

CULTURE CHANGE, LANGUAGE CHANGE: THE CASE OF ABU' ARAPESH, SANDAUN PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

OTTO NEKITEL

Time changes all things: there is no reason why language should escape this
universal law. (Ferdinand de Saussure 1949:77)

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper describes some of the changes that have occurred in my mother tongue Abu' Arapesh and associated culture as a result of contact with other languages and cultures. In general, linguistic changes have followed changes in Abu' culture and are most obviously reflected in the vocabulary used to refer to material items of that culture although phonology and grammar have also been affected to some extent. There is one case also of a borrowed linguistic item having an effect on Abu' culture.

The study is based on a number of interviews conducted in my language area in 1982 as part of fieldwork carried out for my PhD at the Australian National University (Nekitel 1985).¹

2. THE ABU' ARAPESH

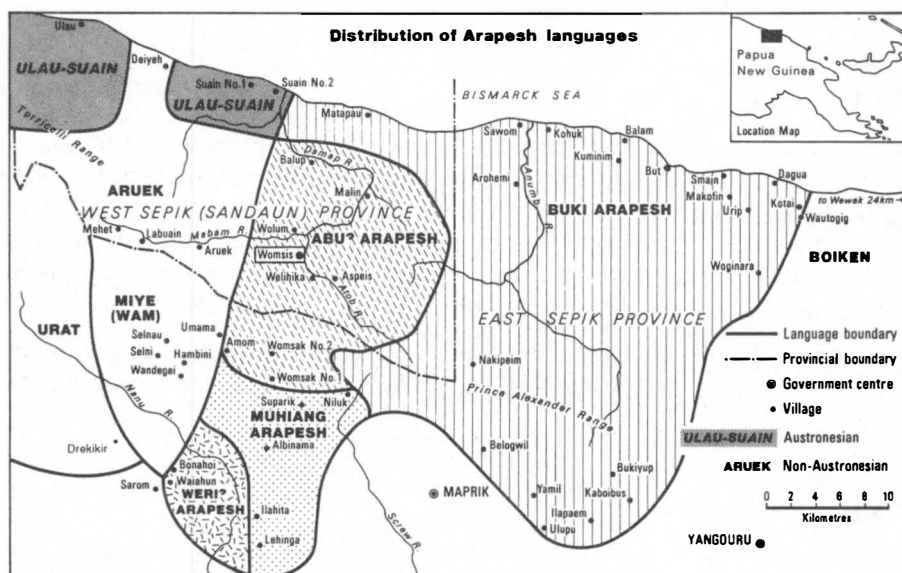
2.1 LINGUISTIC SETTING

Abu' Arapesh is a member of the non-Austronesian (or Papuan) Arapesh language family and is most closely related to Mountain Arapesh – see map. Speakers of this language live in the Torricelli mountains in nine main villages dispersed along the border of the East Sepik and Sandaun (formerly West Sepik) Provinces. According to the 1980 national census there are about 5,000 speakers of Abu' Arapesh. The area occupied by them is roughly 300 square kilometres. Being landlocked the community shares its northern border with the

¹These interviews were conducted at Womsis, Wolum, Balup, Malin, Amom, Hambini (a Wom village) and Womsak. My principal informants were six elderly men (viz. Benedict Sa'uan (a former luluai of Womsis), Bubata of Balup, Barak of Amom, Mahite Butehe of Hambini and John Naisoh, Andreas Wehitesim and Ignatius Nararama' of Womsis who were interviewed in 1982 and subsequently in 1988 when I rechecked data). These men were chosen according to such variables as age (they were elders in the community), reliability (they were known by the community to be reliable informants), social status (they were important persons, i.e. members of the exclusive tambaran clubs), and their knowledge of Abu' (they were acknowledged to be good speakers of Abu'). Except for John, Andreas and Ignatius, all these men have since died. Other people of Abu' (both male and female) were also interviewed as time and opportunity permitted.

coastal Austronesian speech community of Ulaui-Suain, its north-west and south-west borders with the distantly related languages of the Kombio Stock, Aruek and Wam (known locally as Miye), and its southern and eastern borders with the more closely related Muhiang and Buki Arapesh, members of the Arapesh language family. With the exception of the Ulaui-Suain all Abu' southern, western and eastern language neighbours speak distantly related and typologically fairly similar languages, either of the same (i.e. Arapesh) language family or of the same (Kombio) Stock (Wurm & Hattori 1981).

There are two Abu' dialects: my dialect of Abu' Womenika (the ridge dwellers) and Abu' Ounibisima (inhabitants of the low riverine valleys). Since intra-group marriage has taken place the dialects are spoken concurrently in some villages such as in my village of Womsis.



THE ABU' LANGUAGE AREA

2.2 CONTACT HISTORY

The Abu' were in contact with neighbouring communities long before the arrival of Europeans and other foreigners. A certain amount of barter was, and still is, practised especially by the Womsak villagers who traded their homemade clay pots for other traditional implements and food items with relatives and friends from neighbouring and more distant Arapesh, Wam, Urat and Aruek and Ulaui-Suain-speaking villages. Inter- and intra-group marriages, social and cultural activities and so on were also claimed to exist long before the Abu' came into contact with peoples from outside their immediate area (Nekitel 1985).

The first non-Papua New Guinean groups with whom the Abu' had contact were probably Malay bird of paradise traders (Seiler 1985). These were followed by German and Australian colonial administration officials, and later by gold prospectors and surveyors who came into the area in the 1930s (McCarthy 1936). German priests of the Divine Word also

began establishing contact with Abu' villagers in the mid-1930s and recruiting Abu' men to attend schools at Yakamul.

Oral and available written reports of gold prospecting activity in the Abu' area show that prospectors brought in foreign, non-Abu' labourers to work on the Womsis-Welihiga goldfields. These labourers and Catholic priests and their catechists were probably responsible for introducing Tok Pisin into the Abu' area. This activity was interrupted, if not ended, by World War II.

Several Abu' men were indentured during the late 1800s to work on different German plantations in the New Guinea Islands region. Unfortunately the last member of this group died in 1974 at the age of about 80 before he could be interviewed on tape. It is thus hard to find anyone who had first-hand experience of the Germans nowadays. Oral reports confirm that the effect of the Germans' presence was marginal.

Of all the known sociohistorical experiences had by the Abu' none made such an impact on them as the Pacific phase of World War II. To many Abu' the war was the most horrendous experience in their lives. They were forced to move from their clan-based villages or homesteads to army-built camps located at the coastal Austronesian language-speaking villages of Ulau-Suain and Matapau. The Allied Forces then moved in to mop up the Japanese soldiers who had penetrated into the Abu' area earlier. Although the war experience was generally regarded as traumatic some informants admired the technological advances they saw. The war planes, bombs, ships, cars, food, clothes and other paraphernalia were beyond their wildest imaginations.

The post-war recruitment of Abu' to work on plantations, to go to schools, to work with missionaries as catechists, to go to towns and hospitals where they lived and interacted with members of other ethnic groups have contributed also towards the kinds of changes the Abu' have come to live and cope with.

Of all the foreign languages spoken by the Abu' the distantly related Wam is the second most widely spoken one after Tok Pisin. Suain-Ulau and Aruek are rarely used. The reasons for this situation are purely sociocultural, being determined by inter-ethnic marriages and contacts. But even the use of Wam is declining as the number of Abu'-Wam marriage descendants declines and as Tok Pisin has become the lingua franca in the area.

The position of Tok Pisin as the more important language of intra- and inter-ethnic communication among the Abu' and their foreign visitors is now well entrenched.² Salient social forces observed in the early 1980s to have influenced the Abu' to prefer the use of Tok Pisin over Abu' are:³

1. inter-ethnic marriages;
2. the insistent use of Tok Pisin by agents of change;

²The Abu' situation is not unique. Parallel situations have been reported for other Papua New Guinea communities as well. General observations in many essays by language-major students in the University of Papua New Guinea's sociolinguistic classes in the past five years on the issue of language shift affirm this trend. A most detailed report of a shift from less use of a vernacular to more use of Tok Pisin in a village-type setting such as the Abu', is aptly exemplified by the Numbami case study by Bradshaw (1978). General indications seem to point towards a shift from less use of the local vernaculars to an increasing use of Tok Pisin. The trend seems to be on the increase in a good number of Papua New Guinea villages.

³These factors remain valid today. Similar factors have been noted in causing language shift or decline in the Pacific during the latter part of the 1980s (Crowley 1986; Dixon 1991; Dutton & Mühlhäusler 1991; Kamene, in press).

3. the preferential use of Tok Pisin by labourers returning from plantations to show off their relative degree of sophistication;
4. the varying degrees of decline in both passive and active knowledge of Abu' by Abu' children who attend schools outside the Abu' language area;
5. the general movement of Abu' to and from towns or hospitals;
6. the general parental negligence in not encouraging children to learn and use their mother tongue.

Other factors are also at work. These include demands made on children particularly in such domains as the school, the church, the local clinic, the playground and the shop especially where such are located in multi-ethnic settings. Add to these such external forces as a deliberate language policy which prohibits or restricts indigenous communities from using their languages in official domains such as in schools (Johnson 1977; Nekitel, in press). Also the German and Australian colonial governments did not give any official status to the 854 indigenous languages in Papua New Guinea.⁴ While English and German were declared the official languages of the then colonial administrations the de facto language of much of the day-to-day communication outside of the official domains was Tok Pisin. Since Papua New Guinea adopted English as its official language at independence some Papua New Guineans appear to be devaluing their vernaculars. Indeed some even despise them (Nekitel, in press).

In a recent article (Nekitel 1984) I made the following general observations about the Abu' linguistic situation as it was known then:

Abu', the symbol of ethnic and cultural uniqueness and hence of Womsis consciousness, is dwindling in varying degrees. The acquisition of Abu' as a first language, by children born of Abu'-speaking parents, is no longer as common as it was a decade ago. Children are generally left to learn what they encounter as the medium of communication among peer groups. Since Tok Pisin is the predominant language of communication in the village, and especially among children and the younger generation of Womsis parents, naturally it is becoming the first language among children.

3. CULTURE CHANGE: LANGUAGE CHANGE

As might be expected the Abu' have borrowed items of material culture from various sources over time as a result of their contacts with different groups. In some cases the Abu' have borrowed the words associated with those aspects directly from their donors, in other cases not. Thus, for example, they have borrowed words like *keina* (PL *keinab*) 'bow', *luwa* or *luwe* (PL *luwahas* or *luwehes*) 'a container made from the sheath of the dark-palm with an extended sling for carrying goods on the head', and *uriahah* (PL *uriahahs*) 'fish net' that women use for trapping both sea and river fish, shrimps and lobsters' from neighbouring Austronesian Ulau-Suain speakers on the coast with whom they had, and still have, trading and other relationships. Or again the Abu' use words like *beten* 'prayer', *kaiser* 'king', *maisel* 'chisel', *mak* 'a German shilling', *malen* 'to paint' which reflect contact with Germans who were their first colonial masters and many of whom have been Catholic priests in the area since then. Finally there are words of Tok Pisin and English origin in

⁴As was done in Indonesia and Paraguay for example (Badib 1989; Rubin 1968).

Abu' which reflect contact with these languages since Australia took over control of the area from the Germans.⁵

Where the Abu' borrowed cultural items without also borrowing the corresponding words from the donor language they have either created their own words or broadened the meaning of already existing words to incorporate the new items. A good example of Abu' word creation is their word for a vehicle of any kind. The first such vehicle that the Abu' saw was apparently an aeroplane. To refer to this they coined the word *krahu'* out of *kr* 'rumble' and *hu'* 'move away' – the *a* is epenthetic – which literally means '(something) that moves away rumbling'. This word, suitably qualified, was then extended in meaning to cover cars, boats, and ships when these came on the scene as in:

<i>krahu'</i>	<i>iluhu'i</i>	aeroplane
vehicle	sky.of	
<i>krahu'</i>	<i>itafu'i</i>	car, truck, bus
vehicle	land.of	
<i>krahu'</i>	<i>ausu'i</i>	boat, ship
vehicle	sea.of	

This new word *krahu'* assumes feminine gender morphology to reflect the Abu' cosmic view that any object which has to do with bearing or carrying people must (by analogy with female humans) be associated with the female gender.

In other cases where an introduced item was similar in form or function to something already existing in their culture the Abu' merely extended the meaning of their own word to refer to the new object. Thus when European knives were first introduced the Abu' simply called them *nukatefikl* (PL *nuketes*), the word they used to refer to bamboo blades previously used for shaving or cutting soft objects and food. This was then extended in meaning to cover such other knife-like objects as razor blades, table-knives, and pocket-knives. Similarly plates were named *nuburawa* or *aureh* (from the Abu' words for 'coconut-shell bowl' and 'wooden bowl' respectively) and money became known as *utaba* and *suus* (from the Abu' words for 'stone' and 'leaf' respectively). More recently when the Abu' saw pictures of trains they named them *titiakamuna* (PL *titiakamunab*) after millipedes because of their perceived similarity to those creatures when trains are seen from a distance.

In a few cases the Abu' have created words for foreign concepts by calquing or translating literally the foreign expression. This method has been used by the Abu' in creating greetings corresponding to European ones. Thus *luwahef* 'good morning' literally means 'morning',

⁵It is possible, although it cannot be proven one way or the other at the moment, that some words in Abu' are borrowings from Malay through contact with Malay bird of paradise hunters. Consider for example the following:

Abu'		Malay	
<i>sirsar</i>	confused	<i>sarasar</i>	confused
<i>adil</i>	true	<i>adil</i>	just, fair
<i>adeh</i>	I exclaim	<i>aduh</i>	exclamation of pain
<i>deh</i>	exclamation of pain		
<i>aiwa(h)</i>	father	<i>ayah</i>	father
<i>kani</i>	in, into	<i>ke(dalam)</i>	into
<i>suf</i>	leaf	<i>suf</i>	tablecloth
<i>butum</i>	penis	<i>butuh</i>	penis

(y)afuhi numunah 'good day' literally means 'good day', uwabigeb 'good afternoon' literally means 'afternoon' and (y)afubi uwab 'good-night' literally means 'good night'.

Finally contact with other cultures has led in areas of specialised vocabulary to the loss of that vocabulary as the aspects of culture to which that vocabulary once referred have been lost. A particularly good example of this is *sesade' kwianif*, the expression used to refer to a rigorous form of oratory staged during traditional feasts held to reinforce social obligations that feast partners have to each other. After cooking, the food is displayed. Then after eating and sharing out the food disputants or spokespersons take delight in representing their clans in a display of a highly formalised oratory. The participants in this debate walk to and fro along a line and pound their feet on the ground while delivering speeches fiercely critical of each other's clans for mediocrity or failure to meet expected levels of performance in feast exchanges.⁶ Sadly *sesade' kwianif* has fallen out of use as cult worship has fallen into disuse following acceptance of Christianity.

4. LINGUISTIC EFFECTS OF BORROWING

While the types of borrowing noted above reflect changes in material aspects of culture and imply an adjustment to new ways their effects on the Abu' language go beyond merely the acquisition or loss of vocabulary although these may be subtle and not easily documentable in the short term. Apart from the acquisition of new phonemes⁷ two aspects of structure that are already being affected by such changes are the Abu' noun class and tense systems.

4.1 NOUN CLASS SYSTEM

Abu' Arapesh, like other Arapesh languages has an elaborate noun class system with nominal concord.⁸ Like many typologically similar languages this system requires nouns and all syntactically connected elements to be in concord with the governing noun in respect of its class and number.

There are two types of concord affixes in Abu', a verbal set and an adjectival set. The verbal set consists of pre-verbal subject referring pronouns (SRP) and post-verbal object referring pronouns (ORP) in transitive verb clauses, the former being obligatory whilst the latter only occur in those constructions which do not have an overt object. These sets of nominal concord affixes form the outer layers of the verb phrase:

- (1) *Alibal b-a-tufa' aleman.*
 knife SRP-R-cut man⁹
 The knife cut the man.

⁶See Nekitel (1985, 1986) for more details.

⁷For example, in Abu' [f] and [p] are free variants of /f/. However, since Abu' began to attend English medium schools in the 1960s and became aware of the phonemic contrast between /f/ and /p/ in English the two sounds have come to be treated as different phonemes in Abu' formal speech although they are still in free variation in informal speech.

⁸Elaborate gender systems are also features of many other languages throughout the rest of the world including Papua New Guinea, e.g. Chambri (Pagotto 1976), Baining (Capell 1969), Sare (Sumbuk 1988), other Sepik languages (Foley 1986) and some Southeast Asian and Bantu languages (Lyons 1968).

⁹In this and other examples R = Realis.

- (2) *Alibal b-a-tufa-n-a.*
 knife SRP-R-cut-ORP-DEM
 The knife cut him.

The affixes are usually of the same phonological form as the final consonants of the head noun.¹⁰

The adjectival set of concord markers consists largely of proximal (PROX) and distal (DIST) deictics whose respective bases are *a(e)Ca/e* 'this/these' and *Ca(e)/Ci* 'that/those'. The consonant C represents the nominal concord marker which encodes the nominal concord SRP as in:

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------------|
| (3) | <i>aleman</i>
man.SG
this man | <i>a-n-a</i>
PROX-SRP-PROX |
| (4) | <i>aleman</i>
man.SG
that man | <i>n-a-n-i</i>
SRP-DIST-SRP-DIST |
| (5) | <i>radio</i>
radio.SG
this radio | <i>e-n-e</i>
PROX-SRP-PROX |
| (6) | <i>radio</i>
radio.SG
that radio | <i>n-e-n-i</i>
SRP-DIST-SRP-DIST |
| (7) | <i>alemam</i>
man.PL
these men | <i>a-m-a</i>
PROX-SRP-PROX |
| (8) | <i>alemam</i>
man.PL
those men | <i>m-a-m-i</i>
SRP-DIST-SRP-DIST |

For inherited Abu' words previously unheard or unelicited plural forms of SRPs could fairly reliably be predicted from elicited or heard singular forms. However, for borrowed nouns this is not the case because even though they generally retain the same forms as in the source language in the singular they often have unpredictable SRPs in the plural. For example *buk* 'book' ends in *k* yet assumes the nominal concord affix *n-* whereas *lawak* 'tree' takes *k-* as its SRP. As both *buk* and *lawak* end in *k* one would expect them to be subject to the same concord rule. The following set of examples illustrates the range:

SG	PL	SRP.SG	SRP.PL	Meaning
<i>pater</i>	<i>paterimi</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>m-</i>	priest
<i>kiap</i>	<i>kiapimi</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>m-</i>	patrol officer
<i>siste</i>	<i>sistewa</i>	<i>kw-/-'</i>	<i>w-</i>	sister
<i>nes</i>	<i>nesiwa</i>	<i>kw-/-'</i>	<i>w-</i>	nurse
<i>kerahu'</i>	<i>keralhuwa</i>	<i>kw-</i>	<i>w-</i>	plane

¹⁰Except for those nouns, which, for semantic reasons, are perceived of as being inherently masculine or feminine. Although these two sets of nouns may end either in a consonant or a vowel their SRP will be *n* for singular masculine nouns and *m* for plural ones and *kw* and *w* for singular and plural feminine ones.

<i>balus</i>	<i>balusihes</i>	<i>kw-</i>	<i>w-</i>	plane
<i>ain</i>	<i>ainab</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>b-</i>	iron
<i>bataul</i>	<i>bataukuh</i>	<i>l-</i>	<i>h-</i>	bottle
<i>suga</i>	<i>suga</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	sugar
<i>rais</i>	<i>rais</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>s-</i>	rice
<i>bia</i>	<i>bia</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	beer
<i>buk</i>	<i>buk</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	book
<i>lufah</i>	<i>lufokwih</i>	<i>h-</i>	<i>h-</i>	laplap, loincloth
<i>redio</i>	<i>redio</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	radio
<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	tea
<i>dram</i>	<i>dref</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>f-</i>	drum
<i>waia</i>	<i>waialeh</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>h-</i>	wire

The semantic or syntactic reasons for this kind of variation are unclear but such variation could eventually have an important effect on the structure of Abu' noun classes.

4.2 TENSE SYSTEM

As noted above there are many borrowings from Tok Pisin in Abu'. However, where this is most obvious is in interlanguage code-switching. An Abu' speaker may commence his/her speech in Abu' but code-switches to Tok Pisin and vice versa as the sentence proceeds as, for example, in the following sentences (in which the Tok Pisin items are underlined):

- (9) *M-e-hara-'e* *m-a-ahe'* *kani* *hausik*
 we-P-carry-her-and we-R-go to hospital
 We took her to the hospital.
- (10) *Oret* *na* *kaunsola* *n-a-da'* *salim-a*
 all.right and councillor he-R-make send-it
dikebeseh *uma* *amum*.
 message to them.M
 Okay, so the councillor sent a message to them (males).

The increasing use of one form in particular, notably *bai* 'future', as in the following sentence, is likely to have far-reaching consequences for Abu' in the long term.

- (11) *A'u'* *na* *iye'* *bai* *u-k-ahe'*.
 she and I FUT we-FUT-go
 She and I will go.

In particular the structure of the Abu' verb is likely to be affected. Whereas at the moment future tense is marked inside the verb (as in example (11)) this marking is likely to gradually lose its force as *bai* takes over, with the result that the future form of the verb will become an irregularity. In that case it may even interfere with other verb tenses.

5. LANGUAGE CHANGE: CULTURE CHANGE

So far I have tried to demonstrate the sorts of effects culture change has had on the Abu' language. In one case at least it appears that borrowing has affected Abu' culture. This is

the case of *wau* 'maternal uncle' which has been borrowed from the Austronesian language-speaking Ulau-Suain. This word is gaining popularity amongst the Abu', being preferred to Abu' *sahalina* (PL *sahalinab*). Not only that but the semantic range of the term is being extended by stages (set out below) to include such kinship terms as *numa'ita* (PL *numa'itowk*) 'male-in-law' (i.e. father-in-law, son-in-law) and *defenu'* (PL *defenuwa*) 'female-in-law' (both mother-in-law and daughter-in-law) which are traditionally taboo words:

Stage 1:	<i>wau</i>	replaces	<i>sahalina/sahalu'</i>
Stage 2:	<i>wau</i>	replaces	<i>sahalina/sahalu' + numa'ita/defenu'</i>
Stage 3:	<i>wau</i>	is established (without gender distinction)	

As a result this new term is undermining the strong respect the Abu' have for traditional Abu' in-law terms. Social taboo, respect and obligation that *numa'ita* and *defenu'* reinforce in society are being neutralised by the introduction of *wau*. Whereas formerly jokes between in-laws who had to be avoided were not possible they are now. The possible danger, from the Abu' point of view, is therefore that if *wau* is fully absorbed into the language, future generations of Abu' may no longer value the social or cultural significance that is encoded by two former Abu' in-law terms. Consequently the Abu' may have to either re-emphasise the cultural significance of the two terms by accentuating their use or transfer the cultural connotations from the old terms to the loan word thus giving it a new meaning and cultural significance. For the moment *wau* is more neutral than the Abu' terms.

This example demonstrates how a loan can have an effect on the changing attitudes of speakers and how certain social and cultural values associated with the terms may be denuded from the old forms. The ad hoc process involved in borrowing Ulau-Suain *wau* has done just what many culture-conscious persons do not want to see happen, notably, damage to Abu' social relationships.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have attempted to show how culture change and language are interrelated by drawing on examples from my own culture and language. Although it is generally recognised that cultural change is most often reflected in the vocabulary of a language it may also affect the phonology and grammar of a language. At least in one case in Abu' effects of the reverse kind are to be found.

REFERENCES

- BADIB, Abbas A., 1989, Bahasa Indonesia and Tokpisin as a national language. In C. Thirlwall, and P. Hughes, eds *The ethics of development language, communication and power*, vol 6:71-89. Port Moresby: UPNG Press.
- BRADSHAW, J., 1978, Multilingualism and language mixture among the Numbami. *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Linguistics* 10/1:85-100.
- CAPELL, A., 1969, *A survey of New Guinea languages*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- CROWLEY, T., 1986, *An introduction to historical linguistics*. UPNG Press, Port Moresby.
- DE SAUSSURE, F., 1949, *Cours de linguistique générale* (fourth edition). Paris: Payot.
- DIXON, R.M.W., 1991, The endangered languages of Australia, Indonesia and Oceania, 229-255. In R.H. Robins and E.M. Uhlenbeck, eds *Endangered Languages*. Oxford: Berg.

- DUTTON, T. and P. MÜHLHÄUSLER, 1991, Are our languages dying? *Occasional Papers in Language and Literature*, 1/1:50-72. University of Papua New Guinea.
- FOLEY, W., 1986, *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge University Press.
- JOHNSON, R.K., 1977, Administration and language policy in Papua New Guinea. In S.A. Wurm, ed. *New Guinea area languages and language study* vol. 3, *Language, culture, society, and the modern world*, 429-468. PL, C-40.
- KAMENE, Sakerepe, in press, Why is it necessary to study language in the various domains? To appear in Nekitel and Kamene, eds.
- LYONS, J., 1968, *Introduction to theoretical linguistics*. London & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McCARTHY, J.F., 1936, Patrol Report 1936/37. Canberra: Australian National University, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 616, (I) Microfilm.
- NEKITEL, O., 1979, On Abu' idioms. Unpublished linguistics seminar paper. Presented at the Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii.
- 1984, What is happening to vernaculars? *Bikmaus*. (A journal of Papua New Guinea Affairs, Ideas and the Arts.) 5/2:89-98. Boroko: Institute of PNG Studies.
- 1985, Sociolinguistic aspects of Abu', a Papuan language of the Sepik area, Papua New Guinea. PhD thesis, Australian National University.
- 1986, A sketch of nominal concord in Abu' (an Arapesh language). *Papers in New Guinea linguistics* No.24, 177-205. PL, A-70.
- in press, Language right: an overview. To appear in O. Nekitel and S. Kamene, eds *PNG sociolinguistics: a book of readings*. UPNG Printery.
- PAGOTTO, Louise, 1976, *The noun phrase in Chambri*. Department of Language Occasional Paper 5. University of Papua New Guinea.
- RUBIN, J., 1968, *National Bilingualism in Paraguay*. The Hague: Mouton.
- SEILER, Walter, 1985, The Malay language in New Guinea. *Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics* No.4, 143-153. PL, A-72.
- SUMBUK, K., 1988, The noun classes in Sare. BA (Hons) thesis, Department of Language and Literature, University of Papua New Guinea.
- WURM, S.A. and Shirô HATTORI, eds, 1981, *Language atlas of the Pacific area*, part 1: *New Guinea area, Oceania, Australia*. PL, C-66.