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by

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NOTES ON THE INDICATION OF POSSESSION WITH NUMERALS IN THE

WESTERN SOUTHERN LANGUAGES

INTRODUCTION

THE FIRST AND EARLIEST THINGS WHICH

ARE TO BE NOTICED IN THE

CONSTRUCTION OF POSSESSION

IN THESE LANGUAGES

IS THE USE OF NUMERALS

IN POSSESSIVE PHRASES

AND THE FACT THAT

THESE LANGUAGES DO NOT HAVE A

SEPARATE WORD

FOR POSSESSION AND POSSESSOR

AS IN ENGLISH

AND THAT

THESE LANGUAGES

DO NOT HAVE

A SEPARATE WORD

FOR POSSESSION AND POSSESSOR

AS IN

ENGLISH

AND THAT THESE LANGUAGES

DO NOT HAVE

A SEPARATE WORD

NEW IRELAND LANGUAGES : A REVIEW

C.H. BEAUMONT

- 1.0. Introduction
- 1.1. Surveys
- 1.2. Classification
- 1.3. Bibliographies
- 1.4. Phonology
- 1.5. Grammar
- 1.6. Lexical Material
- 1.7. Texts
- 1.8. Migration
- 1.9. Summary

1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.0.1. PURPOSE

In his address to the Australian UNESCO Meeting on Oceanic Studies Professor Ralph Bulmer suggested the need for papers which assess in detail the research in particular regions or topics¹. The intention of this paper is to do this for work that has been done on languages in the New Ireland District of Papua New Guinea. As District boundaries do not necessarily coincide with linguistic realities I have widened the scope of this review to include two New Britain languages. Two other languages now outside the district receive some mention here as they were included in some of the studies mentioned below.

¹Bulmer 1971:22.

1.0.2. GENERAL

The New Ireland District is located in the North West of Papua New Guinea of which it is one of the eighteen administrative districts, between 1° and 5° S. Lat. and 149° and 154° E. Long. It consists of a main island which is 200 miles long, the island of New Hanover which is about 25 miles long and a number of smaller islands. The islands of Nuguria and Nissan which prior to 21st June 1966 were part of the New Ireland District have since then formed part of the Bougainville District¹. According to the survey made by David Lithgow and Oren Claassen of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1966² there are 20 language native to the district.

1.1. SURVEYS

1.1.1. Stephan and Gräbner

The New Ireland languages were studied by a German expedition in 1904. In *Neu Mecklenburg* published in 1907, Emil Stephan and Fritz Gräbner, included findings concerning the languages of the southern part of New Ireland. The section on languages (p138-150) contains useful grammatical notes. Comparative wordlists for numerals up to twelve and for 91 German words are given for Laur (=Patpatar), Lambell (=Kandas), King (=Kandas) and Lamassa (=Siar) on p219-221. In association with the same 1904 expedition E. Walden studied the northern part of New Ireland. His conclusions about the extent of the languages in the north are summarised in Walden 1911.

1.1.2. Friederici

The first full survey of the languages of the district was undertaken by Dr Georg Friederici in 1908 and published in 1912³. Friederici records a number of boat terms in each language but does not in general go into more detail than this. He has a large coloured language map of the New Britain and New Ireland area.

1.1.3. Meyer

In the Jubilee book of the Sacred Heart Mission in the Bismarck

¹Ward and Lea 1970:3.

²Lithgow and Claassen 1968:3.

³Friederici 1912:274-299, 318-319.

Archipelago¹, *Pioniere der Südsee* (ed. J. Hüskes) published in 1932, Father Otto Meyer wrote a chapter on Missionaries and Research² which includes a section on language research and a language map of the whole Bismarck Archipelago. This gives an account of the work done by Catholic missionaries up to that date and the map may be regarded as a brief summary of their conclusions about the languages. Father Meyer lists the languages with population figures and gives the first line of the Lord's prayer in 31 languages of the region including 14 from New Ireland. There is also a very full bibliography later in the book. A chapter by Father Peekel (p58-60) gives a brief history of the Catholic work on New Ireland up to 1932.

1.1.4. Capell

Another complete survey was made in 1952 by Dr Arthur Capell, the results of which can be seen in Capell's *Linguistic Survey of the S.W. Pacific* (1954 and 2nd edition 1962) and also in Capell 1969 and 1971. The section on New Ireland in Capell 1954 and in the second edition in 1962 are substantially the same but the second edition has a larger and clearer language map and a rearranged and slightly extended bibliography. I shall therefore consider only the second edition. The section on New Ireland³ is very brief but it includes a good bibliography of materials on each language. Capell lists the first line of the Lord's prayer in 14 New Ireland languages. Spelling differs slightly from that in the list given by Father Meyer. There are some discrepancies between Capell's language map and his list of languages in the bibliography section.

Capell 1971 has more information on the New Ireland languages including a tabulation of vocabularies of 25 words. He has a new language map with names of languages brought more into line with current on the spot usage and he goes much further in classification (see 1.2.8.). The map omits the Nalik language although Nalik is mentioned in the article and included in the vocabulary tables.

1.1.5. Lithgow and Claassen

The most recent survey, by Dr David Lithgow and Mr Oren Claassen of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, was made in 1966 and published in 1968. Lithgow and Claassen used lexico-statistical comparisons in their

¹This includes New Britain and the Manus District as well as New Ireland.

²Huskies (ed.) 1932:185-196. Language research is p188-191, language map faces p188.

³Map facing p88, p89-104. (This includes New Britain as well).

study. Comparisons between dialects of the same language are generally based on 120 words, those between dialects of the same language often on only 60 words. The results of these comparisons are used in establishing distinctions between dialects and separate languages. After considering other factors results of 76% and over were taken to indicate dialects of the same language, 28-75% languages of the same family. Twelve major lexical items are given for each language and brief comments are made on location of the languages and phonological features. Separate dialect maps are provided to cover several of the languages as well as a reasonably large general map of language boundaries. Population figures are given for the languages and a table of some of the cognate percentages between languages.

1.1.6. Comparison of Surveys

The conclusions of the complete surveys in relation to language divisions are compared in Table 1. I have not included in this table the language divisions in Salzner's language map (Salzner 1960: maps 39-40) which seem to be based on Father Meyer's map.

Unfortunately most of the language maps are too small for an exact comparison. In only Friederici 1912 and Lithgow and Claassen 1968 is the scale greater than 1 inch to 50 miles.

The Tolai language (=Kuanua, Tuna) and the Duke of York language from New Britain are included in Table 1 and the language map but Nissan and Nuguria (now both in Bougainville District) are excluded. The reasons for this are discussed fully below (1.2.10.1.).

A major source of differences between the surveys lies in determining separate languages or dialects. Friederici divides Nusa, Laur and Süd-Neu-Mecklenburg each into two dialects. These dialects are regarded as separate languages in the other surveys. Lithgow and Claassen consider as dialects several areas that are reported as different languages in Capell 1962a. Capell 1971 also reduces the number of languages given in Capell 1962a.

In some cases Salzner classes languages in Meyer as dialects. Lanyon-Orgill 1942 contains a list of New Ireland languages but most of these are merely dialects.

I have used the Lithgow and Claassen survey as the basis for language boundaries in my language map and for calculating the population figures which are given in Table 2. There are several reasons for this:

1. Lithgow and Claassen had the use of Capell's 1952 survey results including an unpublished report as well as Capell 1954 and 1962a. They

acknowledge that this was a tremendous help to them in their survey.

2. Their lists were taken from a large number of villages.
3. Information is given by them for decisions made on classifying speech groups as dialects or separate languages.
4. Their maps are much more satisfactory than any of the others, which apart from Friedericci's are too small, and the information of the maps is supplemented by fairly full lists of villages where this is necessary to indicate the exact areas where the language is spoken.
5. Their survey is not referred to in Capell 1971 and was presumably not available in time to be used.

This does not of course mean that their conclusions on language and dialect boundaries should all be accepted as final, but they do provide the best working basis so far. There are problems with transitions between languages and they note this in several instances. Dialect divisions must be considered as only tentative and divisions will need to be made for other languages as well.

Table 1 reveals the problem of variations in names given to the languages and also serves as a cross reference for these. I have followed the names used by Lithgow and Claassen as these reflect what is currently accepted by the people themselves. A possible exception to this is Lavongai. The name used locally seems to be Tungak (= *my brother*) which parallels the names Tigak and Tiang. The name Lavongai is used for the island of New Hanover (e.g. Lavongai Local Government Council) and also for the place where the main Catholic Mission station on the island is located. As nearly all the literature on the language uses Lavongai, I am continuing to use this name but with Tungak sometimes added in brackets. I am using Tolai as the name for the language of the N.E. Gazelle Peninsula on New Britain, although Kuanua is used extensively as the language name especially in United Church (formerly Methodist) areas, and Tuna (*true*) or expressions including Tuna is used in works by Catholic missionaries. For clarity I refer to the language of the Duke of York Islands merely as Duke of York.

Table 1

Friederici 1912	Meyer 1932	Capell 1962a	Lithgow/Claassen 1968	Capell 1971
Emirau	Musau	Emira Musau	Emira-Mussau Tenis	Emira Musau
Nusa	Lavongai Kavieng Livitua	Lavongai Omo	Lavongai Tigak	Lavongai Tigak (Omo) ¹
Lemusmus	Lamekot	Lemusmus Dyaul	Kara Tiang	Kara (Lemakot) Dyaul
Tabar	Tabar	Tabar	Tabar	Tabar
Nayama	Panaras	Panaras	Kuot	Panaras
Panemego- Fessoa	Bailifu	Fessoa	Nalik	Notsi (Lugagon)
Hamba	Lugagon	Lugagon	Notsi	
Schleinitz- Gebirge	Lamasong Ugana Kolube Komalu Kanapit	Lelet Ugana Kolube Komalu Kanapit	Lavatbura-Lamusong Madak Barok	Lamasong Lelet (Madak) Barok (Komalu)
Laur	Lihir Gelik Pala	Lihir Gelik Pala	Lihir Patpatar	Lihir (Lir) Pala (Patpatar)
Nokon	Hinsal Sursurunga Miratan	Hinsal Nokon	Sursurunga	Sursurunga
Muliama	Tanga Anir	Tanga Anir	Tangga	Tanga-Anir ²
Butam	Muliama	Muliama		Muliama
Süd-Neu- Mecklenburg	Konomala Siar Label	Konomala Siar Lambel ³	Konomala Siar Kandas	Konomala-Laket Siar Label
Molot	Malu	Malu	Duke of York ⁴	Mioko (Duke of York)
To-Leute	Qunantuna	Kuanua	Tolai	Tuna (Kuanua, Tolai Rabaul)

1.2. CLASSIFICATION

1.2.1. Meyer

The first attempt at any classification of New Ireland languages is in Father Meyer's language map and the accompanying list of languages¹. He divides the languages of the Bismarck Archipelago into three groups - Papuan languages, Papuan-Melanesian languages and Melanesian languages. Of the New Ireland languages Panaras is placed in the second category of Papuan-Melanesian languages while all others are in the Melanesian category. (Nissan and Nuguria are not included in the area Meyer covered.)

1.2.2. Capell 1962a

In Capell 1962a the only classification is that two languages, Panaras and Lelet, are underlined on the map as being Non-Melanesian, Nukuria is classified as being Polynesian and the remainder are classed as Melanesian. In the text and in later works (Capell 1962b, 1969 and 1971) only Panaras is accepted by Capell as Non-Austronesian.

1.2.3. Grace

In his report of tentative Malayo-Polynesian (now known as Austronesian) subgroupings, George Grace lists as Group No. 11, New Ireland, New Hanover, Duke of York and the northern half of New Britain. (Grace 1955:338).

¹Hüskes (ed) 1932: opp.188.

Footnotes for Table 1

¹For Tigak, Kara and Barok I have reversed the order of the names given under the map (p255) so that the name used elsewhere in the article comes first.

²On the map (p255) Tanga and Anir are numbered separately, but on p260 Capell says they "are dialects of each other" and later refers to Tanga-Anir.

³Capell's map has the village names King, Lamasa and Lambon capitalised in this area as if they are languages, but only one language according to his language boundaries. None of these occur in the language list (p101-104) but Lambel does.

⁴Not actually mentioned in Lithgow and Claassen.

1.2.4. Salzner

Salzner (1960:1.27) classes the languages of Anir, Tanga, Lihir and Tabar as a Melanomicronesian group. Unfortunately there is no space given for reasons for classifications in his work. Capell (1971:259-260) considers his claim and finds no real justification for it. Salzner classes Panaras as Papuan and Nuguria as West Polynesian. Most of the languages we are considering are placed in a North East New Britain - New Ireland Group of the Melanesian languages. Nissan is grouped with the North Bougainville Melanesian languages.

1.2.5. Dyen

In his work on classifying the Austronesian (AN) languages Isidore Dyen says (1965:52), "Grace's group 11 ... is not supported by the percentages. Rather Musau, Dang (=Lavongai) etc. appear to be coordinate members with other languages in the Austronesian linkage." This claim is discussed below in 1.2.10.8. C.F. and F.M. Voegelin (1964:12-13) use Dyen's findings but list other languages as well.

1.2.6. Lithgow and Claassen

Lithgow and Claassen follow Capell in classifying Nuguria as Polynesian. They class three languages as being probably non-Melanesian. Of these Kuot is placed in a separate family, and Madak and Lavatbura-Lamusong are placed together in the Madak family. The 17 remaining languages are placed in the Patpatar family and classified as Melanesian. These classifications are based on the lexico-statistical counts. This may appear a satisfactory basis if only the New Ireland District is concerned. However certain problems become apparent in establishing the Patpatar family solely on these grounds from some extra figures quoted in the survey itself. Languages placed in the Patpatar family have cognate percentages with Patpatar ranging from 30% - 63%. There is a fairly clear distinction between this and the three "probably non-Melanesian" languages - Madak 22%¹, Lavatbura-Lamusong 24% and Kuot 16%. However Nuguria, the Polynesian language, with 38% is excluded from the Patpatar family. Also not included is Tolai with 62% which obviously belongs in the same family

¹The percentages given in this paragraph are all cognate percentages compared with Patpatar language as given in Lithgow and Claassen 1968.

as Patpatar¹. Two languages in islands of the Milne Bay District are also compared with Patpatar - Dobu 30% and Muyuw (Woodlark Island) 33%. From these figures it can be seen that figures over 30% may only indicate that the languages are also Austronesian.

1.2.7. Capell 1969

In Capell 1969 there is a further attempt at classifying the languages of New Ireland. In this typological grounds are used. Capell (1969:128) groups the languages as follows:

- AN 2 2. Tuna (Kuanua) Lakalai (Nakanai)²
- 2a. Lambon Lambel King Siar
- 2b. Nokon Muliama Hinsal Pala Gelik Kanapit Madak
 Lelet Notsi Nalik Kara Dyaul Tigak
- 2c. Tabar Lihir Tanga-Anir Nisan
- 2d. Lavongai E Mira Musau

All these are placed in B1 category - event dominated with verb simple. No mention is made of the reasons for the divisions between 2, 2a, 2b, 2c and 2d.

Capell divides the AN languages of New Guinea into AN 1 - languages with subject-object-verb order and AN 2 - languages with subject-verb-object order. Also in the AN 2 class are the other AN languages of New Britain and those of Manus, Wewak, Morobe District, the Trobriands and Woodlark Island, and northern West Irian. However, of these only those in New Britain and an area near Lae are in Capell's B1 category for domination type. Some including Manus, the Trobriands and Woodlark Island are in the C1 category - object domination.

Panaras is classed as NAN, Biv(a) - Event dominated, complications in tense and mood, medial verbs and prefixation of pronoun objects to the verbal complex. (Capell 1969:15,95).

1.2.8. Capell 1971

In Capell 1971 this scheme of classification for the AN languages of New Ireland is developed and explained. The two island groups listed

¹ Presumably because the survey was confining itself to the New Ireland District.

² Lakalai is located in West New Britain.

above as 2c and 2d¹ are discussed together. On p261 Capell speaks of the south New Ireland - Tuna - Duke of York languages. This grouping combines part of 2 and 2b above and all of 2a². A fresh category of north New Ireland mainland is established which contains several of those in 2b. Lakalai is no longer considered with the other languages. The number of languages is reduced and some names are changed. The new groupings are:

- 2a. Northern Islands
Musau E Mira Lavongai
- 2b. Northern New Ireland Mainland
Tigak Kara Notsi Lamasong Lelet (Madak)
Barok Dyaul
- 2c. Eastern Islands
Tabar Tanga - Anir Lihir Nisan Nukuria
- 2d. Southern New Ireland and Northeastern New Britain
Pala (Patpatar) Sursurunga Muliama Konomala-Laget
Siar Lambel Mioko (Duke of York) Tuna (Kuanua, Tolai)

Capell reverses the use of the subdivisions AN 1 and AN 2 from that in Capell 1969. Bougainville is included on the main map (p242) and the AN languages in the north and in the east are in AN 1 with those of New Ireland and the others mentioned in 1.2.7.³ The use of an example from Nguna (New Hebrides) for an AN 1 language serves to point out that these two subdivisions are open ones.

1.2.9. Other Studies

In other more general studies there are references to the non-Austronesian (NAN) language or languages of New Ireland. Loukotka 1957 lists three NAN languages in New Ireland but in his comments in Capell 1962b:415 he restates this as being one language, Panaras, with three dialects, Kul, Naiyama and Letatan. C.F. and F.M. Voegelin (1965:12)

¹Numbering differs slightly in Capell 1971.

²Some of the language names in Capell 1969 only represent dialects. Lambon and King are both Lambel (=Kandas).

³As the article is on Australian New Guinea, West Irian is not included in the map.

quote both Loukotka and Capell. S.A. Wurm in Ward and Lea 1970:9 has Panaras as an individual Papuan isolate with the remainder of New Ireland as Austronesian. In Wurm 1971 Lelet is also mentioned as being underlined in the map in Capell 1962a. Wurm 1973 classifies Panaras as a stock level isolate in an East Papuan phylum containing NAN languages in Bougainville, New Britain, the Solomon Islands and Yele (Milne Bay District).

1.2.10. Assessment

1.2.10.1. *Languages Excluded*

Nuguria is a dialect of a Polynesian outlier language, Nahoia, in the Bougainville District. It was classified as Polynesian by Ray (1919:50) and this was supported by Capell, Allen and Hurd (1965:2) and Lithgow and Claassen. The dialects of this language are compared in Allen and Hurd (p14). The islands making up the language are now all in the Bougainville District. There is now no Polynesian language in the New Ireland District.

Nissan is also now in the Bougainville District and is considered in Allen and Hurd 1965. They class it as Austronesian but do not find any family relationships between it any any other Bougainville language (p20-21). The highest cognate percentages with it are Petats 28% and Halia 27% (both on Buka Island). However comparing Mayr's wordlist¹ with lists of New Ireland languages there does not seem to be any close relationship here either. Grammatical evidence is needed to show for certain whether Nissan belongs more appropriately with the New Ireland or Bougainville languages.

1.2.10.2. *Basis for Groupings*

A close consideration of Lithgow and Claassen's cognate figures and other available information leads me to the following tentative groupings and conclusions. These are shown in Table 2 which also contains population figures.

1.2.10.3. *Kuot*

Kuot (Panas) is a stock level isolate in the East Papuan language phylum. (See 1.2.9. above).

¹Mayr 1929-30:252-256. See Table 3 below for cognate figures.

1.2.10.4. *Madak Family*

Madak and Lavatbura-Lamusong make up the Madak family. These may be considered AN¹ on the basis of Capell's classifications (1969 and 1971) which are based on grammatical as well as lexical evidence. Both have very low cognate levels with Kuot.

1.2.10.5. *Patpatar - Tolai Subgroup*

An Austronesian subgroup exists of languages in southern New Ireland, the south-eastern islands, the Duke of York Islands and the N.E. Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain. All these languages have over 50% cognates² with at least one other language in the subgroup and all have 46% or more cognates with Patpatar which may be considered the central language of the subgroup. Duke of York is not on the Lithgow and Claassen table but my own lists give counts of 46% with Patpatar and 57% with Tolai.

Ann Chowning's study (1969) makes it clear that Tolai is not closely related to other New Britain languages so that this may be considered the limit of the subgroup.

1.2.10.6. *St. Matthias Subgroup*

Emira-Mussau and Tenis do not appear to relate very closely to any of the other New Ireland languages although their cognate relationships to Patpatar and other factors would justify their inclusion in the wider grouping mentioned below (1.2.10.8.). The figures in Table 3 reveal their comparatively low relationship to other New Ireland languages.

¹I am using the wider term Austronesian (AN) in preference to Melanesian. Melanesian is often used for a section of the Australian languages (which would include New Ireland) but the validity of such a subdivision has been called in question by some linguists.

²Lithgow and Claassen figures (1968: Chart II and p4).

Footnotes for Table 2

¹Based on 1970 and 1971 New Ireland village figures. Tolai and Duke of York are based on 1969 estimates.

²Dialects are based on Lithgow and Claassen except for Tigak. These are only tentative. Other languages will require dialect division, too. For dialects of Tolai see Franklin and Kerr 1968:112. (The population figures given there are as in the 1962 edition and would be based on pre-1960 figures.)

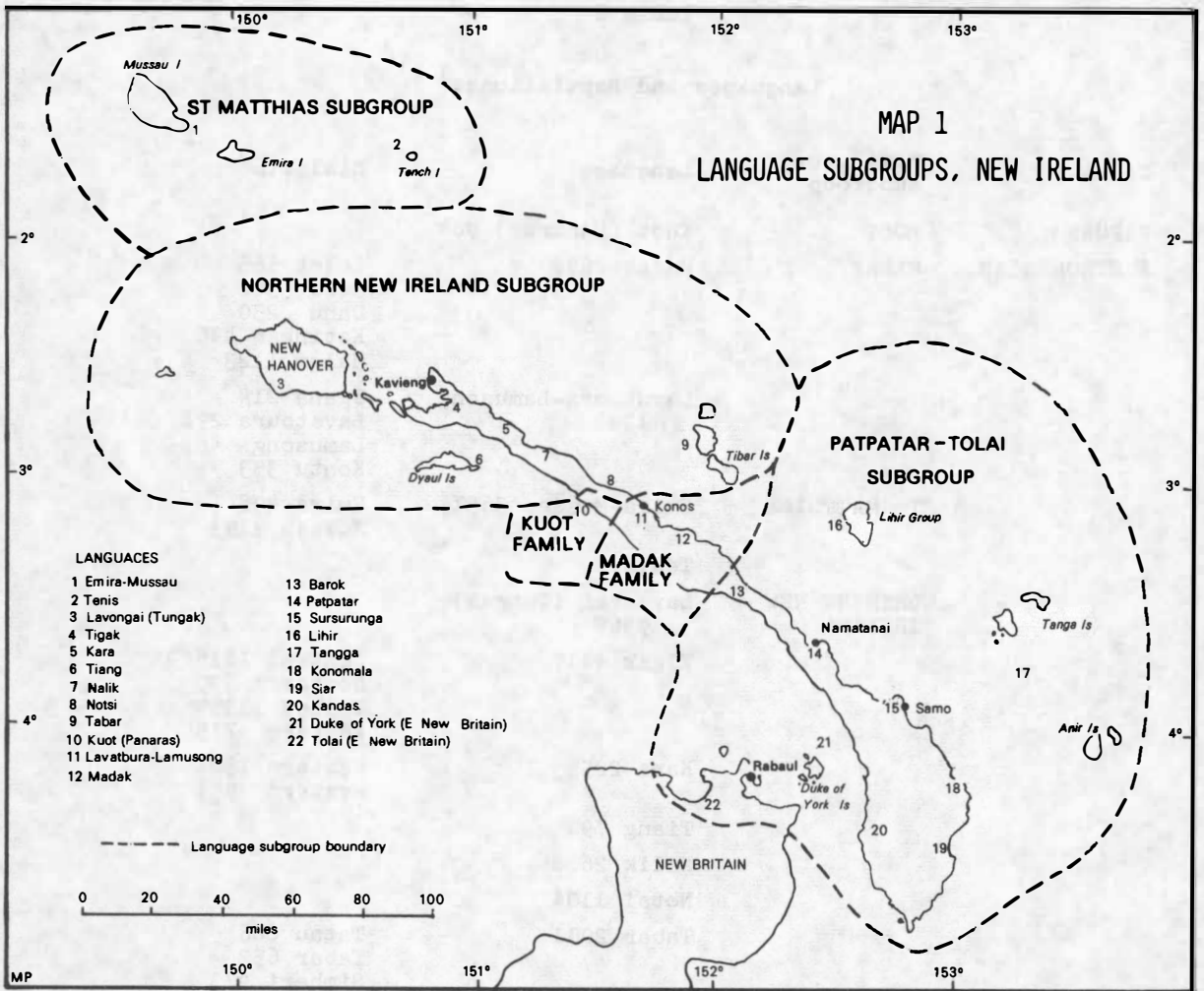
Table 2

Languages and Populations.¹

Class	Family or Subgroup	Language	Dialects ²
PAPUAN	KUOT	Kuot (Panaras) 904	
AUSTRONESIAN	MADAK	Madak 2692	Lelet 565 Mesi 308 Danu 250 Katingan 446 Malom 1123
		Lavatbura-Lamusong 1308	Ugana 214 Lavatbura 278 Lamusong 463 Kontu 353
	ST. MATTHIAS	Emira-Mussau 3651	Emira 498 Mussau 3153
		Tenis 49	
	NORTHERN NEW IRELAND	Lavongai (Tungak) 9365	
		Tigak 4117	Central 1218 Southern 830 Island 1354 Western 715
		Kara 2255	Eastern 1304 Western 951
		Tiang 791	
		Nalik 2618	
		Notsi 1104	
		Tabar 2011	Tatau 886 Tabar 652 Simberi 473
	PATPATAR-TOLAI	Patpatar 4682	Sokirik 819 Pala 1525 Patpatar 2338
		Barok 1878	Central 1045 Usen 833
		Sursurunga 1732	
		Tangga 4976	Tangga 3333 Anir 1129 Maket 514
		Lihir 4791	
		Konomala 606	Laket 111 Konomala 495
		Kandas 480	
		Siar 1705	
		Tolai 63,200	
		Duke of York 5300	

MAP 1

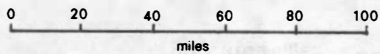
LANGUAGE SUBGROUPS, NEW IRELAND



LANGUAGES

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 Emira-Mussau | 13 Barok |
| 2 Tenis | 14 Patpatar |
| 3 Lavongai (Tungak) | 15 Sursurunga |
| 4 Tigak | 16 Lihir |
| 5 Kara | 17 Tangga |
| 6 Tiang | 18 Konomala |
| 7 Nalik | 19 Siar |
| 8 Notsi | 20 Kandas |
| 9 Tabar | 21 Duke of York (E New Britain) |
| 10 Kuot (Panaras) | 22 Tolai (E New Britain) |
| 11 Lavatbura-Lamusong | |
| 12 Madak | |

--- Language subgroup boundary



MP

1.2.10.7. *Northern New Ireland Subgroup*

The remaining Austronesian languages Lavongai (Tungak), Tigak, Tiang, Kara, Nalik, Notsi and Tabar seem to form another subgrouping. These are separated from the St. Matthias Subgroup by 50 miles of ocean. On the mainland of New Ireland they are separated from the Patpatar-Tolai subgroup by the Madak Family languages. The Tabar Islands are 30 miles from the Lihir Group of islands. Linguistically the subgroup can be justified by the fact that these languages all have at least 44% cognates¹ with at least one of the other languages in the subgrouping and none have more than 42% cognates with Patpatar. This subgrouping cannot be considered more than tentative as yet although it is a convenient division. Tabar has a high cognate figure with Lihir (50%) outside the group as well as 48% with Notsi within. Its figure with Patpatar (35%) leads me to place it in this subgroup. Capell 1971:262 provides some evidence on the basis of quadrupal forms of pronouns for grouping Tabar with Lihir, Tanga and other languages that are in my Patpatar-Tolai subgroup.

Table 3 strengthens the establishment of a group such as this including Lavongai, Tigak, Tiang and Kara at least. Lithgow and Claassen give Nalik as 57% cognate with Kara and 45% cognate with Notsi.

1.2.10.8. *A Wider Grouping*

At least three of the Austronesian subgroups above² could probably be associated in a wider grouping. On lexicostatistical evidence from Lithgow and Claassen we could only classify these as being languages with at least 30% cognates with Patpatar³ which are located in or adjacent to the New Ireland District and are not Polynesian. However, it is likely that better bases can be found to supplement or replace this definition. All the languages appear to differentiate in their personal pronouns between singular, dual, trial and plural.

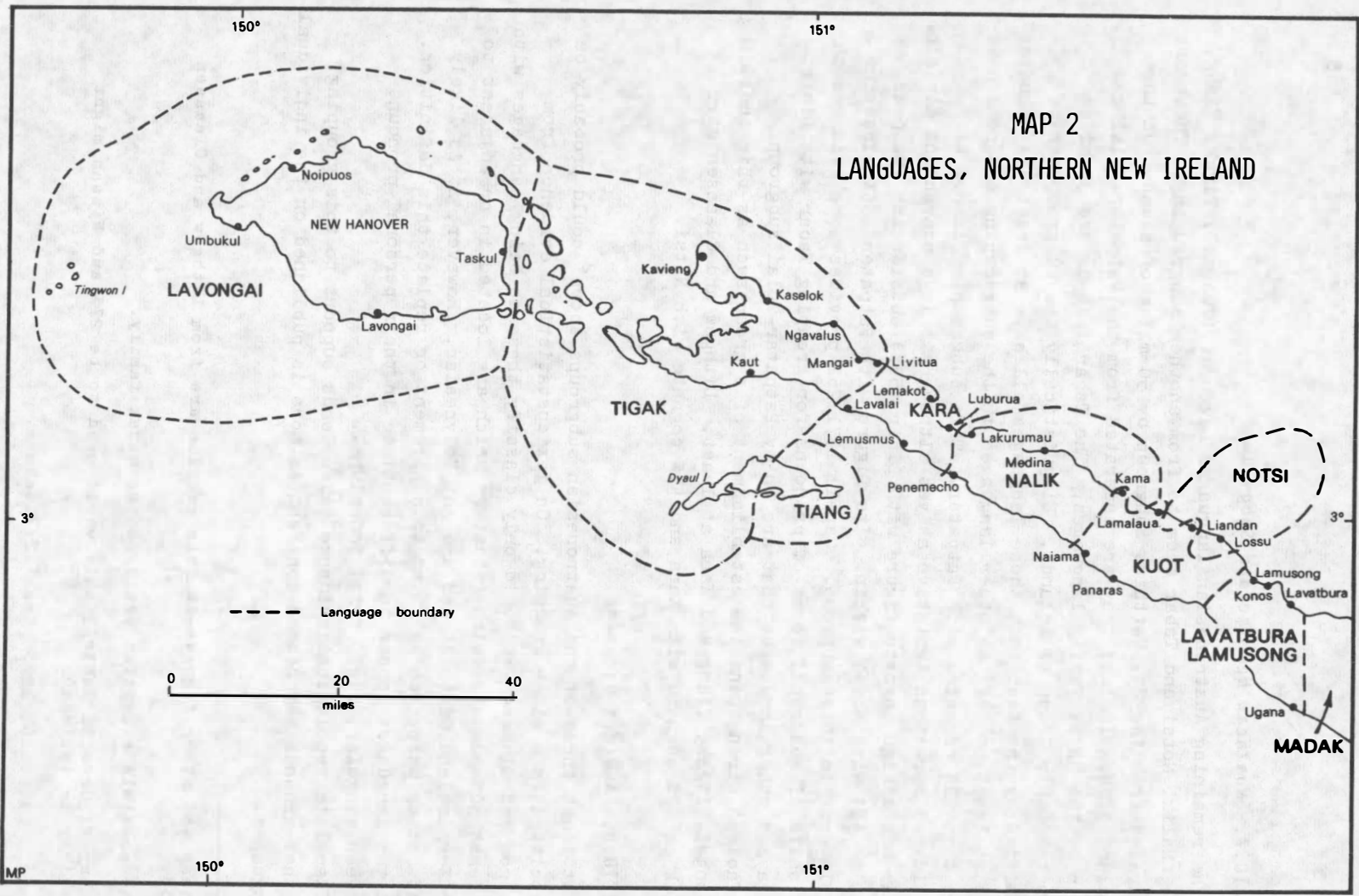
Capell's typological evidence⁴ also lends support to this grouping. Further grounds may become apparent as more is published on the individual languages.

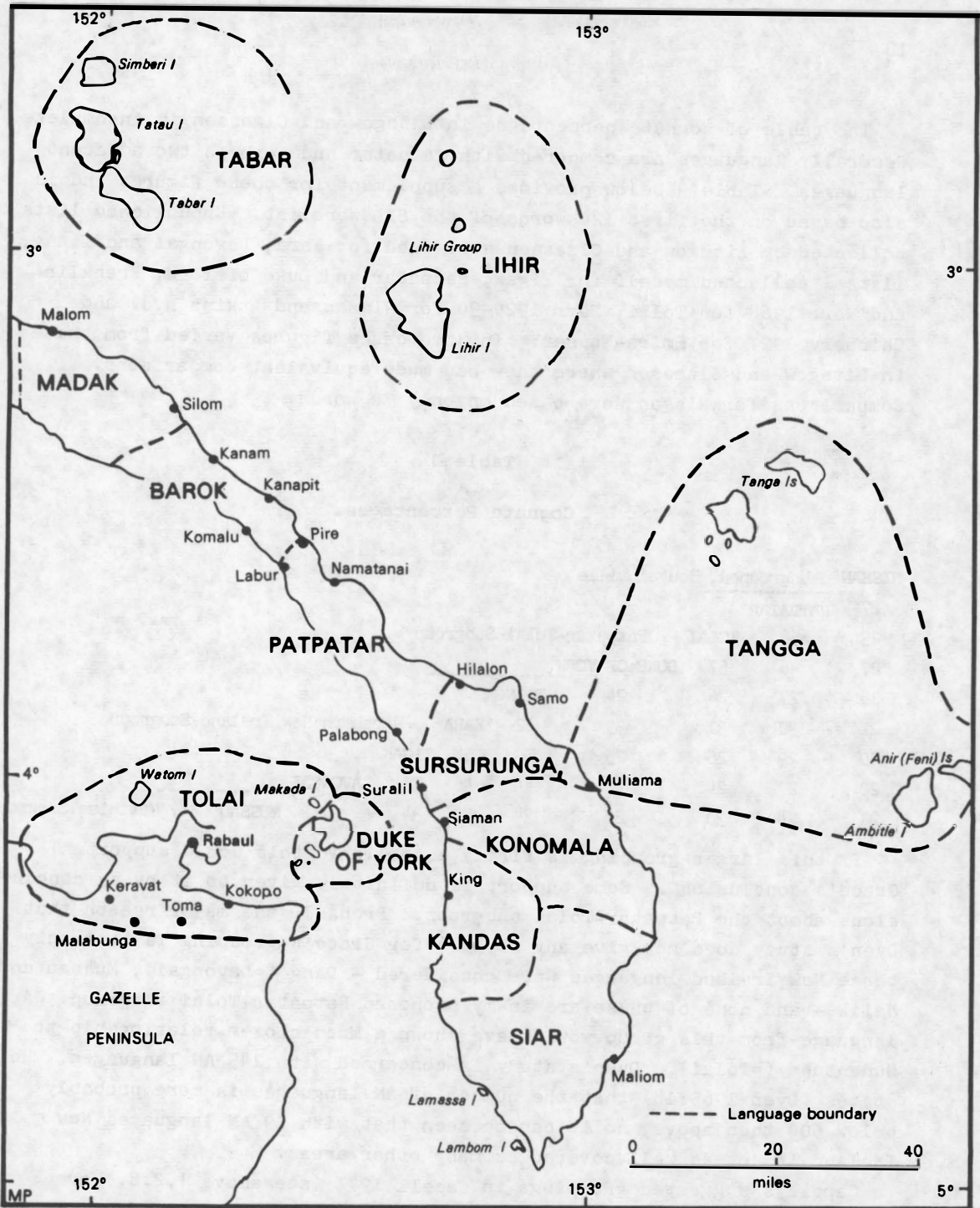
¹These and other figures in this section are from Lithgow and Claassen 1968.

²The possible exception would be the Madak family.

³On my figures in Table 3 this would need to be 27% and Nissan might possibly be included.

⁴Capell 1969:126, 129. See 1.2.7. above.





MAP 3
 LANGUAGES, SOUTHERN NEW IRELAND

The table of cognate percentages in Lithgow and Claassen is incomplete. Generally languages are compared with Patpatar and perhaps two adjacent languages. Table 3 below provides a supplement for these figures and is also based on the first 120 words of the SIL wordlist. Unpublished lists collected by Lithgow and Claassen were used for Kara, Lavongai and Tiang, lists I collected myself for Tigak, Patpatar and Duke of York, Franklin and Kerr 1968 for Tolai, Mayr 1929-30 for Nissan and Atkins n.d. and Chinnery 1927 for Emira-Mussau. In some cases figures varied from those in Lithgow and Claassen where they had made equivalent comparisons. Comparisons for Nissan were based on only 70 words.

Table 3

Cognate Percentages.

NISSAN		Ungrouped, Bougainville							
27	PATPATAR								
23	56	TOLAI	Patpatar-Tolai Subgroup						
27	46	57	DUKE OF YORK						
16	27	26	24	TIANG					
21	30	31	29	62	KARA	Northern New Ireland Subgroup			
20	29	26	25	52	58	TIGAK			
20	27	24	25	44	46	57	LAVONGAI		
21	24	30	28	34	34	34	37	MUSSAU	St. Matthias Subgroup

If this larger grouping is firmly established this would support Grace's conclusion¹. Some support is definitely given to it by my conclusions about the Patpatar-Tolai subgroup. Probably the major reason that Dyen's study does not give any support for Grace's grouping is that only three New Ireland languages were considered - Dang (=Lavongai), Mussau and Nalik - and none of these are in my proposed Patpatar-Tolai subgroup. A language from this group would have shown a much closer relationship to Gunantuna (=Tolai). Dyen's study is concerned with 245 AN languages. He states (Dyen 1965:18) that the number of AN languages is more probably below 500 than above, so it can be seen that with 19 AN languages New Ireland is not as well covered as many other areas.

Capell's suggested groupings in Capell 1971 (see above 1.2.8.) are similar to those I propose in some respects. My Patpatar-Tolai subgroup

¹Grace 1955:338. See above 1.2.3.

differs from Capell's 2d, only in including Barok and two of the island languages, Lihir and Tangga. My Northern New Ireland subgroup includes four languages from Capell's 2b but Lamusong, Madak and Barok are excluded and Tabar and Lavongai included. My St. Matthias subgroup is smaller than Capell's 2a (by the exclusion of Lavongai). There is no grouping equivalent to Capell's 2c and Capell has no grouping to match the Madak family - both languages being part of his AN 2b.

1.3. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

1.3.1. Pioniere der SÜdsee

Pioniere der Südsee (Hüskes (ed.) 1932:210-214) contains a complete bibliography of work by Catholic missionaries up to 1932. This includes published and unpublished material. As well as grammars and dictionaries the list includes material written in the languages such as folk tale collections, translations, prayer books, and anthropological studies. Nearly all of these are in German. Unfortunately much of the unpublished or mimeographed material has been lost. This bibliography seems to provide the basis of the list supplied to Capell by Father Carl Laufer and the list in Laufer's own bibliography (1.3.5.).

1.3.2. Capell

In Capell 1962a a bibliography of the New Britain and New Ireland Districts is contained on p95-100, A language list (p101-104) provides an index to the bibliography. There are 19 items referring to New Ireland languages and a further 20 relating to Tolai and the Duke of York languages. Translations are not referred to in the actual bibliography but are indicated in brief summary form in the language list.

1.3.3. Klieneberger

Klieneberger 1957 contains about 25 items relevant to the area. Capell 1954 was referred to. Klieneberger omits most of the unpublished items. Several items occur only in his list but these are of limited interest.

1.3.4. Taylor

Taylor 1965 has a section on Language for the Bismarck Archipelago with 23 items on the languages we are concerned with here. Manuscript items are not included in the list.

1.3.5. Laufer

Laufer 1966b has 44 items which are listed under the languages. Most of these are unpublished manuscripts written in German by Catholic missionaries. Laufer indicates that some of these have been lost. His list includes grammars, dictionaries and collections of folk tales. Laufer 1966a has reference to 16 items on Tolai (as well as 8 others considered lost) and 2 on Duke of York. There is also an account of the history of linguistic study in New Britain. These two articles are extremely useful. They are incomplete as far as work published in English is concerned.

1.3.6. Lithgow and Claassen

Lithgow and Claassen have a section (p16-22) on printed and written materials which includes references to prayer books and biblical translation. There are 10 purely linguistic items, 2 of which¹ were not in Capell's list.

1.3.7. General

From other sources and my own research I have been able to extend this material in the bibliography of this paper. I have omitted material that has been reported lost or that I have been unable to trace. Translated material is not included but Beaumont 1972 gives a list of the materials of this kind which I have traced as still existing.

1.4. PHONOLOGY

1.4.1. Tigak

Only one phonology paper has been published on a New Ireland language. This was Beaumont 1969 on Tigak. This was written after the author's first eight months of work on the Tigak language. The section on syllables and the conclusions on stress need revision. These and other aspects of the paper are discussed more fully in a later chapter of my forthcoming thesis (A.N.U.).

1.4.2. Other languages

In addition to this the grammars of New Ireland languages each contain

¹Father Stamm's Grammar and his Dictionary of the Lavongai language. I was not able to locate his dictionary at the Lavongai mission in 1971.

an introduction on the alphabet and sounds of the language. These provide some information for us though of a phonetic rather than a phonemic nature. There are also some brief comments made by Lithgow and Claassen. Some comparisons based on these sources are made below. Capell 1971 has a section (p296-311) on Austronesian phonology which includes references to New Ireland.

As the available information is limited and for some languages confined to short wordlists these statements are only tentative and are phonetic rather than phonemic. Minor modifications are ignored.

1.4.3. Stops

The languages all seem to have sounds approximating p, b, t, k and g. The sound d occurs in all except Emira-Mussau, although it is reported in Beaumont 1969 that in Tigak it is merely an allophone of r.

Glottal stop occurs in some of the Lithgow and Claassen lists. Capell 1971:264 says that it occurs only in Lelet (=Madak).

Lithgow and Claassen report that unreleased final stops are common.

1.4.4. Fricatives

v or ʙ is found in most languages but not in Lihir or Patpatar.

f is found only in Kara, Tangga, Konomala, Nalik and Siar and occasionally in Lavongai.

h occurs in Lihir, Patpatar, Sursurunga, Kandas, Kuot, very occasionally in Lavongai and in west Kara instead of f.

s is found in all except Tolai and Duke of York.

ts is reported in Tabar, Notsi, Lihir.

ʒ is reported in Nalik, Notsi, Madak, Lavatbura - Lamusong and Barok.

z is reported in Nalik, Madak, Lavatbura - Lamusong and in west Kara.

1.4.5. Nasals

All languages have m, n and ŋ.

1.4.6. Laterals and Vibrants

All languages have l and r. The r is usually flapped or trilled.

1.4.7. Semi-vowels

y usually occurs but this is generally written as i.

w occurs in some languages at least, but is usually written as u or sometimes v.

1.4.8. Vowels

The five vowel letters are used. Some of the sources have extra phonetic differentiation through diacritics. Lighgow and Claassen (p8) report phonemic contrast in Tiang between Λ and ə .

Most of the sources refer to diphthongs or glides, especially a^i , o^i and a^u .

1.4.9. Tone

Capell found Kara and Barok to be two-tone languages¹ and says (1971: 264) that tone may be semantic (phonemic). Lithgow and Claassen confirmed the existence of contrasting tone patterns in these two languages. Father Peekel did not mention tone in his lengthy *Grammatik der Lamekot-Sprache* so that even if it is phonemic, tone apparently does not carry a heavy semantic load in Kara.

Lithgow and Claassen also report (p12) that the Sokirik dialect of Patpatar is tonal. This dialect is adjacent to Barok.

1.5. GRAMMAR

1.5.1. Emira - Mussau

A long typed wordlist (Atkins n.d., see 1.6.2.2.) at the Seventh Day Adventist Mission in Kavieng contains a tabulation of personal pronouns including some examples of possessive suffixes and a list of cardinal numerals (including words for hundred and thousand) and ordinal numerals (up to 12th). Another page probably typed later contains another tabulation of the personal pronouns which is fuller and contains dual and triai forms as well as singular and plural. This page contains no examples.

1.5.2. Lavongai (Tungak)

A typed grammar of 77 pages by Father J. Stamm is extant. This is an English translation by the author of a copy of the grammar he wrote in German between 1937 and 1941. This provides very useful grammatical material. Like the other grammars written by Catholic priests in New Ireland it is a Latin based grammar.

¹Wurm 1954:699.

1.5.3. Tigak

Beaumont 1970 gives an analysis of the morphological structure of the personal pronouns of Tigak. Examples are given to illustrate the uses of these forms. Later chapters of my thesis contain an attempt at a complete study of the Tigak language.

1.5.4. Kara

Father Peekel's *Grammatik der Lamekot-Sprache* is a very full grammatical account of the Kara language. This work written in 1915 is comparable in style and quality with his earlier published Pala Grammar¹. The manuscript contains very many examples and also a series of texts with German translation. The copy now at A.N.U. is a very clear photocopy of the 463 page hand-written manuscript at the Herz-Jesu Missionshaus in Hiltrup, which was earlier submitted to the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen*, Hamburg, but not published. The copy mentioned in Lithgow and Claassen appears to have since been sent to the Catholic Mission at Vunapope, New Britain. There is a typed copy of the first part of this (17 foolscap pages) at the mission at Lemakot and a photocopy of this at A.N.U. The first page says it is typed from an exercise book dated 1916.

1.5.5. Patpatar

Peekel 1909 gives a complete grammar of the Pala dialect of this language. This is still the only complete published grammar for a New Ireland language and has served as a model for most of the other New Ireland grammars. The grammar is thorough and well set out and contains a large number of examples.

1.5.6. Sursurunga

A copy of Peekel's manuscript grammar of Bitmusuan is still extant.²

1.5.7. Lihir

Father Karl Neuhaus' grammar of this language (typewritten in German) has been microfilmed in the Micro Bibliotheca Anthropos (M.B.A.) series.

¹Peekel 1909, see 1.5.5. below.

²Personal communication from Father Martin Kleepies, Herz-Jesu Missionshaus, Hiltrup, West Germany.

There is no indication in the microfilm of when the grammar was actually written¹. The grammar is 220 pages long. It reflects a wide interest in the languages in the Pacific and a knowledge of other New Ireland languages. A review of this grammar has been published (Burgmann 1954). This review is helpful and points out weaknesses in Father Neuhaus' grammar in the attempts made to trace relationships to other languages and doubtful conjectures about roots that make up words.

1.5.8. Tanga

Father H. Maurer's *Grammatik der Tanga-Sprache* has also been micro-filmed in the M.B.A. series. This grammar is based on a long acquaintance with the language. Like the other Catholic grammars it is based on giving a chapter to each part of speech. Syntactic information is mainly in the form of examples given within these chapters.

1.5.9. Kandas

Peekel's article on Lambel (Peekel 1929-30) provides us with a brief account of this language.

1.5.10. Duke of York

Dr Codrington published a brief grammar of the Duke of York language in 1885 in his book *Melanesian Languages*. This was based on translated material and a grammar supplied by Rev. George Brown. A brief grammar (in German) is also contained in Parkinson 1907. A longer grammatical account is provided by Rev. George Brown's introduction to his and Rev. Benjamin Dank's dictionary.

1.5.11. Tolai

This language has had the best coverage. It is by far the largest language in the region and is known by at least some people in most parts of the region because of its use by both Catholic and Methodist Missions as a lingua franca in New Britain and by the Methodists in New Ireland.

This use has been steadily decreasing. All mission education has been in English for some years and Pidgin has been taking over most of the other functions of Tolai as a mission language, although the rate of

¹Probably in the 1930s.

this change varies from area to area. The list of works discussed here is not exhaustive. For a larger list see Lanyon-Orgill 1960:58-60 and Laufer 1966a:118-119.

1.5.11.1. *Bley*

Although written in 1912 Father Bley's book remains the fullest grammatical account for the Tolai language. The material is divided into 40 lessons. Each lesson contains its own vocabulary list. As each lesson covers a particular aspect of the grammar and these are indicated in the list of contents, the format of the book does not hinder the use of the book for reference purposes. The exercises in each lesson provide good examples. There is a dictionary section at the end (p191-238).

1.5.11.2. *Waterhouse*

Waterhouse 1939 is a smaller book of 44 pages. It is a useful book which contains some information which is not in the other books in English on this language.

1.5.11.3. *Lanyon-Orgill*

Lanyon-Orgill 1960 contains some grammar notes (p65-71). This includes listing of pronoun forms, equivalents of comparative and superlative, verb tenses and numerals.

1.5.11.4. *Franklin and Kerr*

Franklin and Kerr 1962 contains 32 main lessons as well as some supplementary lessons which include some text material. The lessons give examples for the grammatical points covered. Only brief grammatical explanations are given at the start of each lesson. A small grammatical statement based on some earlier works is included. In Franklin and Kerr 1968 there is a new grammatical statement by Beaumont. This is a new analysis based mainly on the data provided by the lessons. This includes basic sentence, clause and phrase structure as well as morphology. In this edition many misprints in the lessons of the earlier edition are corrected and there is a larger dictionary section (see 1.6.2.6.). Both editions contain an introductory section on the sounds and a report on Tolai dialects. Copies of a tape of the lessons can be obtained although the recording is uneven in quality.

1.5.12. General

There is some grammatical information in Capell 1971 and also in Stephan and Gräbner 1907 and Lanyon-Orgill 1942. The title of Lanyon-Orgill's article, "A Polynesian Settlement in New Britain", is misleading as most of the article is a brief review of the languages of the Bismarck Archipelago. He has a short comparative grammar section which includes tables of pronoun forms (including dual, trial and plural) and also a short comparative vocabulary of 10 items. The number of languages for which information is given varies in each table and includes some outside languages for comparison. New Ireland languages included in the tables are New Hanover (=Lavongai), Bo and Kurumut (both =Patpatar), Lemusmus (=Kara), Lesu (=Notsi) and Nokon (=Konomala). The Duke of York and Tolai languages are also represented.

1.6. LEXICAL MATERIAL

1.6.1. Dictionaries¹

1.6.1.1. *Lavongai* (*Tungak*)

A typed Lavongai-English Dictionary containing 1240 words has been compiled by Father Jones and Father G. Zepczyk. I have not been able to trace any of the dictionary work by Father Stamm in this language and this appears to have been lost.

1.6.1.2. *Tigak*

The author is collecting material for a Tigak dictionary.

1.6.1.3. *Patpatar*

A dictionary of the Pala dialect of this language by Father K. Neuhaus has been microfilmed in the M.B.A. series. This dictionary contains 382 pages and probably incorporates an earlier dictionary by Father G. Peekel.

A review of this dictionary by Burgmann has been published. Burgmann estimates that it contains 15,000 entries, and that it was completed in 1912. Another part, German to Pala, was added by Father Jos. Gierse in 1925 but has since been lost.

¹For my present purposes I have defined dictionaries as alphabetical lists of over 1000 words and wordlists as any list of less than 1000 words.

1.6.1.4. *Lihir*

A Lihir-German dictionary by Father Neuhaus still exists. Lithgow and Claassen report that a copy was still at the Catholic Mission at Lihir. There is no dictionary microfilmed with Father Neuhaus' grammar as Capell 1962a:98 seems to suggest.

1.6.1.5. *Tangga*

Father H. Maurer wrote a 408 page dictionary (in German) which both Capell 1962a and Laufer 1966b suggest may be published in the M.B.A. series.

Capell 1971 indicates that a dictionary of this language by F.L.S. Bell, an anthropologist who was at Tanga in 1933, is to be printed in the Oceania Linguistic Monograph series. It is being edited by Capell who is also giving it a grammatical introduction.

1.6.1.6. *Duke of York*

A 328 page dictionary, with a grammar introduction, by the Methodist missionaries, Rev. George Brown and Rev. Benjamin Danks was duplicated in 1882. Copies still survive in the Mitchell Library and the British Museum.

1.6.1.7. *Tolai*

1.6.1.7.1. *Meyer*

Meyer 1961 is a microfilm of the Tolai-German section of a large typescript dictionary produced by Father Meyer in 1921. It has 493 pages.

1.6.1.7.2. *Lanyon-Orgill*

Lanyon-Orgill's *A Dictionary of the Raluana Language* is the most ambitious dictionary of this language. It is said to contain over 12,000 words¹. This figure would be arrived at by counting the numbered sections (which represent use as a different part of speech or with a different meaning) for each word. It has a grammatical and historical introduction and an English index to the dictionary is provided. In spelling g is used for ŋ and q for g. Both w and v occur. The dictionary is based mainly on secondary sources with on the spot fieldwork used later in checking and supplementing the material.

¹Lanyon-Orgill 1960:10.

There are some faults. The name Raluana is really only appropriate for one dialect of the language but the scope of the dictionary is much wider than this. Duke of York and part of New Ireland are assumed to be dialects and words from these are included. This is not a serious problem as dialect words are indicated clearly. The spellings indicated above differ from those in other recent works in or about the language.

Examples are given for usages of words, most of which appear to have come from the Methodist dictionary. Arrangement of the dictionary is very good.

1.6.1.7.3. *A Kuanua Dictionary*

Methodist dictionaries from Tolai to English are a succession of revised and expanded editions. *A Kuanua Dictionary* (Wright 1964) is the latest of these. The preface states that it is largely the work produced by Rev. W.L.I. Linggood in 1939 which was itself an enlargement of Rickard and Fellman's work. The preface is very short and the editor Mr Leonard Wright, only gives his own initials. From remarks in Capell 1971 it seems that Rev. J.W. Trevitt was also involved in the 1939 (or 1940) edition.

The work makes no claim at being final. The revised spelling is used with ng for ŋ, g for g and the elimination of w (now always v). Apart from the preface the only introductory material is a page on alphabet and pronunciation by Rev. S.M. Geddes. The dictionary appears otherwise to be as full as Lanyon-Orgill's. It is more compact and set out in double columns. Parts of speech are given and the presentation is clear. Duke of York words are not included and there are few dialect references.

1.6.1.7.4. *English-Kuanua Dictionary*

During the 1960s the Methodist Mission produced a dictionary from English to Tolai which was compiled by A.J. Mannering. It was duplicated and contains about 10,000 English entries. The main purpose was to assist Tolai speakers learning English. As a result pronunciation help is given for English words but not for the vernacular equivalents. As parts of speech are not given and multiple entries are not differentiated this dictionary can only be used satisfactorily by a non-Tolai speaker if the *Kuanua Dictionary* is used for checking.

1.6.2. Wordlists

1.6.2.1. *General*

As mentioned in 1.2. four surveys contain some short published lists. Stephan and Gräbner 1907 has 91 words and 12 numerals for three languages. Friederici 1912 has lists of boat terms for most languages. Lithgow and Claassen 1968 has 12 words in each language and Capell 1971 has 25 words in each.¹ Lanyon-Orgill 1942 (see 1.5.12.) has material for some languages consisting of 18 pronominal forms, 8 numerals and 10 other lexical items.

In addition to this there is some unpublished material. Lithgow and Claassen took wordlists of 120-140 words in each language as well as many shorter lists for possible dialects and these are held at S.I.L., Ukarumpa as well as a tape-recorded list for each language. Capell lists his own unpublished notes for most of the languages in Capell 1962a. (These contain grammatical material as well).

1.6.2.2. *Emira-Mussau*

Chinnery 1927 gives a wordlist from English containing nearly 500 words from E Mira. The list is alphabetised for the first letter of the English word.

A long Mussau-English and English-Mussau wordlist in typescript has survived. This was probably written by Pastor A.S. Atkins who was pioneer missionary for the Seventh Day Adventist Mission from 1934-1942. Each section of the wordlist has about 600 words.

1.6.2.3. *Kandas*

Peekel 1929-30 provides us with a list both to and from German, with over 600 words in each section.

1.6.2.4. *Patpatar*

Neuhaus 1962:443-447 has a vocabulary, of over 300 words, alphabetised from Patpatar to German. The same volume contains on p139-140 a list of kinship terms and on p410-411 some of the terms of a special language used by a women's secret society.

¹Combining these two lists gives 31 lexical items.

1.6.2.5. *Duke of York*

Codrington 1885 contains 70 words in Duke of York (based on Rev. Geogre Brown's work) in a table of 40 Melanesian languages.

1.6.2.6. *Tolai*

Franklin and Kerr 1968 contains a brief Tolai-English and English-Tolai dictionary section and a list of particles. There are about 450 entries in each of the two main sections.

1.6.3. Lists of Kinship Terms

Chinnery 1930 contains several lists of kinship terms taken at East Coast villages. The lists are identified by village rather than by language. The languages represented are Kara (Luburua), Nalik (Lakuramau, Madina), Kuot or Panaras (Limalaua, Letatan), Lavatbura-Lamusong (Konnos).

Powdermaker 1933:45-50 contains a detailed list for the Notsi language.

Patpatar terms are listed in Peekel 1908:456-481 and Neuhaus 1962:139-140.

Tolai terms are given in Trevitt 1939 and Laufer 1956.

1.6.4. Wordlists of Historical Interest

1.6.4.1. *Le Maire and Schouten*

A vocabulary of 'New Guinea' was collected in 1616 by Jacob Le Maire and Willem Schouten in the course of their circumnavigation of the globe at a location described as Claes Pietersz Bay. Friederici's claim that it is Nokon language (=Sursurunga) on New Ireland can be accepted. Lanyon-Orgill 1960:36-52 contains a reprinting of this list of 85 words together with Friederici's list for Nokon and lists taken in 1907 by Schlaginhaufen for Bitmusuan (=Sursurunga) and Mullama (a dialect of Tangga). There is a full discussion of the question and references to other articles on the subject of the location of this language and another identified by Friederici as Tabar which Le Maire and Schouten called Moyses Island. Lanyon-Orgill has this list on p637-639. The two lists are also in Friederici 1912.

1.6.4.2. *Gaimard and d'Urville*

Lanyon-Orgill 1960:46-50 also gives lists collected by Gaimard for Carteret Harbour and by d'Urville for Port Praslin. There are both of the Siar language. They were published in d'Urville 1834.

In this and in Lanyon-Orgill's reprinting the lists are French to vernacular.

1.6.4.3. *Strauch*

Strauch 1876 contains a total of 477 words spread over 7 lists. Two lists are from New Hanover, two others from New Ireland and one is Tolai (Blanche Bay).

1.6.4.4. *Brown*

In an article in 1877 Rev. George Brown includes a list of Duke of York words and also 15 words from New Ireland (Patpatar).

1.6.4.5. *Duffield*

A.J. Duffield visited New Ireland in 1884 as Government Agent on a recruiting ship. Duffield 1884 contains a wordlist which is identified in Capell 1962a with Patpatar. Duffield 1886 also contains a wordlist.

1.6.4.6. *Ray*

Ray 1891 contains information from the Methodist missionary Rev. R.H. Rickard. Wordlists for 43 words and numerals are given for Nusa (Tigak), Duke of York, Raluana (Tolai) and Green Island (Nissan).

1.6.4.7. *Parkinson*

Parkinson 1907:322-328 has a few words for Emira-Mussau.

1.6.4.8. *Other lists*

Lanyon-Orgill 1960:58-60 contains references to other lists for Tolai and Duke of York.

1.7. TEXTS

1.7.1. Lavongai (Tungak)

Some texts were collected and typed, probably by Father Stamm. There are ten traditional stories, three of which have a translation or commentary in German. Several are dated February 1939. One undated story was collected by Father Lakaff.

Mrs Tamsin Donaldson a post-graduate student in linguistics at the Australian National University collected five stories on tape with transcription and English translation in 1971.

1.7.2. Tigak

I have collected some texts in this language but these are not in published form.

1.7.3. Kara

Peekel 1915 contains 35 handwritten pages of texts with an interlinear German translation.

1.7.4. Patpatar

Neuhaus 1930 contains a large amount of text material with interlinear German translation. Neuhaus 1962 contains a small amount of text.

Peekel 1910 contains native religious texts and Peekel 1909 has 10 pages of text, all with German translation.

1.7.5. Lihir and Tangga

Lithgow and Claassen and Laufer report collections of folk tales for both these languages (Neuhaus n.d. and Maurer n.d.).

Bell 1941-48 is the English translation of a series of texts in Tangga. A few native words are included.

1.7.6. Tolai and Duke of York

There is much published text material in Tolai. Lanyon-Orgill 1960:61 and Laufer 1966a may be consulted for lists.

1.8. MIGRATION

1.8.1. Butam

Capell 1967 is an article on a lost group in New Ireland which may have been related to the Butam on New Britain. This article indicates some of the complexities of movements in and from New Ireland. Friederic1's map had this area in the south of New Ireland blue, same as Butam.

1.8.2. Tolai Migration

There is cultural and traditional evidence as well as linguistic evidence to support the theory that the Tolais migrated to New Britain, possibly by way of the Duke of York Islands, from New Ireland. Lanyon-Orgill 1906:30 gives references to several works concerned with this

question. A brief mention by Salisbury¹ seems to indicate acceptance of the general theory but warns against the placing of too recent a date (e.g. A.D. 1700) on the migration.

1.8.3. Melanesian Migration

There are several theories of the general pattern of migration of Austronesian speakers. These are set out in Capell 1962b (which includes comments from a wide range of scholars), Wurm 1967 and Grace 1961. These articles provide references to other studies of this question.

1. SUMMARY

The linguistic coverage for the New Ireland area is uneven. This is clear if we examine the five language groupings suggested in 1.2.10. - Kuot (1 language), Madak (2 languages), St. Matthias (2 languages), Northern New Ireland (7 languages) and Patpatar-Tolai (10 languages). The Kuot and Madak groups have no published grammatical material or even extended wordlists. The St. Matthias group is also poorly covered with only extended wordlists. The Northern New Ireland group has some coverage in manuscript but only two short papers on one language have been published. Later chapters of my thesis will add to the material on this group. The Patpatar-Tolai group is comparatively well covered but most of the material is out of date and much of it is not easily accessible.

In all areas there is a need for modern analyses. Work on Kuot (Panaras) would provide the greatest interest for linguists and next to this work on the two Madak family languages which appear somewhat aberrant on the limited data now available. There is also a need for further comparative work on the Austronesian languages of the area.

¹Salisbury 1970:110 and 286.

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THE LANGUAGES OF THE NEW HEBRIDES; A CHECKLIST AND GENERAL SURVEY

D.T. TRYON

- 0.0 Acknowledgements.
- 1.0 Introduction.
- 2.0 Listing of New Hebrides Languages.
- 3.0 Tentative Classification.
- 3.1 New Hebrides Languages and Austronesian.
- 4.0 Checklist of New Hebrides Languages.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The New Hebrides islands lie in southern Melanesia, between the Solomon Islands and New Caledonia. Administratively they include the Banks and Torres Islands, a little to the north. According to the 1967 Census Report there were 76,582 people living in the New Hebrides, including the Banks and Torres, of whom 70,837 were indigenous. At the present time the Administration estimates put the population at approximately 80,000, with an indigenous population nearing 75,000.

Even at the present time, very little is known about the languages of the group. The principal sources of information are still Codrington (1885), Hagen and Pineau (1889), Ray (1893 and 1926); Capell (1956 and 1962 revised) gives a summary of the state of knowledge until approximately 1960. Although extensive in small areas, it is mainly fragmentary. Until the present survey was undertaken, the main field-work being done between July 1970 and April 1971 and in September/October

1971, no systematic survey of all of the languages had ever been undertaken.

The present survey is complete in its first stage, apart from some minor details. This first stage is purely lexical, and consisted of the collection of basic vocabulary lists for every language in the group, so that the number of languages might be determined and so that a lexicostatistical classification of the languages might be made. Once the lexicostatistical classification is completed, representative languages can be singled out for depth study, so that subsequently a typological classification can be made. The position of New Hebrides languages within the Austronesian field will then become much clearer than at present.

The lexicostatistical classification of the New Hebrides languages is in progress, the results of which should be available within a short time. What is presented here is not the full lexicostatistical classification itself, but an enumeration, accompanied by maps, of all of the known languages listing the areas in which they are spoken and the approximate number of speakers for each. This is followed by an impressionistic and tentative classification, based on sample cognate counts and on grammatical features known to the writer. Finally there is a checklist of all the known languages with variant names which have appeared in the literature to date. The wordlist used in the survey, over 500 of which have been collected, consists of the standard Swadesh 200 list, plus 109 items thought to be valuable for the area under consideration. The wordlist is included as an appendix.

2.0 NEW HEBRIDES LANGUAGES AND POPULATION

This section lists all of the languages¹ known to be spoken in the New Hebrides at the present time, with approximate number of speakers for each. Dialect information has been included where appropriate. There are 110 known languages in the group, which are numbered serially from north to south and are shown on the accompanying set of maps. The numbers run from 1 to 116, as six numbers have been reserved for any future language discoveries. The languages of the New Hebrides including the Banks and Torres Islands are as follows:

A. BANKS AND TORRES ISLANDS (see map 2)

The Banks and Torres Islands lie to the north of the New Hebrides, from where they are administered. The Torres Islands have a population

¹The division between language and dialect has been taken as 81% shared cognates, following Wurm and Laycock (1961).

of only 200, while that of the Banks is approximately 3300. There are at present 14 languages spoken in these islands, although last century the number is reported to have been greater.

Torres Islands

The Torres Islands consist of the islands of Hiw, Metoma, Tegua, Loh and Toga. The total population is approximately 200. There are two languages, namely Hiw and Loh-Toga.

1. Hiw

Hiw is spoken on the northernmost of the Torres Islands of the same name by approximately 50 speakers. It was formerly spoken also on Metoma, now uninhabited, and on the northern part of Tegua.

2. Loh-Toga

This language is spoken by approximately 150 speakers on the islands of Loh and Toga. It is also spoken on Tegua by a few refugees from Loh. The two dialects, Loh and Toga differ slightly. It has been reported that formerly the island of Tegua was inhabited on a regular basis. At that time it would appear that there were three divisions on the island: one Hiw speaking, another speaking the same dialect of Loh-Toga as the people of Loh Island, the third group speaking a separate dialect of Loh-Toga special to Tegua.

Banks Islands

The Banks Islands consist of Ureparapara Island, Rowa or the Reef Islands, Mota Lava, Mota, Vanua Lava, Gaua, Merig and Merelava. They have a population of about 3300 at the present time. There are twelve languages spoken in the group, as follows:

3. Lehali (Ureparapara)

Formerly the island of Ureparapara had only a single language, which had four dialects according to Codrington (1885). The best known of these were Tekel and Leha. Now, however, the language situation is greatly changed. On the north and west sides of the island the language of Lehali or Leha is still spoken at two villages, Lehali and Lekwarangle by approximately 100 speakers. Little dialect differentiation has been noted between these two villages. On the east side of the island at the bottom of the bay another language is spoken.

4. Rowa (Ureparapara)

The Rowa language is spoken on Ureparapara at Lehalurup village at the bottom of the bay on the east coast by approximately 60 speakers. It is very closely related to Lehali, sharing 79% common cognates on a

basic vocabulary list. The people who speak this language are refugees from Rowa, one of the tiny Reef islands lying between Ureparapara and Mota Lava. The population movement is estimated by local people to have taken place about 40 years ago after a tidal wave had ravaged the Reef Islands.

5. Motlav (Mota Lava)

The language of Motlav is spoken on the island of Motalava by approximately 850 speakers at the present time. It is also spoken on the tiny island of Ra, just off the tip of Mota Lava. There are four surviving dialects of Motlav, represented by Totoglag, Bun, Beklag and Valuwa. Valuwa was considered a separate language from Motlav by Codrington, but this is in fact not the case. The Valuwa or Volow dialect is today represented by very few speakers, the Bun and Beklag dialects having only one surviving speaker each. So, for all practical purposes Motlav may be considered to have only a single dialect.

6.

The language of Mota is at present spoken on the island of the same name by more than 270 speakers. It is also widely spoken and understood throughout the Banks and Torres, as it is the language of the Melanesian Mission. In recent years its use has increased tremendously. On Mota Island two dialects are recognised, as follows:

we nao village: Veverau and Tasmate;

we tak villages: Lotawan, Tuqetap, Navqoe and Liwotqe.

7. Vatrata (Vanua Lava)

The language of Vatrata is at present spoken by approximately 100 speakers at the village of the same name on the west side of Vanua Lava. It is reported that 7 people who have come from the now abandoned village of Sasar are also living at Vatrata. Sasar and Vatrata are in fact dialects of the same language. The now extinct villages of Pak and Leon, as reported in Codrington (1885), appear also to be dialects of Vatrata. Pak, Leon, Sasar and Vatrata have a glottal stop where the other Banks languages have /t/. Alo Teqel or Teqel, once spoken near Port Patteson, but now extinct, appears too to be very closely related to Vatrata, and was possibly a dialect of it. Nawono, the language of Port Patteson proper, was reported to be extinct at the time Codrington was writing, and no record of it has been obtained.

8. Vureas (Vanua Lava)

The language of Vureas, or Vuras, is one of three surviving languages on Vanua Lava. It is spoken by approximately 350 speakers in the south-west of the island at the villages of Vetumboso, Wasaka and Kerepita.

9. Mosina (Vanua Lava)

The language of Mosina or Mosin is spoken by only about 50 speakers at the village of Mosina between Wasaka and Port Patteson. It is closely related to the language of Mota, which is only a short distance away.

10. Gaua (Gaua)

Gaua or Gog is spoken in the villages of Lomasarig (Namasarig), Lembot, Nume and Tarasag on the island of Gaua by approximately 120 speakers. The villages further down the coast, namely Lemanman, Tuvrat and Lambal are inhabited by people from Merig and Merelava, who have moved there because of overcrowding on these two islands.

11. Dorig (Gaua)

The language of Dorig is spoken in south Gaua at the villages of Dorig and Kweteon (Wetamut) by approximately 70 speakers. It is closely related to the languages of Koro and Lakona.

12. Koro (Gaua)

The language of Koro is spoken in south Gaua in the villages of Koro and Mekeon, also known as Biam. It has approximately 70 speakers, and is very closely related to Dorig.

13. Lakona (Gaua)

The language of Lakona or Lakon is spoken by approximately 80 people living on the west coast of Gaua at the villages of Kwetegavig, Dulav and Ontar. Dulav is also known as Kwetevut. This language is rather different from Gaua, but is nevertheless a member of the same language family.

14. Merlav (Merig and Merelava)

The Merlav language is spoken by approximately 850 speakers on the islands of Merig and Merelava. It has three dialects: a) Merig, b) the western villages of Merelava, namely Sere, Levatmese, Ngerngerig and Kwangre, and c) the seaward side of Merelava at the village of Matliwag. The dialect differences are not considerable.

Note: Near Port Patteson on Vanua Lava there are two small inhabited islands, Ravenga and Qakea. Ravenga is inhabited by Motlav speakers in small numbers, while Qakea is inhabited by approximately 50 Mota speakers, bringing the total number of Mota speakers to over 300.

B. SANTO (see map 3)

The island of Santo has a population of 9925 according to the Census of 1967, although it probably exceeds 10,000 at the present time.

Several hundred of the New Hebrideans living on Santo come from other islands, many to work in the commercial centre of Luganville and on plantations. There are twenty-nine known languages spoken on Santo and the offshore islands of Mafea, Tutuba, Malo, Tangoa and Araki. They are as follows:

15. Sakau

The Sakau or Sakao language is spoken by approximately 1000 speakers on the north east coast of Santo, from the village of Kolo (Kole) south of Hog Harbour as far north as Cape Quiros. It is also spoken at some inland villages in the area. The two principal villages in which Sakau is spoken are Hog Harbour and Port Olry, by which names the language is also known. There appear to be two main dialects, those of Hog Harbour and Port Olry, although some of the inland villages show other dialect variations.

16. Lore diakarkar

This language, spoken at Lore diakarkar, south of Hog Harbour and also at one bush village situated about one hour's walk south of Lowerie, has only approximately 50 speakers. It is very closely related to the Shark Bay language, sharing 77% common cognates on a basic vocabulary list.

17. Shark Bay

The Shark Bay language, spoken in east Santo on Litaro Island (Pilot Island), and also on the coast at Shark Bay has approximately 150 speakers. The Shark Bay people also claim that their territory includes the coastal villages of Saraotou and Sourunda. The language was also formerly spoken in the inland villages of Palon, Vanafo, Tiurumbo and Lomoru before the inhabitants of these villages moved to the coast.

18. Mafea

The Mafea language, also known as Mavea, is spoken on the island of Mafea, east Santo, by approximately 50 speakers. It is also thought to have been spoken on Ais Island, also on the east coast of Santo.

19. Butmas

This language, also known as Ati, is spoken in east-central Santo in the villages of Butmas, Tur, Naturuk and Polonombauk. It is at present also spoken at Palon and Vanafo, people from Butmas and Tur coming to these villages when the sites were vacated by the present Shark Bay people. It has approximately 350 speakers.

20. Nambel

The Nambel language is at present spoken in the village of that name in south-eastern Santo by approximately 50 people. It is also known as

Napil.

21. Tambotalo

Tambotalo is spoken in the village of that name in south-east Santo, a little further south than Nambel and quite close to Luganville. It would have only approximately 50 speakers.

22. Tutuba

The language of Tutuba, spoken on the island of the same name in Luganville Harbour and also in Luganville itself, has more than 100 speakers.

23. Aore

Aore is remembered by only one old man on Mafea Island, the original population of Aore Island, south-east Santo, having been wiped out through various causes. It is closely related to the language of Malo.

24. Malo

The language of Malo is spoken on the large island of that name off the south-east coast of Santo. It has in the region of 1500 speakers, and has two principal dialects, represented by Avunatari and Ataripoe. It has also been referred to as Savan in some of the early literature on the subject.

25. Narango

Narango is spoken on south Santo at the village of Narango and at a few smaller villages just north of Narango. It has approximately 160 speakers. The language is also known as Farsava. It is very closely related to the language of Amblong and also to that of Moruas. For the present these three have been considered to constitute separate languages, but dialect chaining is almost certainly present, and all three may in fact prove in the final analysis to be dialects of the same language.

26. Tangoa

Tangoan is spoken in south Santo on the tiny island of Tangoa, just off the coast, and in a few mainland villages opposite Tangoa. This fairly well-known language has approximately 250 speakers.

27. Amblong

This language is spoken in the area immediately to the north of Narango at the village of Amblong and a few hamlets in the area. It is also known to some as Narango North. It would have approximately 100 speakers.

28. Araki

Araki is spoken by some 70 people on the island of Arkai, off the

south coast of Santo, west of Tangoa. It is closely related to the languages of south Santo.

29. Akei

The Akei language is spoken in south-west Santo over a wide area, principally at the villages of Wailapa, Ipayato, Tasiriki, Penantsiro, and up the Navaka valley at Larakai and in the Pic Santo area at Pilipili (Bilbil). This language presents similar problems to those of east Tanna, in that complex dialect chaining is in evidence, with the result that dialects on either end of the chain are not mutually intelligible. It has approximately 600 speakers, and has been known as Navaka and also Marino and Eralado.

30. Fortsenal

Fortsenal is spoken in central Santo in the villages of Fortsenal, Kuptana, Butnavaga, Funpat, Merarua, Paten, Kaintsuro and Nosusu. It has in the region of 100 speakers and is closely related to Akei.

31. Roria

This language is also spoken in central Santo, north of Fortsenal, in the villages of Tonvar, Botvornov, Morgrif and Roria. It has approximately 100 speakers. This language does not appear to be at all closely related to the surrounding languages.

32. Moruas

The Moruas language is spoken in central Santo, north of Roria, at the following villages: Batunlemek, Fusrumbus, Batunfaramb, Moruas and Tabulan. It is also spoken further south at Mafun, by people living nearer the south coast. Moruas has approximately 100 speakers. As was stated above, Moruas, Amblong and Narango may possibly be shown to form a dialect chain in the final analysis.

33. Lametin

This language is spoken at Lametin, Tombet, Nalultsileri, Vatrof and Tondila on the Vitigo River north of Moruas. It too, has approximately 100 speakers.

34. Matae

The Matae language is spoken in west-central Santo by approximately 150 speakers at the villages of Namarao, Viniu, Sau, Lolikala, Lalaere, Langutoitoli, Nabunay, Lasule, Kaipiloa and Luri. It is very closely related to Navut, below; the two may ultimately be shown to be dialects of the one language.

35. Navut

The Navut language is spoken in west-central Santo at the villages of Latuptup and Saktuy by approximately 100 speakers. As was stated above,

it is very closely related to Matae.

36. Nonona

Nonona, closely related to Navut and Matae, is spoken by approximately 100 speakers in west-central Santo in the villages of Lamak, Rata and Nonona.

37. Malmariv

This language is also spoken in north-central Santo in the villages of Malmariv and Bakakara. It has in the region of 100 speakers and is closely related to the last three languages listed above.

38. Wusi

The Wusi language is spoken on the west coast of Santo at the villages of Wusi, Kerepua, Elia No.1 and Elia No.2. It is also spoken inland at the villages of Nokowula and 'Apuna. Wusi has approximately 170 speakers. It has also been known as Wulua.

39. Tasmate

The language of Tasmate is spoken on the west coast of Santo, north of Wusi, at the villages of Vasalea and Tasmate, Pealapa, Peatoai and Wunsule. It has approximately 100 speakers.

40. Nokuku

This language is also spoken on the west coast of Santo, north of Tasmate, at the villages of Olpoe and Nokuku and at a few smaller villages in the area, such as Pen'oru and Petawota. It has approximately 160 speakers.

41. Valpei

Valpei, also known as Valpay, is spoken on the north-west coast of Santo, in the Cape Cumberland area principally at the villages of Valpei, Hukua and Wunpuko. Some dialect differences have been noted between villages. The language has in the region of 200 speakers.

42. Vunapu

The Vunapu language is spoken on the east coast of Cape Cumberland in the villages of Vunapu (Betsalili), Papanavero, Pesena, Piarao and Piamatsina. This language is very closely related to the language of Valpei. There are dialect differences within the language, the principal one being that the Piamatsina dialect alone is without the glottal stop, characteristic of the others. Dialect chaining on the Cape Cumberland peninsula is strongly suspected, as all of the languages of the area are very closely related. The Vunapu language has about 250 speakers.

43. Tolomako

The Tolomako language, also known as Big Bay and Marina, is spoken in

the Big Bay area, north Santo, at the villages of Jereviu, Maloeta, Tolomako and Malao and a few hamlets in the same area. It is also spoken by a number of people at Port Olry on the east coast, since when the site of the Roman Catholic Mission was shifted from Big Bay to Port Olry many Tolomako speaking people moved from Big Bay to Port Olry also. The language has in the region of 300 speakers, possibly more. It is of interest to note that the language called "Tribu de Tikipi" by Hagen and Pineau (1889), and given the location south-east Santo, is in fact Tolomako. It would seem that they must have met a Tolomako speaker in some part of Santo other than Big Bay, and that they were confused by the location he gave them.

C. MALEKULA (see map 3)

Malekula has a population of 10,859 including the offshore islands according to the Census of 1967. Of these, approximately two or three hundred New Hebrideans from other islands, mainly from Ambrym and Pentecost, are living on the south-east coast.

There are at present thirty languages spoken on Malekula, and ethnological reports indicate that the number may well have been considerably higher as recently as thirty years ago. The Malekulan languages are as follows:

46. Letemboi (South Small Nambas)

This language is spoken by a total of 182 people, according to J.M. Charpentier, with the following geographical distribution: 128 residing in the south Malekula bush area, 24 at Mbwitin on the east coast in the Unua region, 11 at Borumvor on the south coast, and on the west coast 6 at Lawa, 5 at Windua and 8 at Dixon Reef. The movement of Letemboi speakers from the bush to the coast is very recent, having begun at most ten years ago, when the inhabitants of Fiembetab, a bush village, moved east to Mbwitin.

47. Axamb

The Axamb language is spoken by about 250 people on the island of Axamb, off the south coast of Malekula. It is also known in some quarters as Limilandr.

48. Faraun

This language is also spoken on the south coast of Malekula, between Axamb and the Maskelynes. It is spoken in the villages of Faraun and Menmenboas by a group of a little over 100 people. On further analysis, this language may prove to be a dialect of Axamb.

49. Maskelynes

This language is spoken in the Maskelyne Islands off the south-east

tip of Malekula by about 620 people. It is spoken on the islands of Koliviu and Koivu, and also by the women on Avok Island, who have been imported as wives. The island of Sakao is uninhabited.

50. Maxbaxo

Maxbaxo language is spoken in south-east Malekula in the villages of Maxbaxo and Mais on the coast, on Varu Island, and by the men only on Avok Island. It is also spoken at the village of Vetbo near the coast north of Lamap. The people who speak this language have only recently come down from the bush to the coast. Maxbaxo, spoken by approximately 140 speakers in small communities, has several dialects.

51. Port Sandwich

This important language is spoken in all of the villages on the south side of Port Sandwich, S.E. Malekula by about 700 people. It is also known as Lamap.

52. Vartabo (Banan Bay)

The Banan Bay language is spoken in the villages of Burmbar, Retur, Lepaxsivir, Remep, Vartabo and Lambulpatui, on the south-east coast of Malekula by approximately 350 speakers.

53. Aulua

Aulua is spoken on the south-east coast between Vartabo and Tisman at the villages of Aulua and Assuru by more than 200 speakers. Early Malekula literature also refers to a language called Benelang or Boine-lang, spoken at a village of that name situated about four miles from Aulua in the bush. The village has now been abandoned, the few survivors now living at coastal villages in the Aulua area. Comparison of the wordlist of Benelang collected by Corlette and a recent Aulua list reveals that Benelang was almost certainly only a dialect of Aulua.

54. Repanbitipmbangir

This language is spoken only by a small group of some 60 people who descended from the bush to the south-east coast about ten years ago. It is spoken by approximately half of the inhabitants of Repanbitipmbangir, the other half speaking Pangkumu.

55. Pangkumu

Pangkumu is also widely known as Tisman, after the principal settlement at which it is spoken. It is spoken by approximately 200 people in the villages of Rerep, Penuvere, Pangdeur (Hebel) and at Repanbitipmbangir.

56. Unua

Unua is spoken in the area north of the Pangkumu River by approximately 300 people at the villages of Repenunur, Rukmbo, Mbwansarit,

Mbangtete and Mbwatambur, also known as Batambu. The collective name for all of these villages is Unua or Onua.

57. Timbembe

This language is at present spoken on the east coast of Malekula at the villages of Timbembe, Katbol, and Taremp and on the west coast at Tisvel, although the west coast is dialectally different from the eastern three villages named. This language, also known as Grass Skirt, Nevaar and Nevat, has some 250 speakers. The present population of Timbembe came from the now abandoned bush village of Boton, while the present Taremp population comes from the village of Wulele. The traditional territory of these people appears to have been the central part of the island, with some of the original population migrating to the west coast and the remainder to the east.

58. Bushman's Bay

This language, best known as Bushman's Bay language, but also as Wuli and Mindu in the early literature, is now spoken in the villages of Lingarak and Limap by approximately 120 people, on the east coast.

59. Port Stanley

As the name indicates, this language is at present spoken on the east coast of Malekula in the Port Stanley area at the villages of Litzlitz, Visele, the Senal-Lakatoro area and was formerly spoken at Aop, a village now used by the Big Nambas people when they come to work on the Norsup plantation. The southern boundary of this language is claimed to be the Legatzgatz River. Port Stanley is spoken by approximately 200 people. It is also known as Lolnarrong and Netensal. The Lagalag of the early literature has been shown to be at most dialectally different from Port Stanley, and possibly identical with it.

60. Uripiv

This language is spoken on the small offshore islands of Uripiv, Uri (now uninhabited) and Norsup, and on the east coast of Tautu, by more than 600 speakers. There are dialect differences within this area. Uripiv may prove on lexicostatistical grounds to be a dialect of the well-known Wala-Rano.

61. Maragus

The Maragus language is now practically extinct. It is at present spoken by only 10 people, the survivors of a refugee group which came to Tautu in 1929 seeking refuge from the attacks of the Big Nambas. The traditional territory of the Maragus, also known as Tobah, is the mountainous area of north-central Malekula immediately to the east of the Big Nambas, which area is now uninhabited.

62. Mae

This language is at present spoken in the relatively new village of Mae, which was established in 1953, and also at Bethel and by some of the inhabitants of Orap on the north-east coast. The language is also known as Maraiyek, but perhaps better as the Small Nambas language of early literature. Since the term "Small Nambas" is also used to designate an entirely different group in the south, they would be better referred to as the North Small Nambas. Better still, the term "Small Nambas" should be dropped completely because of the confusion that it causes. The speakers of this language previously inhabited the area to the north of the Maragus, principally at the villages of Baterlilip and Batarhumbu. They moved to the sites which they now occupy so as to avoid the raids of the Big Nambas. Early records of this language, when it was still spoken in the bush villages refer to it as Boturuma.

63. Wala-Rano

The relatively well-known language of Wala-Rano is spoken by some 1300 people on the offshore islands of Wala and Rano in north-east Malekula, and also at Pinalum, Sandwir, Pourra and Stipter on the mainland. There are dialect differences between Wala and Rano, and as was stated above, this language and that of Uripiv may on further examination prove to constitute a single language, rather than two different ones.

64. Atchin

The language of Atchin, also known as Nale in some quarters, is spoken by approximately 950 people on the island of Atchin north of Wala and Rano, and also on the mainland at Lavalsal and by most of the inhabitants of Orap.

65. Vao

The Vao language is spoken on the island of Vao off the north-east tip of Malekula and also at the mainland village almost opposite the island by some 850 speakers. The language of Foa, reported by Hagen and Pineau (1889) is almost certainly Vao.

66. Wowo

The language of Wowo, also known as Vovo, is spoken by a little over 100 people on the north coast of Malekula at the villages of Wowo, Alavas, Naure and Tontar. It is very close to the Vao language, but will probably prove to be a separate language on lexicostatistical grounds.

67. Matanavat

It is claimed that at Matanavat, on the north-west coast a language

is spoken which is different from Wowo and also from Malua Bay, further to the south. No sample wordlists have yet been collected for this village, but it is hoped that one will be available in the near future, so that it may be incorporated in the lexicostatistical classification of the New Hebrides languages at present in progress.

68. Malua Bay

This language is spoken on the north-west coast of Malekula from Malua Bay to Tanmial. It is also known as Espiegle Bay language and also is referred to in the early literature as the language of the Middle Nambas. This language has approximately 200 speakers and is very close to the language of Mae, the Mae people having migrated from the area adjacent to Malua Bay. The Malua Bay people, according to present inhabitants of the region, were also subjected to frequent attacks from the Big Nambas, to such an extent that many of them fled to Malo, just south of Santo, and remain there to this day.

69. Big Nambas

The Big Nambas language is spoken over a large area of north-west Malekula, principally at the villages of Warnap, Tenmaru, Amok and surrounding bush villages, Win, Wilak, Leviamp, Brenwei, Unmet, Uri and by some people now living at Larevat further to the south. It has a little over 1200 speakers. In recent years there has been much movement of people from the villages of Amok and the surrounding area to the coast, leading to the formation of the new villages of Unmet and Uri.

70. Larevat

This language is spoken at the west coast village of Larevat, south of the Big Nambas area by little more than 100 people.

71. Vinmavis

The language of Vinmavis, perhaps better known as Lambumbu, is spoken by about 140 people at Vinmavis village on the west coast. It has also been referred to in the early literature as Winiv, Telag and Banggor. It is closely related to the Port Stanley language, the speakers of both languages having occupied a more central position in the island than they do today.

72. Dixon Reef

This language, spoken by approximately 50 people at Dixon Reef village, is claimed to be closely related to the language of Tisvel (Timbembe), although no wordlist has yet been collected to show whether it is or not a separate language. It is hoped that such a wordlist will be available in the near future, so that the linguistic map of Malekula may be finalised.

73. Mewun

The Mewun language, locally known as Ninde is spoken at the villages of Labo, Lawa and Windua by some 350 speakers. It has several dialects. Some South Small Nambas people (see Letemboi) are now reported to be living at Lawa and Windua.

74. Sinesip

The Sinesip language, also known as Nahapa and Seniang and Lamangkau, is spoken at South-west Bay principally in the villages of Lembinwen and Benour, by a little over 250 people.

75. Nakahai

The Nakahai language, also known as Orierh and Toman is spoken by slightly more than 400 people on Toman Island, off the south-western tip of Malekula and also on the mainland at the villages of Milip and Malvaxal.

D. MAEWO (see map 4)

According to the 1967 Census, there are 1178 people living on Maewo (Aurora). At the present time this figure would have increased to well over 1200. There are at present four languages native to Maewo spoken on the island. These are as follows:

78. North Maewo

The North Maewo language is spoken currently in two villages, Marino and Naone by approximately 90 speakers. The language is apparently more closely related to the language of the Banks Islands, immediately to the north, than to the other languages spoken on Maewo. The North Maewo language, formerly spoken in several dialects, has also been called Tanoriki, Lotor, Qarangave; Tasmouri, Arata and Bangoro in previous linguistic literature.

79. Peterara

The Peterara or north-central Maewo language is at present spoken in the villages of Galowo, Peterara, Kerepei, Rongonawo, Qatiawol and Saratamwata by approximately 350 speakers. It appears much more homogeneous than the language of Nasawa a little further to the south.

80. Nasawa

The Nasawa or south-central Maewo language is spoken mainly in the villages of Navenevene, Tam, Naviso, Nasawa, Narovorovo and Baitora by approximately 500 speakers. There is much dialect differentiation in this language, each village having quite considerable speech differences from the other.

81. South Maewo

The South Maewo language is reported to be remembered by a few old people in the extreme south of the island, although this area has now been occupied for some time by Raga speaking people from north Pentecost, who moved to south Maewo because of overcrowding in their home territory. Approximately 250 Raga speaking people live mainly in the villages of Asanvari and Avanbatai.

E. AOBA

According to the Census of 1967, Aoba (Leper's Island) has a population of 5870. The figure has risen to over 6000 at the present time. There are only two languages spoken on Aoba as follows:

82. North-East Aoban

The north-east Aoban language, variously referred to as Lombaha, Longana, Waluriki, Lolopuepue, Lolokaro and Lolsiwoi, has approximately 3000 speakers. The language has many dialects, perhaps as many as fifteen, and is very closely related to the other language spoken on Aoba, Nduindui. In some previous literature it had been suggested that the dialect of Lolokaro, in the south-east, was a separate language. A comparison of lexical items, however, reveals that the difference is only dialectal.

83. Nduindui

The language of south-west Aoba, Nduindui or Duindui, has approximately the same number of speakers as North-East Aoban, somewhere between 2900 and 3000. It too has several dialects. As was stated above, it is very closely related to North-East Aoban, sharing more than 60% cognates on a basic vocabulary list.

F. PENTECOST (see map 4)

The island of Pentecost or Whitsuntide had a population of 6750 at the Census of 1967. The figure is now probably in the region of 7000. The languages of Pentecost fall into two divisions: Raga in the north, with very close ties with Aoba and Maewo, the remainder having close ties with the languages of Ambrym. The languages of Pentecost are as follows:

84. Raga

The language of Raga, also known as Lamalanga, Loltong, Vunmarama, Loltavola and Qatvenua, has approximately 2300 speakers. Raga is confined to the northern part of the island. The southern boundary of the language runs roughly from Namaram on the west coast to Aligu on the

east coast. Raga is also spoken in south Maewo, as was noted above. Dialect differences in this language are not nearly so marked as in the languages to the south.

85. Apma

Apma is the language of central Pentecost. It has approximately 3000 speakers, speaking roughly four dialects of the same language. There are two major dialects - Suru-bo and Suru-marani, spoken north and south respectively of the Sesan River. Apma, whose affinities lie more with Sa to the south than with Raga, is also known as Melsisi and Bwatnapni. Within the Apma area, it is known that there are two other languages, Seke and Sowa, with only a few speakers. It is also reported that another language is spoken at the village of Kassap. This report remains to be investigated.

86. Sa

The Sa or Ponorwal language is spoken by approximately 1200 speakers in south Pentecost. It has four main dialects, represented by the following areas: Bunlap-Baie Barrier; Ste. Therese; Wali-Ranputor; Point Cross. Sa is most closely related to the language of North Ambrym, sharing approximately 60% common cognates on a basic vocabulary list.

87. Sowa

The language of Sowa, whose existence has been attested (Walsh), is spoken in a single village just north of the Seke speaking villages of Baravet and Hot Water. It has only approximately 20 speakers.

88. Seke

The Seke language is spoken in two villages in central Pentecost, at Baravet and Hot Water, by approximately 200 speakers. It shares 60% common cognates with Apma and 55% with Sa, to the south. Most Sowa and Seke speakers also speak Apma.

G. AMBRYM AND PAAMA (see map 4)

The island of Ambrym is inhabited by some 4230 people, according to the Census of 1967. Since then, the numbers have probably grown, although a fair number of Ambrymese are now working in Noumea. Previous writers have had some difficulty in determining the number of different languages spoken on the island (see Codrington and Ray). At the present time there are five languages, according to lexicostatistical criteria. The opinion of the Ambrymese agrees with this figure. However, there have been great population movements on the island, especially since the beginning of this century, some of this being attributable to major volcanic eruptions. The present day languages are as follows:

91. North Ambrym

The language of North Ambrym is very closely related to all of the other languages on the island, with the exception of the south-east corner, where the language is most closely related to Paamese, spoken on the island of Paama and formerly Lopevi, a short distance away. North Ambrymese is also closely related to the languages of south and central Pentecost. This group shares many lexical innovations not found elsewhere in the New Hebrides.

North Ambrymese is at present spoken by approximately 1900 speakers in the northern section of the island. It is also known as Magam, Olal, Embululi, Loliwara and Limbol in the early literature. It has many dialects, although it would appear that the language has two major dialect types, characterised by Olal on the one hand and by Magam on the other.

92. Lonwolwol

The language spoken in the south-west corner of Ambrym has been called Lonwolwol, Craig Cove, Fanting and also Dip Point. It appears to have two main dialects and is spoken at present by approximately 400 speakers.

93. Dakaka

Dakaka is spoken by approximately 400 speakers in the area between Craig Cove and Port Vato, principally in the villages of Balap and Sesivi, although in many other smaller villages also. It is also known by the name of its two chief villages just mentioned, Balap and Sesivi.

94. Port Vato

The Port Vato language has approximately 500 speakers. It is spoken in the area around Port Vato, between Dakaka and South-East Ambrym. The last three languages are very closely related, sharing in the vicinity of 70% cognates on a basic word list.

95. South-East Ambrym

The language of South-East Ambrym is at present spoken by about 1000 people in the south-eastern part of the island, and also by approximately 200 Ambrymese at the village of Maat on Efate. This group moved from Ambrym to Efate a little more than twenty years ago. South-East Ambrym appears to be spoken in four main dialects, represented by Endu, Toak, Penapo, and Taveak. It is closely related to the language of Paama, sharing more than 70% common cognates on a basic wordlist.

96. Paama

The Paama or Paamese language is spoken on the small island of Paama, which lies close to the south-eastern point of Ambrym, between Ambrym

and Epi. On Paama it is spoken by approximately 2000 people in two main dialects, represented by Oailev and Lironessa. It is also spoken on Epi, by approximately 150 speakers, evacuees from the tiny island of Lopevi (see Epi).

H. EPI (see map 4)

Epi has a New Hebridean population of 1645 according to the 1967 Census. Of these, approximately 200 are non-Epi natives from other islands employed on the various plantations around the island.

There are at present six local languages spoken on the island, plus two which are not native to Epi. The Epi languages are as follows:

96. Laul

The language called Laul is in fact the language of the island of Lopevi, the inhabitants of which island were evacuated following a violent volcanic eruption some years ago. The language is included here as it appears that the ex-Lopevi people are destined to remain permanently on the east coast of Epi. It is rather different from the Epi languages, and is in fact a dialect of Paama. Laul is spoken by about 150 people in two villages, Laul and Meakumu, or Mate No.2 as it is also known.

97. Lewo

Lewo is the largest language spoken on Epi, with a little more than 700 speakers. The word lewo, in fact, means '*language*' and is therefore not the name of the language in question. However, the term has been used in previous literature, and in the absence of a better one the name Lewo will be used here. Lewo is spoken in the villages of Baia, Moriu, Nivenue, Nikaura and Nuvi on the east coast, and on Lamenu Island and Visina and Esake on the north-west coast, as well as a few tiny villages on the mainland opposite Lamenu Island. Dialect differences are found in each of the villages. A good deal of evangelical literature has been written in Lewo, which has served as a church lingua franca.

98. Bierebo

This language is spoken now on the north-west coast of Epi, in the villages of Bonkovia, Yevali (Nambakura), and Esake. The village of Esake, a recent one, has in fact two languages, half of the people speaking Bierebo, while the remainder speak Lewo. This is because the two former bush villages of Membremo and Burupika, or rather some of their residents, have moved to the coast to form the new village of Esake. A few of the original inhabitants of Membremo and Burupika still

remain in their respective villages. Yevali, too, is the result of the moving and amalgamation of two villages, Cokopue and Yapana. Bierebo is also spoken in one east coast village, Tavio whose inhabitants originated in a bush village called Puruvenua. Bierebo, then, was formerly spoken exclusively in the mountain areas of the north of Epi. The original home was deserted and the people moved to the coasts, mainly to the west coast. Bierebo, which has four dialects, boasts some 270 speakers.

99. Baki

Baki is spoken today by approximately 100 people mainly residing in the Burumba area and small surrounding villages, on the west coast of Epi.

100. Maii

This language is spoken in the relatively recent village of Mae-Morae and also by a handful of people living at Lemau on the other side of the island. It has approximately 100 speakers. The inhabitants of Mae-Morae formerly lived in the mountains behind the present site, as indeed most Epi people were bush rather than sea people as recently as the turn of this century.

101. Bieria

This language is the smallest of the Epi languages, with at best approximately 70 speakers. It is spoken in the villages of Vovo and Taliko, in south west Epi. Intermediate villages are now deserted. An alternative name for Bieria is Howana, although this is not widely used. Bieria has two dialects at present.

102. Tasiko

Tasiko is a language which is very closely related to Lewo. Some writers have, in fact, considered the two to be dialects of the same language. However, on lexicostatistical criteria the two must be regarded as separate. Tasiko is now spoken in the south and south-east of Epi, in the villages of Mate, Leppa, Nul, Plate and Filakara. It was also spoken in the now extinct village of Leblia. It has approximately 250 speakers. Slight dialect differences have been noted between villages.

Note:

1. There is also another language spoken on Epi at a village on the west coast, the village of Boatpasis. Here about 30 Malekulan people from the village of Mae, on east Malekula have been given ground and have settled semi-permanently.

2. The languages of Epi fall naturally into two groups, Lewo-Tasiko and the languages of the west coast, the latter being more formidable, especially phonologically than the former.

I. EFATE AND SHEPHERD ISLAND (see map 5)

Efate and the Shepherd Island had a population of 9059 New Hebrideans at the time of the Census of 1967. The number is now probably in excess of 10,000. Workers come from nearly all of the islands of the group to work in the capital, Port Vila, as many as 3000 at any one time. However, only people born on Efate or the Shepherd Islands will be considered here. There are four languages native to the area, as follows:

103. Namakuran

Namakuran is spoken by approximately 1900 speakers in the following areas: half of the island of Tongoa, at the villages of Matangi, Itakoma, Euta, Mangarisu, Bongabonga and Meriu, Tongariki Island, Buninga Island, on Emae Island at the village of Finongi mainly, Makura Island, Mataso Island. The small island of Ewose is uninhabited. Namakuran has five dialects as follows: Tongoa, Tongariki, Buninga, Makura and Emae, Mataso. It is closely related to Efatese, sharing in the region of 60% common cognates on a basic vocabulary list. However, in many ways it appears to be more dissimilar than the lexicostatistical figures would suggest.

104. Efatese

Efatese, with more than 4500 speakers is the "largest" language in the New Hebrides. It is spoken on half of the island of Tongoa, in two villages on Emae Island, on Emau Island, Pele Island, Moso Island, Leleppa Island, Nguna Island and in nearly all of the villages on the mainland of Efate. It has also been called Nakanamanga and Ngunese-Tongoan. However, these terms are too narrow, as they refer to specific areas which exclude many of the mainland Efate villages. Efatese has seven main dialects, which fall into two groups, north and south as follows:

- A. *North.*
 - 1. Tongoa
 - 2. Emae (Sesake)
 - 3. Nguna-Pele-Paunangis-Emua-Siviri-Moso
 - 4. Emau
- B. *South.*
 - 5. Leleppa
 - 6. Erakor-Eratap-Pango
 - 7. Eton-Epau.

In north Efate great dialect standardisation has taken place, mainly because of the use of the Ngunese dialect as an evangelical language. There are perhaps further subdivisions which could be made within this group, but they are only of a minor order and would be difficult to

determine accurately at this stage. In the southern dialects, the speech is clipped and words shortened considerably compared with the northern dialects. In fact, many northern speakers have some difficulty understanding the clipped speech of the southerners.

105. Emae

Emae or Amunaomae is a Polynesian language spoken in the villages of Makatea and Tongamea on the island of Emae in the Shepherd Islands. It has only approximately 150 speakers.

106. Fila-Mele

Fila-Mele is also a Polynesian language. It is spoken at the village of Mele, on the mainland of Efate, and on Fila Island in Port Vila harbour. It was formerly spoken also on Mele Island, just opposite the site of the present-day Mele village, until it became too small for the expanding population. At the present time, Fila-Mele has approximately 1200 speakers.

J. ERROMANGA (see map 6)

The island of Erromanga is inhabited today by approximately 600 people. At the present time, there is only one language, Sie, spoken by the population. Ura is remembered by a handful of old people, see below.

107. Sie

Sie is spoken throughout Erromanga by some 600 people. It appears to have taken over from Yoku/Enyau as the standard dialect, Yoku/Enyau being equivalent to "Biblical" Erromanga. Modern Erromangan or Sie, appears to be spoken in three dialects.

108. Ura

Ura was originally the language of northern Erromanga. It is all but extinct, and is remembered by fewer than 10 people at the present time. These people reside in the Dillon's Bay area. It is a separate language from Sie, sharing approximately 65% common cognates on a basic vocabulary list.

Note: The language of Utaha, again a separate language, is also reported to have been spoken on the eastern side of Erromanga, but has been extinct since the turn of the century. It has been reported that the dialect of Ifo replaced Utaha when the latter became extinct. This is perhaps preserved in the Potnariven dialect today.

K. FUTUNA-ANIWA (see map 6)

109. Futuna-Aniwa

Futuna-Aniwa is a Polynesian language spoken by approximately 550 speakers on the small islands of Futuna and Aniwa to the east of Tanna. There are two dialects, corresponding to each island.

L. TANNA (see map 6)

The island of Tanna is the most densely populated in the New Hebrides. According to the 1967 Census it had a population of about 10,500. This figure is probably much higher at the present time. There are at present six languages spoken on the island as follows:

110. North Tanna

The North Tanna language, also known in previous literature as Iteing, Itonga and Loanatit is spoken by some 2000 speakers. It is spoken from the northern tip of Tanna as far south as a line drawn between the villages of Yimnakayip and Lenaukas. North Tanna is spoken in two main dialects, the dialect division being between the eastern and western sections of the area. It is very closely related to Whitesands and Lenakel, see below.

111. Whitesands

The Whitesands language is spoken by approximately 2500 speakers in villages on or close to the east coast of Tanna, between Lawenata and Sulphur Bay. It is also known as East Tanna, Waesisi and Weasisi. It is spoken in two principal dialects, represented by Waesisi in the north and Lometimet1 in the south. Whitesands language is closely related to Lenakel and to North Tanna, sharing more than 50% common cognates on a basic vocabulary list.

112. Lenakel

The Lenakel language is spoken by approximately 3000 speakers in west and central Tanna. Its northern boundary is approximately at Lenaukas, while in the south the last Lenakel speaking village is Isini, at Lenakel proper. The easternmost boundary lies in the area about Ikeupo village. Lenakel has many dialects, more than ten, some of which have been referred to in previous literature as Naviliang, Nerokwang, Numerat and Rahna.

113. Nvhal

Nvhal is spoken in south-west and south-central Tanna by approximately 1000 speakers. It is spoken from Bethel on the west coast as far across the island as Imwarepo and Imreang, and as far south as Imlao. It has been known in previous literature as Ikyoo and Nerauya. This

language, while still closely related to the other languages of Tanna, is outside the tight-knit Whitesands-Lenakel-North Tanna subgroup. It has several dialects.

114. South-West Tanna

The South-West Tanna language, or Nōwai and Sangali as it is also known, is spoken in the region to the south of Imlao, in a number of villages around Ikiti. It has approximately 600 speakers. Its existence as a separate language, separate from Nvhal, is not entirely conclusive, as it shares more than 80% cognates with neighbouring villages in the Nvhal area, while further away, for example at Imwarepo, the percentage of shared cognates falls to 70%. There is evidence of complex dialect chaining in this area, which only further research can elucidate.

115. Kwamera

The Kwamera language is spoken in south Tanna from Port Resolution, along the coast of Kwamera and around to the west coast as far as the village of Yankwaneneai. Kwamera has approximately 1100 speakers, who speak two main dialects, represented by Port Resolution and Imaki. There are of course several more subdialects.

M. ANEITYUM (see map 6)

117. Aneityumese

Aneityumese is spoken by approximately 320 people on the island of Aneityum, the southernmost of the islands of the New Hebrides. It was reported that the former language of Anauwonse, on the northern side of the island was different from modern Aneityumese. However, this village has been abandoned for some time, the remnants of the inhabitants having moved to Anouwonamlau village. Lexical items remembered from the "old language" suggest strongly that it was only dialectally different from the present Aneityumese language.

3.0 TENTATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF NEW HEBRIDES LANGUAGES

For purposes of this tentative classification based on sample lexicostatistical comparisons and upon grammatical and phonological features known to the writer, the following percentages of shared cognates have been taken as diagnostic:

Dialect:	81%-100%
Group:	50%-80%
Family:	28%-49%
Stock:	12%-27%.

On this basis, all of the languages of the New Hebrides appear to be members of a single language family, since no two languages so far compared have scored less than 28%. It should be stressed that the classification which follows is tentative and may be subject to considerable revision once the full lexicostatistical counts have been completed. The languages of the New Hebrides, then, would fall into the following groups:

NEW HEBRIDES LANGUAGE FAMILY

1. Northern New Hebrides Group (44 languages)

1. Hiw	2. Loh-Toga	3. Lehali
4. Rowa	5. Motlav	6. Mota
7. Vatrata	8. Vureas	9. Mosina
10. Gaua	11. Dorig	12. Koro
13. Lakona	14. Merlav	18. Mafea
21. Tambotalo	22. Tutuba	23. Aore
24. Malo	25. Narango	26. Tangoa
27. Amblong	28. Araki	29. Akei
30. Fortsenal	32. Moruas	33. Lametin
34. Matae	35. Navut	36. Nonona
37. Malmariv	38. Wusi	39. Tasmate
40. Nokuku	41. Valpei	42. Vunapu
43. Tolomako	78. North Maewo	79. Peterara
80. Nasawa	81. South Maewo	82. North-East Aoban
83. Nduindui	84. Raga	

This large language group is attested by the following sample of shared cognates, in which one language has been selected to represent each area:

	<i>Gaua</i>	<i>Peterara</i>	<i>Nduindui</i>	<i>Malo</i>	<i>Tasmate</i>
Gaua (Banks)	-	60%	54%	50%	51%
Petarara (Maewo)	60%	-	51%	50%	53%
Nduindui (Aoba)	54%	51%	-	52%	58%
Malo (S.Santo)	50%	50%	52%	-	57%
Tasmate (W.Santo)	51%	53%	58%	57%	-

2. East Santo Group (6 languages)

15. Sakau	16. Loreliakarkar	17. Shark Bay
19. Butmas	20. Nambel	31. Roria

3. South Malekulan Group (13 languages)

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 46. Letemboi | 47. Axamb | 48. Faraun |
| 49. Maskelynes | 50. Maxbaxo | 51. Port Sandwich |
| 52. Vartabo | 53. Aulua | 54. Repanbitip |
| 55. Pangkumu | 73. Mewun | 74. Sinesip |
| 75. Nakahai | | |

4. North Malekulan Group (17 languages)

- | | | |
|------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 56. Unua | 57. Timbembe | 58. Bushman's Bay |
| 59. Port Stanley | 60. Uripiv | 61. Maragus |
| 62. Mae | 63. Wala-Rano | 64. Atchin |
| 65. Vao | 66. Wowo | 67. Matanavat |
| 68. Malua Bay | 69. Big Nambas | 70. Larevat |
| 71. Vinmavis | 72. Dixon Reef | |

5. Central New Hebrides Group (10 languages)

- | | | |
|------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 85. Apma | 86. Sa | 87. Sowa |
| 88. Seke | 91. North Ambrym | 92. Lonwolwol |
| 94. Dakaka | 94. Port Vato | 95. South-East Ambrym |
| 96. Paama | | |

It should be noted that Paama and South-East Ambrym form a subgroup within this group.

6. Epi Group (6 languages)

- | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| 97. Lewo | 98. Bierebo | 99. Baki |
| 100. Maii | 101. Bieria | 102. Tasiko |

7. Efatese Group (2 languages)

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 103. Namakuran | 104. Efatese |
|----------------|--------------|

8. Erromangan Group (2 languages)

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 107. Sie | 108. Ura |
|----------|----------|

9. Tanna Group (6 languages)

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 110. North Tanna | 111. Whitesands | 112. Lenakel |
| 113. Nvhal | 114. South-West Tanna | 115. Kwamera |

10. Aneityum Group (1 language)

- | |
|------------------|
| 116. Aneityumese |
|------------------|

The three Polynesian languages of Emae, Fila-Mele and Futuna-Aniwa have been excluded from this tentative classification.

3.1 NEW HEBRIDES LANGUAGES AND AUSTRONESIAN

All of the languages of the New Hebrides are Austronesian. However, within this island group there appear to be two distinct language types, excluding of course the three Polynesian languages. Both types have previously been described under one head as "Melanesian".

The two language types posited are as follows:

1. The Oceanic Type.
2. The "Melanesian" Type.

3.1.1 The Oceanic Type

The Oceanic type of language consists of a group of 45 languages in the New Hebrides, the whole of the Northern Group listed above and most probably Efatese of the Efatese Group. The division is shown in map 1.

The Oceanic type, which appears to be closely related to the languages of the south Solomons and Fiji, has the following principal characteristics:

- a. A simple phonology with all vowels falling on the cardinal points.
- b. A distinct avoidance of consonant clustering.
- c. A simple noun morphology.
- d. A simple verb morphology, with free form verb stems, plus the use of particles to indicate tense and aspect.
- e. A word store which reflects proto-Oceanic forms, as set up by Grace, to a high degree.

3.1.2 The "Melanesian" Type

While the Oceanic types form a very homogeneous group, the "Melanesian" type is not nearly as homogeneous. However, the languages of the New Hebrides which have not been described as Oceanic share much in common, and must be set apart from the Oceanic type. The principal features of the "Melanesian" type are as follows:

- a. Often a complex phonology, with up to ten vowel phonemes.
- b. Complex consonant clustering.
- c. Complex noun morphology.
- d. Complex verb morphology, absence of free form verb stems, and an affixing rather than particle tense/aspect indication.
- e. A rather different word store from the Oceanic type, better reflecting proto-Austronesian forms set up by Dempwolff, for example. Final consonants of the proto-Austronesian forms are often retained, whereas in the Oceanic type they are never retained.

The definite existence of these two language groups in the New Hebrides will be made clearer once comparative grammatical studies are

completed. The implications of the presence of an Oceanic type in island Melanesia are considerable from the point of view of Austronesian migration theory. However, the first task is to establish the existence of the type beyond any reasonable doubt and then to determine the geographical limits of the type in island Melanesia. Both of these tasks are at present being undertaken, and before long the existence of an Oceanic type or sub-group should be an established fact. Until such time, however, the writer will not attempt to put forward any hypotheses concerning the implications for Austronesian migration theory in this area.

4.0 CHECKLIST OF NEW HEBRIDES LANGUAGES¹

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Ahamb	see Axamb	Malekula
Akei (29)	Eralado, Ipayato, Lamarakai, Marino, Navaka, Penantsiro, Pilipili, Tasiriki, Wailapa	Santo
Alo Teqel*	Teqel	Vanua Lava, Banks
Amblong (27)	Narango North	Santo
Amunaomae	see Emae	Shepherd Is.
Aneityumese (116)		Aneityum
Apma (85)	Bwatnapni, Melsisi	Pentecost
Araki (28)		Santo
Arata	see North Maewo	Maewo
Atchin (64)	Nale	Malekula
Ati	see Butmas	Santo
Aulua (53)	Benelang, Boinelang	Malekula
Axamb (47)	Ahamb, Limilandr	Malekula
Balap	see Dakaka	Ambrym
Baki (99)	Burumba	Epi

¹ a. Number in brackets refers to language number in the text.
 b. Names in heavy type are preferred names for languages.
 c. Starred items refer to extinct languages, or to unidentifiable language names.

CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Banan Bay	see Vartabo	Malekula
Bangasa	see Timbembe	Malekula
Banggor	see Vinnavis	Malekula
Bangoro	see North Maewo	Maewo
Beklag	see Motlav	Mota Lava, Banks
Benelang	see Aulua	Malekula
Big Bay	see Tolomako	Santo
Big Nambas (69)		Malekula
Bierebo (98)	Bonkovia, Cokopue, Nambakura, Yevali	Epi
Bieria (101)	Howana	Epi
Boinelang	see Aulua	Malekula
Bonkovia	see Bierebo	Epi
Boturuma	see Mae	Malekula
Bugeor*		Malekula
Bun	see Motlav	Vanua Lava, Banks
Buninga	see Namakuran	Shepherd Is.
Burumba	see Baki	Epi
Bushman's Bay (58)	Wuli, Mindu, Lingarak	Malekula
Butmas (19)	Ati, Polonombauk	Santo
Bwatnapni	see Apma	Pentecost
Cokopue	see Bierebo	Epi
Craig Cove	see Lonwolwol	Ambrym
Dakaka (93)	Balap, Sesivi	Ambrym
Dip Point	see Lonwolwol	Ambrym
Dixon Reef (72)		Malekula
Dorig (11)		Gaua, Banks
Duindui	see Nduindui	Aoba
East Tanna	see Whitesands	Tanna

CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Efatese (104)	Emau, Emua, Epau, Erakor, Eratap, Eton, Havannah Harbour, Leleppa, Moso, Nakanamanga, Ngunese, Pango, Paunangis, Pele, Sesake, Siviri, Tongoan, Utaone	Efate
Emae (105)	Amunaomae, Mae	Shepherd Is.
Emau	see Efatese	Efate
Embululi	see North Ambrym	Ambrym
Emua	see Efatese	Efate
Enyau	see Sie	Erromanga
Epau	see Efatese	Efate
Erakor	see Efatese	Efate
Eralado	see Akei	Santo
Eratap	see Efatese	Efate
Espiegle Bay	see Malua Bay	Malekula
Eton	see Efatese	Efate
Fanting	see Lonwolwol	Ambrym
Faraun (48)		Malekula
Farsava	see Narango	Santo
Fila	see Fila-Mele	Efate
Fila-Mele (106)	Fila, Mele	Efate
Finongi	see Namakuran	Shepherd Is.
Foa	see Vao	Malekula
Fortsenal (30)		Santo
Futuna-Aniwa (109)		Futuna & Aniwa Is.
Gaua (10)	Gog	Gaua, Banks
Gog	see Gaua	Gaua, Banks
Grass Skirt	see Timbembe	Malekula
Havannah Harbour	see Efatese	Efate

CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Hiw (1)		Hiw, Torres
Hog Harbour	see Sakau	Santo
Howana	see Bieria	Epi
Ifo	see Sie	Erromanga
Ikyoo	see Nvhal	Tanna
Ipayato	see Akei	Santo
Iteing	see North Tanna	Tanna
Itonga	see North Tanna	Tanna
Kassap (?)		Pentecost
Katbol	see Timbembe	Malekula
Koro (12)		Gaua, Banks
Kuliviu	see Maskelynes	Malekula
Kwamera (115)		Tanna
Laevo	see Lewo	Epi
Lagalag	see Port Stanley	Malekula
Lakon	see Lakona	Gaua, Banks
Lakona (13)	Lakon	Gaua, Banks
Lamalanga	see Raga	Pentecost
Lamangkau	see Sinesip	Malekula
Lamap	see Port Sandwich	Malekula
Lamarakai	see Akei	Santo
Lambumbu	see Vinnavis	Malekula
Lamenu	see Lewo	Epi
Lametin (33)	Nalultsileri	Santo
Laravat	see Larevat	Malekula
Larevat (70)	Laravat	Malekula
Laul	see Paamese	Epi
Laus*		Malekula
Leha	see Lehali	Ureparapara, Banks
Lehali (3)	Leha, Tekel, Norbarbar	Ureparapara, Banks

CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Leleppa	see Efatese	Efate
Lemaroro	see Tasiko	Epi
Lenakel (112)	Naviliang, Nerokwang, Numerat, Rahna	Tanna
Leon	see Vatrata	Vanua Lava, Banks
Letemboi (46)	South Small Nambas	Malekula
Lewo (97)	Lamenu, Laevo, Maluba	Epi
Liara*	Livara	Epi
Limbol	see North Ambrym	Ambrym
Limilandr	see Axamb	Malekula
Lingarak	see Bushman's Bay	Malekula
Litaro	see Shark Bay	Santo
Litzlitz	see Port Stanley	Malekula
Livara*	see Liara	Epi
Loanatit	see North Tanna	Tanna
Loh-Toga (2)	Toga	Torres
Loliwara	see North Ambrym	Ambrym
Lolnarrong	see Port Stanley	Malekula
Lolokaro	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Lolopuepue	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Lolsiwoi	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Loltavola	see Raga	Pentecost
Loltong	see Raga	Pentecost
Lombaha	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Longana	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Lonwolwol (92)	Craig Cove, Dip Point, Fanting	Ambrym
Lopevi	see Paamese	
Lorediakarkar (16)		Santo
Lotora	see North Maewo	Maewo

CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Mae (62)	Boturuma, Maraiyek, North Small Nambas	Malekula
Mae	see Emae	Shepherd Is.
Mae-Morae	see Maii	Epi
Mafea (18)	Mavea	Santo
Mafun	see Moruas	Santo
Magam	see North Ambrym	Ambrym
Maii (100)	Mae-Morae, Mari	Epi
Makura	see Namakuran	Shepherd Is.
Malmariv (37)		Santo
Malo (24)	Savan	
Malua Bay (68)	Espiegle Bay, Middle Nambas	Malekula
Maluba	see Lewo	Epi
Maragus	see Maragus	Malekula
Maragus (61)	Maragus, Tobah	Malekula
Maraiyek	see Mae	Malekula
Mari	see Maii	Epi
Marina	see Tolomako	Santo
Marino	see Akei	Santo
Maskelynes (49)	Kuliviu	Malekula
Matae (34)		Santo
Matanavat (67)		Malekula
Mataso	see Namakuran	Shepherd Is.
Mavea	see Mafea	Santo
Maxbaxo (50)		Malekula
Meaun	see Mewun	Malekula
Mele	see Fila-Mele	Efate
Melsisi	see Apma	Pentecost
Merlav (14)		Merelava, Banks

CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Mewun (73)	Meaun, Ninde	Malekula
Middle Nambas	see Malua Bay	Malekula
Milip	see Nakahai	Malekula
Mindu	see Bushman's Bay	Malekula
Moruas (32)	Mafun	Santo
Mosin	see Mosina	Vanua Lava, Banks
Mosina (9)	Mosin	Vanua Lava, Banks
Moso	see Efatese	Efate
Mota (6)		Mota, Banks
Motlav (5)	Beklag, Bun, Valuwa, Volow	Motalava, Banks
Nahapa	see Sinesip	Malekula
Nakahai (75)	Milip, Orrierh, Toman	Malekula
Nakanamanga	see Efatese	Efate
Nale	see Atchin	Malekula
Nalultsilieri	see Lametin	Santo
Namakuran (103)	Buninga, Finongi, Makura, Mataso, Tongariki	Shepherd Is.
Nambakura	see Bierebo	Epl
Nambel (20)	Napil	Santo
Napil	see Nambel	Santo
Napuanmen	see Whitesands	Tanna
Narango (25)	Farsava	Santo
Narango North	see Amblong	Santo
Nasawa (80)		Maewo
Navaka	see Akei	Santo
Naviliang	see Lenakel	Tanna
Navut (35)		Santo
Nawono*		Vanua Lava, Banks
Nduindui (83)	Duindui	Aoba

CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Nerauya	see Nvhal	Tanna
Nerokwang	see Lenakel	Tanna
Netensal	see Port Stanley	Malekula
Nevaar	see Timbembe	Malekula
Nevat	see Timbembe	Malekula
Ngala	see Paamese	Epi
Ngunese	see Efatese	Efate
Ninde	see Mewun	Malekula
Ninebulo	see Seke	Pentecost
Nokuku (40)		Santo
Nonona (36)		Santo
Norbarbar	see Lehali	Ureparapara, Banks
North Ambrym (91)	Embululi, Limbol, Loliwara, Magam, Olal, Pante	Ambrym
North-East Aoban (82)	Lolokaro, Lolopuepue, Lolsiwoi, Lombaha, Longana, Waluriki	Aoba
North Maewo (78)	Arata, Bangoro, Lotoro, Qarangave, Tanoriki, Tasmouri	Maewo
North Small Nambas	see Mae	Malekula
North Tanna (110)	Iteing, Itonga, Loanatit	Tanna
Novul-Amleg*		Erromanga
Nowai	see South-West Tanna	Tanna
Numerat	see Lenakel	Tanna
Nvhal (113)	Ikyoo, Nerauya	Tanna
Olal	see North Ambrym	Ambrym
Onua	see Unua	Malekula
Orierh	see Nakahai	Malekula
Paamese (96)	Laul, Lopevi, Ngala	Paama

CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Pak	see Vatrata	Vanua Lava, Banks
Pangkumu (55)	Tisman	Malekula
Pango	see Efatese	Efate
Pante	see North Ambrym	Ambrym
Paunangis	see Efatese	Efate
Pele	see Efatese	Efate
Penantsiro	see Akei	Santo
Peterara (79)		Maewo
Piamatsina	see Vunapu	Santo
Pilipili	see Akei	Santo
Polonombauk	see Butmas	Santo
Ponorwol	see Sa	Pentecost
Port Olry	see Sakau	Santo
Port Sandwich (51)	Lamap	Malekula
Port Stanley (59)	Lagalag, Litzlitz, Lolnarrong, Netensal	Malekula
Port Vato (94)		Ambrym
Potnariven	see Sie	Erromanga
Qarangave	see North Maewo	Maewo
Qatvenua	see Raga	Pentecost
Raga (84)	Lamalanga, Loltavola, Loltong, Qatvenua, Vunmarama	Pentecost
Rahna	see Lenakel	Tanna
Rano	see Wala-Rano	Malekula
Repanbitip (54)		Malekula
Roria (31)		Santo
Rowa (4)		Ureparapara, Banks
Sa (86)	Ponorwol	Pentecost
Sakau (15)	Hog Harbour, Port Olry	Santo

CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Sangali	see South-West Tanna	Tanna
Sasar	see Vatrata	Vanua Lava, Banks
Savan	see Malo	Santo
Seke (88)	Ninebulo	Pentecost
Seniang	see Sinesip	Malekula
Sesake	see Efatese	Shepherd Is.
Sesivi	see Dakaka	Ambrym
Shark Bay (17)	Litaro	Santo
Sie (107)	Enyau, Ifo, Potnariven, Sorng, Yoku	Erromanga
Sinesip (74)	Lamangkau, Nahapa, Seniang, South-West Bay	Malekula
Siviri	see Efatese	Efate
Sorng	see Sie	Erromanga
South-East Ambrym (95)	Taveak	Ambrym
South Maewo (81)		Maewo
South Small Nambas	see Letemboi	Malekula
South-West Bay	see Sinesip	Malekula
South-West Tanna (114)	Nowai, Sangali	Tanna
Sowa (87)		Pentecost
Tambotalo (21)		Santo
Tangoa (26)		Santo
Tanoriki	see North Maewo	Maewo
Tasiko (102)	Lemaroro	Epi
Tasiriki	see Akei	Santo
Tasmate (39)		Santo
Tasmouri	see North Maewo	Maewo
Taveak	see South-East Ambrym	Ambrym
Tekel	see Lehali	Ureparapara, Banks
Telag	see Vinmavis	Malekula

CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Teqel*	Alo Teqel	Vanua Lava, Banks
Tikipti	see Tolomako	Santo
Timbembe (57)	Bangasa, Grass Skirt, Katbol, Nevaar, Nevat	Malekula
Tisman	see Pangkumu	Malekula
Tobah	see Maragus	Malekula
Toga	see Loh-Toga	Torres
Tolomako (43)	Big Bay, Marina, Tikipti	Santo
Toman	see Nakahai	Malekula
Tongariki	see Namakuran	Shepherd Is.
Tongoan	see Efatese	Shepherd Is.
Tutuba (22)		Santo
Unua (56)	Onua	Malekula
Ura (108)		Erromanga
Uripiv (60)		Malekula
Utaha*		Erromanga
Utaone	see Efatese	Efate
Valpay	see Valpei	Santo
Valpei (41)	Valpay	Santo
Valuwa	see Motlav	Motalava, Banks
Vao (65)	Fooa	Malekula
Vartabo (52)	Banan Bay	Malekula
Vatrata (7)	Leon, Pak, Sasar	Vanua Lava, Banks
Vinmavis (71)	Banggor, Lambumbu, Telag, Winiv	Malekula
Volow	see Motlav	Motalava, Banks
Vovo	see Wowo	Malekula
Vunapu (42)	Piamatsina	Santo
Vunmarama	see Raga	Pentecost
Vuras	see Vureas	Vanua Lava, Banks

CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Vureas (8)	Vuras	Vanua Lava, Banks
Waesisi	see Whitesands	Tanna
Wailapa	see Akei	Santo
Wala-Rano (63)	Rano	Malekula
Waluriki	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Weasisi	see Whitesands	Tanna
Whitesands (111)	East Tanna, Napuanmen, Waesisi, Weasisi	Tanna
Wien*		Malekula
Wilemp*		Malekula
Winiv	see Vinmavis	Malekula
Wowo (66)	Vovo	Malekula
Wuli	see Bushman's Bay	Malekula
Wulua	see Wusi	Santo
Wusi (38)	Wulua	Santo
Yevali	see Bierebo	Epi
Yoku	see Sie	Erromanga

APPENDIX

Wordlist Used in Survey of New Hebrides Languages

1. head 2. hair (head) 3. ear 4. nose 5. tongue 6. tooth 7. eye
8. mouth 9. beard 10. chin 11. shoulder 12. upper arm 13. hand
14. thumb 15. neck 16. breasts 17. rib 18. belly 19. guts
20. heart 21. liver 22. navel 23. kidney 24. body hair 25. penis
26. testicles 27. vulva 28. back 29. right hand 30. left hand
31. lungs 32. excrement 33. vein 34. thigh 35. knee 36. leg
37. ankle 38. heel 39. foot 40. blood 41. bone 42. skin 43. sore
44. fat(n.) 45. sweat 46. tears 47. father 48. mother 49. child
50. man 51. woman 52. husband 53. name 54. person 55. wife
56. uncle (pat.) 57. uncle (mat.) 58. singsing 59. house 60. men's

house 61. door 62. story 63. pig 64. tusk 65. centipede 66. cray-
fish 67. dog 68. louse 69. fly(n.) 70. snake 71. egg 72. bird
73. animal 74. mosquito 75. fish 76. octopus 77. rat 78. shark
79. whale 80. stingray 81. butterfly 82. wing 83. ant 84. flying
fox 85. dolphin 86. grasshopper 87. scorpion 88. sea-snake 89. star-
fish 90. tail 91. turtle 92. spider web 93. biche de mer 94. feather
95. meat 96. food (vegetable) 97. yam 98. taro 99. sugar cane
100. sago 101. Canarium Almond 102. tree 103. leaf 104. arrowroot
105. dry coconut 106. coconut palm 107. banana 108. breadfruit
109. sago palm 110. sandalwood 111. flower 112. fruit 113. grass
114. root 115. woods 116. sun 117. moon 118. star 119. cloud
120. water 121. rain 122. river 123. sand 124. stone 125. salt
126. mountain 127. fire 128. smoke 129. ashes 130. road 131. wind
132. lightning 133. rainbow 134. earth 135. earthquake 136. hole
137. thunder 138. fog 139. lake 140. sea 141. sky 142. seed
143. stick 144. firewood 145. mud 146. wave 147. foam 148. canoe
149. paddle 150. anchor 151. outrigger 152. sail 153. dust 154. rope
155. bow 156. arrow 157. knife 158. axe 159. digging stick 160. fish
hook 161. spear 162. oven (earth) 163. fight(n.) 164. black
165. white 166. red 167. yellow 168. green 169. blind 170. deaf
171. big 172. small 173. good 174. bad 175. cooked 176. dead
177. dry 178. wet 179. lazy 180. heavy 181. light 182. sick
183. cold 184. dirty 185. dull 186. long 187. narrow 188. new
189. old 190. right (correct) 191. rotten 192. sharp 193. short
194. smooth 195. straight 196. thick 197. thin 198. wide 199. one
200. two 201. three 202. four 203. five 204. six 205. seven
206. eight 207. nine 208. ten 209. few 210. other 211. some
212. who 213. what 214. when 215. how many 216. many 217. where
218. work 219. warm 220. yesterday 221. tomorrow 222. night
223. year 224. day 225. I 226. thou 227. he 228. we pl.incl.
229. we pl.excl. 230. you pl. 231. they 232. we dl.incl. 233. we
dl.excl. 234. you dl. 235. they dl. 236. give 237. hit (with hand)
238. see 239. bite 240. hear 241. cry 242. die 243. vomit 244. go
245. come 246. swim 247. eat 248. stand 249. sit 250. call out
251. run 252. fall (coconut) 253. sleep 254. laugh 255. blow (fire)
256. hold 257. fly(vb.) 258. tie (rope) 259. spit 260. bark
261. breathe 262. burn 263. count 264. cut 265. dig 266. drink
267. fear 268. float 269. flow 270. kill 271. hunt 272. know
273. lie 274. live 275. play 276. pull 277. push 278. rub
279. say 280. scratch 281. sew 282. sing 283. smell 284. split
285. squeeze 286. stab 287. suck 288. swell 289. think 290. throw

291. turn 292. walk 293. wash 294. wipe 295. all 296. and 297. at
 298. because 299. far 300. here 301. how 302. if 303. in 304. near
 305. not 306. that 307. there 308. this 309. with.

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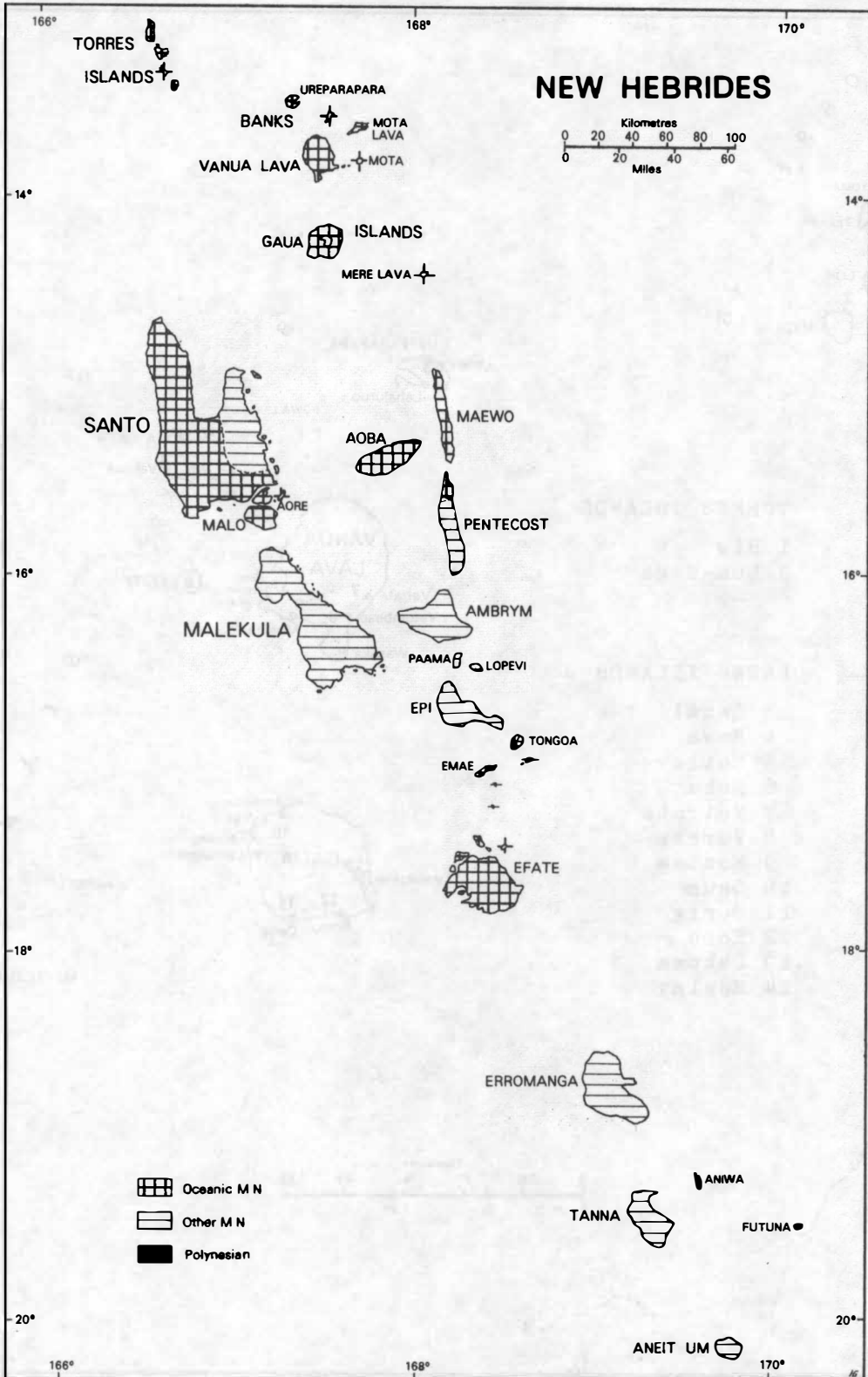
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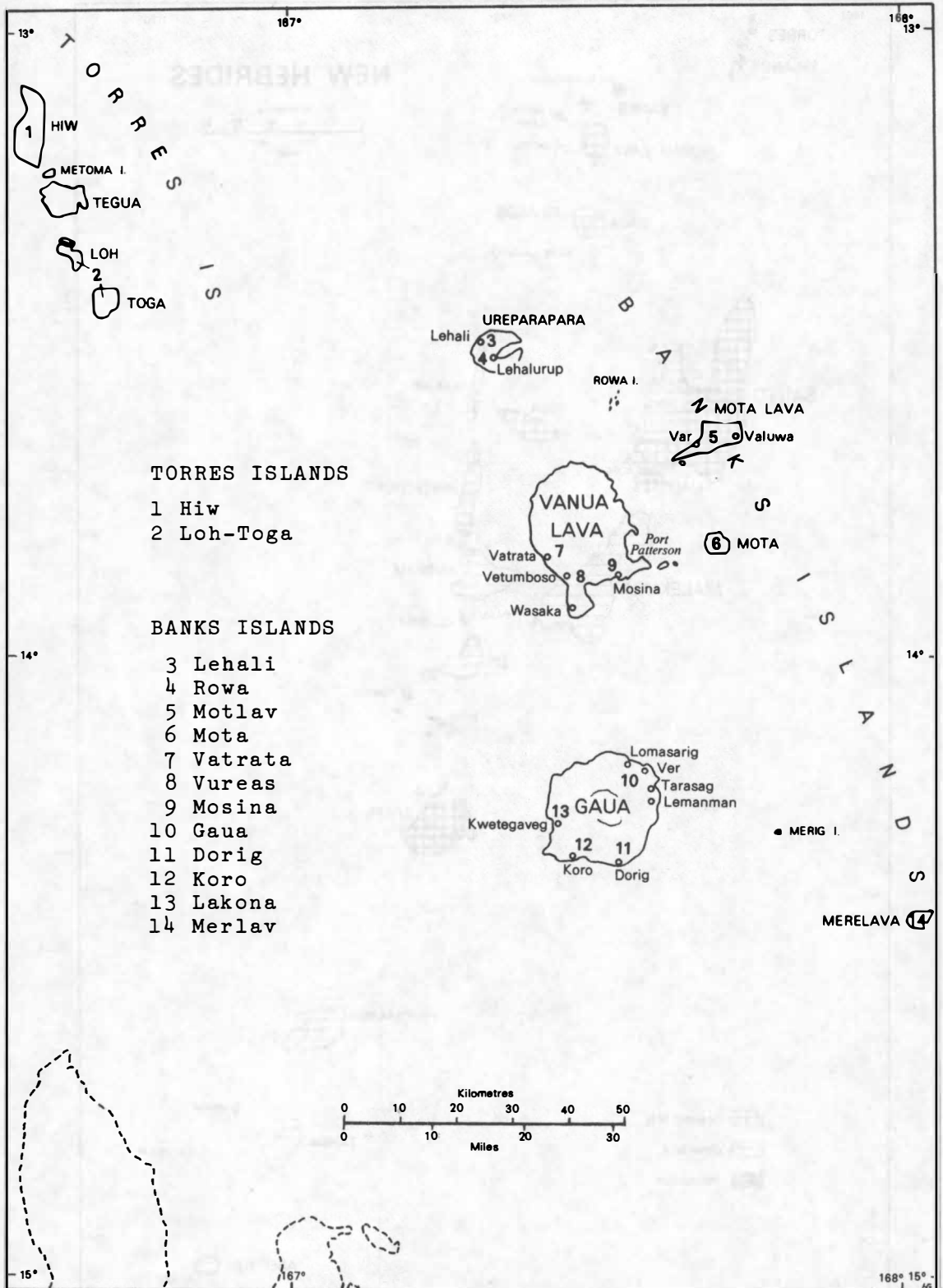
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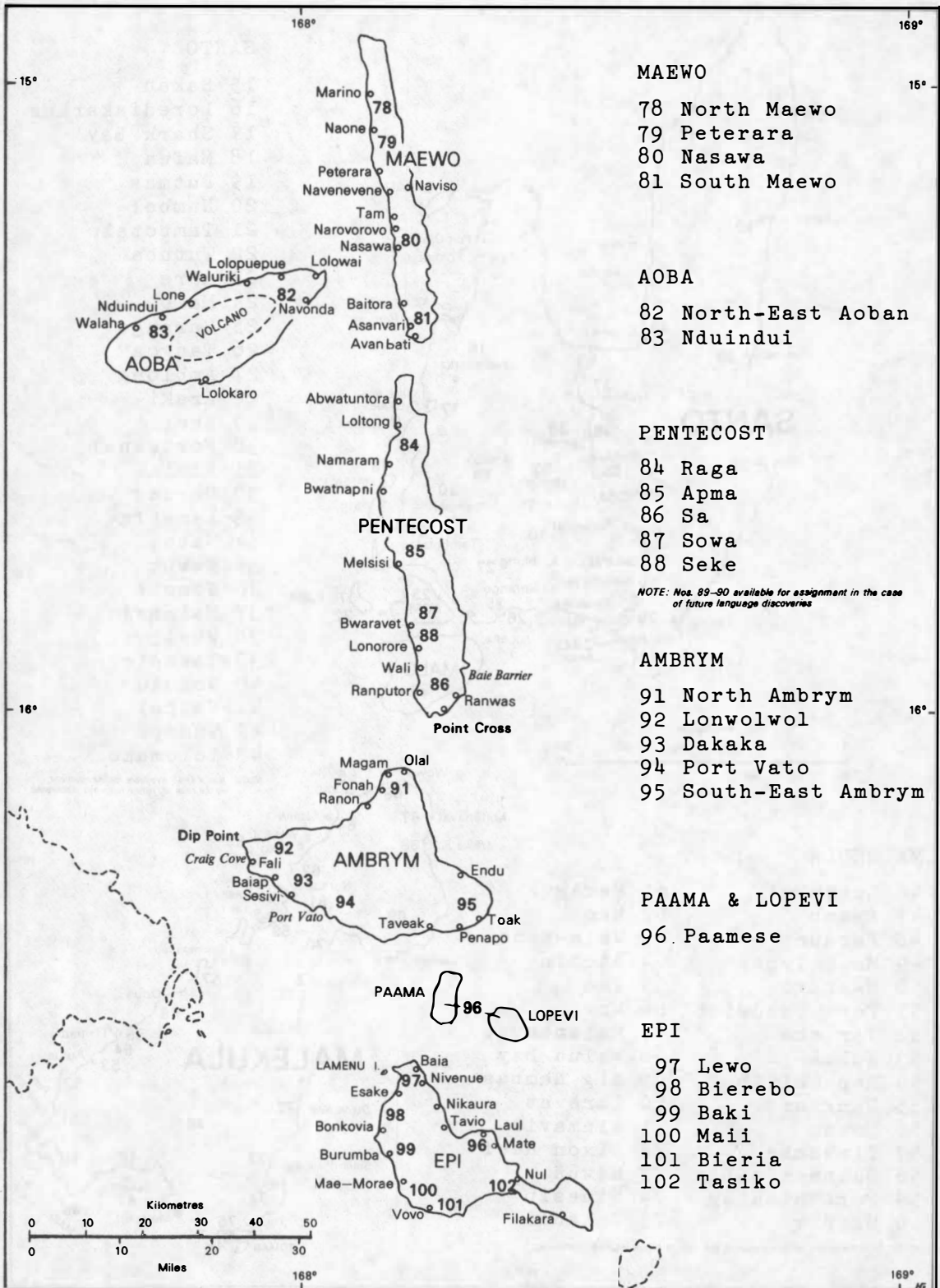
MAP I



MAP II



MAP III



MAEWO

- 78 North Maewo
- 79 Peterara
- 80 Nasawa
- 81 South Maewo

AOBA

- 82 North-East Aoban
- 83 Nduindui

PENTECOST

- 84 Raga
- 85 Apma
- 86 Sa
- 87 Sowa
- 88 Seke

NOTE: Nos. 89-90 available for assignment in the case of future language discoveries

AMBRYM

- 91 North Ambrym
- 92 Lonwolwol
- 93 Dakaka
- 94 Port Vato
- 95 South-East Ambrym

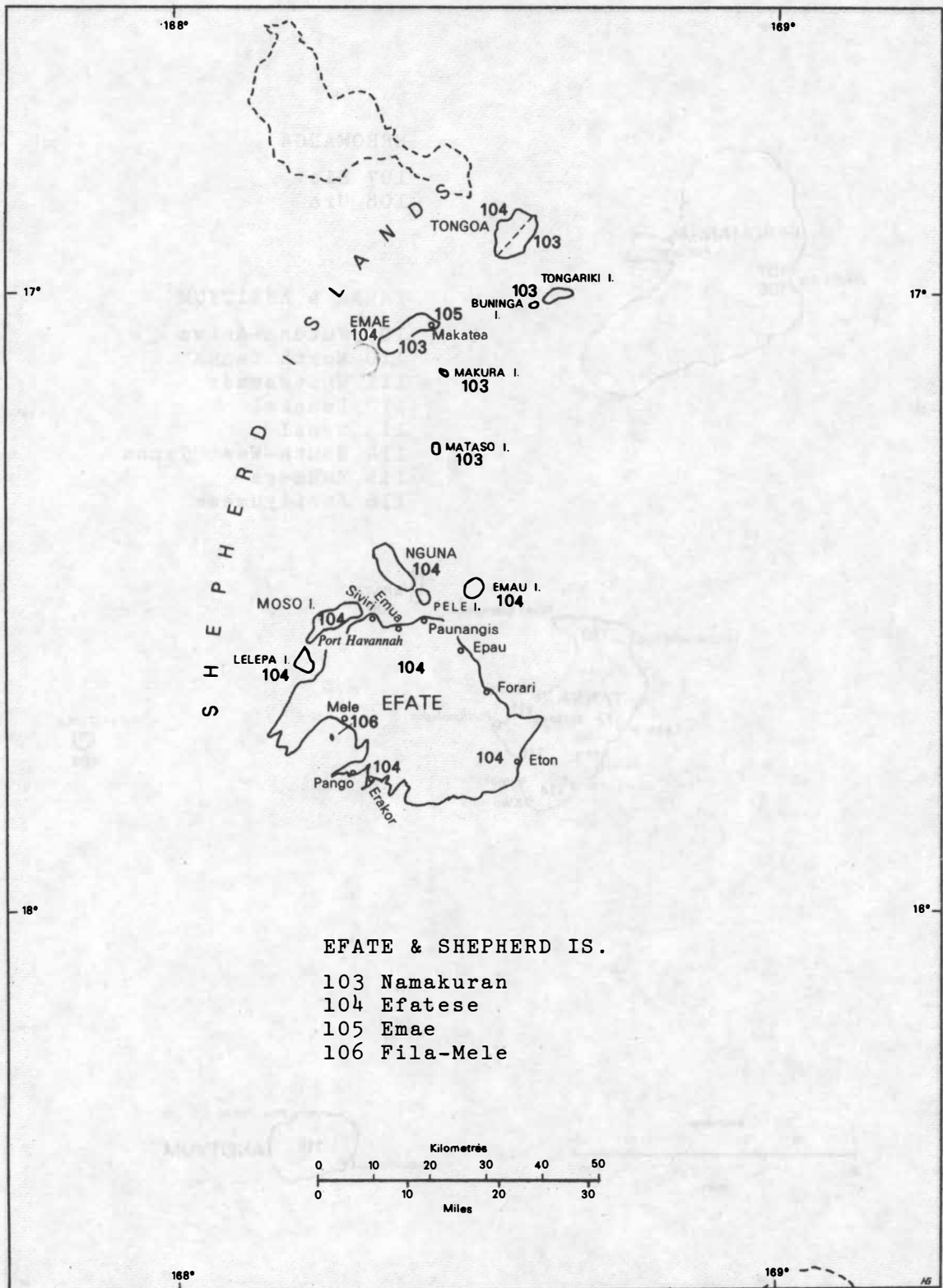
PAAMA & LOPEVI

- 96 Paamese

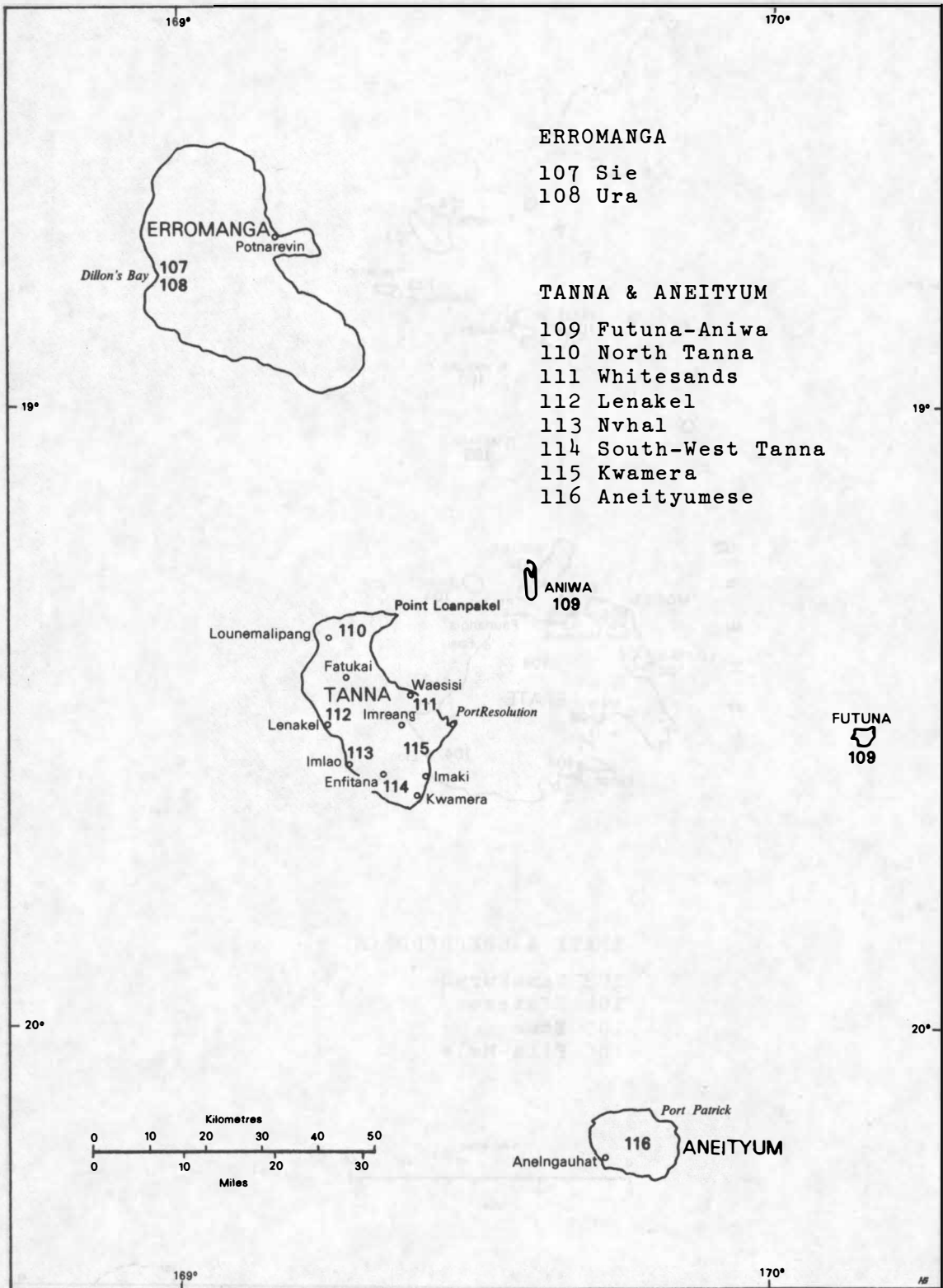
EPI

- 97 Lewo
- 98 Bierebo
- 99 Baki
- 100 Maii
- 101 Bieria
- 102 Tasiko

MAP IV



MAP V



MAP VI

NOTES ON THE INDICATION OF POSSESSION WITH NOUNS IN REEF AND SANTA CRUZ ISLANDS LANGUAGES

S.A. WURM

- 1.0. Introductory Remarks.
- 1.1. The Reef and Santa Cruz Islands Family.
- 1.2. Remarks on the Phonologies.
- 2.0. Indication of Possession.
- 2.1. General Remarks.
- 2.2. Personal Pronouns.
- 2.3. Possessive Suffixes.
- 2.4. Possession Markers and Possessive Classes.

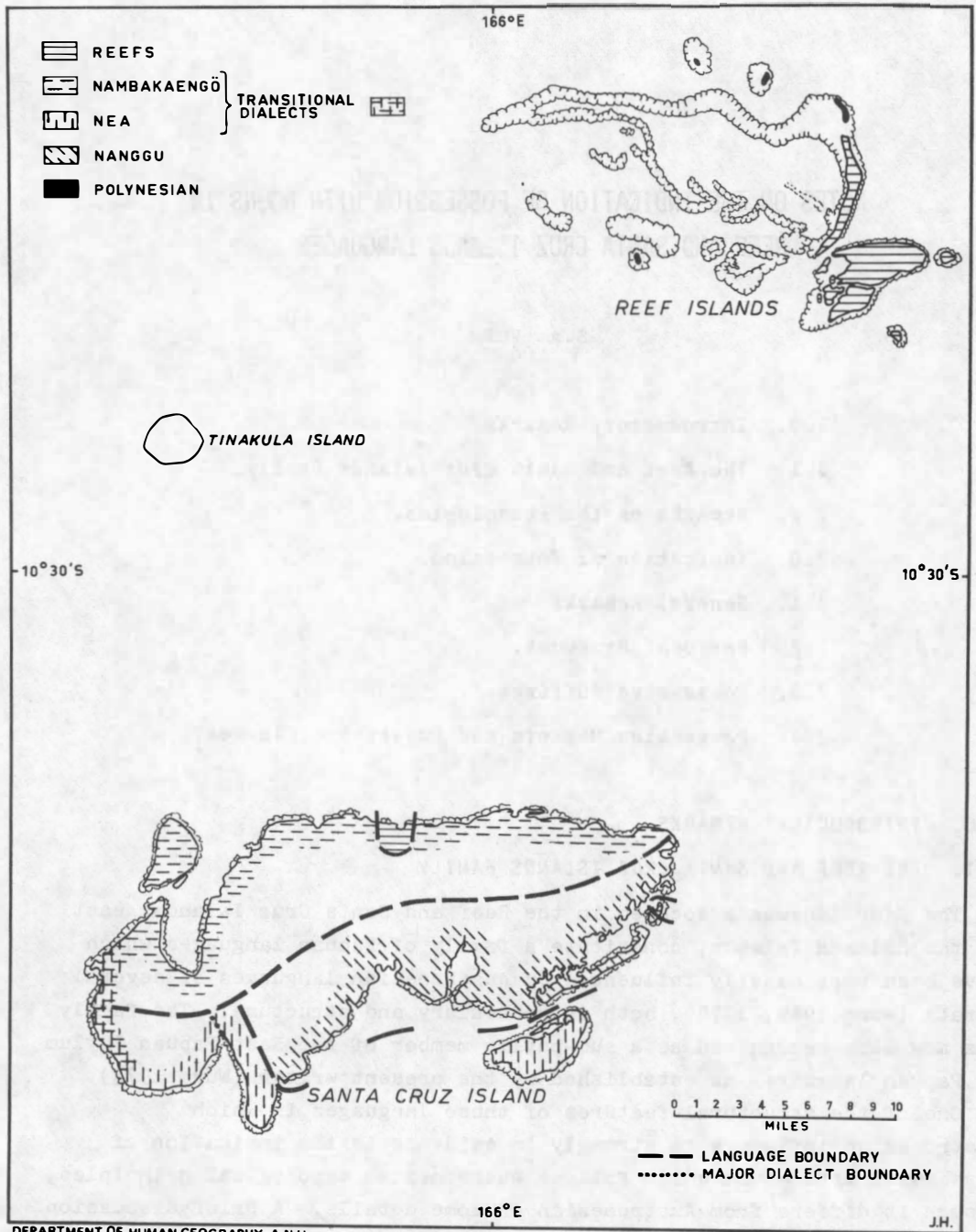
1.0. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

1.1. THE REEF AND SANTA CRUZ ISLANDS FAMILY

The four languages located in the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands, east of the Solomon Islands, constitute a family of Papuan languages which have been very heavily influenced by Austronesian languages of several strata (Wurm 1969, 1970), both in vocabulary and structure. The family has now been recognised as a sub-phylic member of the East Papuan Phylum of Papuan languages as established by the present writer (Wurm 1973).

One of the structural features of these languages in which Austronesian influence is strongly in evidence is the indication of possession with nouns which follows Austronesian typological principles, though it differs from Austronesian in some details. A brief discussion of these features in the four languages - one of them, Nea which consists

LANGUAGES, REEF AND SANTA CRUZ ISLANDS

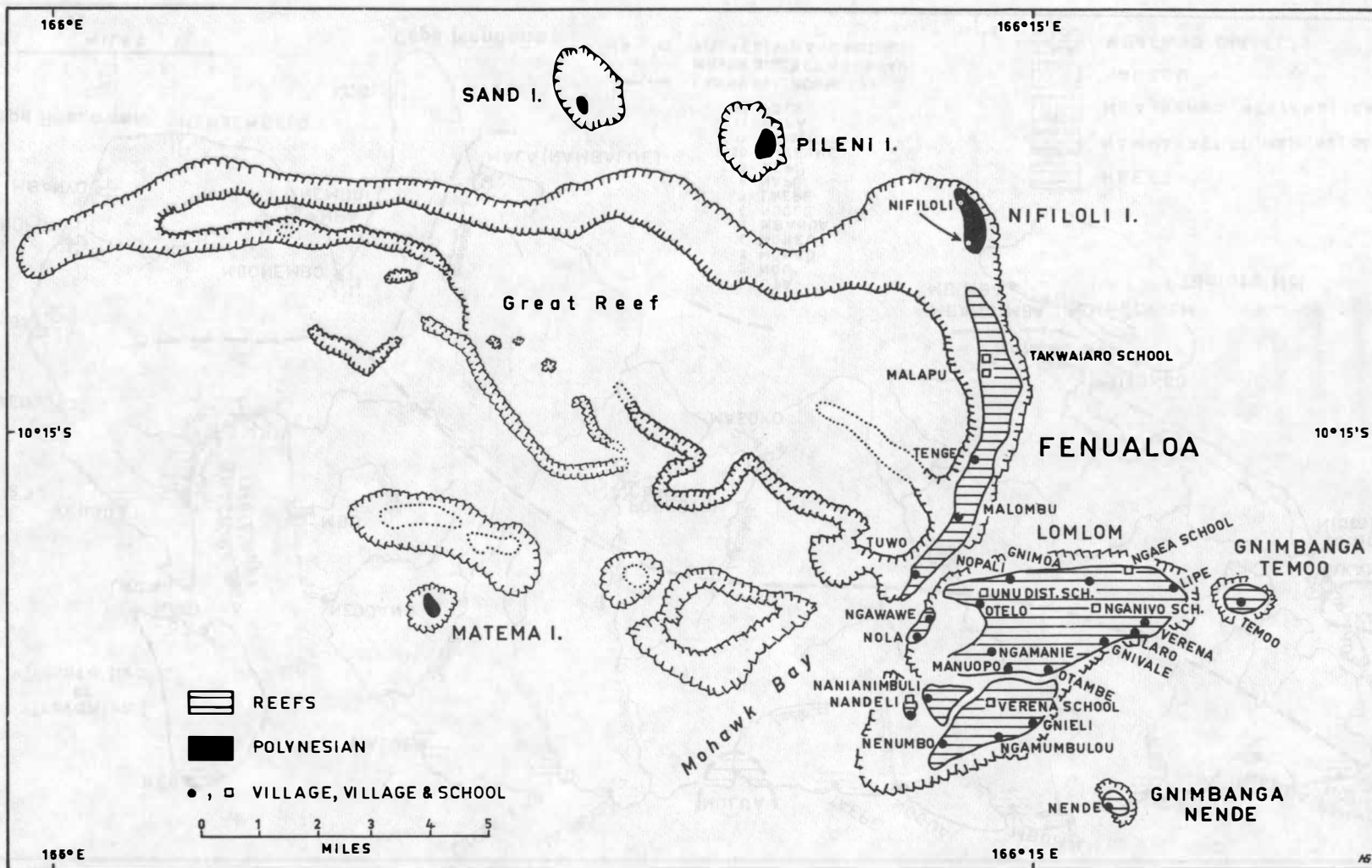


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J.H.

MAP 1

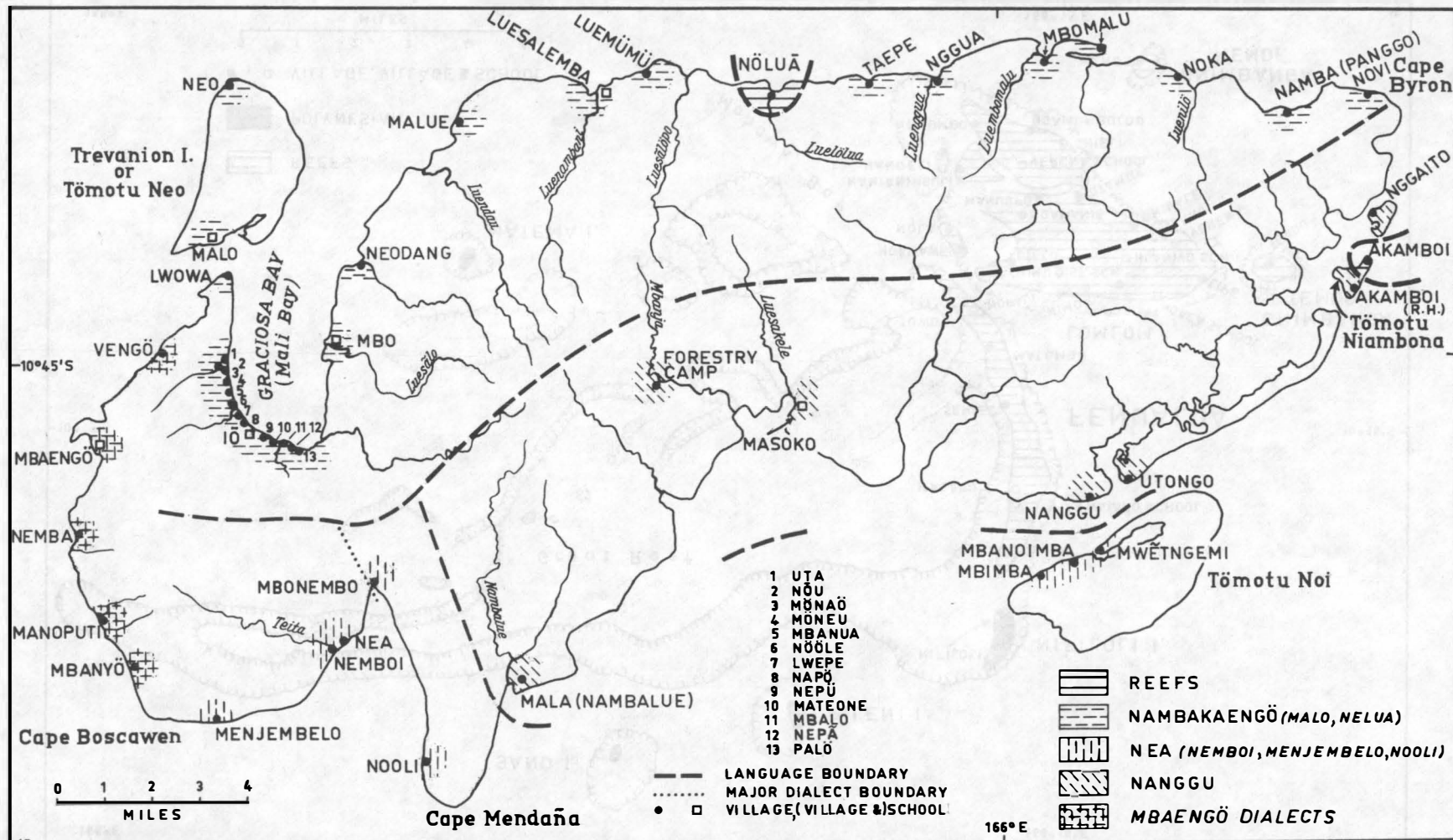
LANGUAGES, REEF ISLANDS



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MAP 2

LANGUAGES, SANTA CRUZ ISLAND



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NOTES

1. Voiced stops are prenasalised in Reefs and Malo. In Nemboi, Nooli and Nanggu they are prenasalised in the majority of their observed instances of occurrence. The conditioning factors responsible for the presence or absence of prenasalisation with them are still under study.
2. Vowel length seems to be phonemic in all five communalects, but long vowels are rare in Malo, Nemboi and Nooli. In Reefs and Nanggu they are frequent. In all the languages and dialects treated here, exception Nanggu, they manifest themselves phonetically as repeated articulations of their short equivalents, and will be written as double vowels. In Nanggu, they appear phonetically as lengthened versions of the short vowels, and will be written as V:.
3. Stress may prove to be phonemic, though some of the features of the stress pattern are predictable.
4. To indicate the phonetic values of the monophthongal vowel symbols used, a maximal vowel diagram will be given below. ~ indicates nasality which is phonemic.

i		ü	u	ĩ		ũ	ū
e			o	ẽ			õ
ɛ	ö	ə	ɔ		õ	õ	õ
ä			ɐ	ã			ã
		a				ã	

2.0. INDICATION OF POSSESSION

2.1. GENERAL REMARKS

In all the languages and dialects under discussion, possession is indicated by the addition of possessive suffixes to nouns denoting most relationships and many parts of the body, as well as a few other things (e.g. *name*). In Malo, Nemboi and Nooli, i.e. in the Nambakaengö (or Löndäi) and Nea languages, these suffixes appear in two distinct sets with different nouns belonging to the above categories which allows the sub-division of these nouns into two classes in these languages (see 2.3.2.).

The possessive suffixes - in Malo, Nemboi and Nooli one of the two sets of possessive suffixes - are generally the same as those added to the personal pronominal bases (see 2.2., 2.3.). Many nouns in the Santa Cruz languages undergo more or less extensive morphophonemic

changes and appear in two or several allomorphic forms, when possessive suffixes are added to them. This feature is more pronounced in Nanggu than in Malo, and only weakly in evidence in the Nea dialects. Most of the changes are morphologically conditioned.

With nouns denoting other objects, possession is expressed in all the languages by separate possession markers which follow the nouns, and to which the possessive suffixes are added. In Malo, Nemboi and Nooli these suffixes are generally those of the set appearing in the formation of the personal pronouns (see 2.2., 2.3.), though some special forms are present (see 2.3.1., 2.4.). In all the languages, the number of distinct possession markers is quite considerable, and in consequence, the nouns can be assigned to a range of possessive clauses which are different from, and cross-cutting with, the article classes and semantic classes which are also a feature of the languages of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands Family (Wurm 1969). At the same time, individual nouns can, for semantic reasons, belong to several distinct classes, e.g. *stone* in Malo can be a member of the holding class, i.e. $\text{əplə sɔ-ŋä} = \text{my stone}$ (*in my hand*) if the emphasis is on the fact that it is a stone which is held in one's hand, or of the utensils class, i.e. $\text{əplə kö-ŋä} = \text{my stone}$ (*for use as a tool*) if it is used as a tool, or of the specific food class, i.e. $\text{əplə na-nu} = \text{my stone}$ (*for use in the earth oven*) if it is a cooking stone, etc. Similarly, $\text{taki na-nu} = \text{my taro}$ (*for eating*), and $\text{taki nʷə-ŋä} = \text{my taro plant}$. However, in some cases, the membership of a noun to a particular class is not fully predictable: for instance, fighting arrows belongs to the utensils class, i.e. $\text{nip}^h\text{na kö-ŋä} = \text{my}$ (*fighting*) *arrow*, whereas fishing arrows are members of the holding class, i.e. $\text{tötəo sɔ-ŋä} = \text{my}$ (*fishing*) *arrow*. In this case, the class membership of $\text{tötəo} = \text{fishing arrow}$ reflects its origin from the Polynesian fishing spear ($\text{p0 *tao} = \text{spear}$) which is a hand-held utensil taken over by the Santa Cruz islanders from the Polynesians together with its name, but used as an arrow like the fighting arrow whose name is also of Austronesian origin ($\text{p0 *panaq} = \text{arrow}$).

The possession markers are also placed between nouns to indicate possessive relations between them (e.g. *the man's dog*). In Reefs, they appear in the third person singular forms in this function, whereas in the Santa Cruz languages, they are almost exclusively used in their basic forms, without possessive suffixes added to them.

2.2. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

In all the languages of the family, the personal pronouns are formed by the addition of suffixes which are largely the same as those added to nouns and possession markers to denote possession, to an unchangeable base which is *ju-* (in the first and second persons) and *i-* (in the third person) in Reefs and *ni-* in the Santa Cruz languages. All the languages have an inclusive-exclusive contrast in the first person non-singular, and all distinguish one extra number in the first person non-singular inclusive: the Santa Cruz languages have singular and plural forms in all persons, and a dual form in the first person inclusive, Reefs has singular, dual and plural forms throughout, plus a trial form in the first person inclusive.

The personal pronouns are as follows:

	Reefs	Malo	Nemboi	Nooli	Nanggu
1sg.	<i>ju</i>	<i>ni-ŋä</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni-ŋa</i>	<i>ni</i>
2sg.	<i>ju-mu</i>	<i>ni-m</i>	<i>ni-m</i>	<i>ni-m</i>	<i>ni-m</i>
3sg.	<i>i-na</i>	<i>ni-de</i>	<i>ni-de</i>	<i>ni-de</i>	<i>ni-de</i>
1dl. incl.	<i>ju-dvi</i>	<i>ni-gi</i>	<i>ni-gi</i>	<i>ni-gi</i>	<i>ni-da</i>
1dl. excl.	<i>ju-ŋole</i>	-	-	-	-
2dl.	<i>ju-mile</i>	-	-	-	-
3dl.	<i>ju-dvile</i>	-	-	-	-
1tl. incl.	<i>ju-dele</i>	} absent from the Santa Cruz languages.			
1tl. excl.	-				
2tl.	-				
3tl.	-				
1pl. incl.	<i>ju-de</i>	<i>ni-gu</i>	<i>ni-go</i>	<i>ni-go</i>	<i>ni-dam^we</i>
1pl. excl.	<i>ju-ŋo</i>	<i>ni-gö</i>	<i>ni-gomu</i>	<i>ni-gö</i>	<i>ni-go</i>
2pl.	<i>ju-mi</i>	<i>ni-mu</i>	<i>ni-m^wi</i>	<i>ni-mu</i>	<i>ni-m^we</i>
3pl.	<i>ju-dvi</i>	<i>ni-dö</i>	<i>ni-gö</i>	<i>ni-ne</i>	<i>ni-ŋö</i>

2.3. POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

2.3.1. Basic Forms

The possessive suffixes appearing with nouns and possession markers differ from those entering into the formation of the personal pronouns

in the following respects, or call for the following comments:

Reefs

The basic lexical form of those nouns to which possessive suffixes are directly added, is at the same time the form denoting possession by the first person singular. Possessive suffixes of the other persons are added to this basic form, e.g. *nime* = *hand* = *my hand*; *your* (sg.) *hand* = *nime-mu*.

Instead of by the appearance of the suffix *-na* as found with the personal pronouns, possession by the third person singular is indicated by the change of the final vowel of the basic singular form to *-ä*, e.g. *nimä* = *his hand*. To denote possession by the third person plural and dual, *-i* and *-i-le* are suffixed to this *-ä*, e.g. *nimä-i* = *their hands*, *nimä-i-le* = *their two's hands*.

Another example: *nääŋu* = *name* = *my name*, *nääŋu-mu* = *your* (sg.) *name*, *nääŋa* = *his name*, *nääŋä-i* = *their name(s)*, *nääŋä-i-le* = *their two's name(s)*.

If the basic form of a noun ends in *-u* with *-a-* preceding it, *-u* is dropped before a possessive suffix of a person other than the first singular, and possession by the third person singular is indicated by the *-a* of the basic form, with the stress remaining on *-a* if it carried it in the basic form, e.g. *nuo'tau* = *head* = *my head*, *nuo'ta-mu* = *your* (sg.) *head*, *nuo'ta* = *his head*, *nuo'ta-i* = *their heads*, *nuo'ta-i-le* = *their two's heads*.

The possessive suffix of the first person singular with possession markers is *-u* or \emptyset , but some special forms occur in addition which is also the case with the third person singular forms of the possession markers.

Malo

The following special possessive suffixes appear with possession class markers in Malo: with the general food class marker (see 2.4.2., class 2.), the first person singular possessive suffix is *-ŋu*, e.g. *dakanəŋü tä-ŋu* = *my food*; with the specific food class marker (see 2.4.2., class 3.) it is *-nu*, e.g. *taki na-nu* = *my taro*.

Nemboi

The suffix added to the personal pronominal base *ni-* in the first person singular is \emptyset , but the appropriate possessive suffix of that person with nouns and possession markers is *-nu*, e.g. *nawö* = *head*,

nawö-nu = *my head* (for the second series of possessive suffixes see 2.3.2.), lökö na-nu = *my taro*. In the utensils class marker (see 2.4.3., class 4.), the first person possessive suffix is -tu, e.g. nüwi gö-tu = *my string*.

Nooli

The possessive suffix of the third person singular with nouns and possession markers is in some cases -dye, and that of the third person plural in some -nye, e.g. le-dye = *his father*, laole-nye = *their mother*. In the first person singular, the special possessive suffix -mwa appears with the food class marker (see 2.4.4., class 2.), e.g. böpi ne-mwa = *my banana*, and also as a suffix added to nouns denoting edibles which are not accompanied by the food class marker, e.g. datenai-mwa = *my food*. With the independent contents class marker (see 2.4.4., class 7.) the first person singular possessive suffix is -na, e.g. kaki ö-na = *my wound*.

Nanggu

The possessive suffix of the first person singular is -θ, with special forms appearing with the possessive markers, but in nouns which have two or several allomorphic forms according to the person of the possessive suffix added to them (see 2.1.) the form denoting possession by the first person singular is either allomorphically unique, or the same as that appearing in conjunction with one or two other possessive suffixes, mostly of the first person in a non-singular number, e.g. *breast (female)*: *my* = nöthi, *your (sg.)* = nöyö-m, *her* = nöye-de, *our (excl.)* = nöyo-go; *mother*: *my* = ise, with all other persons: iso- + possessive suffix; *nose*: *my* = döthum, *your (sg.)* = döthü-m, *his* = döthü-de, *our two's (incl.)* = döthu-da, *our (incl.)* = döthü-damwe, *our (excl.)* = döthu-go, *your (pl.)* = döthü-mwe, *their* = döthü-ηö.

2.3.2. Two Sets of Possessive Suffixes in Malo, Nemboi and Nooli

As has been mentioned before (see 2.1.), possessive suffixes appearing with some of the nouns to which such suffixes are directly added in the three communalects listed above differ formally from those given and discussed in 2.2. and 2.3. for Malo, Nemboi and Nooli. This makes it possible to assign the nouns which, in these communalects, take possessive suffixes directly, to two distinct classes. In Nooli, this phenomenon is only weakly in evidence, and nouns appearing with the special possessive suffixes rarely display full ranges of them.

Generally speaking, the second set of possessive suffixes differs from the first in having mostly voiceless initials in place of the voiced ones of the first set, but there are other differences as well.

The second set is as follows:

	Malo	Nemboi	Nooli
1sg.	-kä	-lu ^v -tu	-da ^v -ta
2sg.	-p	-p ^w i	-p
3sg.	-te	-te	-te
1dl. incl.	-ki	-ki	-ki
1pl. incl.	-ku	-kɔ	-kɔ
1pl. excl.	-kō	-kɔmu	-kō
2pl.	-pu	-p ^w i ^v -ŋəm ^w i	-pu
3pl.	-tō	-kō	-de

Examples: Malo: *intestines* = bə, *my* = bə-kä, *your* (sg.) = bə-p, *his* = bə-te, *our two's* (incl.) = bə-ki, etc.; Nemboi: *eye* = num^wə, *my* = num^wə-lu, *your* (sg.) = num^wəp^wi, *his* = num^wə-te, *our two's* (incl.) = nūm^wə-ki, *our* (incl.) = nūm^wə-kɔ, etc.; Nooli: m^wä-da = *my eye*, m^wä-p = *your* (sg.) *eye*, pulem^wa-kō = *our* (excl.) *forehead*, etc.

2.4. POSSESSION MARKERS AND POSSESSIVE CLASSES

2.4.1. Reefs

In Reefs, ten different possession markers have been found to date, which gives a total of eleven possessive classes with the class of nouns to which possessive suffixes are added directly, unless those nouns of the latter category which end in -a-u are regarded as an additional class (see 2.3.1.) which would give a total of twelve. The possession markers (and possessive classes) are as follows (because of the presence of morphophonemic changes and some irregular suffixes, the full range of the singular and plural forms will be given with each marker, with the incl. form preceding the excl. in the plural. Most dual and trial forms are regularly derived from the plural forms through the addition of -le, and the first person dual incl. form in -d^wi is modelled on the first person plural incl. form in -de):

1. General possession class; marker: nou, nomu, no, noude, nouŋo, noumi, noi.

Nouns belonging to it denote objects which do not fall under the categories discussed below in connection with the other classes, and which are possessed in a general way.

Examples: n^yiivä nou = *my stone*, n^yena no = *his tree*, numumulo nod^yi = *our two's (incl.) butterfly*.

2. Food class; marker: nugo, namu, na, nade, nugono, nami, nai.

Nouns of this class indicate articles of food and objects and utensils which are associated with food in some way, such as fishing spears, digging sticks, cooking stones for the earth oven, axes, knives, etc.

Examples: nub^wole nugo = *my taro*, n^yiivä na = *his (cooking) stones*, nawab^wi nai = *their digging sticks*, nuoli nugono = *our knives*.

3. Drink class; marker: num^wo, num^womu, num^wä, num^wode, num^wono, num^womi, num^wäi.

Nouns of this class denote potables, as well as sugarcane.

Examples: nuoi num^wo = *my water (for drinking)*, nau num^wä = *his sugarcane*.

4. Betel class; marker: dano, damu, da, dade, da^o, dami, dai.

Nouns of this class denote betel nuts and objects used in connection with chewing betel such as lime, lime gourds, lime spatulas, etc.

Examples: numatäpi dano = *my betelnut*, nepä da = *his lime spatula*.

5. Utensils class; marker: nugu, nugumu, nogo, nugude, nugono, nugumi, nogoi.

Nouns belonging to this class refer to tools, utensils, and things used for achieving some purpose, unless they belong to the food class (see 2) above).

Examples: d^yääp^wa nugu = *my bow*, si^o nogo = *his lie*, lolop^wa nugono = *our (excl.) story*, n^yäw^wo nogoi = *their talk*.

6. Immovables and location class; marker: to, tomu, tä, tode, to^o, tomi, täi.

Nouns belonging to this class indicate things which are located somewhere. Many of these are not readily moveable, such as houses, islands, valleys, etc.

Examples: nuop^wä to = *my house*, temotu täi = *their island*, numoba to^o = *our (excl.) valley*.

7. Flower and fruit class; marker: denou, denomu, deno, donode, denono, denomi, denoi.

Nouns denoting flowers and fruits (as far as the latter do not belong to the food class) and nuup^wa = *flower* and nua = *fruit* constitute this class, e.g. nuup^wa denou = *my flower*, nua deno = *his fruit (not for eating)*.

8. Toe class?; marker: nako, nakomu, nikä, nakode, nakoŋo, nakomi, nikäi.

Only the word nagago = *toe* has so far been found to belong to this class; e.g. nagago nika = *his toe*. There has been uncertainty about this class marker and disagreement amongst the informants about it. Some of them used nuku = *foot* after nagago, adding the possessive suffixes to nuku, i.e. nagago nuku-mu = *your (sg.) toe*, and using the form nʷikä for the third person singular. In this usage, nuku functions like a class marker and can be regarded as such.

9. Wound class; marker: ŋagu, ŋagumu, ŋago, ŋagude, ŋaguŋo, ŋagumi, ŋagoi.

This is basically not a real class marker, but the preposition ŋag(u)- signalling the indirect object of verbs. However, when placed after nouns it functions as a possession marker and can be included here.

Nouns denoting wounds belong to this class.

Example: nʷebʷali ŋagu = *my wound*.

10. Skin and bone class; marker: nisi, nisimu, nisä, niside, nisiŋo, nisimi, nisäi.

This marker is one of the words for *body* which functions as a possession marker.

Nouns indicating bone, skin and skin blemishes belong to this class.

Examples: neve nisi = *my bone*, lage nisä = *his skin*, topalu nisimu = *your (sg.) sore*.

2.4.2. Malo

In Malo, fourteen different possession markers have so far been found. Together with the two classes of nouns to which possessive suffixes are directly added (see 2.3.2.) this gives a total of sixteen possessive classes. The semantic distribution of the classes is somewhat comparable to that encountered in Reef, and there is formal similarity between a few of the class markers in the two languages.

The possession markers (and possessive classes) are as follows (only the basic forms of the markers will be given in most cases because the addition of the possessive suffixes - see 2.2. for their forms - to them is generally regular and most of the markers themselves are not subject to morphophonemic changes. The few irregularities occurring will be indicated):

1. General possession class; marker: na- ~ ne-.

The allomorph ne- appears in 1, 2sg. and 2pl. When the noun to which the marker is added ends in -i or -ü.

Nouns included in this class denote objects which do not belong to the categories referred to below in connection with the other classes. This includes nouns which may appear as members of other classes, but which are referred to as possessed in a way which differs from the possibilities discussed under the other class headings. For instance, a pigeon looked upon as a food bird belongs to the specific food class (see 2. below), i.e. bona na-nu = *my pigeon (for eating)*, whereas a pigeon of the same kind kept as a pet belongs to the general possession class, i.e. bona nä-ŋä = *my (pet) pigeon*. In general, this class includes persons - except for relatives (see 2.1.) and affines (see below, class 11.) - animals, birds and fishes and things associated with them referred to without the purpose of eating in mind; reptiles and insects, natural phenomena and objects in nature such as the sun, moon, stars, clouds, wind, rain, etc., and others.

Examples: nɔblo nä-m = *your (sg.) man*, kuli ne-m = *your (sg.) dog*, kionöwü ne-ŋä = *my (pet) bird*, neimö toak^he nä-ŋä = *my seagull's egg (for playing)* (as opposed to neimö toak^he na-nu = *my seagull's egg (for eating)*), bep^hu nä-ŋä = *my lizard*, mɔ nä-ŋä = *my fly*, nepi ne-ŋä = *my sun*, vei ne-mu = *your (pl.) stars*.

2. General food class; marker: tä-.

The possessive suffix of the first person singular is -ŋu, not the usual -ŋä.

Only the noun dakänəŋu = *food* has so far been found to belong to this class, e.g. dakänəŋü tä-ŋu = *my food*, dakänəŋü tä-de = *his food*. However, this word can also be used with the possession marker na-nu etc. of the specific food class (see 3. below).

3. Specific food class; marker: 1sg. na-nu, 3sg., 3pl. na- + possessive suffix, all others: nä- + possessive suffix.

This class marker overlaps in the majority of its forms with that of the general possession class (see above, 1.).

Nouns of this class denote specific foodstuffs, be it vegetable (excluding sugarcane which belongs to the drink class) or animal, and some utensils associated with cooking, eating, such as pots, plates, cooking stones, knives, axes and baskets. Some of the utensils associated with garden food such as knives, axes and baskets can also belong to the garden utensils clan (see below, 8.) if the focus is on their use as gardening tools.

Examples: *taki na-nu = my taro, taki nä-m = your (sg.) taro, nalu na-nu = my coconut (for eating), mälu^hə na-nu = my flying fox (for eating), əplə nä-gö = our (excl.) cooking stones, kənöbɔ na-nu = my axe.*

4. Drink class; marker: pü-.

Nouns of this class indicate potables and also sugarcane.

Examples: *lue pü-ŋä = my water (for drinking), nälü pü-dö = their sugarcane.*

5. Betel class; marker: ma-.

Nouns of this class denote betel nuts and objects used in conjunction with chewing betel such as betel lime, lime gourds, lime spatulas, etc.

Examples: *kalva ma-ŋä = my betel nut, päi ma-m = your (sg.) betel leaf, nöakä ma-gö = our (excl.) betel lime.*

6. Holding class; marker: sɔ-

Nouns belonging to this class refer to objects that can, and often or usually are, held in one's hand, e.g. a stone, bow, club, sand, soil, etc., and also fishing arrows and bird arrows.

Examples: *əplə sɔ-ŋä = my stone (in my hand), döthö sɔ-de = his sand (or soil) (in his hand), pöpö sɔ-m = your (sg.) bow, tobu sɔ-gu = our (incl.) (flat-ended) bird arrow.*

7. Utensils class; marker: kö-.

Nouns of this class denote an array of utensils and similar objects such as canoes, paddles, fishing nets, fighting arrows, bags, articles of clothing, etc.

Examples: *nöbmü kö-ŋä = my canoe, nöə kö-dö = their paddles, bö kö-m = your (sg.) fishing net, (see also classes 10., 11. and 13.) nääku kö-de = his clothing, nip^hna kö-gö = our (excl.) fighting arrows, bäki kö-gi = our two's (incl.) bags.*

8. Garden utensils class; marker: nɔ-.

Nouns of this class indicate a number of tools and objects which are linked with obtaining food from gardens, such as axes, knives, baskets and the like (see also the discussion of the specific food class in 3. above).

Examples: *kənöbɔ nɔ-ŋä = my axe, toki nɔ-de = his knife, toplə nɔ-m = your (sg.) basket (can also be a member of the utensils class (see 7. above).*

9. Location class; marker: nʎə- ~ nʎa- ~ nʎö- ~ nʎo-.

The allomorph nʎa- appears when the noun preceding the marker ends in -u or -ü, nʎö- after final -o, ö and -ə, nʎo after final -a and -ɔ, and nʎə- after other finals, with nasal vowels apparently having the same influence as their non-nasal equivalents.

Nouns belonging to this class denote things which are located somewhere. Many of these are immovable or at least not readily movable.

Examples: tömotu nʎa-gö = *our (excl.) island*, lɔlö nʎö-ŋä = *my garden*, döthö nʎo-m = *your (sg.) ground*, bü nʎa-dö = *their ashes*, taki nʎə-ŋä = *my taro plant*, dopwe nʎə-m = *your (sg.) sea*, esikapu nʎa-ŋa = *my smoke (sitting in the air)* (see also the purpose and fire classes in 10. and 11. below).

10. Purpose class; marker: nö-.

Nouns belonging to this class indicate objects which serve a certain purpose.

Examples: nʎö nö-ŋä = *my fire (which serves a certain purpose)*, esikapu nö-mu = *your (pl.) smoke (which serves a certain purpose)* (see also the location and fire classes in 9. and 13.), bö nö-ŋä = *a net for me* (compare also bö nö mɔnidü = *mosquito net, i.e. net for mosquitoes*).

11. Dependent contents class; marker: ŋö-.

This class contains nouns indicating objects which constitute contents of other things, on the understanding that the contents only came into existence when the container came into being, or normally cannot exist independently from their container. Alternatively, the contents and the container form an inseparable whole and represent a single concept. For instance, nouns of this class include names of body parts with which possession is not expressed by the simple addition of suffixes (see 2.1.), and also the words for *husband* and *wife*.

Examples: mäpʎö ŋö-ŋä = *my blood*, toto ŋö-m = *your (sg.) (body) fat*, növö ŋö-gö = *our (excl.) bones*, nöwö ŋö-dö = *their flesh*, nɔblo ŋö-de = *her husband*, doka ŋö-de = *his spirit* (in the meaning of *God* in the Christian Missionary usage, the word dökä belongs to the general possession class discussed above under 1.). The word bö = *net* has also been found as a member of dependent contents class, in the meaning of *a net full of fish*, i.e. bö ŋö-ŋä = *my full net*.

12. Independent contents class; marker: ö-.

Nouns of this class indicate objects which are contents of other things, but which existed in some form or other before their present

container came into being, or which can be, and often are, separated from their container and can exist independently from it.

Examples: *näkü ö-ḡä* = *my (pre-European) clothing*, *näkü ö-m* = *your (sg.) (pre-European) clothing*. The word for *liver*, *sate*, also belongs to this class, i.e. *sate ö-ḡä* = *my liver* - the reason appears to be mythological.

The contrast between the dependent contents class (11.) and this independent contents class can be seen very clearly in noun phrases involving two nouns in possessive relation (see 2.1.), e.g. *nṯōpou ḡö mʷa nʷo-ḡä* = *a post of my house*, i.e. a post already built into it, *nṯōpou ö mʷa nʷo-ḡä* = *a post of my house*, i.e. a post which is ready to be put into my house, but is not yet part of it, or alternatively, a post in my house referred to with the focus on the fact that the post pre-existed the house in the shape of a tree.

It is interesting to see that the names of some body parts which are denoted by noun phrases containing two nouns in possessive relation often involve the marker *ö* though the parts referred to by the two nouns can not in all cases move independently from each other, e.g. *nöätoki ö mü* = *finger (of arm/hand)*, *töpuḷü ö mü* = *elbow (of arm/hand)*, *tokovi ö mü* = *fingernail (of arm/hand) (analogy?)*.

13. Fire class; marker: *mnö-*.

This class contains nouns which denote things associated with fire and warmth such as fire itself, smoke (these can also be members of other classes, see 9. and 10. above), firewood, blankets, mats, lamps, light and also mosquito bites and other things associated with mosquito bites such as mosquito nets.

Examples: *nʷö mnö-ḡä* = *my fire*, *esikapu mnö-gö* = *our (excl.) smoke*, *nanö mnö-de* = *his firewood*, *nüni mnö-gu* = *our (incl.) mats*, *bö mnö-ḡä* = *my mosquito net* (in contrast to *bö kö-ḡä* = *my fishing net* - see 7. - see also 10.).

14. Parts of lower leg class; marker: *nʷḍ-*.

Nouns of this class indicate parts of the lower leg such as calf, shin bone, foot, etc.

This possession marker is derived from *nanʷḍ* = *leg* through the omission of the article *na-*.

Examples: *sate nʷḍ-ḡä* = *my calf* (also *sate ö nanʷḍ-ḡä* = *liver of my leg*), *mätövö nʷḍ-m* = *your (sg.) shinbone*.

2.4.3. Nemboi

In Nemboi, only eight possession markers have been found to date, and it seems clear that this comparative paucity of possession class markers and classes is a feature of the Nea language in which Nemboi belongs to the western major dialect, and not only due to the limited amount of the materials assessed. Some important classes met with in the other languages such as the location class, are absent from Nemboi. Together with the two classes of nouns to which possessive suffixes are directly added (see 2.3.2.), this gives a total of ten possessive classes.

The possessive class markers (and classes) are as follows (only the basic forms of the markers will be given in each case because the addition of the possessive suffixes - see 2.2. and 2.3.1. for their forms - is generally regular, and the markers themselves are not subject to morphophonemic changes. The few irregularities occurring will be mentioned):

1. General possession class; marker: *nɛ-*.

Nouns belonging to this class belong to a very wide range of categories: persons (excluding relatives - see 2.1. - and affines - see below, class 8.), inedible animals, birds, reptiles and fishes (or edible ones referred to without the purpose of eating in mind), things located somewhere and generally not readily movable such as the ground, islands, valleys, paths, villages, houses, trees, etc., not directly palpable objects and phenomena in nature such as the sun, moon, stars, sky, rain, etc., flowers, and others.

Examples: *nūŋə nɛ-de* = *his man*, *obʷɛ nɛ-nu* = *my child*, *nō:lu nɛ-mu* = *your (sg.) stingray*, *nübʷa nɛ-gō* = *their shark (i.e. which they caught, without thinking of eating it)* (as opposed to *nübʷa na-gō* = *their shark (for eating)*), *uto nɛ-gɔmu* = *our (excl.) bird*, *bō nɛ-de* = *his butterfly* (also *bō na-de*), *meiθhə nɛ-mʷe* = *your (pl.) ground*, *mətalja nɛ-gɔ* = *our (incl.) village*, *bəma nɛ-gi* = *our two's (incl.) house*, *ipʷü nɛ-mʷe* = *your (pl.) rain*, *təmʷə nɛ-gɔmu* = *our (excl.) moon*, *nöpʰü nɛ-gō* = *their flowers*, etc.

2. Food class; marker: *na-*.

Nouns of this class include all sorts of food, both animal and vegetable - except sugarcane which belongs to the drink class - parts of fishes such as fins, scales, etc., and most insects even if they are not eaten today. Even those insects which usually belong to the

general possessive class mentioned above under 1. can optionally belong to the food class. In contrast to the other languages of the family, nouns referring to utensils associated with food in some way do not belong to this class, but to the utensils class (see 4. below) except for cooking stones. At the same time, nouns referring to betel nuts and objects connected with the chewing of betel such as betel lime, lime gourds, etc., come under this class.

Examples: lökö na-nu = *my taro*, böpi na-de = *his banana*, löbö na-go = *our (incl.) crabs*, nɔ na-gi = *our two's (incl.) fish*, nöläwö nɔ na-nu = *my fish scale*, näwi na-gö = *their lice*, mʷɔkilələ na-mʷi = *your (pl.) mosquitoes*, oplə na-gɔmu = *our (excl.) cooking stones*, ketü na-gɔmu = *our (excl.) betel nuts*, dɔ na-nu = *my betel lime*, etc.

3. Drink class; marker: mu-.

Nouns of this class indicate potables, and also sugarcane.

Examples: nüwe mu-nu = *my water (for drinking)*, nəlü mu-m = *your (sg.) sugarcane*.

4. Utensils class; marker: gö-.

The possessive suffix of the first person singular is -tu.

Nouns belonging to this class denote a range of things that can be used for achieving some purpose, and also morning, evening, and throat (i.e. a utensil used for producing voice and speech, etc.). In contrast to the other languages of the family - but not to Nooli which also belongs to the Nea language - tools and utensils associated with food in some way, also belong to this general utensils class.

Examples: letöü go-m = *your (sg.) bow*, nüwi gö-tu = *my string*, nübʷə gö-go = *our (incl.) net*, tɔki gö-de = *his knife*, tepɔla gö-mʷi = *your baskets*, oplə gö-gi = *our two's (incl.) stone*, bölə gö-gö = *their morning*, nabaleno gö-tu = *my throat*, etc.

5. Dependent contents class; marker: ɲö-.

Nouns belonging to this class denote things which are inseparable contents of a container, e.g. blood, fat and bones inside the human body (compare 2.4.2. Malo, class 11.).

Examples: möpʷö ɲö-nu = *my blood*, tötɔ ɲö-de = *his fat*, naadu ɲö-m = *your (sg.) bone(s)*.

6. Independent contents class; marker: ö-.

Nouns of this class indicate objects which are contents of other things, but can exist separately from them or pre-exist them (compare 2.4.2. Malo, class 12.).

Example: taliŋi ö-m = *your* (sg.) *nose peg* (can also be used as a member of the utensils class - see above 4. - i.e. taliŋi gö-m).

7. Fire class; marker: mʷilö-.

Nouns of this class refer to fire and things associated with it such as smoke, etc.

Examples: nʷö mʷilö-de = *his fire*, nəkapə mʷilö-gö = *their smoke*.

8. Spouse class; marker: nəlö-.

Nouns of this class denote spouses, i.e. husbands and wives.

Examples: nəŋə nəlö-nu = *my husband* (nəŋə = *man*), ɔlə nəlö-m = *your* (sg.) *wife* (ɔlə = *woman*).

2.4.4. Nooli

Eight possessive classes have been found so far in Nooli which is an aberrant dialect of the Nea language to which both Nemboi and Nooli belong (see 1.1.). In contrast to Nemboi, Nooli has a separate betel class like Reefs and Malo (see 2.4.1. and 2.4.2.), but lacks a separate spouse class which Nemboi has (see 2.4.3.). Together with the two classes of nouns to which possessive suffixes are directly added (see 2.3.2.) this gives a total of ten possessive classes.

The possession markers (and possessive classes) are as follows (only the basic forms of the markers will be given in most instances because the addition of the possessive suffixes - see 2.2. for their forms - to them is generally regular, and most of the markers themselves are not subject to morphophonemic changes. The few irregularities occurring will be mentioned):

1. General possession class; marker: nə-.

This class corresponds largely to the equivalent class in Nemboi (see 2.4.3., class 1.), i.e. it includes persons (except relatives - see 2.1. - and affines - see below, class 9.), inedible animals, birds, reptiles and fishes (or edible ones referred to without the purpose of eating in mind), insects, things located somewhere and generally not readily movable such as the ground, islands, valleys, paths, villages, houses, trees and also fire, but not things closely associated with it, etc., not directly palpable objects and phenomena in nature such as the sun, moon, stars, sky, rain, etc., and others.

Examples: ɔbʷe nə-ŋa = *my child*, kuli nə-gö = *our* (excl.) *dog*, utɔŋ nə-ŋa = *my bird*, numʷě nə-mu = *your* (pl.) *snake*, numɔ nə-m = *your* (sg.) *fly*, mathu nə-gi = *our two's* (incl.) *house*, nuwoŋ nə-de = *his tree*,

dʷə nɛ-ŋa = *my fire*, temʷä nɛ-gö = *our (excl.) moon*, ipū ni-mu = *your (pl.) rain*.

2. Food class; marker: 1, 2sg. and 2pl. ne-, 3sg. and 3pl. na-, 1dl. incl., 1pl. incl. and 1pl. excl. nä-.

The possessive suffix of the first person singular is -mʷa.

Nouns belonging to this class denote all kinds of food, both animal and vegetable, except sugarcane which belongs to the drink class. In contrast to Nemboi, insects do not come under this class, but as in Nemboi, utensils associated with food do also not belong to it, except for cooking stones.

Examples: lakö ne-mʷa = *my taro*, böpi na-de = *his banana*, nap(u)bʷi ne-m = *your (sg.) coconut (for eating)*, klo ne-mʷa = *my fowl (for eating)*, nõ nä-gö = *our (excl.) fish*, othə nä-gɔ = *our (incl.) cooking stones*.

3. Drink class; marker: mu-.

Nouns of this class indicate potables, including sugarcane.

Examples: duwe mu-ŋa = *my water (for drinking)*, nap(u)ga mu-m = *your (sg.) drinking-coconut*, nelu mu-de = *his sugarcane*.

4. Betel class; marker: ma-.

This class includes nouns indicating betel nuts and objects used in connection with chewing betel such as betel lime, lime gourds, lime spatulas, etc.

Examples: ketə ma-ŋa = *my betel nut*, pʷɛ ma-m = *your (sg.) betel leaf*, dɔ ma-gö = *our (excl.) betel lime*.

5. Utensils class; marker: 1pl. incl. gɔ-, in the other persons: gö-.

Nouns of this class denote utensils and other objects used to achieve some purpose. As in Nemboi, tools and utensils associated with food in some way also belong to this class (see above class 2.).

Examples: gö-ŋa = *my firewood*, lätaŋ gö-m = *your (sg.) bow*, tamata gö-de = *his fish-hook*, dʷa gɔ-gɔ = *our (incl.) string*, othə gö-gö = *our (excl.) stones*.

6. Dependent contents class; marker: lö-.

This class includes nouns which are inseparable contents of a container such as the bones inside the human body, and as in Malo (see 2.4.2. class 11.) - and in contrast to Nemboi which has a separate spouse class (see 2.4.2., class 8.) - also includes spouses.

Examples: dʷadu lö-ŋa = *my bones*, nʷɔli lö-de = *his (body) fat*, mæna lö-m = *your (sg.) husband*.

7. Independent contents class; marker: ö-

The possessive suffix of the first person singular is -na.

Nouns of this class denote objects which are contents of other things, but can exist separately from them or pre-exist them (compare 2.4.2. Malo, class 12. and 2.4.3. Nemboi class 6.). It also contains the word for *sore, wound*.

Examples: *kaki ö-na = my wound, kaki ö-gö = our (excl.) wounds.*

8. Fire class; marker: ədʲeögö-

This class includes nouns denoting objects closely associated with fire, but not the word for *fire* itself (see above, class 1.).

Examples: *ɔkapu ədʲeögö-ŋa = my smoke, nɔbu ədʲeögö-de = his ashes.*

2.4.5. Nanggu

In Nanggu, the limited materials perused to date have yielded nine different possessive class markers, but it seems likely that there are more in the language. With the class of nouns to which possessive suffixes are directly added, this gives a total of ten possessive classes.

Most of the class markers are affected by morphophoemic changes when the possessive suffixes are added to them, and whenever necessary, a list of the forms of the markers + possessive suffixes will be given below.

1. General possession class; marker: 1sg. *nej*, 2sg. and 1pl. excl. *ne-* + possessive suffixes, all others *nej-* + possessive suffix.

Nouns belonging to this class include mostly animals, birds, fishes, insects etc. which are not specially thought of as food. Many of them can optionally be used as members of this class and of the food class, but some are exclusively members of the food class (see 1. above).

Examples: *kuli nej = my dog, poi ne-m = your (sg.) pig, kukʷe ne-go = our (excl.) flying fox, nümʷa nej-mʷe = your (pl.) snake, kiɔ nej-da = our two's (incl.) fowl (also kiɔ na-da) nügʷa nej = my shark (also nügʷa na:-nu), mumʷɔ nej-de = his fly.*

2. Food class; marker: 1sg. *na:-nu*, 2sg. *na-m*, all others: *na-* + possessive suffix.

Nouns of this class denote food and edible things which are thought of in connection with eating. Nouns referring to food animals appear optionally with the marker of this class or the general possession class (see 1. above) but some, especially marine animals, fishes and

crustaceans, are always found with the food class marker. Also utensils connected with food and its acquisition such as axes, knives, paddles and the like generally belong to this class, and also lime gourd.

Examples: *dakɛlaŋö na:-nu = my food, nəpubʷi na-m = your (sg.) coconut (for eating), nabʷö na-mʷe = your (pl.) pidgeon (also nabʷö nei-mʷe), nəta na-da = our two's (incl.) fish, töpʷae na-de = his stingray, dʷö na-ŋö = their axes, pe:ki na-gɔ = our (excl.) knives, nö: na:-nu = my paddle, beɪdɔ na-m = your (sg.) lime gourd.*

3. Water class; marker: lsg. *kɔ*, 2, 3sg. and lpl. incl. *kɔ-* + possessive suffix, all others: *kɔ:-* + possessive suffix.

Only *lɔ:kʰm = water* has so far been found to belong to this class.

Examples: *lɔ:kʰm kɔ = my water (for drinking), lɔ:kʰm kɔ:-da = our two's (incl.) water.*

4. Drink class; marker: lsg. *gɔ*, 2, 3sg. and lpl. incl. *gɔ-* + possessive suffix, all others: *gɔ:-* + possessive suffix.

Nouns belonging to this class refer to potables, including coconuts for drinking and sugarcane (the latter can optionally also be used with the location class - see 6. below), and also things connected with the chewing of betel (except lime gourd which belongs to the food class - see 2. above). The betel nut itself can optionally be used with the marker of this class, or with that of the location class.

Examples: *nəpubʷi gɔ-m = your (sg.) coconut (for drinking), tɛpʷa gɔ:-ŋö = their sugarcane, dɔ gɔ = my betel lime, pʷeɪ gɔ-damʷe = our (incl.) betel leaf, khäthü gɔ-m = your (sg.) betel nut.*

It seems possible to regard this class and the water class (see 3. above) as sub-classes of one general potables class.

5. Utensils class; marker: lsg. *tɛlɔ*, all other forms: *tɛlɔ- ~ tɪɔ-* + possessive suffix.

Nouns of this class denote utensils and objects which are used to achieve a purpose or are simply held in one's hand. Also belts and clothing comes under this heading in Nanggu. As has been mentioned under the food class (see 1. above), utensils connected with food generally belong to that class.

Examples: *lätü: tɛlɔ = my bow, beli t(ɛ)lɔ-m = your (sg.) basket, nəna: t(ɛ)lɔ-ŋö = their string, nɔ:kʰö t(ɛ)lɔ-damʷe = our (incl.) belts, nəwa t(ɛ)lɔ-da = our two's (incl.) clothing.*

6. Location class; marker: lsg. nʏɔ, lpl. excl. nʏɔ-gɔ, all others: nʏö- + possessive suffix.

Nouns of this class indicate objects which are located somewhere and usually not readily movable such as villages, houses, islands, valleys, as well as trees, palms, bamboo and other plants and also fruits of all descriptions - coconuts, bananas, betel-nuts, taro, yams, etc. - while growing and not thought of as food, even though they may have been plucked or pulled up from the ground.

Examples: neɿʏanʏɔ-gɔ = *our (excl.) village*, ma:tʰu nʏɔ = *my house*, tɔmɔtu nʏö-mʷe = *your (pl.) island*, ŋanibi nʏö-de = *his bamboo*, nuŋɔ nʏö-da = *our two's (incl.) tree*, nɔa nʏö-ŋö = *their fruit*, watö nʏɔ = *my taro*, ŋöböti nʏö-m = *your (sg.) banana*, tɛpʏa nʏɔ = *my (growing) sugarcane*, ŋökhäthü nʏö-ŋö = *their betelnut(s)*, etc.

7. Dependent contents class; marker: either: lsg. ɭɔ, 2sg. lpl. excl. and 2pl. ɭɔ- + possessive suffix, all others: lö- + possessive suffix, or: lsg. no, lpl. excl. no- + possessive suffix, all others: nö- + possessive suffix. The occurrence of either of these markers is morphologically conditioned. It appears that the alternative ŋo may also exist in Nanggu.

This class includes nouns which are inseparable contents of a container such as the blood and the bones inside the human body. However, it does not include spouses as is the case in Malo (see 2.4.2., class 11.) and Nooli (see 2.4.4., class 6.): spouses are indicated by the addition of the possessive suffixes to the noun itself.

Examples: adu ɭɔ = *my bone*, adu ɭɔ-gɔ = *our (excl.) bones*, adu lö-de = *his bones*, möpʏö no = *my blood*, möpʏö no-gɔ = *our (excl.) blood*, möpʏö nö-m = *your (sg.) blood*.

8. Independent contents class?; marker: lsg. ka:ɭe, 2sg. ka:ɭe- + possessive suffix, lpl. excl. ka:ɭɛ- + possessive suffix, 3sg., ldl. incl. and lpl. incl. ka:lö- + possessive suffix, 2pl. and 3pl. kilɿ- + possessive suffix.

The existence of this class in Nanggu is not quite certain, and nouns included in it have also been encountered in conjunction with the dependent class marker (see 7. above).

Nouns of this class denote objects which are contents of other things, but can exist separately from them or pre-exist them (compare 2.4.2. Malo, class 12. and 2.4.3. Nemboi, class 6.). As in Nooli (see 2.4.4., class 7.), this class also contains the word for *sore, wound* in Nanggu.

Examples: nab^wa ka:le-m = *your* (sg.) *sore*, nab^wa ka:lö-de = *his wound*, nab^wa kili-m^we = *your* (pl.) *sores*.

9. Fire class; marker: lsg. mɔɔ, 2sg. and lpl. incl. mɔla- + possessive suffix, all others: mɔɔ- + possessive suffix.

Nouns referring to fire and things associated with it belong to this class.

Examples: a:k^hu mɔɔ = *my fire*, ɔ:kɔ mɔla-m = *your* (sg.) *smoke*, a:k^hu mɔla-dam^we = *our* (incl.) *fire*, nübu mɔɔ-de = *his ashes*.

It is of interest to note that in Nanggu, the possessive interrogatives are formed by prefixing the appropriate possessive class marker in its first person singular form to yö = *who?*, e.g. na:nu-yö = *whose?* (referring to food), tɛɔ-yö = *whose?* (referring to a utensil), aŋo-yö = *whose?* (referring to a canoe), etc. If the noun indicating the object possessed is mentioned, the possessive interrogative follows it with the ligative prefix ka- preceding it, e.g. dakɛlaŋö ka-na:nu-yö = *whose food?*

10. Louse class; marker: lsg. nau, all others: nau- + possessive suffix.

Only nawi = *louse* has so far been found to be a member of this class.

Examples: nawi nau = *my louse* (or *lice*), nawi nau-de = *his louse* (or *lice*).

11. Canoe class; marker: lsg. aŋo, all others: aŋu- + possessive suffix.

Only ŋamübü = *canoe* has so far been found to belong to this class.

It can optionally also be a member of the utensils class (see 7. above).

Examples: ŋamübü aŋo = *my canoe* (also ŋamübü tɛɔ), ŋamübü anu-m = *your* (sg.) *canoe* (also ŋamübü t(ɛ)ɔ-m).

2.4.6. Summary of Possession Markers and Classes

The possession markers and class systems in the languages of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands Family show a good measure of similarity in spite of considerable differences in detail.

For comparative purposes, the forms appearing in conjunction with possessive suffixes of the third person singular, or, as in Reefs, denoting possession by the third person singular by themselves, seem to be most suitable.

The following possession class markers occur in at least three of the languages and dialects treated here:

Class:	Reefs	Malo	Nemboi	Nooli	Nanggu
General Possession	no	nä	nɛ	ne	nej
Food	na	na	na	na	na
Drink	numwä	pü	mu	mu	gɔ
Betel	da	ma	-	ma	-
Utensils	nogo	kö	gö	gö	tɛɔ
Location	tä (to)	nʏə	-	-	nʏɔ
Dependent Contents	-	ŋö	ŋö	lö	lö ~ nö (ʋŋö?)
Independent Contents	-	ö	ö	ö	ka:lö?
Fire	-	mnö	mʷilö	ədʏeögö	nɔɔ

As can be seen from the table above, there is considerable formal similarity between related markers in the individual languages and dialects. Only Malo pü and Nanggu gɔ in the drink class, Nanggu tɛɔ in the utensils class and Nooli ədʏeögö in the fire class are quite aberrant.

In addition to the possession class markers listed, a varied number of other such markers are met with in the individual languages and dialects, i.e.

Reefs:	deno	Flower and fruit class
	nika ~ nako	Toe class
Malo:	tä	General food class
	sɔ	Holding class
	nɔ	Garden utensils class
	nö	Purpose class
Nemboi:	nəlö	Spouse class
Nanggu:	kɔ	Water class
	nau	Louse class
	aŋu	Canoe class

In addition to these class markers, some nouns and prepositions function as possession class markers, e.g.

Reefs: ŋago Wound class: this is the preposition ŋag(u)- signalling the indirect object with verbs.

nisa ~ nisi Skin and bone class: this is one of the words for *body*.

Malo: nʏɔ Parts of lower leg class: this class marker is derived from nanʏɔ = *leg* through the omission of the otherwise obligatory petrified article na-.

The largest number of class markers is met with in Malo (fourteen), with Nanggu having eleven and Reefs ten, whereas Nemboi and Nooli both have eight. A striking feature is the absence of the location class from the last two, whereas Reefs lacks the dependent and independent contents classes. The betel class is absent from Nemboi and Nanggu, and the fire class from Reefs.

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