Current Anthropology Volume 43, Supplement, August–October 2002
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Marking Time

The Dichotomizing Discourse of Multiple Temporalities[1]

by Bambi B. Schieffelin

Among the first linguistic innovations during early colonization/missionization in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea, was the introduction of vocabularies and discourses of marking and keeping various types of European-based time. The introduction of European-style institutionally organized activities in which participation was regimented and monitored—for example, paid and unpaid labor schemes, schools, and churches—in the early 1970s gave rise to new ways of dividing days, weeks, months, and years based on linguistic innovations in Kaluli and Tok Pisin. Individuals who aligned themselves with mission organizations referred to these new economies of time, using particular expressions to differentiate themselves and their activities from those who were not similarly positioned. Simultaneously, new genres such as literacy lessons and sermons delineated time in terms of oppositional dichotomies that were temporally less specific but nonetheless linked to notions of social differentiation based on affiliation with a Christian community and/or identification with a nation-state. While lessons focused on oppositions between a past and a present, sermons related current actions and attitudes to future consequences and possibilities, both positive and negative. Both genres targeted attachments to past ideas and practices as obstacles to belief and conversion. Bosavi people played an active role in changing time; while maintaining the vernacular, they nonetheless changed critical cultural meanings.

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1. I thank the National Science Foundation and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for funding my field research over many years in Bosavi and the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation for supporting the time for writing. In addition, thanks go to Elinor Ochs, Steven Feld, Joel Robbins, Courtney Handman, and Gillian Sankoff for helpful comments directed at various versions of this work.

In a 1961 recruitment brochure written for the Unevangelized Fields Mission (UFM) entitled "Behind the Mountains, Behind the Times," the Australian pioneer missionary Dick Donaldson described the people of Mt. Bosavi, whom he had recently visited, as "stone age savages":

> They know no English or New Guinea lingua franca. . . . they are ruled by methods of the savage ages. . . . these primitive people are half man, half animal. . . . they are nature's children, naive in simplicity one day—moody and treacherous the next. In the primeval isolation, they resemble the labyrinth of jungle in which they live; for if cleared and sown, both yield a wonderful harvest. . . . These untouched Highlanders are a thousand years behind the times, therefore, it is imperative that their missionaries, [as it were], go back behind the times with them.

He stressed the urgency of evangelizing, imploring readers to "dedicate yourself now, for neither you nor they will have long to remain."

Inspired by this brochure that located Bosavi people and this Christian mission in a temporalized relationship contrasting primeval Stone Age savagery and evangelical urgency, two fundamentalist missionaries settled in the early 1970s in an area north of Mt. Bosavi, home to approximately 1,600 Bosavi people. Members of the Australian branch of the Unevangelized Fields Mission, a small, conservative, nondenominational fundamentalist Protestant organization, they took original scriptures as divinely inspired and literally interpreted the Bible, which they considered the center of all preaching (Weymouth 1978). They emphasized a doctrine of the "last things"—death, judgment, heaven and hell. Their goal was not to modernize Bosavi people or help them catch up to the mid-20th century in some modernist task but to evangelize, save souls, and establish an indigenous church. Believing that the Bible contained everything that was already known, their missionizing activities were shaped by their premillennialist interpretations of the Bible's overarching narrative of time.[2] Their missionary efforts were aimed at placing Bosavi people into *their* temporal narrative. This required that Bosavi people replace their own narratives about the nature of persons and society with those of their missionaries, who

2. Christian fundamentalists take a very particular stance toward time, and those who are missionaries operate out of a sense of urgency based on a sense of time that is rooted in Scripture and not open to debate or compromise. *It* is the basis for how others are viewed and must be organized. "Others" are not an anthropological construction that has become part of ordinary discourse. The unsaved are those others who stand in the way of a particular movement of time or of reaching a goal, and the need to reorient them and place them in the Scriptural time frame has consequences not only for those targeted but centrally for those whose mission it is to convert one view of time to a radically different one. Premillennialists hold a pessimistic view of humanity, society, and history. Evil is rampant; things are getting worse. To eliminate evil and achieve earthly collective salvation, the world as we know it has to be destroyed and created anew by God. The catastrophic destruction is imminent.

believed, as did Donaldson, that there was little time remaining in which to accomplish this task.

The introduction of Christianity in a society is always a complicated story, involving historical, cultural, social, and often political considerations that are differently tangled, making each case unique in important respects. In addition, colonialism, a frequent concomitant of missionization, further complicates the ways in which new ideas are introduced, attributed, and interpreted locally. On the other side of the dynamic are local factors such as indigenous cosmologies, social organization, and destabilizing influences (out-migration, epidemics, government contacts) that make the society being missionized receptive to change or, occasionally, ready to radically reinterpret or reject it (see Barker 1993, Otto and Borsboom 1997, Robbins 2001*a*, *b* for recent work on Papua New Guinea). Whatever the context of mission contact, language and language ideology are central to the encounter.

In addition to issues of language choice, all missionizing activities depend to varying extents on complex translation activities involving comprehension of cultural concepts and linguistic structures. Furthermore, new speech events, such as church services, deploy new genres, discursive practices, and interpretive procedures—for example, sermons, prayers, and confession—all of which must be introduced and established. Associated activities involving textual practices such as schooling and Bible study require literacy. In these situations of innovation and change, suppression and erasure also occur, with traditional speech genres (e.g., narratives, expressive sung and verbal forms associated with traditional ceremonies) and selected local speech acts (e.g., cursing, arguing, performing magic) the usual targets. Not only is language critical in establishing the direction and scope of missionizing encounters but speech practices are central in determining how people display their reception. How one speaks and what one says indicate how one positions oneself with regard to these changes. They are also a major indicator of belief. Yet, language and language ideology of both missionizers and missionized have remained relatively invisible as objects of study in research on missionization.

In this essay I explore the impact of fundamentalist rhetoric and evangelical activities on discursive practices and social life in Bosavi between 1975 and 1990. In particular, I focus on how new ways of marking time entered conversations and how different temporalities were used to constitute genres previously unknown in this part of Papua New Guinea. Recently missionized Bosavi people became active missionizers and played an important role in effecting these shifts, drawing primarily on their vernacular language—a choice motivated in part by mission language policy. They maintained many of their central concerns, among them their concern with marking evidence, in these new genres. To this end speakers used lexical innovations for marking chronological time to establish the truth of their assertions and their authority, thus adding to the repertoire of evidential markers that was central to this task. This was especially relevant in the discourse of Christianity, where strong claims were made about the truthfulness of the "good news" and listeners needed to be persuaded.

Other discursive practices, however, strongly reflected the premillennialist time line of fundamentalist Christianity. Local pastors also played a significant role in presenting these new ideas in terms of dichotomizing discourses (Gal 1991). They focused on temporal relationships and other dualities, always oppositional, that are central to Christian rhetoric—light/dark, heaven/hell, saved/unsaved, center/periphery. Along with Christian dualities, which carried clear moral implications, two local temporal relationships—one oppositional (before/now) and the other causal (now/later)—also took on strong moral inflections. These temporal dichotomies, semiotically associated with Christian dualities, were elaborated in two related genres, sermons and lessons. These new genres aimed at shifting Bosavi people away from their indigenous time-place orientation to a fundamentalist Christian sense of time—one with no need for a Bosavi past, a present charged with change, and a future that depended on choices made in the present. New speech practices from lexical choice to speech acts were acts of identity (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) for those who adopted them and served to differentiate and separate Christians and non-Christians. In the process of reshaping their language, Bosavi Christians were also reshaping their identities. This was the beginning of social stratification in Bosavi.

While I focus on speech practices, I do not wish to suggest that language was exclusively responsible for the profound changes that took place in Bosavi in a relatively short period of time (1970–90). As Bourdieu points out, "What creates the power of words and slogans, a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of words and of those who utter them. And words alone cannot create this belief" (1991:170). Clearly, the asymmetrical power relations between Australian missionaries and local communities and the subsequent changes in local participation in everyday and ceremonial activities significantly contributed to social and cultural outcomes. Language, however, provided the stage directions and scripts. It set the boundaries of the discussions in ways that were not negotiable as dichotomizing discourse and a rhetoric of clear oppositional dualities came to dominate the scene. This discourse and rhetoric also helped create and gave voice to a set of directors who were empowered through language to position themselves in new ways not only with missionaries but with their own kin.

People, Mission, and Anthropological Presence

The Bosavi people live north of Mt. Bosavi on the Great Papuan Plateau in scattered communities ranging from 60 to 100 people in a rain-forest environment. They practice swidden horticulture and hunt and fish for most of

the animal protein in their diet. They experienced their first European contact in 1935, but until 1964 such contacts were infrequent. All this began to change in 1964. Two missionaries, Murray Rule, who was linguistically trained, and Dick Donaldson of the UFM, began construction of an airstrip, the first step in establishing a mission station "behind the mountains" (as Donaldson put it in his 1961 recruitment brochure). While Donaldson supervised a Bosavi workforce clearing the jungle for the small airstrip, Rule, working with translators who accompanied him, prepared a short grammatical sketch (Schieffelin 2000). Two Gogodala pastors from the UFM were in charge of the tiny Mt. Bosavi station until the early 1970s, when Keith and Norma Briggs of the Asia Pacific Christian Mission (APCM, formerly the UFM) arrived in response to Donaldson's recruitment brochure. They remained until 1990.[3]

Anthropological research paralleled missionary contact. Starting in 1966, E. L. Schieffelin, Steven Feld, and I made visits at various times and of different duration that have continued into the present, visits which I would like to think were relatively benign but not inconsequential.[4] Government contact was intermittent. In 1984 a second airstrip was built about a three-hour walk from the first. Unlike the first, which was controlled by the mission, the second would be associated with local government presence, which became regularized in the late 1980s. Nationals and Europeans who were part of the colonial government, like their missionary counterparts, were committed to a regularization of everyday life. They introduced many structured time-based ideas, ranging from work contracts to being "on time" for assigned tasks and events, using vague references to "development" to validate their requests for labor.

While many critically intertwined historical, cultural and linguistic issues are central to understanding ideas communicated between missionaries and the missionized, a particular economy of time was essential to the missionary project. The Bosavi mission station served as a model of this new moral and temporal economy. The Australian missionaries established a smoothly run mission station and built permanent structures, a church, a clinic (as part of the trust-building effort required for evangelical success), an elementary school for basic education and adult literacy instruction, and a small trade store for local people, as well as a house in which they, their family, and numerous visitors could live in relative comfort. The model society that they attempted to recreate on the mission station was based on fundamentalist Christian doctrine which helped guard them against what they saw as the modern world's many undesirable characteristics—including secularism, materialism, and other religious groups. They shared with other fundamentalist Christian missionaries the view that the traditional practices and ceremonies of a people were largely associated with Satan worship and imagined many dark practices presided over by witch doctors. They viewed most Bosavi cultural beliefs and practices, including traditional ceremonies, healing practices, certain forms of talk, sociability, and exchange, as incompatible with Christianity—not only irrelevant to a Christian future but a potential impediment to it. Such things had to be relegated to the past and not revisited.

The missionaries made their mission station a busy place. Getting everything done was a moral issue; everything took time, and there was never enough time. As dictated by Scripture, there was urgency about converting the local population, and the mission station was the center from which everything radiated.[5] Its schedules, clocks, calendars, and programs organized the mission staff, which included Christian Papuans and interested Bosavi people. A clanging bell or shell trumpet provided sonic marking of church services and clinic calls. For the missionaries, the frequently scheduled shortwave radio contacts throughout the day, the "scheds," provided a critical technology, one that enabled them to exchange information about mission activities, planes, and people throughout Papua New Guinea, connecting them to a larger Christian community. For the local people, these voices and the material consequences of contact with them gave the missionaries enormous power.

The mission effort to control time was not just a practical strategy but a way of asserting hierarchic power and governance. By changing time the mission hoped to transform persons by changing their daily activities and the ways in which they thought and talked about them. For example, those who wished to participate in Chris-

3. For an account of early contact and the establishment of the mission, see Schieffelin and Crittenden (1991:262–68). The loss of traditional ceremonial practices as a result of missionization is described in E. Schieffelin (1978). What has been incorporated into Bosavi life is less obvious.

4. This essay is based on my ethnographic and sociolinguistic fieldwork in 1967–68, 1975–79, 1984, 1990, and 1995. Having had the opportunity to study Bosavi language and social life before the mission was established and at five points in time during intense mission activity, I am able to report on some of the resultant linguistic and social changes. This work complements the extensive ethnographic and ethnomusicological research into Bosavi social, cultural, and expressive life carried out since 1966, which includes Feld (1988, 1990, 1996), B. Schieffelin (1990, 1996, 2000), Schieffelin and Feld (1998), Schieffelin (1976, 1978, 1981), and Schieffelin and Crittenden (1991). Tape-recorded speech was transcribed in collaboration with Kaluli-speakers. Transcripts contain cultural translations and interpretations based on both social and linguistic knowledge. Linguistic analyses are based on naturalistic speech rather than depending on formal elicitation. These interpretive methods, drawing on ethnographic, linguistic, discourse, and interactional analysis, are important because they reflect issues important to Kaluli themselves.

5. Tropes of time, particularly "Stone Age," are still used to characterize contemporary Papua New Guinea societies by missionary groups. UFM missionary writings described life as aimless and monotonous (B. Schieffelin n.d.), and the APCM called Papua New Guinea cultures "timeless," meaning that they were outside of a time frame that facilitated conversion. The UFM International (U.S.A.) web site lists working in such a culture as a major stress factor responsible for missionary attrition. The Bible, however, is also "timeless," according to fundamentalist Christians, in the sense that it is not dependent on particular notions of history or interpretation but stable (Ammerman 1987).

tian activities could no longer take part in traditional ones that were associated with the past. This break was central to conversion. While devices such as bells, clocks, and scheds helped organize the daily round on the mission station, here as elsewhere language was the principal means by which Western ideas about an economy of time were put into place. Missionaries bring *their* language and discursive practices to a place, and they are always dominant ones, but APCM policy stressed the importance of preaching in the vernacular, "the shrine of a people's soul" (Rule 1977:1341), and using it was considered essential for conversion. The missionaries, lacking linguistic training themselves, were unable to translate the Bible materials essential to this task. Needing converts to establish an indigenous church, they relied on local people to translate and proselytize in the vernacular.

Bosavi Perspectives

In the early 1970s, local men who showed interest in becoming Christians and knew some Tok Pisin (Melanesian pidgin, the lingua franca in much of Papua New Guinea) were prime candidates for becoming pastors who would serve as intermediaries between the Australian missionaries at the station and people living in their villages. Lacking formal education and literacy skills, they attended Bible study groups during the week at the mission station using the recently published *Nupela Testamen*, the Tok Pisin Bible, as their text. In the villages, they preached and held church services, reading as best they could from the Tok Pisin Bible, spontaneously translating verses into the Bosavi language and providing exegeses in the vernacular of their translations. These recently missionized Christians carried out mission mandates, reorganizing village activities to include work that supported the local pastor (providing food and labor on a regular basis) and church attendance. This newfound source of power was attractive to the new Christians, and they modeled the formation of this new Christian community on what they had seen at the station, voicing the Tok Pisin words of the missionary translated into the Bosavi language.

It was in these contexts that the mission's aim of keeping the vernacular but changing many of its underlying cultural meanings was accomplished, with Bosavi people playing an active role. One goal was to change the local sense of time into the concept of changing time. This change would reach into local constructions of the "body time of persons and coordinate it with values embedded in the 'world time' of a wider constructed universe of power" (Munn 1992:109). The point I want to emphasize is that this transformation was accomplished in part through socialization into language practices that involved innovations throughout the language: lexical, morphological, grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic, extending into the development of new genres of discourse and thought.

Language socialization research focuses on how persons are socialized through the use of language and socialized to use language (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984). It examines the acquisition of sociocultural knowledge, including the acquisition of practices that enable one to live in society. Language socialization takes place not only between adults and children but also between experts and novices, teachers and students, members and nonmembers, and native and nonnative speakers. Most studies of language socialization (e.g., B. Schieffelin 1990, Ochs 1988, Kulick 1992) have been carried out in societies or settings where the bodies of knowledge that are being displayed or transmitted are coherent, well-formed, even routine or out of the awareness of those who are in charge. What is being acquired is tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems of belief through exposure to and participation in language-mediated situations.

Christian language socialization in Kaluli[6] villages, in contrast, is notable for the role of innovation and for the introduction of new modes of instruction and interaction. Carried out by Kaluli pastors who were themselves newly acquiring an unfamiliar body of knowledge and practices, socialization activities in this situation are best characterized as displaying active and conscious construction of meanings. Discursive explicitness and constant revision marked them. Linguistic idioms were created to express meanings that often shifted but were never contested. Kaluli-speakers constructed particular social and cultural realities through language on and in their own terms—quite literally. They worked with and reworked language(s), their own and others', taking up new texts and speech genres to create vocabularies and fashion a discourse about how they were supposed to act, speak, think, and feel. As in similar situations where there is an urgency to convert, there was slippage between what was said, heard, and understood about Christian messages as many Kaluli worked hard at figuring out what it was all about. Some found the acquisition of a Christian identity a desirable goal; others displayed no interest. Those who tried to become fluent speakers and actors in the Christian arena revealed just how difficult a process this was.

Translation Practices and Linguistic Innovations

Ideas about changing time were translated and communicated at several levels of the language. I became aware of a pattern of language change in progress while preparing a trilingual Bosavi–English–Tok Pisin dictionary with Steven Feld and several Kaluli collaborators (Schieffelin and Feld 1998), a project begun in the mid-1970s that continued through the mid-1990s. The entries, based on transcribed speech genres, required repeated checking for accuracy and spelling with local con-

6. "Kaluli" is the name of the central region of the district and the dialect of Bosavi with which I am most familiar and is the self-identifying label of the people in the village in which I lived.

sultants. Rechecking entries from 1984 in 1990 with the same consultants, all of whom were familiar with Christian rhetoric, we were struck by their consistent responses to particular words. Consultants said that some were not right, others were not understandable, and others were simply no longer used. It seemed strange that we had so many words "wrong," and to unravel this puzzle we produced the source texts, many of which were spoken by the fathers (deceased by 1990) of these same Kaluli assistants. The texts helped our Kaluli assistants to remember the words, and for the most part our translations proved to be accurate. But, more important, there was a culturally significant pattern to their initial evaluations. Words that were associated with many traditional beliefs and practices such as witchcraft and curing practices or that were used in myths and traditional stories were said to be no longer in use in 1990. Certain lexical domains, previously extensive, such as the affect category of "anger," were now significantly reduced; the explanation offered was that Christians no longer became angry, and therefore such words were no longer necessary.[7] These responses and the question of whether certain words were still part of the language and therefore to be included in the dictionary indicated the extent to which an alternative view of the Bosavi world, in this case reflected in its lexical inventory, was being refashioned in its ways of speaking.

This stance toward the particular components of the language was indicative of a broader interpretive shift—a distancing or separation from the not very distant past. Kaluli attitudes toward lexical items now "marked" with connotations of past practices signaled speakers' repositioning with regard to the present and the future. Their responses reflected the influence of fundamentalist Christian ways of thinking about who they were: in order to catch up, people who were "behind the times" were required to detach themselves from their particular past. One way to do this was to make it impossible to speak about a past that increasingly had negative connotations; the erasure of words seemed like one way to do it.

Telling Time: Lexical Innovations and How They Were Used

A counterpoint to erasure is innovation, and Kaluli actively developed vocabulary that would enable them to express new concepts. Contacts with outsiders and their ways of speaking Tok Pisin were the basis for extensive innovation in Kaluli. One of the first domains in which this occurred was Western chronological time marking.

Before government and mission contact, there was little interest on the part of Bosavi people in reckoning and accounting for time in the precise ways that both institutions found critical. For example, remembering of life-cycle events such as marriages and deaths was not subject to calendrical accounting. Instead, place and place-names, important in everyday experience, discourse, and ritual expression, were used to demarcate all memorable events. Writing about Bosavi in the mid-1960s, E. L. Schieffelin (1976) documented the importance of place. Locality and place-names were anchors for significant ceremonies and events as well as remembrances of personal experiences (e.g., building gardens, going on hunting trips, sharing particular foods). My own work on Kaluli child socialization during the 1970s noted the importance of place-names in family conversations that linked persons to the named places, sago camps, streams, and gardens that were key to their local activities and identity (Schieffelin 1990). Feld's work on Kaluli poetics elaborated the ways in which the sequential citation of place-names in texts of song and lament created maps that memorialized events, times, and social relationships. These sequences created a path (tok), a central image in Kaluli encoding of space-time (Feld 1988, 1996). This encoding was local, deeply connected to the place where (rather than the time when) people had done things together. As Feld notes, across the range of contexts for talking, singing, or lamenting, "it is striking to notice how quickly and thoroughly a person and a memorable feature of his life are narratively located in a placed space-time" (1996:111).

People most commonly used the term mo:lu (before, long ago) to refer to different types of past time and the adverbial sifa (later) for the future; specific delineations of temporality were indicated by tense and aspect marking on verbs. Other nominal time markers in the Bosavi language marked basic divisions of the day, for example, keafo (morning), disi (noon), ga:lo (evening), and nulu (night). For activities that required planning and coordination (e.g., house-building, garden planting, fishing trips, ceremonies), Bosavi people counted days based on the present time of speaking—o:go: (today) or o:g (now)—using three time adverbials disambiguated by tense: a:ma:inali (three days ago ~ in three days), inali (two days ago ~ in two days), ali (yesterday ~ tomorrow).

The government and the mission required a specific type of chronology for the purposes of record keeping and the tracking of people over time (for example, for census and health records) and organizing future events without the requirement of present-time-anchoring that characterized the here and now in face-to-face interactions. Activities had to be scheduled and coordinated in advance; for instance, meetings, courts, and labor contracts had to be negotiated for specific time periods. In other words, a range of "civilizing" practices had to be carried out that would organize people who were described as living in the "Stone Age" without clocks, calendars, and schedules.

Many of the lexical innovations indicating chronological time were relatively straightforward and based on the Bosavi counting system. The first change was counting the days of the week, starting with Monday, with

7. Other dimensions of the lexicon were expanding in response to the incorporation of Christian concepts and new things into Bosavi society. New words and concepts also entered through increased contact with nationals from outside the area via government projects but to a lesser extent. The dictionary notes etymologies when known as well as documenting new usages.

the first 7 numbers suffixed with the instrumental case marker -a:. (In these examples and others, Tok Pisin [TP] terms are in italics; Kaluli words are underlined.) The hours of the day used the first 12 numbers with the locative suffix -a, a later innovation.[8] For example, agela: < agel number one, "day number one"; agela < agel number one, "one o'clock." By the early 1970s other linguistic innovations for marking and keeping various types of time were in use. Some new usages extended the semantic range of words already in the Bosavi language. For example, dona, the longest of the three named Bosavi seasons, also took on the meaning "year." Other new usages were back translations from Tok Pisin, calques which retained the Tok Pisin meanings but were literal Kaluli translations. For example, the Tok Pisin word for "month," *mun*, was the basis for expanding the Kaluli word for "moon," ele, to include "month." Speakers then counted the number of "moons" (months) to calculate larger units of time: ele, moon < TP *mun*, "moon," "month," new usage "month." While most new words had clear etymological connections to the Kaluli lexicon, for others the complete derivation of the new word is unknown. For example, so:go:agelo: < agelema, "count," agelo: "counted," agel "one," meaning "week."[9]

The sources and development of these innovations tell us about the contact history of speakers and the types of linguistic processes deployed. What is more telling and significant to the larger social world, however, is the ways in which both innovated and traditional temporal markers were employed by fundamentalist Christians to convey their message and to reposition themselves and those they wanted to convert. Kaluli who led church services or became pastors quickly acquired the monologic speaking role associated with these speech events and used it to identify with these new social institutions. In this new speaking role, their linguistic innovations included marking European-based time, indicating the degree to which they were sensitive to the importance of registering their connections to larger systems of timekeeping and reckoning even though they lacked watches and calendars. This is from a church prayer in 1975:[10]

nanogo: ali dogofeya: dia:li ya:la:ga: o:fo: usa duwala mada edan
Yesterday on day six, by midday (when the sun is in the center) work completely stops

Expressions such as these addressed to God were used to bolster fundamentalist Christian messages of urgency and seriousness. Using precise time designations, speakers accounted for how people spent their time. In this prayer Osolowa specifies exactly when everyone stopped work in preparation for church, ali dogofeya:, "yesterday on day six." Instead of the more typical Kaluli expression disi, "noon," she uses a more precise descriptive phrase, o:fo: usa duwala, for midday, literally, "when the sun is in the center," an idiom most likely back-translated from the Tok Pisin *san i stap antap tru*.[11] Osolowa was one of the few women who spent time at the mission station and was learning Tok Pisin from speakers there. This utterance was somewhat unusual because of the contradictory use of a specific time adverbial, "yesterday," with the habitual form of the verb form, edan, "one stops." Habitual verb forms, however, were very common in sermons and prayers, as they conveyed what one was doing or should be doing every day.

Repositioning Selves Through Time

Precise temporal designations were highly salient in sermons and lessons and in another new genre, taped cassette letters. Cassette letters were exchanged between Kaluli outside of the area and those in the village. Produced outside the spatial-temporal bounds of face-to-face interactions, they lacked the dialogic feedback of conversations.[12] To assure the listener that what was being said was true, speakers loaded their utterances with lexical expressions (hede, "true"; mada, "really"), emphatic morphology (-le, "really"), and verbs of saying (so:lo:l, "I am saying"). In one cassette letter, for example, Hasele, a young man who knew some Tok Pisin, was recounting a local theft to relatives who were attending Bible school far away in Lae. He stopped his account suddenly to identify the place from which he was speaking, Bona (which they knew), and the time. In his expression (line 2) for the day of the week—ho:leno: adeba:, literally "on day two" (current usage is adeba:, "on Tuesday")—the number has become the name. (The word ho:len, "day," is no longer used in such expressions.) Hasele used precise time marking, shifting from Kaluli to Tok Pisin when he talked about the month and day, *Desemba foatin*, in addition to other expressions of time and truth to create a frame of truthfulness for his story:

a:la:fo:ko:lo: o:go: hedele Degelo Osolowa ga:gbo ne Bona hena sili a:na so:lo:l (1)
therefore today really truthfully Degelo, Osolowa, I am speaking to you two from Bona

8. Rule's (1964) grammatical sketch reported all time reckoning in local terminologies, glossing the numbers as days. He did not use English names for the days of the weeks or months. He also used the three shifting time adverbials disambiguated by tense rather than designating specific numbered days in his examples.

9. so:go:, "cloth," was later extended to "counselor," who was given a government cloth or *laplap* to wear as part of his uniform. It is not clear whether cloth was counted or the counsellor did the counting or if this had anything to do with the neologism.

10. Unless otherwise indicated, examples are drawn from my 1975 data set.

11. This Tok Pisin expression is listed in the *Jacaranda Dictionary* (Mihalic 1971), along with another term for "noon," *belo*, which is more common. That term was used in Bosavi to refer to the bell that signaled church services.

12. Osolowa and Degelo had been away from Bona for over two months, and no one had heard from them. Before I went to visit them in Lae, several people asked if they could make a cassette letter (no one could write) and Degelo and Osolowa could send back their responses. This tape, made in December 1975, was the first of this type of communication.

o:go: ho:leno:, ho:leno: adeba: so:lo:l, o:go: ho:leno: adeba: so:lo:l (2)
today on day, day two (Tuesday) I am speaking, today on day two I am speaking,
a:la:fo:ko:lo:, ha:iyo: so:go:! mada hedele so:lo:l (3)
so I feel sorry cross-cousin! I am really telling the truth
eleyo: *Desemba Desemba foatin* a:na so:lo:l, *Desemba foatin* a:na so:lo:l (4)
month December, December 14 I am saying this, on December 14 I am saying this

Hasele's subsequent telling of the theft and related activities, however, followed traditional narrative structure, sequencing events through clause chaining without using time adverbials or making reference to specific event times. What mattered was the sequence of events and their relation to one another. Five other speakers in cassette letters sent to Degelo at this time also followed this traditional narrative structure and used place-names rather than temporal expressions to identify and anchor events. These speakers conveyed their local concerns and sentiments, locating them in the village and verbally tying themselves to activities, places, and people there. Despite their speaking in a new monologic format facilitated by Western technology, the tape recorder, they used traditional forms of talk.

Degelo answered his relatives quite differently. Adopting the role of a different kind of speaker, he positioned himself as a different type of person—no longer just a villager with local concerns but someone who was now connected to new sources of knowledge, capable of new ways of speaking. For example, he marked the openings and closings of his talk to each person with new Kaluli greetings such as disi nafa, a back translation of the Tok Pisin greetings *gude*, "good day," and *apinun*, "afternoon," that extended the temporal terms (ga:lo, "afternoon," disi, "noon" + nafa, "good") pragmatically to greetings. Prior to European contact these forms of greeting did not exist in Bosavi (see Williams 1944 for similar observations on other Papuan societies). Like "thank you," they were introduced by Australian missionaries and mission-educated nationals as part of a verbal etiquette marking social civility (B. Schieffelin 1999). Translating these phrases from Tok Pisin into Kaluli so that his relatives would understand them, Degelo struggled for precision:

giyo: ga:lo tambo [self-correction] disi nafa! o: o:li kabi o:fo: nodolo:wo: ko:lo: ga:lole so:lo:l
afternoon to you all good noon o never mind the sun is turned, it is really afternoon I am saying

The Bible school he attended subscribed even more strongly to the economy of time characteristic of the Bosavi mission, and this may help explain why his cassette letters provided accounts for his time as well as preaching about the urgency of conversion. In their messages villagers had expressed concern that they had heard nothing from him since he left the area. His response provided a detailed chronicle of his tasks to assure people that he was very busy.

a:la:fo: a:no: mo:wo: ne nanogo: kea:fo nulu nulu nulu *hapas foa* a:labamiyo: mo:mo:da:sa:ga: baibo:lo: aga:la:sen (1)
that is because I start working well before daybreak [lit. morning night night night], by half past four I have already started reading the Bible [habitual continuous]
a:la:ta:ga:yo: *fib* a:labamiyo: ha:na:sa:ga: nanogo: mo:mo:da:sa:ga: dia:sen (2)
by the time it is five I have started working [habitual continuous]
a:la:ta:ga: ha:na:ga:, *twa:lf oklok* amiyo: ma:no: na:sa:ga:, *wan* amiyo: a:ma:la: ha:na:sa:ga:, (3)
and do that until twelve o'clock, after eating food, by one I have gone back [to work],
hapas sikis amiyo: ga:lowo: ya:sa:ga: ma:no: na:sa:ga:, *ta:n* amiyo: nulu nanogo: dima:dama:niki ha:na: sen [habitual continuous] (4)
half past six once the afternoon has passed, and I've eaten, by ten I've gone to do night work
kaoliya: susuliya: kokonus dia: nulu nanog de gida:liki o:leo:ngo: dima:da:sen (5)
taking cows, pigs, coconuts, night work lighting the fire, I'm doing things like that [habitual continuous]
a:la:fo:ko:lo: mo:fo:so: gimo: sa:sa:liga:ifa:no: ho:leno: fogo: aundo:ma (6)
so to write and send you a letter there is no space at all in the day
nulu *twa:lf oklok* a:ma:la: ya:sa:ga: a:na alilan (7)
night twelve o'clock I've come back and gone to sleep [habitual]
a:la:fo:ko:lo: mo:fo:so: sa:sa:lima:no:wo: fogo: aundo:ma (8)
so [with just] no space at all for writing a letter,
a:la:fo:ko:lo: mo:sa:sa:lo: hedele gimo:wo: (9)
I didn't write [definite past] to you

Degelo uses Kaluli to express the usual breaks in the day and shifts to Tok Pisin to indicate an hourly specificity. This temporal specificity is a counterpoint to Kaluli nonpunctual verb forms (lines 1, 2, 4, 5, 7), which indicate habitual continuous action. This is his daily schedule, and it extends into an indefinite future. In line 1, using a traditional way of noting daybreak (keafo nulu), Degelo pushes daybreak back into the night through repetition of the word nulu, "night": kea:fo nulu nulu nulu. He adds the Tok Pisin time *hapas foa*, "half past four," for scientific precision, addressing a community in which no one had a watch and for whom the expression *hapas foa* might signal distance or sophistication. He asserts that the first thing he does is read the Bible, now an integral part of his daily schedule. It is still daybreak, but Degelo indicates that by *fib*, "five o'clock " (in the morning), he has already started working, using Tok Pisin here and throughout his account to pinpoint the exact temporal boundaries of his activities. (This is really early even in villages, where people don't begin to stir

until six.) In line 4 he shifts between the precision of Tok Pisin and the Kaluli term for two temporal boundary markings, afternoon and evening, using the term nulu nanogo:, "night work," a term not used or known in Bosavi, which he then details in line 5. He produces the obvious conclusion to his busy day in line 6, that "there is no space in the day at all" for him to write. He immediately resumes his chronology in line 7, again shifting between the general Kaluli term nulu, "night," and the precise hour expressed in Tok Pisin *twa:lf oklok*, "twelve o'clock," ending the day and the account with his going to sleep. He repeats the point of his account: He had no space in the day and so he did not write.

Degelo's account reproduces the Bible school's hourly schedule in detail, modeling a life that has no idle moments. Infused as it is with these markers of modern time as indicators of veracity, who can doubt his account? He is on the same clock time as the other students; all are working toward a common goal, which is dictated not by his teachers but by the "inerrant Word of God." He uses precise times in Tok Pisin as evidential markers for his actions, providing a narrative of calibration to this new time frame. His account is also about social differentiation; he is constructing a new Christian identity through the way in which he speaks about himself and his activities. He is separated from Bosavi villagers not only spatially but temporally, through his Bible school schedule, and by his own account he locates himself in a different world time. There is no mention of place to designate events. In this and other narratives, he references a powerful modern world, one that is Western and Christian, far from what the missionaries had described as "primeval isolation" just 15 years before. Degelo's expression ho:leno: fogo: aundo:ma (lines 6, 8), literally, "there is no space at all in the day," is new, collapsing space and time.[13] By his own account, the villagers that he is addressing are far from his thoughts.

Given the mission policy for preaching in the vernacular, it is no surprise that in constructing a Christian identity Kaluli-speakers such as Degelo used their own language in new ways to align themselves with missionary goals. In this Papuan society labeled by missionaries as "Stone Age" and "behind the times," where "traditional practices" were viewed as barriers to becoming Christian, it is no accident that in accounting for their time Kaluli used Tok Pisin, which offered precise, "modern"clock time to provide a type of evidence that they were telling the truth. It was among the first shifts in what was to become a more radical revision of temporal organization, one that had moral implications.

Temporal Dichotomies and Their Focus on the Present

The new discursive practices of recently missionized Bosavi Christians were organized around two dichotomies involving temporal relationships. One dichotomizing discourse about time opposed what was known or believed before the arrival of the missionaries to what was "now" known as a result of their evangelizing. This opposition of before/past to now/present was most clearly marked in health lessons, but Christian ideas leaked metaphorically into literacy classes, which Christians also instructed, as well. A second dichotomizing discourse of time is found in sermons and is shaped by fundamentalist scriptural interpretation anticipating the Second Coming. The relationship between the present (speaking) time and the future (heaven or hell), which the present determines, rhetorically shapes this new genre. One consequence of these two discourses is that the past is no longer relevant; a second consequence is a heightened attention to the present, which requires daily and constant self-examination and monitoring.

These new genres are monologic in structure and constitute a radical departure from the highly interactive, co-constructed dialogic speech styles typically found in Bosavi, where overlap or simultaneity of voices (dulugu salan, "lift-up-over speaking") is preferred. With their strict turn-taking rules they indicate new types of relationships between Bosavi speakers and their audiences. Previously, monologues were associated with outsiders—missionaries, teachers, health workers, and government patrol officers—who all came to impart new knowledge that would alter customary beliefs and practices. The flow of information was unidirectional, with imperatives and hypotheticals being followed by the consequences of compliance or noncompliance and little verbal exchange or negotiation in these situations where one speaker was a designated expert and all others were learners. In these new genres, Kaluli have taken on these new roles, changing the participant structure as well as the social relationships. In addition, these shifts have changed the nature and aesthetics of interactional time, affecting the internal construction of time and timing and setting the boundaries of talk and the content and form of the messages delivered.

Lessons

In previous work I have described some of the major features of literacy and health lessons, analyzing both the content of vernacular primers and the discourse that surrounds them as providing critical contexts for a dichotomizing discourse of before and now (Schieffelin 1996, 2000). To summarize, in these speech events Kaluli were encouraged to reevaluate their past (customs, practices, beliefs) and distance themselves from it. They were told to "think about" (asuluma) how things used to be mo:lu, tamina, "before," and how things are or should

13. This same expression was used by Degelo in two Bible translations to refer to the lack of physical space. Other expressions collapse space and time: a:ta: tok anibamiyo:lo: tok ha:na:no:wo:lo: foko: mada aundo:ma aya mada wa:liso:no: ko:m, "so from the front door to the back door there was really no space, the house was completely filled up."

be o:go:, "now." An example drawn from a 1984 vernacular literacy lesson in which the topic is the cause of malaria illustrates typical temporal framing. The instructor, Kulu Fuale, is explaining the text to a group of young men:

mo:lu nili doima:yo: ko:sega o:go: dinafa asulab buko: wema: walasalab (1)
before our fathers but now we really know this book shows/instructs

a:la:fo: ko:lo: niliyo: buko: wena ba:da:sa:ga: (2)
therefore when we look at this book

tifa [self-correction] taminamiyo: niyo: mo:asulo: ko:sega no niyo: nulu alifo: alifo:labamiyo: kiso:wa: lo: nanog diabo: we aungabo:lo:do: a:la:bo: (3)
later [self-correction] before we did not know but when we are sleeping at night the work mosquitoes do is like this we now know from this source

buko: wenamilo: to salab we da:da:sa:ga: asuluma:niki (4)
listening to what the words in this book say makes us know/understand

Vernacular literacy instructors, who were local Christians, highlighted the source of this temporal contrast: what "our fathers" believed was set against what "this book shows us really well" and "what new words really tell us." Throughout the lessons, Kaluli were told that "before we didn't know" and "we didn't understand" in contrast to "we now know" and "we really hear it well," and printed texts from the mission were all granted authority, as were those who could read them (B. Schieffelin 1996). There were multiple rhetorical goals in these lessons, but a salient theme throughout was the notion of changing time as a moral imperative. The past needed to be distanced and removed from present practices and beliefs. It was the present that needed attention; there was a lot to be learned and little time in which to learn it.

By the mid-1980s, after ten years of intensive missionizing, this notion of changing time became grammaticalized in the language but only in this genre—lessons—emphasizing separation from the past.[14] Kaluli-speakers instructing students about ideas based on new "scientific facts" marked these ideas with a new morphological form. This suffix, -lo:do: a:la:bo:, "known from this source, not known before, we now know" (line 3), marked information that was new, truthful, and known from mission-issued print sources. In addition to providing explicit language socialization cues for how to learn and what to listen to, this evidential marker was integrated into the larger evidential system which marked authority, truthfulness, and source of knowledge. Along with other linguistic innovations this vernacular addition maintained the language while shifting the social valuation of traditional versus new or Western ideologies. Many Kaluli saw these as modern meanings, thus socially as well as morally marking the notion of changing time.

14. Ways of the past were treated negatively in sermons but not in terms of the temporal framing devices and morphological marking of evidence that encoded time. These were specific to the genre of lessons. In sermons the Bible was the source of everything said, and this was indicated using evidentials, including verbs of speaking, whenever Scripture was translated and quoted.

Sermons

By the mid-1970s several local men were holding at least six village church (sa:s) services per week, each service often lasting two hours and including hymn singing, prayers offered aloud by designated Christians, and verse reading from the Tok Pisin New Testament followed by translation into the vernacular and an exegesis of the verses. Except for the reading in Tok Pisin, all services were in Kaluli. While the pastor would always ask people to confess, few did so (B. Schieffelin 1999). Village attendance at these services was determined by interest.

Dichotomizing discourses of time were most salient in the exegesis following the verse reading, the ha:g or "underneath." They drew on fundamentalist rhetoric as understood by local Christians and thus were verbally elaborated in particular Bosavi ways. Local pastors took their affective cues from those portions of Scripture emphasizing endtimes, and particular linguistic features constituted the sermon as a distinctive Christian genre. While many, but not all, of these linguistic features were used in other contexts of speaking, what distinguished their use here was that they saturated the text and produced a semantic and pragmatic intensification of temporality through marking frequency (ho:len tambo, "every day") and duration (tense/aspect marking). The repetition of certain phrases became formulaic as they co-occurred with marked verb forms to create idioms with Christian connotations.

Particular speech acts, marked for truth, elaborated specific relationships between present and future temporalities. For example, declaratives conveyed information primarily in the form of assertions and predictions, with hypotheticals (if *x* now, then *y* later) constituting a significant portion of the discourse. Tense/aspect, in addition to temporal adverbs (o:go:, "today"; sifa, tamina, "later"), bracketed these assertions, which were marked by a group of intensifiers which amplified and maximized their pragmatic force and truth value. Terms including mada, "very, really," aundo:ma, "never, completely," imilisi, "only," ko:m, "totally," and hede, "truly," in addition to emphatic markers (-le, -lo:b, -ka:, sa:la:), added a dramatic tone to the already dramatic narrative frame of endtime images:

o:go: walafo: aundo:ma:lo: o:ngo: kiso:no: siyalega (1)
today those acting as if they are without sickness [sin] going around proud/strong,

tifa ya:su gelesolo: yan amiyo: e a:ma:la:yo: e dasima:no: aundo:ma (2)
later when Jesus Christ comes, they will never ever get up again [really die]

ha:ga ta:ta:ga: e iwo: dowa:i ha:nalega (3)

people who keep on putting Him below themselves
as if to make themselves higher
tifamiyo: aundo:ma doma:ib hedele aundo:ma (4)
later they will become truly nothing, nothing at all

The use of aundo:ma, "never, completely," in sentence-final position (lines 2, 4) was found only in sermons, and its usage is highly marked.[15] In contrast to its more typical meaning, "without" (line 1), in sentence-final position it negates with finality the verbal proposition. This contrasts with the more typical marking of verbal negation through prefixing on the verb, which has limited scope. Aundo:ma was also used in this marked way to indicate affective states depending on whether or not one adopted Christian practices: sagalo: aundo:ma sa:la:, "no happiness at all" (emphatic); kele asulo: aundo:ma, "no worries ever."

Other features of verbal elaboration were particular to these assertions and predictions. Doubled verbs using two future tense markings (first and second person + third person) conveyed both completive and durative meaning, using temporal specificity to intensify the focus on a future state. With these doubled verbs, additional amplifiers, such as imilisi, "only," were used for emphasis:

tifa ya:su geleso yaleka, falelema:no: falelema:ib,
later when Jesus Christ comes he will heal them completely/forever
soma:no: imilisi soma:ib
they will really be only dead forever

This marked use of maximizers, including imilisi, "only," and ko:m, "totally," intensifying particular affective states, both positive and negative, was found only in sermons and was restricted to two contrasting verbs in the past tense, falale, "healed" (saved), and sowo:, "died" (unsaved):

fo:fo:ido: imilisi
(feel) lightness only;
sagalo:wo: imilisi ha:na:ib
one will go only with happiness
mo:sagalanka: imilisi
one will always only be unhappy [habitual]
falale ko:m
healed completely, totally
sowo: ko:m
died completely.

In addition, assertions were aimed at relocating Bosavi people in terms of a larger national project as pastors recounted how people like themselves all over Papua New Guinea were engaged in the same Christian activity. These assertions also underscored the importance of frequency and duration of people's practices, using serial verb constructions consisting of a main verb (nonfinite form), in this example dabuma, "listen," followed by hamana, "go" (finite form), to achieve these ends. Both second person (you) and third person (they) are signaled by this present tense form (-ab), which creates an effective ambiguity and inclusion:

o:g imilisiyo: godeya: da:da:i ha:nab
right now to God's [stories] you/they keep on listening continuously
ho:len tambo godeya: malolo: da:da:i ha:nab
every day to God's stories you/they are listening all the time

Thus, narratives that temporally coordinated different possible addressees/referents were used in the creation of an imagined community. Through imagined joint participation Kaluli were encouraged to think of themselves as part of a larger social group that extended beyond their Bosavi society. But they were constantly reminded that they were "behind" and had to catch up. They were told that the others mo:lu dabu, "heard it long ago."

Another distinctive pragmatic feature of this genre was the use of successive imperatives. These directives for future action had the pragmatic force of commanding, prohibiting, warning, admonishing, and instructing. Like declaratives, they were heavily marked, multiply encoding time with adverbials and tense/aspect distinctions with a resultant saturation of pragmatic force. Directives used both immediate and future imperative forms, marking them for plural addressees and adding the continuative and whatever emphatic morphemes were possible. The imperatives also used a restricted set of verbs that were relatively rare in other genres but again notable for their frequency and elaboration in sermons. These directives were anchored by the most frequent temporal adverb, ho:len tambo, "every day," and similarly set up a continuous relationship between a present and a future time.

Imperatives often followed an assertion describing prescribed behavior:

[Assertion] + ho:len tambo o:leo:nga:lubi, gina:li, gina:lila
every day all of you will continue to do [X] each one of you by yourself

Echoing the importance of frequency and duration, imperatives used serial verb constructions similar to the declaratives used in sermons, creating idioms that became associated with and identified this genre. Desired affective states were central to these directives, which, functioning as instructions on how to feel and act, followed a format that became formulaic: ho:len tambo [affective/internal state] [nonfinite verb + future imperative verb], where the affective state was happiness, quietness, or any of the desired "soft" Christian demeanors and the main verb was a future imperative, either positive and promoting behavior or negative, prohibiting it:

ho:len tambo ha:fa:no:lo: ta:i ha:na:bi
every day you will keep on being quiet/easy
sagalo:wo:liya: iliki: da:da:i ha:na:bi
with happiness, you will keep on listening
asulo: gililo:wo: hideyo:wo: dowa:li ha:na:so:bo, giyo: mada sagalo: imilisi dowa:li ha:na:bi

15. Use of particular forms was examined across genres, including conversation, a range of narrative types, court cases, arguments, etc.

don't you all be worrying, you all really just only stay being happy.

Frequency and duration, which keyed this genre, were evident not only in imperatives but in utterances with verbs that were not in the imperative form. This had the effect of imparting a strong directive force beyond imperatives to utterances with habitual forms of the verb—what one does every day, what is associated with the usual cultural and social practices in society. Thus, in this language socialization activity, where those in authority were telling people what to do, habituals took on the pragmatic force of directives:

ho:len tambo aungu [X] ha:na: lowan
every day one will keep on doing [X] like that continuously (indefinitely)

In utterances using this format, the time adverbial "every day" indicates frequency, and the verb phrase provides the durative component, [main verb] + hamana, "go" + melea, "stay," where the verb "go," provides the forward motion into the future and the verb "stay" indicates continuity and duration with a nonpunctual habitual (what one always does).

In prayers first-person usages also took on new pragmatic meanings and had the force of promises extending into the future—speech acts that were not part of the traditional Bosavi repertoire. The same verb sequences but with melea, "stay," future tense, extended the verbal expression of time to include "indefinitely," "forever":

nanogo: dia:i ha:na: mela:no:
I will work forever

Similar patterns were found in prayer referring to God, the only context in which a future state was declared with some assurance. Serial verb constructions with these three verbs—doma, "be," + hamana, "go," and melea, "stay"—were unique in this context. Here the speaker repeats the verb mela:no: ("be," future) and also self-corrects as she formulates this innovative use:

Ni do gode mela:no: [self-correction] dowa:i ha:na: mela:no:
My father God who will last forever

Interrogatives were infrequent in sermons, limited to question-and-answer sequences testing knowledge of the Bible or asking people to publicly acknowledge their own status regarding "sin." Such questions were simply not answered. Thus clear patterns of generic differentiation that began to emerge in the early 1970s as Kaluli began to preach had to do with demeanor and affect and drew on linguistic resources that focused on the present (speaking time) with the future in mind, a future that was very specific—not about limitless possibilities, not about development, and not about modernity but about persuasion, preparation, attention, and transformation.

Conclusions

The mission's aim of rapid conversion of Bosavi people involved massive social and cosmological reorganization, and this was accomplished relatively quickly through their overarching narrative about changing time. Newly missionized Kaluli carried out their part of the project using their vernacular in the context of two introduced genres, sermons and lessons, emphasizing complementary sets of temporalities structured as dichotomizing discourses. Lessons, which emphasized a before/now rhetoric, positioned people at a new starting point. "Now" was actually anchored in the past, when the missionaries started proselytizing in the early 1970s, and referred to the ideas that they had brought to Bosavi society extending to the present (1999). It also referred to the speaking time of talk as a moment in which one could begin to adopt new practices and beliefs. "Before" referred to the era prior to missionary arrival and was used to construct the past as amoral, chaotic, irrelevant, and indeed a hindrance to preparation for the future. As such, it had to be distanced, forgotten, and made irrelevant, and shifts in language meaning as well as language loss played a significant role in accomplishing this.

The mission policy of using the vernacular for proselytizing helped to ensure language maintenance. Keeping the language provided a familiarity while the ground was shifted. Few initially realized what it would mean to retain the language while changing so many cultural meanings. Innovation co-occurred with the erasure of entire expressive genres—song, lament, and traditional narrative that were the memorializing practices of a people. Participation in new genres that were aimed at socializing new demeanors, bodies of knowledge, beliefs, and ways of talking about oneself and the world shifted people's identity, effecting a temporal and spatial relocation. In this sense, change is inscribed in the language; it provides an important record of change. It is only when it is read for what one is not supposed to do, think or feel—what was known before—that a past emerges that is no longer in talk.

The past, cultural or personal, is a special target for fundamentalist Christians. Even thoughts about past traditions, whether real or imagined by missionaries, were considered as impediments to conversion and belief, and local pastors consistently conveyed this message. In Bosavi, however, one's identity was closely tied to one's relationships with others. Interactions of reciprocity and exchange that constituted one's relationships were enacted in particular places with local historical and personal connotations. This dynamic—expectations of receiving, having given—carried people into a future, while these named places encoded their memories, a placed space-time. Bosavi people's notions of this placed space-time and the social and symbolic relevance of their places differentiated them from each other and their neighbors as well as from the fundamentalist Christian world. While the fundamentalist Christians claimed themselves as the "center" (*us*) and designated anyone who was unsaved as "to the side" (ha:la:ya:), theirs was an ideological space,[16] one that was located outside of

16. This would later be realized in Bosavi villages as Christian and non-Christian sections.

particular societies and ideally encompassed all societies. Their dominant orientation to scriptural time as the social and cosmological framework for lives effected a shift for many in Bosavi from a placed space-time as their reference point to time alone. This mission rhetoric repositioned Bosavi people according to its own narrative time frame, one in which everyone would be looking forward to the same thing at the same time—the Second Coming. Everyone would be preparing in the same way; the Bosavi people would be on the same timetable as everyone else. What mattered was only whether they were saved; that would become their only meaningful identity.

Sermons were organized according to a temporalizing relationship with the present that impacted all future outcomes. The focus on the present was reiterated as this language socialization context made explicit through language how one had to speak, act, and feel. Here the future, the most unknown of the temporal dimensions, played a significant role in the discourse. This future, with its requisite present, however, had to be established as certain and true. Speakers had to establish *themselves* as credible in talking about these new ideas, persuading others to adopt them. They used complex markings of temporality, using linguistic innovations in their language and drawing on Tok Pisin to add precision and convey the truth and authority of their words. They used time rather than place as a marker, which indexed a past of shared (heathen) experiences associated with chaos and sin that took place in what Donaldson had earlier described as the "labyrinth of jungle." Western time indexed what others used as reference; it had a commonality that bridged the specificity of culture and place and thus helped constitute the new identity that those who were oriented to Christianity sought to establish. While speaking their own language, they could be someone else.

Finally, in the dichotomizing discourse of Christianity, where dualities were opposed to each other in uncompromising terms (light/dark, saved/unsaved), similar notions of boundedness showed up in a range of verbal constructions. These provided an aesthetic consistency that added to the constitution of these new genres. The saturation of expressions with amplifications ("totally," "completely," "only," "never," "always," etc.) provided intensification to an already dramatic endtimes narrative frame. Nothing was done or felt "a little"—it was always "a lot," whether happiness or suffering. In addition, the tropes of frequency and duration (expressed through morphology and syntax) added a formulaic consistency, and through linguistic innovations Kaluli-speakers articulated the certainty of the uncertain future. These linguistic processes, in addition to their monologic character, helped establish sermons and lessons as legitimate and recognizable genres embedded in signifying practices. These genres were about time (Bakhtin's chronotope). Everyone, according to the missionaries, was waiting for the Second Coming, and the task was not only to be prepared but also to be on the same clock as everyone else—not to be behind the times when it mattered most. The moral overtones had to do with the possibility of salvation, the hope that following certain moral prescriptions would provide some degree of certainty about a future. Salvation potentially involved the whole world, and it required that the Kaluli adopt the clock time that everyone else was using. *This* mission field became one more that had to be covered to fulfill the prophecies in the Bible about the inevitable future.

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