale on the other hand are introduced into the Kilivila language and into the Trobriand culture. Thus, fairy-tales are not only affected and shaped by processes of language change in progress induced by language and culture contact, they also serve the function to foster and support these processes of change. That these observations – like so many other observations – are nothing new at all reveals a look at the “Edda”: Genzmer notes for example that the “Wölundiheid” can be referred back to Graeco-Roman myths (Die Edda 1987: 186 f.), that there is good reason to suppose that there is Mediterranean influence on the “Altes Atiliied” (Die Edda 1987: 209), that the “Hamdirlied” was changed in the course of its passing-on (Die Edda 1987: 217), and how free Icelandic poetry treated the German saga in “Oddr nós Klage” (Die Edda

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1987: 302). However, a closer look at sagas, legends, myths, and fairy-tales also reveals that they are not only affected by processes of change on the one hand and that they foster and support these changes on the other hand, but it also becomes apparent that these texts preserve and treasure hints and references to archaic figures like gods, ghosts, spirits, culture heroes, monsters, etc., that are original in, and for, the respective speech community and its culture. These hints and references allow inferences in “myths of origin” and their dramatis personae and thus preserve cultural knowledge. So, in the “modern” Trobriand fairy-tale “Monagwadi Tosapopa” we find a trace of the Trobriand culture hero Tudava via the mentioning of his first big enemy “Dokonikani” – and so, in the fairy-tale “Frau Holle” that was also collected by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm we find a trace that reminds us of the Nordic goddess “Huldra” or “Hilda,” the queen of goblins, the goddess of law courts, the mother of our earth, and the donator of life (Wägner 1887: 106 ff.). Again we realize that some closer inspection shows that the putative “exotic” is not so “exotic” at all.

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