

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Series A - No. 61

PAPERS IN NEW GUINEA LINGUISTICS No. 21

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Box 4, P.O.,
Canberra, A.C.T. 2600.
Australia.

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First published 1981.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for help in the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN 0 85883 236 4

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THE SYNTAX OF THE SIMPLE SENTENCE IN KOBON

H.J. DAVIES

PREAMBLE

The aims of this study are to describe the syntax of the Simple Sentence in Kobon (sections 1-3) and to discuss this in relation to the predictions made by the universals of grammar proposed by Greenberg 1963 (section 4). In pursuance of these aims it has been necessary to describe the other three Sentence types briefly - Complex, Compound and Contrafactual Condition, especially in section 4. The study is written in prose rather than formulas and abbreviations are used sparingly, in the hope that this will be easier on the reader.

With the exception of Maps 1-3, which are taken from Davies 1977 and which are based on Jackson 1975, the whole of this study is my own original work. The data upon which the study is based were gathered by me during a period of about 24 months between 1972 and 1976. I am grateful to the delightful Kobon people who allowed me and my wife and children to live with them during this time, and who provided me with the linguistic data. Special thanks are due to the four young men who worked with me on a regular basis - Jepi, Ugai, Lipgi and Urumungu. They spent many hours helping me to transcribe the 100-odd pages of the text material which I had recorded upon which this study is partly based. The other main part of the data is about 4000 utterances, some spoken in context, some elicited.

I am very much indebted to Dr Bernard Comrie, who supervised my work during the writing of the original thesis. It has been my privilege to attend lectures and participate in Seminars conducted by him on Phonology and Language Universals, and in addition to have the opportunity to benefit from his insightful suggestions in my research on the Kobon language. I am very grateful to him for his accessibility

and generosity with his time and for the privilege of being supervised by one for whom linguistics and the world's languages are so obviously inseparable.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

All transcription is in the International Phonetic Alphabet except:

c	voiceless alveopalatal affricate
h	pharyngeal fricative
j	voiced alveopalatal affricate
ʎ	retroflexed flapped lateral
ñ	palatal nasal
ö	mid central vowel
y	palatal semivowel

accomp	accompaniment	p	plural
ADJR	adjectiviser	P	predicate
c/f	contrary to fact	PART	particle
conj	conjunction	perf	perfect aspect
d	dual	pres	present tense
dur	durative aspect	prescrip	prescriptive mood
e	equational	q	quotative
emph	emphasiser	rempast	remote past
excl	exclamation	s	singular
fut	future tense	sim	simultaneous
i	intransitive	ss	same subject
interrog	interrogative	succ	successive
IO	indirect object	t	transitive
lit	literally	1	first person
m	motion	2	second person
neg	negative	3	third person

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1. THE KOBON PEOPLE AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT

Most of the 4000 Kobon live in the Kaironk Valley which lies in something of a geographical 'no-mans-land' between the great Bismarck and Schrader Ranges of Papua New Guinea. From the administrative point of view the location is at the outer extremities of three provinces - the Western Highlands Province, the Madang Province and the East Sepik Province. It is not surprising that the first positive and persisting influence by the Australian administration was not made until around 1960. Neighbours to the east beyond Aionk and Womok are the Kalam and to the west beyond Singapi are the Wiyaw (see Maps 1-3 in Appendix A).

Like their Kalam neighbours to the east, the Kobon are of short stature. The basis of their economy is gardening but hunting and gathering contribute significantly to their diet. The principal foods grown by the people are sweet potato, taro, yams, pueraria, bananas, edible pitpits, beans, gourds, tapioca, greens, cucumbers, pumpkins, and corn. Pigs are domesticated and culturally very important. The Kobon traditionally live as extended family units in large isolated dwellings. The extended family consists of a man, his wife or wives and children, his brothers and their wives and children, and his parents. In Kobon society there is no hierarchical organisation under a chief. A man has responsibilities towards his lineage and persons with whom he undertakes tasks in common, such as gardening, but this is in the nature of mutual self help or co-operative undertaking and not allegiance to a person of superior status.

0.2. THE KOBON LANGUAGE AND ITS RELATIVES

Kobon's closest linguistic relative is Kalam spoken by the Kalam living to the east. The two languages share about 50% of basic vocabulary and are mutually unintelligible. The three languages of the Kalam family - Kalam, Kobon and Gants (Gaj) - were originally thought to constitute a separate stock related to the East New Guinea Highlands Stock on the phylum level (Wurm 1960). As a result of Pawley's research into Kalam and typological comparison of Kalam and East New Guinea Highlands Stock languages (Pawley 1966) the Kalam family was included in the East New Guinea Highlands Stock (Wurm 1971:548-551). Wurm 1975: 486-487 points out that recent studies and reinterpretation of earlier findings (Biggs 1963, Pawley 1966, Laycock, personal communication) have revealed that Kalam's phonology is largely of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum type (to the north and northwest) as opposed to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum type; its pronominal forms and systems are very much like those

of the Madang-Adelbert Range Sub-Phylum (to the northeast) of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum; and its structure and typology in general is very predominantly like that of the other East New Guinea Highlands Stock languages (to the west, south and southeast). The phonology of Kobon is described in Davies 1977 and phonological correspondence between Kobon and Kalam and the Wosera dialect of Abelam, a language of the Ndu Family of the Middle Sepik Stock of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum, are discussed in Davies 1980.

Wiyaw, which is spoken to the west, is classified as a member of the Piawi Family which is in turn a member of the Yuat Stock of the Ramu Sub-Phylum of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum.

0.3. FIELDWORK

This study is based on about 100 pages of analysed text material which was recorded and transcribed in the field with the assistance of Kobon speakers and some 4000 isolated utterances, some spoken in context, some elicited. One of the seven texts is contained in Appendix B. About 24 months were spent in the field gathering the data and regular language assistants were Jepi, Ugai, Lipgi and Urumungu, all in their late teens. Apart from Urumungu, who spent two years at a plantation near Rabaul, they had not travelled outside their own language area. All spoke a little Neo-Melanesian (also known as New Guinea Pidgin and Tok Pisin).

1. CONSTITUENTS OF THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

1.0. The minimal Kobon sentence is a simple clause, which in its shortest form consists of one Simple Verb. Longer sentences consist of a sequence of clauses, the logical, temporal, or other sequential relationships between the clauses being indicated by verbal suffixes. Any sentence with the overall structure of a single clause (which may include embedded clauses or sentences) and which has appropriate sentence-final intonation is considered a Simple Sentence.

1.1. SENTENCE PERIPHERY

Simple Sentences may contain exclamations, vocatives, and linkage conjunctions. These all constitute the Sentence Periphery. Exclamations are free forms which express emotion and are never inflected:

- (1) ake 'oh!' (surprise)
- (2) aye 'oh no!' (disappointment, sorrow, pain)
- (3) ke/ki 'what!' (anger)

To form Vocatives a common noun specifying the person addressed is suffixed by *-e ~ -me*, e.g. *bap-e 'Father!'*, *bɪ-me 'Man!'*, *ɸi-me 'Boy!'*, or a proper noun specifying the addressee's name is suffixed by *-o*, e.g. *Ugay-o 'Ugay!'*. These Vocatives serve to attract the attention of the addressee, and there will be an intervening reply by the addressee or a pause before the further utterance by the original speaker. A nominal or pronominal reference to the second person subject of the sentence (who is also the addressee) is not a Vocative and therefore is not suffixed and is part of the sentence nucleus:

- (4) *ki, apsil mōhaw mel u aygege gɪ-mil anɪg*
excl grandmother and child indeed there why do-prescrip2d thus
gɪ-p-il?
do-perf-2d

'Grandmother and child, what have you done this for?!'

A feature of paragraphs which relate a sequence of events as a narrative is linkage by repetition of the final Verb Phrase or clause of the previous sentence, together with the expression of the logical, temporal or other relationship between that repeated unit and what follows. This is accomplished either by a change in the verbal affixation resulting in a medial rather than final form or by a sentence conjunction between the repeated verb phrase or clause and what follows. The former results in a Complex Sentence, the latter a Compound Sentence, which are therefore not discussed further in this paper. As for the Simple Sentence, the sentence nucleus may be preceded by a conjunction, e.g. *nōŋōm*, which is probably a 'frozen' medial verb and means '*and so*' or '*and then*'.

1.2. SENTENCE NUCLEUS

The nucleus of a Simple Sentence is a clause, which must be Independent, i.e. capable of standing alone, in contrast to a Dependent Clause which may only occur in a sentence which also contains at least one Independent Clause. Each clause obligatorily contains one and only one Predicate which may be manifested by a Verb Phrase or a Noun Phrase. Whether a particular nonpredicate grammatical function must, may or may not occur in a particular clause is determined by the predicate. The normal order of grammatical functions is (i) Transitive and Motion Sentences: Time (T), Subject (S), Accompanier (A), Object (O), Indirect Object (IO), Manner (M), Predicate (P), Locative (L); (ii) Intransitive Sentences: T, S, A, M, P, L; (iii) Quotative Sentences: T, L, S, A, IO, M, Quote, P; and (iv) Complementary and Equational Sentences: T, S, A, Complement, M, P, L.

1.3. SENTENCE TYPES

Predicates are divided into classes according to cooccurrence restrictions with nonpredicate clause functions. The class of predicate determines the Clause Type which in turn determines the Simple Sentence type. Table A summarises these cooccurrence restrictions. Obligatory occurrence is indicated by '+', optional occurrence by '±', and obligatory nonoccurrence by '-'.

TABLE A
COOCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS BETWEEN THE PREDICATE CLASSES
AND NONPREDICATE GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE CLAUSE

Grammatical Functions										Clause and Simple Sentence Type
T	S	A	O	IO	L	M	C	Q	P	
±	±	±	±	±	±	±	-	-	Pt	Transitive
±	±	±	-	-	±	±	-	-	Pi	Intransitive
±	±	±	±	-	±	±	-	-	Pm	Motion
±	±	±	-	-	±	±	+	-	Pc	Complementary
±	±	±	-	±	±	±	-	+	Pq	Quotative
±	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Pe	Equational

Transitive Predicates are the most numerous. They are always manifested by Verb Phrases and may optionally cooccur with all grammatical functions except Complement and Quote.

- (5) b+ kaj nap ne manö ayud m+lö ap hag-öp.
man pig father 3s talk(Noun) story long a say-perf3s
 'The man, Pig's Father (proper name), told a long story.'

Intransitive Predicates are few. They are always manifested by a Verb Phrase and may optionally cooccur with Time, Subject, Accompanier, Locative and Manner functions, but no others.

- (6) nibi anöbu um-öb.
woman that die-perf3s
 'That woman has died.'

Motion Predicates are always manifested by a Verb Phrase and may optionally cooccur with Time, Subject, Accompanier, Object, Locative and Manner functions. With the exception of g+ 'do', the verbs which may occur as the inflected verb in a Motion Predicate have the phoneme a as their stem vowel(s) - ar 'go', am 'go', aw 'come', ap 'come', aj 'walk', hañaw 'come out':

- (7) pe b+ mölep ap m+lö gaw nöbö aw-a.
 conj man old a far there emph come-rempast3s
 'An old man came from far away.'
- (8) sir yaŋ gay g-ul.
 steep slope below here do-pastld
 'We descended this steep slope.'

Complementary Predicates are always manifested by Simple Verb Phrases (2.2.1.). The Complement function is obligatory and Time, Subject, Accompanier, Locative and Manner functions optionally cooccur but no others. There are only three verbs which may occur in the Complementary Predicate - g+ 'do', l+ 'put, be', and möd 'remain, be':

- (9) koymaŋ magö dalaŋ hadö nöd mölep g-öp.
 coconut lump above already some time ago dry do-perf3s
 'The coconuts up above had been dry for some time already.'
- (10) ram hilöm g-öp.
 ground dark do-perf3s
 'It became dark.'

Quotative Predicates are always manifested by an Augmented Verb Phrase or a Compound Verb Phrase which is immediately preceded by the manifestation of the obligatory Quote function. Time, Subject, Accompanier, Indirect Object, Locative and Manner functions optionally cooccur with the Quotative Predicate but no others. The only verbs which may occur in the Quotative Predicate are a g+, e g+ and o g+ which are synonyms meaning 'say' and a g+ nöŋ 'ask':

- (11) kale hag-la wasö nibi anöbu um-öb e g+-la.
 3p say-rempast3p no woman that die-perf3s say-rempast3p
 'They said, "No! That woman has died."'
- (12) ki apsil möhaw mel u aygege g+-mil
 excl grandmother and grandchild indeed that why do-prescrip2d
 an+g g+-p-il a g+ g+ nöŋ-öb.
 thus do-perf-2d say perceive-perf3s
 '"Well, Grandmother-grandchild, what did you do that for?", he asked.'

Equational Predicates are always manifested by a Noun Phrase and may optionally cooccur with Time and Subject functions but no others:

- (13) b+ mölep u pe ne ayön halö b+.
 man old that conj 3s sorcery with man
 'That old man is a sorcerer.'

1.4. WORD ORDER IN THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

Normal word order in the Simple Sentence is in accordance with the order of the grammatical functions in Table A whether the sentence is

Indicative, Imperative or Prescriptive regardless of whether the independent clause which manifests the Simple Sentence is Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, Complementary, Quotative or Equational. The Predicate usually occurs Sentence-finally but it may be followed by the manifestation of the Locative function or the Manner function.

- (14) pe abö dudu g+ yu-öp ke aw-ran-u
 conj tread crooked do throw-perf3s place apart there-dem-that
 gam+η.
 downstream

'So he trod on it and knocked it down.'

- (15) hag-p-in mow.
 say-perf-ls thus

'So I have said.'

1.5. INDEPENDENT CLAUSE NONPREDICATE FUNCTIONS

1.5.1. Time

The Time function may be manifested by a Time Word, e.g. uri 'now', m+n̄i 'now', rol 'the previous day, the following day', ruö 'the following day', nöd 'some time ago', mödö (mödö) 'presently', pörpör 'always' or by a Temporal Phrase, e.g.

- (16) sib aη
 darkness middle
'In the middle of the night'

- (17) sib halö
 darkness with
'Before daybreak'

There are collocational restrictions between the manifestation of the Time function and the Predicate. The Imperative Mood indicates a compulsion to perform an action which is to be complied with immediately and so the Time function may only be manifested by expressions indicating the immediate future, such as uri and m+n̄i:

- (18) uri nöp n̄i-Ø.
 now emph give-imp2s
'Give it now!'

- (19) m+n̄i pe dusin ap aka gajil ap aka haleb ap wara g-aη.
 now conj a or a or a stand -imp3s
'Now a man from Dusin or Ganjil or Halemp must'

The Prescriptive Mood naturally precludes any manifestation of the Time function which does not indicate future time:

- (20) rol aw-nam aw-ag-nam?
the following day come-prescripls come-neg-prescripls
'Am I to come tomorrow or not?'
- (21) *nöd aw-nam aw-ag-nam?
some time ago come-prescripls come-neg-prescripls
'Am I to come some time ago or not?'

The rest of the remarks on Collocational restrictions apply to the Present, Future, Perfect, Remote Past and Simple Past in both Indicative and Interrogative Mood. The Present Tense indicates (a) the situation is taking place at the time of utterance or (b) the situation will soon take place, i.e. immediately following the utterance. Accordingly it co-occurs only with manifestations of the Time function which refer to either of these times, e.g.

- (22) uri nöp g-ab.
now emph do-pres3s
'He's doing it now.'
- (23) mödö mödö ar-nab-in.
presently go-fut-1s
'I am going presently.'

The Future Tense indicates that the situation will take place some time after the utterance and only cooccurs with manifestations of the Time function which refer to this time:

- (24) ruö ar-nab.
tomorrow go-fut3s
He will go tomorrow.'

The Perfect expresses the relation between a present state and a situation which took place prior to the utterance and only occurs with manifestations of the Time function which refer to some time prior to the utterance:

- (25) sib halö aw-b-in.
darkness with come-perf-1s
'I came before daybreak.'
- (26) rol aw-b-in.
previous day/following day come-perf-1s
'I came yesterday/tomorrow.'

The Remote Past Tense indicates that the situation took place prior to the day of utterance and is viewed in its entirety as a complete whole. Any manifestation of the Time function must be appropriate:

- (27) pe nöd b+ ap b+ majö ap il kub u
 conj *sometime ago man a man important a lineage big there*
 möd-ey-la.
 remain-dur-rempast3p
 'Some time ago there was an important man from a big lineage.'

- (28) rol aw-nö.
 one day before come-rempast1s
 'I came yesterday.'

The Simple Past Time simply indicates that the situation took place prior to the time of utterance and so any manifestation of the Time function which refers to this time is compatible with it:

- (29) uri nöp aw-+n.
 now emph come-past1s
 'I have just come.'

Collocational restrictions operate between the Time Function and the Predicate of the Simple Sentence in narrative too, but here the temporal point of reference is not the moment of utterance, as in current dialogue. It may be the time into which the narrator projects himself which may change as he moves along with the story, or it may be a situation which has already been described in the story. In Narrative Discourse the Time setting may be manifested by a Simple Sentence:

- (30) ram ru-n+g g-a.
 ground light-intent do-rempast3s
 'Day was about to break.'
- (31) ram ru-n+g g-aj-+p.
 ground light-intent do-dur-past3s
 'Day was breaking.'
- (32) sidö aḡ l+k aw-a.
 sun middle above come-rempast3s
 'It was midday.'
- (33) ruö ram ru-a.
 one day after ground light-rempast3s
 'The next day.'

1.5.2. Subject

The Subject function normally occurs at the beginning of the sentence preceded only by the Time function, but in Interrogative Transitive Clauses an Interrogative Pronoun functioning as Subject usually immediately precedes the Predicate:

- (34) nan y+p an n̄i-n+m?
thing IOls who? give-prescrip3s
'Who is to give me it?'

Also, the Subject is preceded by an Object which is relativised on:

- (35) manö köi hag-p-im yad nöŋ ayj g-ag-p-in.
talk(Noun) 2p say-perf-2p ls perceive well do-neg-perf-ls
'I do not fully understand what you said.'

1.5.3. Accompanier

An Accompanier function must always contiguously follow the Subject:

- (36) yad ne ayp ar-ab-in.
ls 2s accomp go-pres-ls
'I am going with you.'

1.5.4. Object

The Object function is manifested by a Noun Phrase and usually follows the Subject and Accompanier and precedes the Indirect Object:

- (37) b+ kayn n̄+ pro n̄-ab.
man dog child small give-pres3s
'The man is giving the dog to the child.'

Some exceptions have been described in 1.5.2.

1.5.5. Indirect Object

The Indirect Object normally follows the Object:

- (38) ayud anöbu nöd-bö y+p hag yam-la.
story that some time ago-ADJR IOls say point-rempast3p
'They told me that old story.'

Either (or both) of these functions may be emphasised by being moved out of its normal position in relation to the other:

- (39) b+ i magö a n̄+ n̄+nab-in.
man this lump one give-fut-ls
'I will give this man one shilling.'

Here the emphasis may be on the particular man, the amount of money, or both.

1.5.6. Locative

The Locative function is manifested by a Noun Phrase, a Locative Phrase or a Locational Noun Phrase, the latter being a Noun Phrase followed by a Locative Phrase:

- (40) sibay ar-öp. (Noun Phrase)
 go-perf3s
'He has gone to Simbai.'
- (41) ne gay-nöbö aw-b-an? (Locative Phrase)
 2s where-indeed come-perf-2s
'Where have you come from?'
- (42) yam möhaw aŋ yaŋ möd-ay-lö. (Locative Phrase)
 lineage two middle below remain-dur-rempast3d
'Two lineages were in the middle on the lower end.'
- (43) n̄+g aŋ yaŋ möd-aj-+p. (Locational Noun Phrase)
 water middle below remain-dur-past3s
'He was in the middle of the water.'

The Locative Phrase consists of a series of Locative Words which are classified according to their order in relation to other Locative Words in the Locative Phrase. The Locative Words do not modify each other, but they may take the location specified by preceding Locative Words as the spatial point of reference for further specification. Locative Words of Class 1 indicate the immediate relation to the fixed spatial reference point. In the case of Locational Noun Phrases this reference point is indicated by its Noun Phrase component. Words of Class 2 indicate distance from the fixed reference point, Class 3 spatial relation to the speaker, Class 4 place, Class 5 position in relation to prior spatial reference point specified in terms of vertical and horizontal axes from viewpoint of speaker. In the following examples the numbers in brackets indicate Class membership:

- (44) ram (NP) höŋ (1) sel (2) aw (3) ga (4) l+k (5)
 house outside close to there place a little above
'The place outside and near the house there, a little above.'
- (45) ram i! (1) g+ (4) yaŋ (5)
 house base place below
'The area immediately around the house below.'

The Locative Phrase consists of Locative Words only, so in this case the indication of the spatial reference point is external to the Phrase. It may be the speaker, the hearer, or a place already established between speaker and hearer:

- (46) adö (1) sel (2) aw (3) ga (4) l+k (5)
 above close to there place a little above
'Just up there a little above (us).'
- (47) aŋ (1) l+k (5) ga (4) y+k (5)
 in middle a little above place a little below
'In the middle a little above (us) and now down a bit.'

The order of the constituent manifesting the Locative function in relation to manifestations of other clause functions is rather free. Only constituents manifesting the Locative or Manner function may follow the Predicate:

- (48) b+ wög g-ab laŋ.
man garden do-pres3s above
 'A man is making a garden up there.'

However in about two-thirds of the cases, the Locative constituent precedes the Predicate, usually contiguously:

- (49) mab ayj ayj sel awi möd-öp.
tree good good close to just there remain-perf3s
 'There are some very good trees not far (from here) in that direction.'

The Locative constituent may be emphasised by being moved out of its normal position to precede the Subject:

- (50) adan kaj hib l+-b-al.
road pig excretion put-perf-3p
 'The pigs have left their excretion on the road.'

The Locative constituent may occur between the Subject and Object. In the following example the juxtaposition of the Object and Predicate has special semantic significance which may account for this departure from the more usual word order:

- (51) yad be g+ laŋ yawr hu|i ar-ab-in.
ls bush place above bird bird species go-pres-1s
 'I am going up into the bush (to get) some hu|i.'

When occurring with a Motion Predicate the Locative function may express the Source, Path or Goal:

- (52) nibi lapön lihak-ep rö i gay-nöbö aw-b-an
woman old vomit-ADJR like here where-indeed come-perf-2s
 a g-al. (Source)
 say-rempast3p
 '"You repulsive old woman, where have you come from?", they said.'

- (53) adan jiq ga jiq g+-no. (Path)
road upstream place upstream do-rempast1p
 'We went along the road in the direction of the source of the river.'

- (54) adog-un ram aw-b-un. (Goal)
return-succ.ss1s house come-perf-1p
 'We returned home.'

- (55) wal wayön be ar-b-il. (Goal)
possum cassowary bush go-perf-3d
 'They went to the bush for wild animals.'

When occurring with a Transitive Predicate the Locative function may express the Source or Goal:

- (56) ram ad u ru si ud ar-öp. (Source)
house ls there are illicitly take go-perf3s
'He stole the axe from my house there.'
- (57) pe abö dudu g+ yu-öp ke aw-ran-u
 conj step crooked do throw-perf3s place apart there-dem-that
 ga-miŋ. (Goal)
place-downstream
'He trod it right down.'

There may be more than one manifestation of the Locative function:

- (58) pen iha! ga-m+ŋ nibi r+mnap haws sik möd-ey-
 conj place-downstream woman some (Pidgin) remain-dur-
 la dusin laŋ.
 rempast3p above
'Some women from Ihalt downstream were at the clinic up at Dusin.'

1.5.7. Manner

The Manner function is manifested by an Adverb, some of which are:

haynö	'slowly'	lel	'quickly'
ig+d	'quickly'	dip	'quickly'
ampel	'immediately'	map+!	'very well'
kayaŋ	'again'	hadö	'completely'
agam+j	'secretly'	hawn	'excessively'
kabörö	'correctly'	ihariŋ	'for no particular reason'
duyduy	'incorrectly'	niŋö	'really, truly'
si	'illicitly'	mow	'thus'

The Adverb usually immediately precedes the Predicate:

- (59) mödö nibin dö hadö aw-a.
presently his wife emph completely come-rempast3s
'After a while his wife arrived.'
- (60) Kaunsol ne an nöp adan dajiŋ pör nöp amölapöl
 (Pidgin) 3s one only road upstream always emph back and forth
 g-öp.
do-perf3s
'The Councillor always goes back and forth along the road alone.'

1.5.8. Complement

The Complement function is manifested by a Noun Phrase or an Adjectival Phrase which occurs immediately preceding the Predicate following any constituents manifesting Time, Subject, Locative and Manner functions:

- (61) hon b+ klis g+-nab-un. (Noun Phrase)
lp man important do-fut-lp
'We will be important men.'
- (62) re imgup rö l-öp. (Adjectival Phrase)
snake snake species like put-perf3s
'He changed into a snake like an imgup.'
- (63) kaj pödöŋ g-öp. (Adjectival Phrase)
pig strong do-perf3s
'The meat is tough.'
- (64) balus b+n+g-ep l-ag-öp. (Adjectival Phrase)
plane(Pidgin) pierce-ADJR put-neg-perf3s
'The plane cannot land.'

In (64) the Complement function is manifested by b+n+g-ep which is a derived Adjective. The derivational suffix -ep derives an Adjective from a Verb Stem and balus manifests the Subject function. In (63) kaj manifests the Subject function and pödöŋ the Complement function.

1.5.9. Quote

The Quote function is manifested by an embedded Sentence - Simple, Complex, Compound or Contrafactual, which immediately precedes the Predicate. The embedded Sentence is preceded by hag 'say' inflected exactly as the Verb in the Augmented or Compound Verb Phrase manifesting the Predicate.

- (65) hol hag-lo hol nibi sesa möd-öp y+k
ld say-rempastld ld woman remain-perf3s a little below
ar-ab-ul e g+-lo.
go-pres-ld say-rempastld
'We said, "We are going just down to where Sesa is."'

2. THE PREDICATE FUNCTION

2.0. As stated above, Predicates are divided into six classes according to cooccurrence restrictions with nonpredicate clause functions. The class of the Predicate determines the Clause type, and in turn the Sentence type. Five of the Predicate types, Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, Complementary and Quotative Predicates, are Verbal Predicates and one, the Equational Predicate, is Nonverbal.

2.1. NONVERBAL PREDICATES

The Predicates of some clauses are manifested by Noun Phrases. Such Predicates are called Equational Predicates and the clauses which contain them are called Equational Clauses. The Equational Predicate is

the only obligatory function of the Equational Clause. The following Simple Sentence is manifested by an Equational Predicate alone. The Predicate consists of an embedded Sentence functioning as a Prenominal Modifier and a Noun. The Predicate of the embedded sentence consists of a Stem to which the derivational affix *-ep* is attached, marking the function of the embedded sentence as a Modifier of the following Noun:

- (66) *nibi anwöl möhaw kale nibi sebö ud-ep b+.*
woman two wives of one man 3d woman more than one take-ADJR man
'The man had two wives.'

The following Simple Sentence manifests both Subject and Predicate functions. Both Subject and Predicate are manifested by a Noun Phrase, the Subject by *b+ ne*, which is a Noun followed by a free Pronoun, the Predicate by the remainder of the Sentence which is an embedded Compound Sentence functioning as a Prenominal Modifier followed by a Noun.

- (67) *b+ ne wal hel l-öm nöŋ nawö g+ g+ g+*
man 3s possum trap put-succ.ss3s perceive repeatedly do do do
wal hel l-öm nöŋ nawö g+ g+ g+ ud-ep
possum trap put-succ.ss3s perceive repeatedly do do do take-ADJR
b+.
man
'There was a man who used to hunt possums by setting traps and going to look at them regularly.'

The Simple Sentence manifested by an Independent Equational Clause may be Indicative or Interrogative:

- (68) *b+ u b+ ayj.*
man that man good
'That man is good.'
- (69) *b+ u b+ an?*
man that man who?
'Who is that man?'

2.2. VERBAL PREDICATES

Verbal Predicates are manifested by one and only one Verb Phrase, which may be (a) a Simple Verb Phrase, (b) an Augmented Verb Phrase, (c) an Impersonal Verb Phrase, (d) an Auxiliary Verb Phrase, or (e) a Compound Verb Phrase.

2.2.1. The Simple Verb Phrase

The Simple Verb Phrase may manifest the Predicate of all Independent Clause types except Equational. It consists of a Simple Verb alone. The Simple Verb in turn consists of a Verb Stem together with its

affixes. The Simple Verb also functions as the nucleus of the other four Verb Phrase types, occurring Phrase-finally in each case. In the Simple Sentence obligatory suffixes on the Simple Verb indicate person and number of the Subject, and Tense and Mood. This is the case for all Verb Phrase types except the Impersonal Verb Phrase, in which the person and number suffix is always third person singular (2.2.3.). Certain Aspects may also be indicated by suffixes on the Simple Verb, although most Aspects are indicated by Auxiliary and Compound Verb Phrases. There are no prefixes or infixes in Kobon. There are five orders of affixes on the Simple Verb in the Independent Clause, as shown in Table B. The Order 5 suffixes in the Table are the first person singular forms.

TABLE B
ORDER OF SUFFIXES ON THE INDEPENDENT VERB

Stem	1	2	3	4	5
e.g.	Negative	Durative Aspect	Tense	Perfect Aspect	Person and Number of Subject (and Tense, Aspect and Mood)
pu	-ag	-ay ~ -ey -aj	past: Ø pres: -ab fut: -nab	-b ~ -p	-in -nō -in -nam

2.2.1.1. Person and Number of Subject

Except in the Impersonal Verb Phrase (2.2.3.) the Simple Verb obligatorily specifies the person and number of the Subject of the Simple Sentence. First, second and third persons are distinguished in singular and plural. In the dual there is a two-way distinction only, between first person on the one hand and second and third on the other hand. The Predicate must normally agree in person and number with the Subject. There are no Nominal affixes indicating number but the number of the Subject may be indicated by other elements within the Noun Phrase, e.g. free pronoun, possessive pronoun, quantifier, or numeral (section 3). Where the Subject is manifested by a single collective noun, the number indicated by the verbal suffix is singular:

- (70) yam hagma ne aŋ rawl laŋ han-a.
lineage 3s middle inside above sleep-rempast3s
 'The Hagma lineage slept in the middle (of the house) at the upper end.'

In the following example the Subject is 'two lineages' so the verb takes the dual suffix:

- (71) *yam möhaw aŋ yaŋ möd-ay-lö.*
lineage two middle below remain-dur-rempast3d
'Two lineages were in the middle on the lower end.'

In the following example the stars are treated as a unit for the purpose of number agreement in the Predicate:

- (72) *gap+ aṅ aṅ ram l+mö l+-nab n̄in u möhöp .nöp aw-laŋ*
star one one ground dry put-fut3s day that two only there-above
wayo l+-n-ab.
in the open put-fut-3s
'During the dry season only a few stars will come out up above.'

If the Accompanier function is manifested then the Predicate may agree in number either with the Subject alone or with the Subject and Accompanier combined:

- (73) *yad ne ayp ar-nab-in.*
ls 2s accomp go-fut-ls
'I will go with you.'
- (74) *yad ne ayp ar-nab-ul.*
ls 2s accomp go-fut-ld
'I will go with you.'
- (75) *rigi weṅ+n ayp ar-öp.*
accomp go-perf3s
'Ricky went with Wenyin.'
- (76) *rigi weṅ+n ayp ar-b-il.*
accomp go-perf-3d
'Ricky went with Wenyin.'

This is so even if there is no overt manifestation of the Subject function outside the Predicate:

- (77) *ne ayp ar-nab-in.*
2s accomp go-fut-ls
'I will go with you.'
- (78) *ne ayp ar-nab-ul.*
2s accomp go-fut-ld
'I will go with you.'

The different forms of the person-number suffixes in the different Tenses, Aspects and Moods show varying degrees of similarity. The suffixes for Present and Future Tenses are identical, and those for Perfect are very similar to them. In some Moods and Tenses the fifth order suffix is a portmanteau morpheme specifying not only person and

number of the Subject but also Mood and/or Aspect. The various forms of the person-number suffixes set out in Table C.

TABLE C
PERSON-NUMBER (-ASPECT-MOOD) SUFFIXES

	Present/ Future	Perfect	Remote Past	Simple Past	Imperative	Prescriptive
1s	-in	-in	-nö	-+n ~ -in	-+n	-nam
2s	-ön	-an	-na	-an	-∅	-mön
3s	-∅	-∅	-a	-+p	-aŋ	-n+im/-m+ŋ
1d	-ul	-ul	-lo	-ul	-ul	-ul
2/3d	-il	-il	-lö	-+l	-+l	-mil
1p	-un	-un	-no	-un	-un	-un
2p	-im	-im	-be ~ -pe	-im	-im	-mim
3p	-öl	-al	-la	-al	-laŋ	-öl

2.2.1.2. Tense

Past, Present and Future tenses are distinguished by third order affixes (Table B).

2.2.1.2.1. Present Tense

The Present Tense form indicates (a) the situation is taking place at the time of speaking, or (b) the situation will take place on the day of utterance. The Present Indicative paradigm is set out in Table D.

TABLE D
PARADIGM FOR PRESENT INDICATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE OF PU 'BREAK'

	Stem	Tense	Person, number, mood
1s	pu	-ab	-in
2s	pu	-ab	-ön
3s	pu	-ab	-∅
1d	pu	-ab	-ul
2/3d	pu	-ab	-il
1p	pu	-ab	-un
2p	pu	-ab	-im
3p	pu	-ab	-öl

2.2.1.2.2. Future Tense

The Future Tense form indicates that a situation will take place some time in the future. The only difference between the Future Indicative paradigm, which is set out in Table E, and the Present Indicative paradigm is the phoneme *n*, which suggests an alternative analysis whereby *-n* and *-ab* might be set up as separate suffixes. It may be that historically *-n* indicated 'remote' future time and that *-ab* indicated nonpast time. However this is speculative and the question is left open as to any synchronic significance in the similarity of these forms.

TABLE E
PARADIGM FOR FUTURE INDICATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE OF pu 'BREAK'

	Stem	Tense	Person, number, mood
1s	pu	-nab	-in
2s	pu	-nab	-ön
3s	pu	-nab	-∅
1d	pu	-nab	-ul
2/3d	pu	-nab	-il
1p	pu	-nab	-un
2p	pu	-nab	-im
3p	pu	-nab	-öl

2.2.1.2.3. Remote Past Tense

The Remote Past Tense form indicates (a) that a situation took place prior to the day of utterance, and (b) that the aspect of the situation is perfective, i.e. that the action is viewed in its entirety, as a complete whole (Comrie 1976:18). Thus the fifth order affix in this paradigm, set out in Table F, is a portmanteau indicating person and number of the subject and also aspect of the situation.

TABLE F
PARADIGM FOR REMOTE PAST INDICATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE OF PU 'BREAK'

	Stem	Tense	Person, number, mood
1s	pu	-Ø	-nö
2s	pu	-Ø	-na
3s	pu	-Ø	-a
1d	pu	-Ø	-lo
2/3d	pu	-Ø	-lö
1p	pu	-Ø	-no
2p	pu	-Ø	-be
3p	pu	-Ø	-la

2.2.1.2.4. Simple Past Tense

The Simple Past Tense form simply indicates that the action took place prior to the time of the utterance. It is substitutable for either of the other Past Tenses, and is neutral as to aspect. The paradigm is set out in Table G.

TABLE G
PARADIGM FOR SIMPLE PAST INDICATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE OF PU 'BREAK'

	Stem	Tense	Person, number, mood
1s	pu	-Ø	-in
2s	pu	-Ø	-an
3s	pu	-Ø	-ip
1d	pu	-Ø	-ul
2/3d	pu	-Ø	-il
1p	pu	-Ø	-un
2p	pu	-Ø	-im
3p	pu	-Ø	-al

2.2.1.3. Aspect

Two of the paradigms of the Simple Verb as it occurs in the Independent Clause indicate specific Aspects - the Remote Past Tense paradigm and the Perfect paradigm. The former was briefly described in 2.2.1.2.3.

2.2.1.3.1. Perfect Aspect

Perfect aspect 'expresses a relation between two time-points, on the one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior situation, and on

the other hand the time of that situation' (Comrie 1976:52). As used in normal dialogue in Kobon this paradigm is a present perfect. It expresses a relation between a present state and a past situation. The Perfect may indicate that the present state is the result of the past situation - the perfect of result (Comrie 1976:56). The Perfect of *nöŋ* 'see' indicates current visual observation of some physical object or present understanding:

- (79) *nöŋ*-b-in.
see-perf-1s
 'I see it (visually)./I understand.'

möd 'remain, be' does not occur in the Present Tense. The usual greeting is:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (80) A <i>möd</i> -p-an.
<i>remain</i> -perf-2s
'You are.' | B <i>möd</i> -p-in.
<i>remain</i> -perf-1s
'I am.' |
|--|--|

A present sickness is the result of some past situation:

- (81) *yad nan* g-öp.
 1s *thing do*-perf3s
 'I am ill.'

Very often when the Perfect is used the past situation has occurred on the day of the utterance. This accords with the usage in many languages of the perfect 'where the present relevance of the past situation referred to is simply one of temporal closeness, i.e. the past situation is very recent' (Comrie 1976:60).

- (82) *n̄el* fu-b-in.
firewood break-perf-1s
 'I have broken the firewood.'

However it is not necessarily the case that the past situation was recent, e.g. the basis of the present understanding in (79) might be some event in the remote past. In narrative the Perfect may be used to express a relation between a past situation and the time into which the narrator has projected himself. This may change as he moves along with the story. The paradigm for the Perfect is set out in Table H.

TABLE H
PARADIGM FOR PERFECT INDICATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE OF pu 'BREAK'

	Stem	Perfect	Person, number, mood
1s	pu	-b	-in
2s	pu	-b	-an
3s	pu	-öp	-Ø
1d	pu	-b	-ul
2/3d	pu	-b	-il
1p	pu	-b	-un
2p	pu	-b	-im
3p	pu	-b	-al

The allomorph -p follows a stop, affricate, or velar fricative:¹

(83) hag-p-al.
say-perf-3p
'They said.'

(84) aw-ag-p-im.
come-neg-perf-2p
'You did not come.'

-b follows all other segments:

(85) p+l-b-in.
pull-perf-1s
'I have pulled.'

In third person singular three different allomorphs occur. -öb follows nasals:

(86) um-öb.
die-perf3s
'He has died.'

(87) ran-öb.
climb-perf3s
'He has climbed.'

(88) n̄-öb.
give-perf3s
'He has given.'

(89) nöŋ-öb.
see-perf3s
'He has seen.'

-öp occurs in all other environments:

- (90) a1-öp.
shoot-perf3s
'He has shot.'

-ub occurs as an alternative to -öp following aw:

- (91) daw-ub. / daw-öp.
bring-perf3s bring-perf3s
'He has brought.'

2.2.1.3.2. Durative Aspect

Durative aspect indicates that a given situation is conceived of as lasting for a period of time as opposed to a punctual situation (Comrie 1976:41f). Durative aspect is indicated in Kobon by a second order suffix which has two grammatically determined allomorphs (see Table I). -ay is compatible with Future Indicative and Interrogative, Remote Past Indicative and Interrogative, and Prescriptive (and Interrogative Prescriptive), and also with the negative of all these forms. -aj is compatible with Simple Past Indicative and Interrogative and Perfect Indicative and Interrogative and also with the negative of these forms. The Durative aspect is incompatible with Present Indicative and Interrogative. The paradigm in Table I shows the Durative aspect suffix in conjunction with the first person singular of the various forms with which it is compatible.

TABLE I
 PARADIGM SHOWING THE DURATIVE SUFFIX -AY ~ -EY/-AJ

	Stem	Neg	Durative	Tense	Perfect	Person-Number (Tense, Aspect, Mood)
Future	pu	(-ag)	-ay	-nab	-	-in
Remote Past	pu	(-ag)	-ay	-∅	-	-nö
Prescriptive	pu	(-ag)	-ay	-	-	-nam
Simple Past	pu	(-ag)	-aj	-∅	-	-in
Perfect	pu	(-ag)	-aj	-∅	-p	-in

- (92) pe nöd b+ ap b+ majö ap il kub u
 conj before man certain man important certain lineage big there
 möd-ey-la.
 remain-dur-rempast3p
'Some time ago there was an important man from a big lineage.'

The Durative aspect may perhaps best be illustrated by the following Complex Sentence:

- (93) nime nap pe pidagö nöŋ-öl g+ aj-aj-+l.
his mother his father conj noise hear-sim do walk-dur-past3d
'His mother and father were listening to the noise as they were walking along.'

Other aspects may be indicated in the verbal phrase but since the constructions contain more than one verbal constituent they are discussed under Auxiliary Verb Phrases and Compound Verb Phrases in 2.2.4. and 2.2.5. respectively.

2.2.1.4. Mood

There are four moods - Indicative, Interrogative, Imperative and Prescriptive.

2.2.1.4.1. Indicative Mood expresses a statement of fact. There are five basic Indicative paradigms - Present, Future, Perfect, Remote Past and Simple Past.

2.2.1.4.2. Interrogative Mood. A polar question is asked by juxtaposition of two simple verbs, the second being identical to the first except for the presence of the negative suffix -ag:

- (94) kaj möd-öp möd-ag-öp?
pig remain-perf-3s remain-neg-perf-3s
'Is there any meat?'

Alternatively the normal Indicative form of Simple Sentence may be followed by aka wasö:

- (95) kañim anöm im haw-b-an aka wasö?
banana sucker plant consume-perf-2s or no
'Have you planted all the banana suckers?'

These constructions are used where the questioner does not know whether the answer is more likely to be positive or negative.² Where a positive answer is anticipated the form of the Sentence is the same as for the Indicative but it has an Interrogative intonation contour whereby the last accent in the Sentence is exaggerated by an increase of stress, heightening of pitch and lengthening of the vowel. The suffix -e may optionally be added to the end of the Simple Verb provided it is Sentence-final.

- (96) paröm ar-ab-ön-e?
festivity go-pres-2s-?
'Are you going to the festivities?'

Interrogative Phrases may be used to ask for identification of Time, Subject, Accompanier, Object, Indirect Object, Locative and Quote.

In a question asking for specification of the time when a situation occurred, the Interrogative Temporal Phrase *mañu ay* manifests the Time function:

- (97) *ne mañu ay sibay ar-nab-ön?*
 2s time interrog go-fut-2s
 'When will you go to Simbai?'

In a question asking for specification of a person(s) who was the Actor, Patient or Recipient in a situation, an Interrogative Noun Phrase manifests the Subject, Object or Indirect Object function. The Interrogative Noun Phrase usually immediately precedes the Predicate. Only a manifestation of the Locative or Manner function may intervene. The Interrogative Noun Phrase consists of a Head Noun followed by an Interrogative Pronoun *an* 'who', or the Interrogative Pronoun alone. The Head Noun may be *b+* which as well as meaning 'male adult human' also serves as a generic term for human beings:

- (98) *b+ an g-a?*
 man/person who? do-rempast3s
 'Who/which man did it?'

If the questioner believes the answer will specify a woman he may use *nibi* as the Head Noun:

- (99) *nibi an g-a?*
 woman who? do-rempast3s
 'Which woman did it?'

Similarly if the questioner believes the answer will specify a child, a boy or a girl he may use *ñi*, *ñi* or *pay* respectively as the Head Noun.

In a question asking for specification of a non-human animate or inanimate entity an Interrogative Noun Phrase again manifests Subject, Object and Indirect Object functions, but in this case the Interrogative Pronoun is *nöhön* 'which?' and the Head Noun is the generic noun *nan* 'thing':

- (100) *nan nöhön ñiq-ab-ön?*
 thing what? eat-pres-2s
 'What are you eating?'

This phrase, *nan nöhön*, also serves to ask for specification of a verbal utterance:

- (101) *nan nöhön hag-öp?*
 thing what say-perf3s
 'What did he say?'

This is an Interrogative Transitive Sentence and the Interrogative Noun Phrase is manifesting the Object function, rather than the Quote function in a Quotative Sentence. Verbs which manifest Quotative Predicates are not substitutable:

- (102) *nan nöhön e g-öp?
thing what say-perf3s
 'What did he say?'

Again the Interrogative Noun Phrase may be manifested by an Interrogative Pronoun alone:

- (103) nöhön hag-öp?
what say-perf3s
 'What did he say?'

If the question is asking for specification of an Accompanier the Interrogative Noun Phrase followed by the particle *ayp* manifests the Accompanier function:

- (104) ne b+ an ayp ar-na?
2s man who? accomp go-rempast2s
 'With whom did you go?'

In a question asking for specification of the place involved in a situation an Interrogative Locative Phrase manifests the Locative Function. The same Interrogative Phrase in conjunction with an appropriate Predicate serves to request specification of Place Where, Place Whither and Place Whence.

- (105) yad gay han-nam?
1s where sleep-prescripls
 'Where am I to sleep?'

- (106) ar-ab-ön gay?
go-pres-2s where
 'Where are you going?'

- (107) nibi lapön lihak-ep rö i gay-nöbö aw-b-an
woman old vomit-ADJR like here where-emph come-perf-2s
 a g-a1
say-past3p
 'They said, "You repulsive old woman, where have you come here from?"'

2.2.1.4.3. The Imperative Mood, like the Prescriptive Mood, indicates a compulsion for a situation to take place. The time for compliance is immediate, in contrast to the Prescriptive Mood where time for compliance is nonimmediate. For this reason these Moods might be labelled 'Present Prescriptive' and 'Future Prescriptive'. However, as well as

the difference in the time for compliance, there are further differences between the implications of the two paradigms. The degree of compulsion is greater in the case of the Imperative. Also the Imperative necessarily prescribes a semelfactive situation whereas that prescribed by the Prescriptive may be iterative. Here the term 'semelfactive' refers to a situation that takes place once and only once and 'iterative' to a situation that is repeated. This usage follows Comrie 1976:42f.

(108) y+p ap n̄i-Ø.
IOls *some give-imp2s*
'Give me some!'

(109) m+n̄i pe dusin ap aka gajil ap aka haleb ap wara g-aŋ
now conj a or a or a stand-imp3s
a g-un.
say-past1p
'We said, "Now someone from Dusin or Ganjil or Halemp must stand."'

2.2.1.4.4. The Prescriptive Mood indicates a compulsion or obligation for a situation to take place in the nonimmediate future. The situation may be semelfactive or iterative. This mood contrasts with the Imperative Mood (see 2.2.1.4.3.).

(110) yad gay han-nam?
ls *where sleep-prescripl*
'Where am I to sleep?'

2.2.1.5. Negative

Any Verbal Predicate in any of the following types of Simple Sentence - Transitive, Intransitive, Motion or Complementary - may contain the negative suffix -ag. It is compatible with all Tenses, Aspects and Moods.

(111) ne n̄i pro daw-ag-öp. (Transitive)
3s *child small bring-neg-perf3s*
'He did not bring the young child.'

(112) um-ag-nab. (Intransitive)
die-neg-fut3s
'He will not die.'

(113) aynog ar-ag-nab-in. (Motion)
go-neg-fut-1s
'I will not go to Aynonk.'

(114) wös mölep g-ag-öp. (Complementary)
sore dry do-neg-perf3s
'The sore is not dry.'

There is a special idiomatic usage of the negative suffix whereby a speaker who is really making a positive statement adds emphasis by incorporating the negative suffix:

- (115) yad aw-ag-p-in.
 ls come-neg-past-ls
 'I really have come.'

Another example of this usage can be seen in the sample text, lines 12-14 on pp.54-55.

A Nonverbal Predicate in an Equational Clause is negated by the Exclamation Word wasö 'No!' added Sentence finally to the positive construction:

- (116) b+ u bap ad wasö.
 man that father ls No!
 'That man is not my father.'

2.2.2. The Augmented Verb Phrase

The Augmented Verb Phrase may manifest the Predicate of Transitive, Intransitive or Motion Clauses and consists of an idiomatic combination of a Particle, Noun, Adverb, Adjective, Locative Word or Exclamation plus a Simple Verb. None of the Particles occur in isolation from the Verb. An Augmented Verb Phrase may be of a different type than a Verb Phrase manifested by the same Simple Verb alone, e.g. n+ 'give', g+ 'do' are Transitive but when combined with the Particle halpi or the Noun kuskus 'bird species', to form an Augmented Verb Phrase, it is Intransitive:

- (117) n̄i pro halpi n̄-ab-ö1.
 child small play -pres-3p
 'The children are playing.'
- (118) n̄i pro kuskus g-ab-ö1.
 child small fight -pres-3p
 'The children are fighting.'

The following are some examples of Augmented Verb Phrases. The verbs in the examples are some of those which occur most frequently in such phrases:

Particle + Verb

a/e/o	g+	'say'
ham+ŋ	g+	'cry'
λip	g+	'pull'
mamo	g+	'come from below'
hil	l+	'forbid'
halpi	n̄+	'play'
jimjim	n̄+	'tie together'

Noun	+ Verb		
kuskus	g+	'fight - of children'	(lit. bird species do)
abös	g+	'take in tongs'	(lit. tongs do)
cage	l+	'perform magic'	(lit. tobacco do)
Adverb	+ Verb		
haynö	g+	'follow'	(lit. behind do)
Adjective	+ Verb		
haw!	g+	'forget'	(lit. insane, deaf do)
Locative	+ Verb		
g+yaŋ	g+	'descend'	(lit. below do)
Exclamation	+ Verb		
wasö	g+	'refuse, disaffirm'	(lit. No! do)

pöd marep rö mamö g+ apran-a.
yam shoot like come from below grow-rempast3s
'Something like a yam shoot had grown from below.'

A Particle is quite often a reduplicated or partly reduplicated form, and this usually indicates an iterative situation.

jöböbö g+ 'flap wings'
jirujiru g+ 'cry - of a hungry animal'
jöjö g+ 'break into small pieces'
gudgud g+ 'cough'

Some Particles are ideophonic, others are suggestive of the situation:

g+roro g+ 'bubble'
gugu g+ 'make a loud knocking noise'
g+r+g+r+ g+ 'scratch - of a rat or lizard'
g+l+g+l g+ 'be startled'

2.2.3. Impersonal Verb Phrase

The Impersonal Verb Phrase may manifest the Predicate of Transitive or Intransitive Clauses and consists of an idiomatic combination of a Particle or Noun plus a Simple Verb. It is similar to the Augmented Verb Phrase (2.2.2.), and might be considered a Subtype of that Phrase Type. The Impersonal Verb Phrase has a more limited range of constituents, both verbal and nonverbal, than the Augmented Verb Phrase. The only Verbs which occur in the Impersonal Verb Phrase are g+ and l+. The other distinction is that in the Impersonal Verb Phrase the Verb always carries the third singular person-number affix regardless of the person and number of the Subject. This is the only restriction on

affixation and all tense aspect and mood suffixes may occur, as may the negative suffix:

- (119) yad nan g-öp.
 ls *thing do-perf3s*
'I am ill.'

The construction is analysed as an Impersonal Verb Phrase rather than a 'double subject' construction since the nonverbal element may be a Particle rather than a Noun. None of the Particles occur in isolation from the Verb:

- (120) yad lisön g-öp.
 ls *cold -perf3s*
'I have a cold.'

- (121) yad an+n+n g-öp.
 ls *fear -perf3s*
'I am afraid.'

- (122) yad re an+n+n g-öp.
 ls *snake fear -perf3s*
'I am afraid of the snake.'

2.2.4. Auxiliary Verb Phrase

Auxiliary Verb Phrases indicate Aspect. Aspect may also be indicated by verbal suffixation - Durative and Perfect (2.2.1.3.) and by a Compound Verb Phrase - Prolongation (2.2.5.). The Auxiliary Verb Phrase consists of two or more verbal elements. The last is a Simple Verb which acts as the Auxiliary. The Verbs which function as Auxiliary are g+ 'do', möd 'remain, be', ar+g 'leave, stop' and haw 'consume, finish'. The preceding element(s) is a Verb Stem. There are two Subtypes of Auxiliary Verb Phrase. In one Subtype the Auxiliary Verb is g+ and the Verb Stem which precedes the Auxiliary is affixed. In the other Subtype the Auxiliary Verb Stem is möd, ar+g or haw and the preceding Verb Stem is unaffixed.

2.2.4.1. Prospective Aspect

Prospective Aspect is indicated by an Auxiliary Verb Phrase in which g+ manifests the Auxiliary element and is affixed as a Simple Verb in the normal way, and -n+g is affixed to the Verb Stem which precedes the Auxiliary. This construction indicates that the commencement of the situation is imminent:

- (123) ar-n+g g-ab-in.
go-purpose do-pres-ls
'I am about to go.'

2.2.4.2. Completion Aspect

Completion Aspect is indicated by an Auxiliary Verb Phrase in which *g+* manifests the Auxiliary element and is affixed as a Simple Verb, and *-p+s ~ -b+s* is affixed to the Verb Stem which precedes the Auxiliary. This construction indicates that the situation is completed:

- (124) *kañ+m anöm im-b+s g-a!*
banana sucker plant-finish do-past3p
'They finished planting the banana suckers.'

2.2.4.3. Habitual Aspect

A habitual situation is 'characteristic of an extended period of time' so that it 'is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely as a characteristic feature of the whole period' (Comrie 1976:26). This is indicated in Kobon by an Auxiliary Verb Phrase in which the Simple Verb is manifested by *möd* 'remain, be' and the preceding element(s) is a Verb Stem. This aspect is perhaps best illustrated by the following Compound Sentence:

- (125) *ucal kam+ŋ möd möd-öp yad ñel pu möd-in.*
alive remain remain-perf3s ls firewood break remain-pastls
'When Ucalt was alive I used to break (his) firewood.'

This Compound Sentence consists of two juxtaposed Simple Sentences. The Predicate of the first is manifested by a Compound Verb Phrase which is indicating a prolonged situation by repetition of the Verb Stem. The Predicate of the second Simple Sentence is manifested by an Auxiliary Verb Phrase and the occurrence of *möd* as the Simple Verb preceded by a different Verb Stem indicates a habitual situation.

2.2.4.4. Discontinuation Aspect

Discontinuation of a situation is indicated by an Auxiliary Verb Phrase in which the Simple Verb is manifested by *ar+g* 'stop, leave' and the preceding element(s) is a Verb Stem:

- (126) *hol aw nōŋ möd ar+g-ul.*
ld there see remain stop-pastld
'We stayed there and watched and then we left.'

2.2.4.5. Consummation Aspect

The attainment of a terminal point of a telic situation (Comrie 1976:46) is indicated by an Auxiliary Verb Phrase in which the Simple Verb is manifested by *haw* 'consume, finish' and the preceding element(s) is a Verb Stem. The aspectual implications of this construction are

very similar to those of the Auxiliary Verb Phrase described in 2.2.4.2., but frequently the construction now being described carries not only the indication of consummation, but also of the consumption of some resource. The meaning of the Compound construction may be clarified by an example of the meaning of *haw* when it occurs alone in a Simple Verb Phrase:

- (127) *meg haw-öp.*
tooth consume-perf3s
'The tooth has decayed.'
- (128) *kaj ñiŋ haw-b-al.*
pig eat consume-perf-3p
'They have eaten all the pig.'
- (129) *kaj raw haw-b-al.*
pig buy consume-perf-3p
'They have bought all the pig (in several portions).'
- (130) *ñel hadiŋ haw-b-in.*
firewood break consume-perf-1s
'I have finished breaking the firewood.'

2.2.5. Compound Verb Phrase

The Compound Verb Phrase consists of a paratactic sequence of Verbs, the last of which is a Simple Verb. This Simple Verb is preceded by one or more Verb Stems or by an Augmented Verb Phrase containing an unaffixed Verb Stem. Specification of person-number, tense, aspect and mood is by affixation of the Simple Verb and applies to the Compound Verb Phrase as a whole, which functions as a unified and coordinated expression with a composite meaning:

- (131) *pöd marep rö mamö g+ ap ran-a.*
yam shoot like from below do come ascend-rempast3s
'Something like a yam shoot had grown up from below.'

The verbal elements may not be separated by other words. If they are the resultant structure is considered to be a Complex or Compound Sentence. A particular Aspect - Prolongation - may be indicated by a special collocation of elements within the Compound Verb Phrase.

2.2.5.1. Prolongation Aspect

A prolonged situation, i.e. a situation which continues over an extensive period, is indicated by a Compound Verb Phrase in which a Verb Stem is repeated one or more times. The Simple Verb may be the same Verb (132) and (134), or a different one (133):

- (132) ban möŋ g+ g+ g-a.
ground rain do do do-rempast3s
'It rained and rained and rained.'
- (133) miʌöŋ hib nöp g+ g+ han-öb.
crying belly emph do do sleep-perf3s
'He sobbed himself to sleep.'

If the Compound Verb Phrase contains an Augmented Verb Phrase the non-verbal element is not repeated:

- (134) nibi lapöŋ hag-öp yad gay han-nam a g+ g+
woman old say-perf3s ls where sleep-prescripts PART do do
g-aj-+p.
do-dur-past3s
'The old woman kept on asking "Where am I to sleep?"'

3. NONPREDICATE FUNCTIONS

3.0. The Nonpredicate functions of the Independent Clause are Time, Subject, Accompanier, Object, Indirect Object, Location, Manner, Complement and Quote. Of these Time, Location and Manner were described in section 1. The Quote function is manifested by an embedded Sentence and so all of this paper is relevant to its description. Of the remaining functions Subject, Accompanier, Object and Indirect Object may be manifested by a Noun Phrase or by a Pronoun, and Complement may be manifested by a Noun Phrase or by an Adjectival Phrase. As mentioned above (2.1.), the Equational Predicate is also manifested by a Noun Phrase. In this section the Noun Phrase, the Adjective Phrase, and the Pronoun will be described.

3.1. NOUN PHRASE

There are four Noun Phrase types. The Compound Noun Phrase consists of two juxtaposed Nouns, each of which may occur independently. When juxtaposed the two Nouns may function as a unit as Head of the General Noun Phrase. The General Noun Phrase consists of a Noun alone or of a Compound Noun Phrase, optionally preceded by an Attributive element and optionally followed by one or more Adjectives or Adjectival Phrases and/or a Possessive Pronoun. The General Noun Phrase may manifest the Subject, Accompanier, Object, Indirect Object and Complement functions of the Clause, and also functions as Head of the Locational Noun Phrase (1.5.6.). The Interrogative Noun Phrase consists of a Noun followed by an Interrogative Pronoun or an Interrogative Pronoun alone and may manifest the Subject, Accompanier, Object and Indirect Object and Complement functions of the Clause. The Coordinate Noun Phrase consists of at least two

Heads which may be two Nouns or two Noun Phrases and may manifest the Subject, Object and Indirect Object functions of the Clause.

3.1.1. Compound Noun Phrase

The Compound Noun Phrase consists of two juxtaposed Nouns and can occur in all places in which a Noun occurs. Although each constituent Noun occurs independently, when juxtaposed and constituting a Compound Noun Phrase they have a composite meaning which it may not be possible to predict from the meanings of the individual constituents:

(135) nan magö
thing lump
'food'

(136) wal wayöŋ
possum cassowary
'wild animals'

(137) kumi kabö
cloud stone
'sky'

(138) wim ru
bow axe
'bride price'

(139) hagape b+
blood man
'newborn baby'

3.1.2. General Noun Phrase

The General Noun Phrase may manifest the Subject, Accompanier, Object, Indirect Object and Complement functions of the Clause and also functions as Head of the Locational Noun Phrase. It consists of a Noun or of a Compound Noun Phrase, in both cases optionally preceded by an Attributive element which may be a Derived Adjectival Phrase, a General Noun Phrase, or an Interrogative Noun Phrase. Where a General or Interrogative Noun Phrase functions as the Attributive element this may constitute a Genitive construction:

(140) dum nab ram
house
'Dumnamp's house'

(141) b+ majö ram
man important house
'an important man's house'

- (142) $\bar{n}i$ i nan anöbu $\bar{n}ig$ \bar{n} -aj-+p ...
child this thing that water give-dur-past3s
'I gave the water of that thing (coconut) to this child ...'
- (143) b+ an ram?
man who? house
'whose house?'

Like the Compound Noun Phrase the Genitive construction in (140) consists of two juxtaposed Nouns but whereas neither of the Nouns constituting the Compound Noun Phrase is more dominant than the other, in the General Noun Phrase the second Noun functions as Head and the first as Attribute. The Noun Phrases in (144)-(148) also consist of two juxtaposed Nouns. The construction resembles the Compound Noun Phrase in that it functions as a unit with a composite meaning but unlike the Compound Noun Phrase the meaning can be predicted from the meanings of each constituent and the first noun limits or specifies the second. In these two respects it resembles the Genitive construction but it differs from that construction in the frequency of association of the two constituent nouns and the resultant composite meaning:

- (144) mab go!
tree knot
'knot in wood'
- (145) ma go!
leg knot
'ankle'
- (146) kögom go!
knee knot
'kneecap'
- (147) \bar{n} inmagö go!
hand knot
'knuckle'
- (148) bom $\bar{n}ig$
bee water
'honey'

A Derived Adjective Phrase may be derived from a Verb Phrase, Clause or Sentence by the attachment of the derivational suffix -ep to the Stem of the last Verb. The suffix indicates that the whole syntactic construction as far back as the previous fully inflected Simple Verb modifies the Noun which follows it:

- (149) b+ ne wal hel l-öm nöŋ nawö g+ g+ g+
man 3s possum trap put-succ.ss3s perceive repeatedly do do do

wal he1 1-öm nöŋ nawö g+ g+ g+ ud-ep
 possum trap put-succ.ss3s perceive repeatedly do do do take-ADJR
 b+.
 man

'There was a man who used to hunt possums by setting traps and going to look at them regularly.'

The Head Noun or Compound Noun Phrase of the General Noun Phrase is optionally followed by one or more Adjectives or Adjectival Phrases and/or a Possessive Pronoun:

- (150) b+ majö aw-a.
 man important come-rempast3s
'An important man came.'
- (151) yad b+ rud ayp aw-b-in.
 1s man white with come-perf-1s
'I have come with the white man.'
- (152) paröm kub ib+! l+-b-al.
 festival house big very put-perf-3p
'They have made a very big festival house.'
- (153) b+ kayn ni pro n-a.
 man dog child small give-rempast3s
'The man gave the dog to the small child.'
- (154) hon b+ klis g+-nab-un.
 lp man important do-fut-lp
'We will be important men.'

An Adjective may specify number from one to four - añ+ 'one', möhöp/möhaw 'two', möhöp nögan 'three', möhöp möhöp 'four':

- (155) pay pro ne möhöp
 girl small 2s two
'your two small daughters'
- (156) ni añ+ u
 child one that
'that one child'

Alternatively number up to 23 may be indicated by pointing to the appropriate part of the upper body concurrently with the utterance. This is the only way to indicate number over four.

- (157) kale kaj u-bö nöp paw-la.
 3p pig that-ADJR emph strike-rempast3p
'They killed that many pigs.'

The 'body-parts' counting system is typical of the languages of Papua New Guinea. Laycock (1975:219) distinguishes such a 'tally system' which is only used 'for direct counting, or "mapping" of a set of objects

against some other measuring code' from a 'true number system', manifestations of which may qualify nouns and provide a complete verbal answer to the question 'how many?'. An Adjective may also indicate general quantity:

- (158) kaj iru paw-b-al.
pig many strike-perf-3p
'They killed many pigs.'

The Adjective may be reduplicated to emphasise the degree:

- (159) adan m+lö m+lö.
road long long
'a very long road'

An Adjective which describes the quality of the Head generally follows one which describes the size or dimensions of the Head:

- (160) yawr kub ayj ib+!
bird big good really
'a very good big bird'

Location may be indicated by means of a Demonstrative:

- (161) buk nan l-ep ka u
thing put-ADJR place that
'that place for putting books and things'

Possession may be indicated by a Possessive Pronoun:

- (162) ni yad nan g-öp.
child ls ill -perf3s
'My child is ill.'

3.1.3. Interrogative Noun Phrase

Some features of the Interrogative Noun Phrase have already been described in 2.2.1.4.2. It consists of a Noun followed by an Interrogative Pronoun or an Interrogative Pronoun alone and may manifest the Subject, Accompanier, Object and Indirect Object functions of the Clause. In a question asking for specification of a human the Human Interrogative Pronoun an is used. This same form is used no matter what the person and number of the person expected in the answer:

- (163) an ud ar-öp?
who? take go-perf3s
'Who took it?'
- (164) ne b+ an ayp ar-öp?
3s man who? accomp go-perf3s
'With whom did he go?'

- (165) ne nibi an al-öp?
 3s woman who? shoot-perf3s
 'Which woman did he shoot?'
- (166) ne ru b+ an ni-b-an?
 2s axe man who? give-perf-2s
 'To whom did you give the axe?'

In a question asking for specification of a nonhuman animate or inanimate entity the Nonhuman Interrogative Pronoun *nöhön* is used, following the Noun *nan* 'thing' or alone.

- (167) weñ+n nan nöhön niq-ab?
 thing what? eat-pres3s
 'What is Wenyin eating?'

The Interrogative Pronoun is often used alone where the answer is expected to specify something which has no material substance, such as an action:

- (168) ne nöhön g-ab-ön?
 2s what? do-pres-2s
 'What are you doing?'
- (169) weñ+n nöhön hag-öp?
 what? say-perf3s
 'What did Wenyin say?'

The substitution of *nan nöhön* in (168) would indicate that the speaker requires specification of something being made by the addressee. The Phrase *nan nöhön* may be used instead of *nöhön* alone in (169) or alternatively the Noun *manö* 'talk(Noun)' may precede *nöhön*:

- (170) ne manö nöhön hag-öp?
 3s talk what? say-perf3s
 'What did he say?'

The specification of number or quantity may be requested by the use of the Interrogative Word *aygege* 'how many?, how much?':

- (171) nan magö aygege raw-nam?
 food how much buy-prescripts
 'How much food should I buy?'
- (172) kaj aygege paw-b-al?
 pig how many strike-perf-3p
 'How many pigs did they kill?'

3.1.4. Coordinate Noun Phrase

The Coordinate Noun Phrase may manifest Subject, Object, and Indirect Object functions of the Clause and consists of at least two Heads which

may be two Nouns or two Noun Phrases. The Nominal Heads may simply be juxtaposed:

- (173) *n̄i pro pay pro möd-p-al.*
boy small girl small remain-
'There are small boys and girls.'

Alternatively *abe* may optionally follow some or all of the Nominal elements:

- (174) *maj abe m+ abe pöd abe n̄iη-b-un.*
sweet potato conjoiner taro conjoiner yam conjoiner eat-perf-1p
'We have eaten sweet potato, taro and yam.'

Where many Nominal elements are conjoined the usage of *abe* indicates semantic groupings:

- (175) *maj m+ abe kañim akay womay abe kabö*
sweet potato taro conjoiner banana pitpit bean conjoiner stone
law-b-al.
cook-perf-3p
'They have cooked in the earth oven sweet potato and taro and banana, pitpit and beans.'

3.2. ADJECTIVAL PHRASE

The Adjectival Phrase functions as Postnominal Modifier in the General Noun Phrase (3.1.2.). It may be manifested by an Adjective alone:

- (176) *b+ kub*
man big
'A big man.'

To intensify the meaning the Adjective may be reduplicated or followed by another Adjective - *ib+!* 'very', or *yöl* 'indeed'.

- (177) *b+ ayj ayj / b+ ayj yö!*
man good good man good very
'A very good man.'

ib+! and *yöl* may contiguously follow a Noun:

- (178) *manö ib+! / manö yö!*
talk(Noun) real talk real
'real language (= our language)'

Two sets of reduplicated Adjectives may be juxtaposed:

- (179) *kaj kub kub ayj ayj*
pig big big good good
'A very big and very good pig.'

The Adjectival Phrase may be manifested by a Noun followed by the derivational suffix *-bö*, which derives a Modifier from a Noun:

- (180) b+ köpay-bö
man diseased skin-ADJR
'a man with a skin disease'

The Adjectival Phrase may be manifested by a Verb Stem followed by the derivational suffix *-ep* ~ *-eb*. This suffix derives a Modifier from a Verb Phrase, Clause or Sentence, all of which may occur as the Attributive element in the General Noun Phrase (3.1.2.), but only a form derived from a Simple Verb Stem may occur as a Postnominal Modifier:

- (181) nugmul wim dö ud-öl kaynam in-eb in-eb abö
husband bow emph take-sim arrow burn-ADJR burn-ADJR bow string
 g-öm paʌ-a.
do-succ.ss3s let fly-rempast3s
'Her husband took his bow, loaded it with a burning arrow and let fly.'

3.3. PRONOUNS

Subject, Accompanier, Object and Indirect Object functions may be manifested by a Pronoun alone. Human Pronouns may manifest all of these functions. In the case of Accompanier the Particle *ayp* follows the Pronoun:

- (182) yad ne ayp ar-nab-in.
 1s 2s accomp go-fut-1s
'I will go with you.'

The Human Pronouns manifesting the Indirect Object function are different in form from those manifesting the other functions. The forms are set out in Tables J and K.

TABLE J

HUMAN PRONOUNS MANIFESTING SUBJECT, ACCOMPANIER AND OBJECT FUNCTIONS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	yad(e)	hol/hale	hon/hane
2	ne/n+	köl/kale	köl/kale
3	nipe/ne	kale	kale

TABLE K
HUMAN PRONOUN FORMS MANIFESTING THE INDIRECT OBJECT FUNCTION

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	y+p	hal+p	han+p
2	nöp	kal+p	kal+p
3	n+p	kal+p	kal+p

ne y+p ap n̄i-Ø.
2s IOls *some give-imp2s*
'Give me some.'

A Human Pronoun may optionally contiguously follow a Noun Phrase manifesting the Subject Function if the Head of the Noun Phrase is human:

(183) yam hagpa ne aŋ rawl laŋ han-a.
lineage 3s middle inside above sleep-rempast3s
'The Hagpa lineage slept in the middle (of the house) on the upper side.'

A Nonhuman Pronoun may manifest the Object function:

(184) ne y+p ap n̄i-Ø.
2s IOls *some give-imp2s*
'Give me some.'

ap occurs here on its own. It may also occur as a Postnominal Quantifier:

(185) kaj ap n̄iŋ-a.
pig some eat-rempast3s
'He ate some meat.'

ap is probably a shortened form of r+mnap which is substitutable for ap in (185). Alternative forms which are also substitutable are r+mnu 'some of that' and r+mni 'some of this' which indicate the position of the entity being spoken about in relation to the speaker.

The Human Pronoun forms also function as Possessive Pronouns in the General Noun Phrase. The forms are identical except that there is an alternative first person singular form without the initial consonant. When a Pronoun is indicating possession it follows the Head Noun and any Adjectives except those indicating Number and Demonstratives.

(186) n̄i pro yad u nan g-öp.
child small ls that ill -perf3s
'That small child of mine is ill.'

- (187) pay pro ne möhöp
girl small 2s two
'your two little girls'

It is only Subject forms of Human Pronouns which function as Possessive Pronouns. The Indirect Object forms do not, even where the Head Noun is manifesting the Indirect Object:

- (188) b+ anöbu maj ap mam ad n̄-a.
man that sweet potato some brother 1s give-rempast3s
'That man gave my brother some sweet potato.'

4. WORD ORDER

4.0. The purpose of this section is to discuss the ordering of elements in the Kobon Sentence in relation to the Universals of Grammar proposed in Greenberg 1963 and typologies of the languages of Papua New Guinea by Capell 1969 and Wurm, Laycock and Voorhoeve 1975. The Discussion will be mainly concerned with the ordering of elements within the Simple Sentence but will also include some features of Complex, Compound and Contrafactual Condition Sentences, and in particular the ordering of clauses within them. Despite the fact that the sample of 30 diverse languages upon which Greenberg bases his Universals does not include any languages from Papua New Guinea, those which are represented are themselves so diverse genetically and spoken by people with such diverse cultures and world views that the consideration of a Papua New Guinea language in the light of Universals based upon them should be interesting. In fact it will be seen that the ordering of elements in Kobon Sentences corresponds closely to the predictions made by the Universals.

Capell 1969 is a typological classification of the languages of Papua New Guinea. Wurm, Laycock and Voorhoeve 1975 is a discussion of general typological characteristics of Non-Austronesian languages and a contrastive statement of special typological features of four language groups - Australian, Trans-New Guinea Phylum, Sepik-Ramu Phylum and Austronesian in Melanesia.

4.1. BASIC ORDER TYPOLOGY

The three criteria which Greenberg employs in setting up his basic order typology are (a) the existence of prepositions as against post-positions, (b) the relative order of Subject, Verb and Object, and (c) the position of qualifying Adjectives. The dominant order in Kobon is the same as that of almost all Non-Austronesian (NAN) languages and the greater number of Austronesian (AN) languages of Papua New Guinea³ - Subject Object Verb (SOV). Greenberg's Universals make a number of

predictions arising from a SOV basic order. Universal 4 states that 'with overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional'. This is true of Kobon which along with almost all NAN languages and many AN languages of Papua New Guinea (Capell 1969:23) is exclusively postpositional. Universal 27 would correctly predict that Kobon is postpositional from the fact that it is exclusively suffixing - 'If a language is exclusively suffixing, it is postpositional, if it is exclusively prefixing, it is prepositional'. Person-number of Subject, tense, mood, and aspect are all indicated in Kobon by verbal suffix. Universal 2 states that in languages with postpositions the genitive almost always precedes the governing noun. Again this is true of Kobon since the genitive always precedes the noun (3.1.2.). Universal 7 predicts that if in a language with dominant SOV order there is no alternative basic order, or only OSV as the alternative, then all adverbial modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb. This is said to be a 'rigid' SOV language. In Kobon the only alternative basic order is OSV, which results from either the Subject or Object being moved out of its usual position to emphasise it. The only exception is the occurrence of the Object following the Predicate in an utterance which typically marks the end of a narrative:

(189) *hag-p-in manö mow.*
say-perf-ls talk(Noun) thus
'So I have said this talk.'

More often than not the Noun is omitted, resulting in

(190) *hag-p-in mow.*
say-perf-ls thus
'So I have said.'

mow is analysed as an Adverb manifesting the Manner Function. It may be derived historically from *manö u* (*talk that*). It is the only Adverb which may follow the Verb it modifies and it may only do so with *hag*. (189) is the only observed instance where an Object follows the Predicate and (189) and (190) the only instances where an Adverb follows the Predicate. They would seem to be stereotyped expressions which should not effect statements as to basic order of elements. In this case the predictions of Universal 7 are correct for Kobon.

4.2. ORDER OF ELEMENTS IN THE CLAUSE AND SIMPLE SENTENCE

Universal 8 states that 'when a yes-no question is differentiated from the corresponding assertion by an intonational pattern, the distinctive intonational features of each of these patterns is reckoned

from the end of the sentence rather than the beginning'. This is true of Kobon. Where a positive answer to a polar question is anticipated the interrogative form is the same as the Indicative but with an Interrogative intonation contour, whereby the last accent in the Sentence is exaggerated by an increase in stress, heightening of pitch, and lengthening of the vowel (2.2.1.4.2.). The suffix -e may optionally be added to the end of a Sentence-final Predicate. This is in accord with Universal 9 which states that 'with well more than chance frequency, when question particles or affixes are specified by reference to the Sentence as a whole, if initial such elements are found in prepositional languages and, if final, in postpositional'. It is also in accord with Universal 10 which states that 'question particles or affixes, specified in position by reference to a particular word in the sentence, almost always follow that word'. Where an Interrogative Word is used in a request for specification of Time, Place, Person, Action, etc. the Interrogative Word may or may not be sentence-initial. This is predicted by Universal 12: 'If a language has dominant order VSO in declarative sentences, it always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word questions, if it has dominant order SOV in declarative sentences, there is never such an invariant rule'.

Universal 20 states that 'when any or all of the items - demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjective - precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite'. All of the items do follow the Noun in Kobon in the order descriptive adjective, numeral and demonstrative as illustrated by (155) and (156) (3.1.2.).

In one respect Kobon is at variance, not with Greenberg's Universals but with a prediction of his hypothesis that Noun-Genitive, Verb-Subject, Verb-Object and Noun-Adjective are directly or indirectly harmonic with each other because they are each harmonic with prepositions, and that Genitive-Noun, Subject-Verb, Object-Verb and Adjective-Noun are directly or indirectly harmonic with each other because they each are harmonic with postpositions. This is not true of Kobon where Adjectives or Adjectival Phrases indicating quantity, quality, colour, number, and position always follow the Noun. On the other hand Greenberg does make it clear that the general dominance of Noun-Adjective order tends to make languages of the 'Basque type' - SOV/Postpositional/Noun-Adjective/Genitive-Noun - very nearly as common as the Turkish type - SOV/Postpositional/Adjective-Noun/Genitive-Noun.

4.3. ORDER OF ELEMENTS IN THE PREDICATE

The Predicate may be Verbal or Nonverbal. Nonverbal Predicates are manifested by a Noun Phrase and are discussed in 2.1. Verbal Predicates are manifested by (a) a Simple Verb Phrase, (b) an Augmented Verb Phrase, (c) an Impersonal Verb Phrase, (d) an Auxiliary Verb Phrase, and (e) a Compound Verb Phrase. The Simple Verb Phrase is manifested by a Simple Verb which consists of a Verb Stem together with its affixes. A Simple Verb is also the obligatory final constituent of each of the other four Verb Phrase Types. This means that with only two exceptions all person-number, tense, aspect and mood suffixes occur Verb Phrase-finally. The exceptions both occur in the Auxiliary Verb Phrase (2.2.4.) which contains two verbal elements. The first is a Verb Stem which may carry an affix indicating Aspect, the second is a Simple Verb with the usual suffixes. This ordering is in accord with Universal 16, the second part of which states that 'in languages with dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb'. The Compound Verb Phrase (2.2.5.) consists of a paratactic sequence of Verbs, the last of which is a Simple Verb with the usual affixes. It is preceded by one or more Verb Stems or by an Augmented Verb Phrase containing an unaffixed Verb Stem. These preceding elements are subordinate to the Simple Verb in the semantic sense of Greenberg 1963:83 and Universal 13 which states that 'if the nominal object always precedes the verb, then verb forms subordinate to the main verb also precede it'. In particular they are subordinate in that they are earlier in a temporal or logical sequence:

(191) ne ru si ud ar-öp.
 3s axe illicitly take go-perf3s
 'he stole the axe'

(192) gas+ nöñ-öb.
 thinking see-perf3s
 'he thought'

(193) gas+ nöñ ud-öp.
 thinking see take-perf3s
 'he fully understood'

4.4. ORDER OF ELEMENTS WITHIN THE COMPLEX, COMPOUND AND CONTRAFACTUAL SENTENCES

This study has thus far been devoted to the Simple Sentence. It is intended that the other three Sentence Types should be described as part of a later more complete syntactic description of Kobon, but a few pages must be devoted here to a preliminary description of them if only because each of these Sentence Types may manifest the Quote function in

the Simple Quotative Sentence. Another reason is that element order within the Simple Sentence is being discussed in relation to universals of grammar and it would be valuable to discuss the order of elements in other Sentence Types by way of comparison.

Capell 1969 is a typological classification of the languages of Papua New Guinea. The primary division is made on the basis of whether a language is event-dominated, object-dominated or dominationally neutral.

Where any language has a greatly complicated verbal system, but pays little attention to the noun, lacking perhaps any system of classification or giving very little attention to distinction of number and relationships of case to other parts of the utterance, it should seem that attention is being given to the sequence of events, rather than to persons and objects involved in the events'

(Capell 1969:13-14)

This is a good characterisation of Kobon, which would be classified as an event-dominated language with sentence-medial verb forms.

By definition a Simple Sentence contains one Clause only, which is Independent. The Complex Sentence also contains one such Clause but also at least one and often many Dependent Medial Clauses. McCarthy (1965) called such a construction 'clause chaining'. The Predicate of the Dependent Medial Clause is manifested by a Medial Verb Phrase which has basically the same structure as the Independent Verb Phrase except for the affixation of the last Verb of the Phrase. A Medial Verb suffix indicates whether the Subject of the Clause is the same as or different from that of a following Clause and also whether the situation described by the Clause is prior to or simultaneous with that described by the following Clause. In the latter case, if the Subject of both Clauses is the same, the suffix -öl, which does not distinguish person-number, is attached to the last Verb Stem in the Dependent Medial Clause. If the Subjects of the two Clauses are different simultaneity is indicated by a Compound Sentence which contains two Independent Clauses. The last Verb in the Predicate of the first Clause has the suffix -ay attached indicating the Durative Aspect.

It is a characteristic of NAN languages of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum and the Sepik-Ramu Phylum that subordinate clauses precede the main clause and that subordination is expressed by a set of elaborate special Medial Verb forms (Wurm, Laycock and Voorhoeve 1975:188). The words 'subordinate' and 'subordination' must be construed carefully. Longacre (1972:2) points out that 'it is very probable that the surface structure distinction medial-final is something different in kind than the subordinate-coordinate distinction found in an Indo-European language', and that 'a further feature of chaining is considerable

attention to temporal relations such as chronological overlap and chronological succession - which shade off into logical relations such as cause and effect, result, and so forth' (p.3). As mentioned in 4.3., Greenberg makes it clear that by 'subordination' in Universal 13 he means semantic subordination in terms of concepts such as time, cause, purpose and condition. He lists the main formal means of verbal subordination as conjunctions; and verbal inflection whether finite, involving categories of person and number, or nonfinite forms such as verbal nouns and gerundives.

In Kobon a temporal relation between situations is indicated by medial (195) and (196) and nonfinite (194) verbal inflection in a Complex Sentence. In (194) the time relationship is simultaneity and in (195) and (196) succession.

(194) nime nap pe pidagö nöh-öl g+ aj-aj-il.
his mother his father conj noise perceive-sim do walk-dur-past3d
'His mother and father were listening to the noise as they were walking along.'

(195) kaj kabö fak law ad-öm möd-ay-la.
pig stone strike cook mumu-succ.ss3p remain-dur-rempast3p
'They had killed a pig and were mumuing it.'

(196) nan magö ranap al-em ñi pajö g+ ñi-b-in.
thing lump some of that shoot-succ.ss1s child break give-perf-1s
'I knocked one of those things down and broke it and gave it to the child.'

In each case the verbal element which is semantically subordinate precedes the main verb. This is an invariant rule in Kobon, as predicted by Universal 13.

A purpose relationship between situations is also indicated by a Complex Sentence, the last verb in the Predicate of the first Clause being suffixed with -n+g:

(197) paröm nöh-n+g ar-ab-in.
festival see-intent go-pres-1s
'I am going to see the festival.'

This is in accord with Universal 15 which states that 'in expressions of volition and purpose, a subordinate verbal form always follows the main verb as the normal order except in those languages in which the nominal object always precedes the verb'.

A causal relationship is indicated by a Compound Sentence in which the Independent Clause is followed by a conjunction:

(198) pajö g+ ñi i nan anöbu ñig ñ-aj-+p aňö
break child this thing that water give-dur-past3s conj

miλön ur g-öp.
crying(Noun) *finish do-perf3s*

'She broke and gave the water of that thing to the child and it stopped crying.'

A conditional relationship is indicated by Contrafactual Sentences. Longacre (1972:4) writes that 'contrafactual forms of verbs are usually very special formations that often do not fit well into simple categories such as medial versus final verb'. A Future Conditional Relationship is indicated by a Compound Sentence consisting of two juxtaposed Independent Clauses:

(199) yad dusin ar-nab-in kaj raw-nab-in.
 ls go-fut-ls pig buy-fut-ls
'If I go to Dusin I will buy some pig.'

A Past Contrafactual Conditional Relationship is indicated by a special sentence type - the Contrafactual Condition Sentence. It consists of two Clauses each of which is semantically and grammatically dependent on the other:

(200) kamɪŋ möd-ay-b-la-p hon ar-b-no-p.
healthy remain-dur-c/f-rempast3p-c/f lp go-c/f-lp-c/f
'If they had been alive we would have gone.'

It is not clear whether -b is part of the Contrary-to-fact suffix, which would in that case be a discontinuous affix -b...p, or whether it has some other significance. It has the same form as the Perfect suffix -b. This question is left open. Despite the fact that each of the Clauses is dependent on the other, both this construction and the Future Conditional are in accord with Universal 14 which states that 'in conditional statements, the conditional clause precedes the conclusion as the normal order in all languages'.

4.5. SUMMARY

Out of 7 universals on basic order typology Kobon is in accord with the 4 which are applicable - 1, 2, 4, 7; of 18 syntactic universals it is in accord with all 12 which are applicable - 8-16, 20, 23, 24; and of the 20 morphological universals Kobon is in accord with all 10 which are applicable - 26, 27, 29, 30, 33-35, 37, 41, 42.

N O T E S

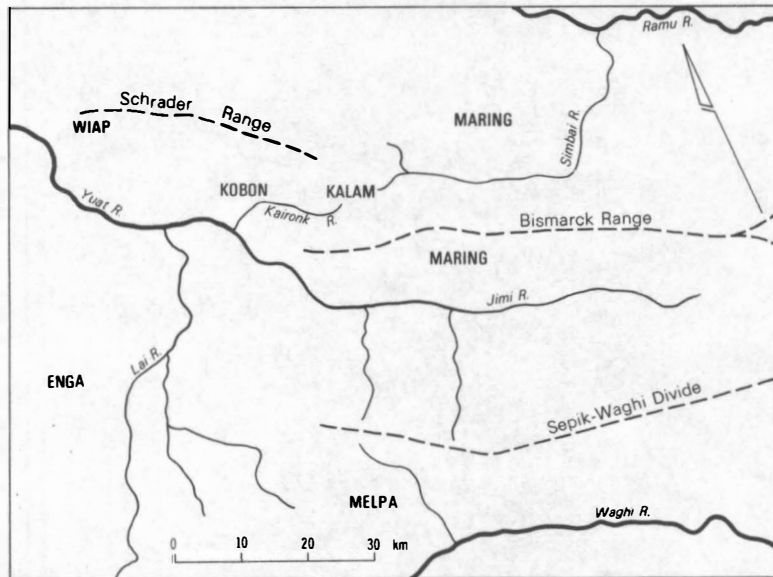
1. In the case of the velar stop, even if it is not contiguous:

g⁺-p-a1.
do-perf-3p
'*They did!*'

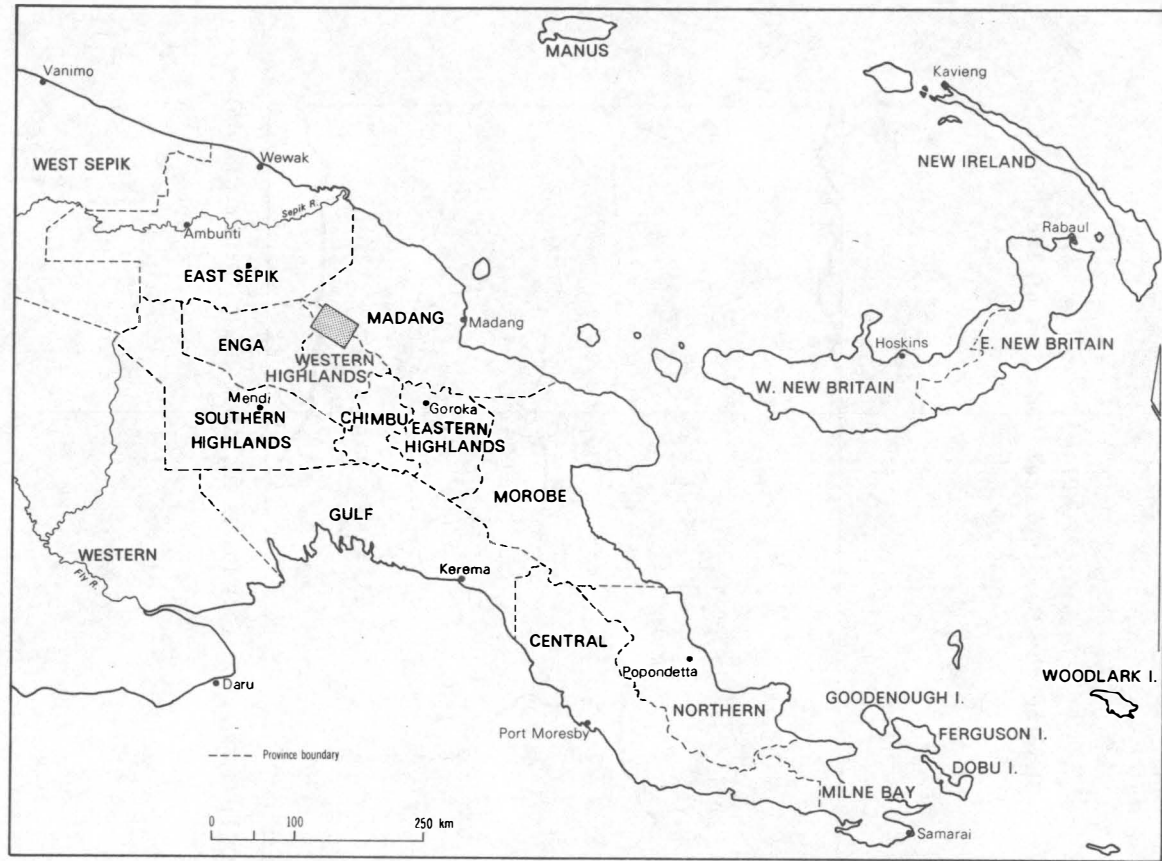
2. yawö 'yes' always affirms, wasö 'no' always disaffirms. Thus A. 'You are not going there'. B. 'Yes' would mean in Kobon that B is not going. It may be regarded as a statement as to the truth or falsity of the original speaker's statement. Since this construction (94) contains two fully inflected Verbs it constitutes a Compound Sentence and is not discussed further in this paper.

APPENDIX A

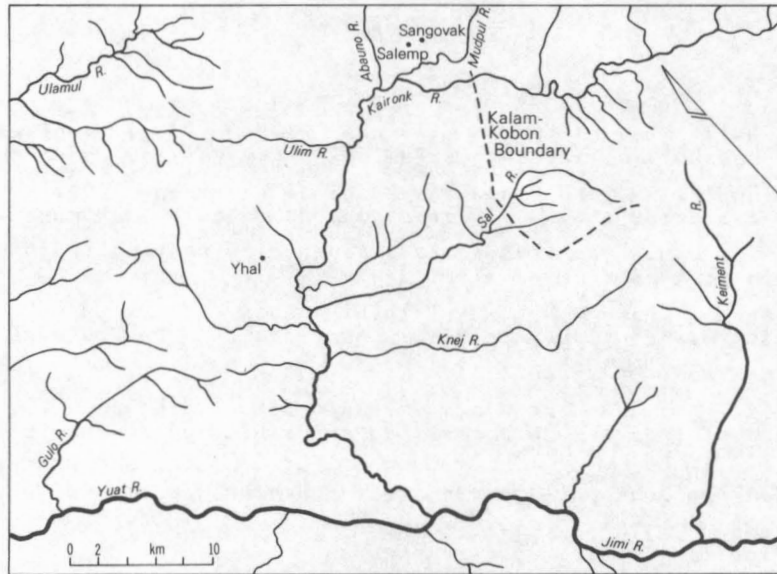
Maps Showing the Geographical Location of the Kobon



MAP 1: GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE KOBON (BASED ON JACKSON 1975)



MAP 2: PAPUA NEW GUINEA (THE SHADED AREA IS THAT COVERED BY MAP 1)



MAP 3: THE KAIRONK VALLEY (BASED ON JACKSON 1975)

APPENDIX B

Sample Text

1. b+ ne wal hel l-öm nöŋ nawö g+ g+ g+ wal
man 3s possum trap put-succ.ss3s look repeatedly do do do possum
2. hel l-öm nöŋ nawö g+ g+ g+ ud-ep b+.
trap put-succ.ss3s look repeatedly do do do take-ADJR man
'There was a man who used to hunt possums by setting traps and going to look at them regularly.'
3. nibi anwöl möhaw kale nibi sebö ud-ep b+.
woman two wives of one man 3d woman more than one take-ADJR man
'This man had two wives.'
4. ninwa ap ne wip ma k+d pak d-öm mab
wife(one of two) a 3s corpse leg cut strike carry-succ.ss3s tree
5. ramö jiq l-öm niŋ nawö g+ ma böŋ law
junction upstream put-succ.ss3s eat repeatedly do leg side that
6. mab ramö jiq l-a.
tree junction upstream put-rempast3s
'One of the wives cut the leg of corpse and put it in the fork of a tree upstream and frequently went to eat and put the leg back in the fork of the tree.'
7. pörpör aygögö g-ab a g-öm ninwa ap
always what do-pres3s say-succ.ss3s wife(one of two) a
8. lisöm löp haynö nöŋ ar-a.
secretly behind see go-rempast3s
'The other wife, thinking "What is she always doing" secretly and stealthily followed her to see.'
9. nugmul wal hel l-öp gaw aygögö g-öp a g-öm
husband possum trap put-perf3s there what do-perf3s say-succ.ss3s
10. ninwa ar-öm hayn hayn nöŋ ar-a.
wife(one of two) go-succ.ss3s behind behind look go-rempast3s
'Thinking "What does she do at the place where my husband sets possum traps", the other wife followed her to see.'
11. haynö nöŋ dam am am am nöŋ-a ninwa ne
behind see carry go go go go see-rempast3s wife(one of two) 3s
12. wip ma lap pak mab padö laŋ l-öm lap ugöl
corpse leg one cut tree fork above put-succ.ss3s other hold

13. daw-ag-ay-a.
bring-neg-dur-rempast3s
'After following her for a long time she saw that the other wife cut a corpse's leg and put part of it up in the fork of a tree and the other part she was bringing.'
14. ugöl daw-ay-a ninwa ne dip g+dö g+
hold bring-dur-rempast3s wife(one of two) 3s quickly run do
15. ap-öl nugmul nöp hag n̄-a nabin ne an+g-
come-sim husband IO3s speak give-rempast3s your wife your thus
16. öl an+g-öl g-ab d+k e g-a.
do-sim thus do-sim do-pres3s over there say-rempast3s
'While she was bringing it away the other wife quickly ran to her husband and told him "Your wife is doing so and so and such and such over there".'
17. hag-ay-a nöḡöm mödö nugmul ne kaynam agam+j
say-dur-rempast3s and so presently husband 3s arrow secretly
18. run he g-a nöḡ in-ay-a.
embers ashes do-rempast3s conj burn-dur-rempast3s
'She told him and presently her husband took an arrow and surreptitiously heated it in the embers of the fire.'
19. n̄i map+! manö g-öm möd-ey-
give well talk(Noun) do-succ.ss3s (=very well) remain-dur-
20. a.
rempast3s
'He pushed it in very well and it stayed there.'
21. mödö nibin dö hadö aw-a.
presently his wife emph completely come-rempast3s
'After a while his wife came back.'
22. nugmul wim dö ud-öl kaynam in-eb in-eb abö
husband bow emph take-sim arrow burn-ADJR burn-ADJR bow string
23. g-öm paʎ-a.
do-succ.ss3s let fly-rempast3s
'Her husband took his bow, loaded it with a burning arrow and let fly.'
24. nibin danu al-aw-l-a.
woman that shoot-consume-put-rempast3s
'He shot that woman.'
25. kaynam wim ud-öm al-aw-l-a.
arrow bow take-succ.ss3s shoot-consume-put-rempast3s
'He took his bow and arrow and shot her.'
26. al-aw-l-ab-in a g-a.
shoot-consume-put-pres-ls say-rempast3s
'He shot her.'
27. agam+j unam i nöp pak-dö g-ab-in a g-a.
secretly neck this emph strike-emph do-pres-ls say-rempast3s
'He secretly cut through her neck.'
28. nime ad+n aw ar+g-öm han-a.
3smother(=the main part) part there leave-succ.ss3s sleep-rempast3s
'He left her body lying there and he slept.'

29. kuö i g+yaŋ nöp uļöm ud ud ud yaŋ l-öm abe
place here below emph hole take take take below put-succ.ss3s and
30. uļöm ud ud ud yaŋ l-öm wip naböcög magö mol
hole take take take below put-succ.ss3s corpse head lump inside
31. yaŋ yu-öm mönön n-a g+ maw! manö
below throw-succ.ss3s ground give-rempast3s do well talk
32. g-öm mañ-u i han-a mañ-u i
do-succ.ss3s(=very well) day-that this sleep-rempast3s day-that this
33. han-a mañ-u i am anöb aw mar-u as+
sleep-rempast3s day-that this come that there place-that sit
34. möd-öm mödö nan marep mar-u igön g-öm
remain-succ.ss3s presently thing shoot place-that cold do-succ.ss3s
35. bö b+n+g-a hib gaŋ.
ADJR pierce-rempast3s bottom below
'He dug a deep hole and threw the head of the corpse to the bottom of it and filled the hole very well with earth; three days later he came to this place and sat down and presently a cold shoot prodded him in the bottom.'
36. nan marep hib gaŋ i b+n+g-a g+ nan nöhöŋ
thing shoot bottom below here pierce-rempast3s conj thing what
37. b+n+g-ab a g-öm ke aw dö pak-öm
pierce-pres3s say-succ.ss3s place apart there er.. move-succ.ss3s
38. nöŋ-a.
look-rempast3s
'The shoot prodded him in the bottom and thinking, "What is that sticking in me?" he moved away and looked.'
39. pöd marep rö mamö g+ ap ran-a.
yam shoot like from below do come ascend-rempast3s
'Something like a yam shoot had come up from below.'
40. ap ran-öb nöŋöm nöhöŋ marep g-ab a g-öm
come ascend-perf3s and so what shoot do-pres3s say-succ.ss3s
41. han-öb.
sleep-perf3s
'It had come up so he thought "What plant is that the shoot of?" and then he slept.'
42. ruö mödö mödö laŋod ap ran-öb mödö mödö laŋod
next day presently upwards come ascend-perf3s presently upwards
43. ap ran-öb mödö mödö laŋod ap ran-öb laŋod
come ascend-perf3s presently upwards come ascend-perf3s upwards
44. ap ran-aj-+p pe abö dudu g+ yu-öp ke
come ascend-dur-past3s conj tread crooked do throw-perf3s place
45. awranu gam+ŋ.
apart there downstream
'The next day it went on climbing up and up and up and he trod on it and knocked it down.'
46. abö dudu g+ g+ gam+ŋ yu-öm mödö mödö mödö mödö
tread crooked do do downstream throw-succ.ss3s presently
47. nan dani hadö uA l-öp.
thing this completely leaf put-perf3s
'He really trod it down but presently this thing put out leaves.'

48. nan dö nan nöhöñ uʌ l-ab a g-öm mödö mödö
thing er.. thing what leaf put-pres3s say-succ.ss3s presently
49. magö rɪmnu laŋ wibwib g-öm law pɪ|pɪ|
lump some above in abundance do-succ.ss3s on that side flower
50. yu-öm law pɪ|pɪ| yu-öm law
throw-succ.ss3s on that side flower throw-succ.ss3s on that side
51. pɪ|pɪ| yu-öm law pɪ|pɪ| yu-öp.
flower throw-succ.ss3s on that side flower throw-perf3s
'He thought "What is this that is putting out leaves" and after
a while it put out a lot of buds up on top and then put out
flowers on all sides.'
52. law pɪ|pɪ| yu-öm aŋö ji anɔg-ab
on that side flower throw-succ.ss3s and indeed thus do-pres3s
53. nan nöhöñ rö pɪl-nɪm a g-öm nöŋ-öl mödö mödö
thing what like bear-prescrip3s say-succ.ss3s see-sim presently
54. nöŋ-öl mödö mödö koymaŋ dö pɪl-öm law jiŋöl dö
see-sim presently coconut emph bear-succ.ss3s on that side emph
55. gɪ yu-öm law jiŋöl dö gɪ yu-öm
do bear-succ.ss3s on that side emph do throw-succ.ss3s
56. law jiŋöl dö gɪ yu-öm ne g-ab u
on that side emph do throw-succ.ss3s 3s do-pres3s there
57. a g-a.
say-rempast3s
'It was putting out flowers and he thought "It is doing this so
what kind of thing is it going to bear?" and he watched and after
a while it bore coconuts on all sides.'
58. nöŋöm ber möhaw n̄i apsil möhaw ram
and then husband and wife child grandmother and grandchild house
59. u lɪ n̄i-mil kale be ar-b-il.
that put give-succ.ss3d 3d bush go-perf-3d
'Then the husband and wife left the child with his grandmother
there at that house and went to the bush.'
60. wal wayöŋ be ar-b-il.
possum cassowary bush go-perf3d
'They went to the bush for wild animals.'
61. be ar-b-il pe n̄i ne miʌog-öm rülale nöp l-öp
bush go-perf-3d conj child 3s cry-succ.ss3s want emph put-perf3s
62. miʌog-öm rülale nöp lɪ lɪ lɪ lɪ nibi lapön ne biʌ
cry-succ.ss3s want emph put put put put woman old 3s sugar
63. marep rɪmnu dam law n̄i arɔg-öm uŋ rɪmnap dap
shoot some bring cook child leave-succ.ss3s pitpit some bring
64. lo gɪ law n̄i arɔg-öm kañɪm po rɪmnu dap n̄i
skin do cook child leave-succ.ss3s banana ripe some bring child
65. arɔg-öm haʌ rɪmnu rɪ dap hoñ lɪ
leave-succ.ss3s greens some pick bring inner bark of tree put
66. n̄i arɔg-öm mɪ rɪmnu pɪd dap law n̄i arɔg-öm
child leave-succ.ss3s taro some dig bring cook child leave-succ.ss3s
67. ruö rɪmnu law n̄i arɔg-öm n̄i i ne
sweet potato some cook child leave-succ.ss3s child this 3s

68. rülale nöp 1-öp.
want emph put-perf3s
'They went to the bush but then the child cried because he missed his parents and he continually wanted his parents so the old woman fetched and cooked some sugar shoots but the child left them, she brought and skinned and cooked some pitpit but the child left that, she brought some ripe bananas but the child left them, she picked and brought some greens and cooked them in the tree bark but the child left them, she dug some taro and brought it and cooked it but the child left that, she brought some sweet potato and cooked it but the child left that - this child just wanted his parents.'
69. akay nan u nan ay nan r+mnu ne dam n̄i
pitpit thing that thing this food all kinds 3s bring child
70. nöḡ-öb n̄ig r+mnu m+l dam n̄i nöḡ-öb wasö.
see-perf3s water some fill bring child see-perf3s no
'The child looked at the pitpit and all the different things she brought and he looked at the water she had filled and brought but no more.'
71. ne n̄i i aygöm an+g-ab a g-öm awi gal+k
3s child this why thus do-pres3s say-succ.ss3s here above
72. g-öp.
do-perf3s
'She wondered why the child was doing this and walked away.'
73. koyman magö dalaḡ hadö nöd mölep g-öp.
coconut lump above already before dry do-perf3s
'The coconuts up there had been dry for some time already.'
74. dalaḡ hadö al-öp.
above already shoot-perf3s
'She soon knocked one down.'
75. al pe r+b hadwad g+ us ud pe yu-ab-in a g-öp.
shoot conj cut split husk take conj throw-pres-ls say-perf3s
'She knocked one down and cut and removed and threw away the husk.'
76. pajö g+ n̄i i nan anöbu n̄ig n̄-aj-+p aḡö miḷön
break do child this thing that water give-dur-past3s and crying
77. ur g-öp.
finish do-perf3s
'She broke it and gave its water to the child and he stopped crying.'
78. nime nap pe pidagö nöḡ-öl g+ aj-aj-il.
his mother his father conj noise hear-sim do walk-dur-past3d
'His mother and father were listening to the noise as they were walking along.'
79. aj-aj-il pe miḷön ur g-öp.
walk-dur-past3d conj crying finish do-perf3s
'They were walking along when the crying stopped.'
80. nap hadö hib acör g-öp.
his father completely belly black do-perf3s
'His father was very anxious.'

81. b+ u hadö aw-ub ap ap' ap aygege g-öp
man that completely come-perf3s come come come interrog do-perf3s
82. a g-a.
say-perf3s
'That man came all the way back wondering what had happened.'
83. nöñöm wö ji nibi lapön i ne hag-öp ñl ne miλön
and then excl indeed woman old this 3s say-perf3s child 3s cry
84. g-öm rülale l+ l+ nan magö ran-ap al-em
do-succ.ss3s want put put thing lump dem-indef shoot-succ.ss1s
85. ñi pajö g+ ñi-b-in i e g-öp.
child break do give-perf-1s this say-perf3s
'Then - wait for it! - this old woman said "The child was crying and would not stop so I knocked down one of those things and broke it and gave to the child".'
86. ki apsil möhaw mel u aygege g+-mil
excl grandmother and grandchild indeed that interrog do-prescrip2d
87. an+g g+-p-il a g+ g+ nöñ-öb.
thus do-perf-2d say perceive-perf3s
'"Well, Grandmother-grandchild, what did you do that for?", he asked.'
88. kal al-öm mödö gas+ nöñ-öl g+ ar-öp.
anger shoot-succ.ss3s presently thought see-sim do go-perf3s
'He was consumed with anger and his reason left him.'
89. am uλpö kam+ñ i! abe ud-ab-in a g-öm am
come wealth ginger conjoiner take-pres-1s say-succ.ss3s come
90. uλpö mawal i! abe ud-ab-in a g-öp
wealth leaf of plant species conjoiner take-pres-1s say-perf3s
91. uλpö k+b+n i! abe ud-ab-in a g-öp
wealth leaf of plant species conjoiner take-pres-1s say-perf3s
92. uλpö urur abe ud-ab-in a g-öp uλpo kabö u
wealth nose shell conjoiner take-pres-1s say-perf3s wealth stone that
93. abe ud-ab-in a g-öp dap yañ apañ+ uba
conjoiner take-pres-1s say-perf3s bring down palm species base
94. dö ru ud daw-ub.
of leaf that axe take bring-perf3s
'He took some wealth-giving ginger, and he took some wealth-giving mawal, and he took some wealth-giving k+b+n, and he took some wealth-giving nose shell, and he took some of that wealth-giving stone, and he cut some of the base of the apañ+ palm with his axe and brought it.'
95. dam yañ kankan g+ kam+ñ dö abe ud
take down small pieces do ginger that conjoiner take
96. cicip r+k yañ yu-ab-in a g-öp
small pieces break down throw-pres-1s say-perf3s
97. mawal dö abe ud
leaf of plant species that conjoiner take
98. cicip r+k yañ yu-ab-in a g-öp uλpö r+ribö
small pieces break down throw-pres-1s say-perf3s wealth fragments
99. abe ud cicip r+k yañ yu-ab-in a g-öp
conjoiner take small pieces break down throw-pres-1s say-perf3s

100. uʌpö kabö abe ak yaŋ yu-ab-in a g-öp uʌpö
wealth stone conjoiner scrape down throw-pres-ls say-perf3s wealth
101. gayb abe ak yu-ab-in a g-öp l-ab-in
tree species conjoiner scrape throw-pres-ls say-perf3s put-pres-ls
102. a g-öp.
say-perf3s
'He brought it and made it into very small pieces - he made the ginger into small pieces and threw them in, he made the mawa| into small pieces and threw them in, he scraped the stone and threw it in, he scraped the gayb wood and threw it in and he put it all in.'
103. mö n̄i ranu mö ud pal-öp.
now child that now take kill-perf3s
'Now he took and killed the child.'
104. möranu n̄i rö ud pal-ab-in a g-öp.
thus child like take kill-pres-ls say-perf3s
'Thus he took and killed the child.'
105. mö n̄i ranu kabö law ad-öp mödö in-öb.
now child that stone cook move-perf3s presently cook-perf3s
'Now he cooked the child in an earth oven and after a while it was cooked.'
106. mö n̄i ranu yuö ju-öm anöb rö yaŋ mö
now child that flesh pull off-succ.ss3s that like down now
107. yu-öp.
throw-perf3s
'He pulled off the child's flesh and threw it in.'
108. möranu kankan g-öm n̄i ranu yuö ju yaŋ
thus soup do-succ.ss3s child that flesh pull down
109. yu-öm uʌpö mawa| i| dö abe yaŋ
throw-succ.ss3s wealth plant species that conjoiner down
110. yu-öm pro kankan dan-ap ud-ag-jaŋ-öp.
throw-succ.ss3s little soup that-some take-neg-make-perf3s
'Thus he made stew and pulled off the child's flesh and threw it in and threw in wealth-giving mawa| and then he took a little of the stew.'
111. kankan kub ranu g-öp.
soup big that do-perf3s
'It was a big stew.'
112. kankan kub rö g+ g+ l-öm hadö danu n̄iŋ-öl g+
soup big like do do put-succ.ss3s completely that eat-sim do
113. mödö mödö pi ranu ne-ke kankan g-öm n̄iŋ-öb.
presently child that 3s-emph soup do-succ.ss3s eat-perf3s
'He made a big stew and was eating it all and after a while he had eaten his own child with whom he had made the stew.'
114. n̄iŋ n̄iŋ n̄iŋ n̄iŋ-p+s g-ab-in a g-öp.
eat eat eat eat-finish do-pres-ls say-perf3s
'He ate and ate and ate until he had finished it.'
115. mödö mödö awrö han-öl möd-ab-in a g-öp.
presently there sleep-sim remain-pres-ls say-perf3s
'After a while he stayed there asleep.'

116. re imgup ranu l-öp.
snake snake species that put-perf3s
'He became an imgup snake.'
117. imgup rö l-öm höñ awrani g+lañ mab ramö
snake species like put-succ.ss3s outside there above tree junction
118. dalañ ar+k dam l-öm han-öl möd-aj-+p dalañ.
on top leave bring put-succ.ss3s sleep-sim remain-dur-past3s above
'He became like an imgup and stayed asleep outside there up above
in a fork at the top of a tree.'
118. dalañ han-öl mödö mödö yam dö paröm l+-b-al.
above sleep-sim presently lineage that singsing house put-perf-3p
'He was asleep up there and presently the lineage constructed the
singsing houses.'
120. no yañ nöbö paröm l+-b-al abe gajil
ridge below emph singsing house put-perf-3p conjoiner place name
121. mulu yañ nöbö paröm l-öm
nose(geographical feature) below emph singsing house put-succ.ss3s
122. no yañ gay nöbö wal a!+k daw-b-al.
ridge below there emph possum look for bring-perf-3p
'They constructed a singsing house on the ridge below and con-
structed a singsing house on the spur below Gajil and they went
to hunt possums.'
123. paröm gib yabi! l+-b-al.
singsing house plenty very put-perf-3p
'They constructed very many singsing houses.'
124. a!+k dap dap i nöñ-b-al b+ ran-maw kale nöñ-b-il
look for bring bring here see-perf-3p man dem-two 2p see-perf-2p
125. kawlam danu l+k möd-aj-+p.
snake species that on top remain-dur-past3s
'They hunted and searched and then two of the men saw the kawlam
snake up above.'
126. kawlam |aw| g+ g+ aw l+-mil kawlam dö
snake species shoot do do there put-succ.ss2d snake species that
127. |aw| g+ aw l-öm dam kawlam dö dam
shoot do there put-succ.ss3p bring snake species that bring
128. abu l+-b-al.
in an overnight mumu put-perf-3p
'They shot at the kawlam and hit it and they carried it with them
and put it in an earth oven overnight.'
129. abu l-öm am+n ad+n yañ n̄iñ dap-öm
overnight mumu put-succ.ss3p tail part below eat bring-succ.ss3p
130. naböcög ad+n lañ n̄iñ dap-öm añ magöñ ranu nibi
head part above eat bring-succ.ss3p middle lump that woman
131. lapön i hag-öp kale nime ad+n lañ
old this say-perf3s 2p 3s mother(=main part) part above
132. n̄iñ-mim ad+n yañ n̄iñ-mim añ magöñ yad-u
eat-prescrip2p part below eat-prescrip2p middle lump ls-that
133. g+dañ n̄iñ-ag-mim wasö g-öp.
in the middle eat-neg-prescrip2p no do-perf3s

'They put it in an earth oven overnight and they brought the tail part to eat and they brought the head part to eat and as for the middle the old woman said "You can eat the main part at the top and you can eat the part at the bottom but you must not eat my part in the middle".'

134. habliŋ yad-u n̄iŋ-ag-mim wasö g-öp.
 navel 1s-that eat-neg-prescrip2p no do-perf3s
'"You must not eat my navel", she said.'
135. habliŋ yad-u n̄iŋ-ag-mim wasö g-öp.
 navel 1s-that eat-neg-prescrip2p no say-perf3s
'"You must not eat my navel", she said.'
136. g-öm hag-öp hag-öp rönöp habliŋ yad-u gay
 do-succ.ss3s say-perf3s say-perf3s thus navel 1s-that where
137. yu-im a g-öm wañib ud-öm su! hañ
 throw-past2p say-succ.ss3s string bag take-succ.ss3s banana leaf
138. cac g-öm nan magöŋ anöbu ud yag-öp.
 lining do-succ.ss3s thing lump(=food) that take put inside-perf3s
'She kept on telling them to give her the navel and she took her string bag and put a banana leaf lining in it and put that food in it.'
139. wañib yag-öm ud ar-öp.
 string bag put inside-succ.ss3s take go-perf3s
'She put it in her string bag and took it away.'
140. yam ne am paröm ram yaŋ g-aj-+p nñöŋm
 lineage 3s come singsing house house below do-dur-past3s conj
141. paröm haŋu hadö g+jin g+ l-öm
 singsing house shelf for food completely make ready do put-succ.ss3p
142. hadö n̄ig yu-ep l-öm hadö n̄ig
 completely water throw-ADJR put-succ.ss3p completely water
143. yu-un arig möd-lö.
 throw-implp leave remain-rempast3p
'The lineage went and stayed at the singsing house below and they had already prepared the singsing food storage shelf and were ready to throw the water and they were just about to throw the water.'
144. uri nöbö u nibi lapön nan wañib anöbu
 now indeed there woman old thing string bag that
145. riŋal-öm mol laŋ ap jak-öp.
 carry-succ.ss3s hole above come ascend-perf3s
'At that very moment the old woman emerged from the bush up above carrying that string bag.'
146. nibi lapön hag-öp yad gay han-nam a g+ g+
 woman old say-perf3s 1s where sleep-prescripls say do do
147. g-aj-+p.
 do-dur-past3s
'The old woman kept on saying "Where am I to sleep?"'
148. paröm ram ad+n nöbö i hag-al kuñu aw-ub
 singsing house house part emph this say-past3p sputum come-perf3s
149. nibi najö ran-i hane gay hane n̄iŋ-n+g g+-p-un gay
 woman bad dem-this lp here lp eat-intent do-perf-lp where

150. han-n+g gi-mön hag aj-ab-ön i a g-al.
sleep-intent do-prescrip2s speak walk-pres-2s here say-past3p
'Those in the first singsing house said "Here we are ready to eat and you repulsive old woman are walking around asking where you should sleep".'
151. an+gan ram hane i wasö ji ne ram yaḡod u hag nöḡ
 conj house lp here no indeed 2s house below there say see
152. a g-al.
 (=ask) say-past3p
'They said "Not at our house. You ask at that house down there".'
153. ram yaḡod u hag nöḡ-aj-+p kale manö unbö nöḡ hag-al
 house below there say see-dur-past3s 3s talk thus emph say-past3p
154. hane paröm pe n+ḡ-n+g g-un hau! manö g-ab-un
 lp singsing conj eat-intent do-succ.sslp forgetful talk do-pres-lp
155. manö u aygö hag-ab-ön u a g-al.
 talk that why speak-pres-2s that say-past3p
'She was asking at the house below and they said "We are ready to eat the festival (food) and we are thinking just of this so why are you saying this?".'
156. nibi lapön lihak-ep rö i gay nöbö aw-b-an a g-al.
 woman old vomit-ADJR like here where emph come-perf-2s say-past3p
'They said "You repulsive old woman, where have you come from?".'
157. ji am ram yaḡod u hag nöḡ-öb.
 conj come house below that say see-perf3s
'So she went and asked at the house below.'
158. manö u nöḡ hag-a.
 talk that emph say-rempast3s
'She said the same thing.'
159. am ram yaḡod hag nöḡ-öb kale nibi lapön kuḡu aw-ub
 come house below say see-perf3s 3p woman old sputum come-perf3s
160. i nöḡ a g-al.
 this emph say do-past3p
'She went and asked at the house below and they said "This old woman makes us spit".'
161. ji am ram yaḡod u hag nöḡ-öb.
 so come house below there say see-perf3s
'So she went and asked at the house below.'
162. u nöḡ hag-al.
 that emph say-past3p
'That is what they said.'
163. ram a|onöbö yaḡ hag nöḡ-aj-+p.
 house last below say see-dur-past3s
'She was asking at the last house below.'
164. ber a|onöbö möhayaḡ hag-+l hale magö rawl maru
 couple last two below say-past3d ld lump inside(room) there
165. g+ l+-b-ul go! gad+ gayk ag-+l.
 do put-perf-ld edge there across say-past3d
'The last couple down below said "We have made that room across there at the edge of the house".'

166. an+gan nibi lapön i ne magö rawl anöbu gad+ gayk han-Ø
 conj woman old this 2s room that there across sleep-imp2s
167. a g+1.
 say-past3d
 'So they said to the old woman "You sleep in that room across there".'
168. nibi lapön i hag dam rawl anöbu l+-mil rap magö
 woman old this talk bring room that put-succ.ss3d food
169. nan magö ud ar-b-il.
 food take go-perf-3d
 'They talked to the old woman and took her and put her in that room and brought her food.'
170. dam nibi lapön nī-mil nan wañib nipe
 take woman old give-succ.ss3d thing string bag poss3s
171. bis r+ usiq gal+η
 laying piece of wood as taboo near the top of the house inside
172. l-öm sul hañ cac g+ l-öm agam+j
 put-succ.ss3s banana leaf bed do put-succ.ss3s secretly
173. usiq gal+η l-öm mödö yam
 near the top of the house inside put-succ.ss3s presently lineage
174. ne paröm nig yu-öm han-öb.
 3s festival water throw-succ.ss3s sleep-perf3s
 'They brought it and gave it to the old woman and she put her things in her string bag near the top of the house putting a piece of wood as a taboo and she made a bed from banana leaves and put it near the top of the house and after a while the lineage went inside the singsing house and went to sleep.'
175. ber möhaw i paröm abe nöp nig yu-öm han-b-al.
 couple this festival also emph water throw-succ.ss3p sleep-perf-3p
 'This couple also went inside the singsing house and they slept.'
176. ram ruö aňö yam höñ ru-a g+ adö g+
 morning and lineage outside come out-rempast3s do decoration do
177. ram lañ ram lañ ram yañ g+ adö g+ n-öm
 house above house above house below do decoration do give-succ.ss3p
178. kagpan mulu hañal mulu rimnu adö g+ n-öm
 vine shoot plant species shoot some decoration do give-succ.ss3p
179. g-aj-al.
 do-dur-past3p
 'In the morning the lineage came outside and they were decorating the children in the houses above and below with some kagpan and hañal shoots.'
180. nibi lapön i agam+j rawl gad+ mödö mödö ar+g-öm
 woman old this quietly room there presently leave-succ.ss3s
181. nöñ-öb.
 see-perf3s
 'This old woman was quietly staying in the room there and after a while she left and looked outside.'
182. ber möhaw i kagpan mulu nan i g+ñig mulu nan
 couple this vine shoot thing this vine species shoot thing

183. bor mulu nan haʎaʎ mulu nan ral
plant species shoot thing plant species shoot thing gather
184. daw-b-il.
 bring-perf-3d
'The couple had gathered and brought kagpan, g+nig, bor and haʎaʎ shoots.'
185. dam nag+ r+g+ wibwib g+ yu-aj-+l.
 bring vine string several do throw-dur-past3d
'They had brought the vine and were making many strings.'
186. nibi lapön hag-öp n̄i kale nañ-u aḡöl-u adö
 woman old say-perf3s child 2d first-that middle-that decorate
187. g+ n̄i-mil.
 do give-prescrip2d
'The old woman said "You must decorate the first and middle children".'
188. n̄i y+p wañig-u nöp ar+g+-mil a g-öp.
 child IOls youngest-that emph leave-prescrip2d say-perf3s
'The youngest child you must leave for me.'
189. hag-öp ber möhaw i hag-öp hag-öp rönöp g+-p-il.
 say-perf3s couple this say-perf3s say-perf3s thus do-perf-3d
'She spoke and the couple did just as she said.'
190. hag-öp hag-öp rönöp kölarö n̄i aḡöl-u adö g+
 say-perf3s say-perf3s thus you two child middle-that decorate do
191. n̄i-mil nañ-u adö g+ n̄i-mil.
 give-prescrip2d first child-that decorate do give-prescrip2d
'She kept telling them "You two must dress up the middle child and the first child".'
192. han-öl g+ möd-lö.
 sleep-sim do remain-rempast3d
'They slept.'
193. ram ru-n+m n̄i y+p wañig-u
 ground break-prescrip3s child IOls youngest child-that
194. ar+g+-mil a g-öp.
 leave-prescrip2d say-perf3s
'She said "Tomorrow you must leave the youngest child for me".'
195. kölarö han-öl g+ möd-lö.
 two sleep-sim do remain-rempast3d
'The husband and wife remained asleep.'
196. ram ru-öp hag-öp hag-öp rönöp kölarö
 ground break-perf3s say-perf3s say-perf3s thus two
197. n̄i aḡöl-u adö g+ n̄i-mil
 child middle child-that decoration do give-prescrip2d
198. nañ-u adö g+ n̄i-mil.
 first child-that decoration do give-prescrip2d
'When day broke she kept saying the same thing, "You two must dress up the middle child and the first child".'
199. nibi lapön i rawl ne g+daḡ möd-p-in möd-p-in
 woman old this inside 3s there remain-perf-ls remain-perf-ls

200. g-öm biö ulös pap+! u nöp g+
do-succ.ss3s excl shell head decoration long there emph do
201. yu-öp kuḷuno pap+! u nöp g+ yu-öp dilep
throw-perf3s shell string long there emph do make-perf3s shell
202. ribu nöp g+ yu-öp köbap ribu nöp g+ yu-öp gising ribu
row emph do make-perf3s shell row emph do make-perf3s shell row
203. nöp g+ yu-öp rablaṅ ribu nöp g+ yu-öp agano u
emph do make-perf3s shell row emph do make-perf3s shell there
204. nöp nag+ yu-öp ram ru-ru-n+g g-aj-+p pe
emph rope make-perf3s day break-break-purpose do-dur-past3s conj
205. hag-öp nī yad u dam n-+! a g-öp.
say-perf3s child ls that bring give-imp2d say-perf3s
'The old woman stayed inside and then, my word, she put string on a long ulös head decoration and long lengths of kuḷuno shell money and she strung dilep shells in a row and she strung köbap shells in a row and she strung gising shells in a row and she strung rablaṅ shells in a row and she strung agano shells on string and day was just breaking and she said "Bring that child of mine to me".'
206. nī u dam nibi mölep möd-aj-+p g+daṅ yu-b-il.
child that bring woman old remain-dur-past3s there give-perf-3d
'They took the child to where the old woman was.'
207. nibi mölep ranu dip dapö g+ḷoṅ danu g+ n-ab-in a g-öp
woman old that quickly decoration that do give-pres-1s say-perf3s
208. dilep ranu sinaṅ unaq pa n-öb.
shell that across chest strike give-perf3s
'The old woman quickly decorated him with these attractive things and put dilep shells across his chest.'
209. kuḷuno ranu g+ n-ab-in a g-öp.
shell string that do give-pres-1s say-perf3s
'She put on kuḷuno shells.'
210. kuḷuno r+mnap sinaṅ unaq pa g+ n-ab-in a g-öp.
shell string some across chest strike do give-pres-1s say-perf3s
'She put some kuḷuno shells across his chest.'
211. r+mnap dip nag+ i g+daṅ p+g+!+ n-ab-in a g-öp.
some waist rope here across fasten give-pres-1s say-perf3s
'She fastened some to his waist rope across here.'
212. köbap rib dan-u dil n-ab-in a g-öp.
shell string dem-that put round neck give-pres-1s say-perf3s
'She put a string of köbap shells round his neck.'
213. gising rib dan-u dil n-ab-in a g-öp.
shell string dem-that put round neck give-pres-1s say-perf3s
'She put a string of gising shells round his neck.'
214. pabl+ ran-e möd-ag-aj-+p.
chest dem-emph remain-neg-dur-past3s
'There was none of his chest showing.'
215. köbap rib dan-u nöp al ud-öl möd-aj-+p.
shell string dem-that emph shoot take-sim remain-dur-past3s
'He was covered in strings of köbap shells.'

216. agano ran-u r+mnap jöl i pa g+ n-ab-in a g-öp.
shell dem-that some back here strike do give-pres-1s say-perf3s
'She put some agano shells on his back.'
217. köbap r+mnap a|jön lay r+gal n-öm
shell some armpit this side suspended from shoulder give-succ.ss3s
218. aṅö mödö mödö yam hañaw-ub.
conj presently lineage come out-perf3s
'She suspended some köbap shells from his shoulder under his armpit on this side and presently the lineage came out.'
219. nī i ugal dam g+daṅ n-öb.
child this hold take across give-perf3s
'She took the child across and gave it to them.'
220. aṅö ayö wayö g-a1.
conj gasp of surprise do-past3p
'They gasped with amazement.'
221. yam adö g+ adö g+ l-öm hañaw-ub.
lineage decoration do decoration do put-succ.ss3s come out-perf3s
'The lineage had been dressing the children up and had come out.'
222. nibi lapön nī i ugal dam g+daṅ yu-öp.
woman old child this hold take across give-perf3s
'The old woman took the child across and gave him to them.'
223. aṅö ber möhaw nī ran-u ugal-öl hañaw-b-il.
conj couple child dem-that hold-sim come out-perf-3d
'The couple came out holding the child.'
224. hañaw-ub aṅö yam dan-u ayö wayö g-a1
come out-perf3s conj lineage dem-that gasp of surprise do-perf3p
225. nibi lapön dan-u ram u ilöṅ al ud-no.
woman old dem-that house that stick shoot take-rempastlp
226. ram u ar-öp.
house that go-past3s
'He came out and the lineage said in amazement "We chased that old woman away to another house".'
227. ram u ilöṅ al ud-no ram u ar-öp a g-a1.
house that stick shoot take-rempastlp house that go-perf3s say-past3p
'We chased her to another house.'
228. ram u ilöṅ al ud-no ram u ar-öp g+ g+
house that stick shoot take-rempastlp house that go-perf3s do do
229. uri nī ran-u ne nan hib g+n dan-u adö g+
now child dem-that 3s thing belly do dem-that decorate do
230. n-öb.
give-perf3s
'We chased her to another house and now she has dressed up that child with all those wonderful things.'
231. nan u1pö dan-u ne gay nöbö ud-öm adö g+
thing shell dem-that 3s where take-succ.ss3s decorate do
232. n-öb a g-a1.
give-perf3s say-past3p

- '"Where did she get those shells which she has dressed him up with?" they said.'*
233. hañaw dam höŋ deyaŋ l-öm pen udö pen udö g-ab-un
come out bring outside put-succ.ss3s converse do-pres-lp
234. a g-al.
 say-past3p
'They came out and brought him outside and they argued.'
235. nibi lapön hane laŋ ud ar-ab-un a g-al.
 woman old lp above take go-pres-lp say-past3p
'They wanted to take the old woman up on top to their house.'
236. nan magöŋ anöbu su! hañ wañib halö ud ar-ab-un a g-al.
 thing lump that banana leaf bag with take go-pres-lp say-past3p
'They wanted to take those things in the banana leaf in her string bag.'
237. kale an+g g-aj-al p+n+g-öm aram am-öm
 3p thus do-dur-past3p afraid-succ.ss3s go go-succ.ss3s
238. am-öm cidon ban laŋ l-a.
 go-succ.ss3s place flat ground above put-rempast3s
'They were doing this but she was afraid and ran away up to Cidong.'
239. g-a mou rö mel.
 do-rempast3s thus like indeed
'It happened just like that.'

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LANGUAGE AND THE LUTHERAN CHURCH ON THE
PAPUA NEW GUINEA MAINLAND
AN OVERVIEW AND EVALUATION

DIETER OSMERS

INTRODUCTION

In the history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea (ELC-PNG) the question of which languages would be most appropriate in spreading the Christian faith has been of critical importance since the beginning of Lutheran mission work in this country. Controversial aspects of this issue have been discussed in various internal reports and the final decisions are documented in the conference minutes of the different mission bodies and the Church. However, there exists no comprehensive study of the whole period concerning Lutheran policy on the language question and its present results. This paper attempts to rectify that situation.

The paper is divided into three parts:

1. A brief history of the Lutheran Missions and the Lutheran Church;
2. An overview of the language policy of these organisations;
3. An evaluation of the present language situation.¹

In order to give a better understanding of the language policy as one aspect of Lutheran engagement in Papua New Guinea (PNG), a brief history of the Lutheran Missions and the Lutheran Church is summarised at the beginning of section 1. This background is limited to the historico-geographical growth and structural development of the different mission bodies from which finally emerged the Lutheran Church. An additional description of the theological problems of missionary work and the methods applied are beyond the scope of the present paper.

The history of the ELC-PNG is documented in detail by Pilhofer (1961, 1963) for the Neuendettelsau Mission and by Kriele (1927) for the Rhenish Mission Society. Both German publications cover the time up to World War II. For the American side Frerichs (1969) gives a complete overview up to the present. A history of Tok Pisin was written by Renck, Hage (1971). These materials form the main sources for the compilation of the first section.

Section 2, the overview of the linguistic historical development, forms the main section. At present the influence of the Lutheran Church predominantly covers the following regions of the Papua New Guinea mainland: the Huon Peninsula, the Madang area and adjacent off-shore islands, the coastal areas south-west of the Huon Gulf, the Markham and Ramu Valleys, and the central highlands provinces, excluding the Enga province.

This part deals with the significance for the work of the Church of the vernacular languages, distributed throughout these areas. Furthermore, the use of German and English during the respective administrative periods is described and discussed. Particular emphasis is given to the growing importance of Tok Pisin within the Church after World War II.

The Lutheran Church is no exception in linking its language policy closely to the development of a school system. Therefore the presentation of its educational policy and its relation to official policy needed special consideration.² This applies first of all to the church-operated Vernacular Education Programme (VEP), as a specific contribution to the educational scene of the country after World War II. The time before World War II is discussed in Harrison 1975.

The results of the language policy are investigated and described in the last section to show the present stage of its development. Tok Pisin, the largest lingua franca in Papua New Guinea,³ has evolved as the main communication medium within the Lutheran Church. The use of Mihalic's dictionary and grammar of Melanesian Pidgin (1957, 1971) was adopted and made compulsory for the production of literature in Tok Pisin (Appendix A) and for teaching in the Vernacular Education Programme. In the dictionary the rural lowlands pidgin of the entire north-coast New Guinea was chosen as standard for Tok Pisin. The lexical development and structure of this dialect is elucidated by Mühlhäusler (1976). To point out the Church's contribution to the spreading of Tok Pisin in other areas, recorded and written stories of representative Tok Pisin speakers in the Central Highlands were collected. They are briefly discussed in section 3.1. and presented in Appendix 5.2.

Additional data were also collected concerning the general effectiveness of the VEP and concerning the opinions of national church-workers about the present language situation in the Church and the country. This was undertaken by oral and written questioning. Both surveys were designed to throw light on the results of the Church's Tok Pisin policy and to indicate new perspectives of a future development of language policy.

ABBREVIATIONS

ALC	American Lutheran Church
ALM	Australian Lutheran Church
DTPS	Distrik Tok Ples Skul
E.H.P.	Eastern Highlands Province
ELCA	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia
ELCONG	Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea
ELC-PNG	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea
LCA	Lutheran Church of Australia
LMNG	Lutheran Mission New Guinea
NGK	Neuguinea Kompagnie
NM	Neuendettelsau Mission
RMS	Rhenish Mission Society
S.H.P.	Southern Highlands Province
UELCA	United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia
VEP	Vernacular Education Programme
W.H.P.	Western Highlands Province

1. HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN MISSIONS AND THE LUTHERAN CHURCH⁴

1.1. PRE-WORLD WAR I PERIOD (1886-1914)

At the end of the 19th century European nations had become interested in occupying the island of New Guinea in the South Pacific. The Dutch took over the western part in 1828; the British declared the south-eastern section a protectorate under the name of British New Guinea in 1884, while in the same year Germany made the north-eastern part one of its colonies calling it Kaiser Wilhelmsland.

Soon after Germany's occupation of north-east New Guinea, the Imperial Government granted two mission societies, the Neuendettelsau Mission and the Rhenish Mission Society, permission to enter the protectorate.

1.1.1. The Neuendettelsau Mission (NM)

The history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea begins on July 12, 1886 when Rev. Johann Flierl landed at Finschhafen. This settlement was the headquarters of the Deutsche Neu-Guinea Kompagnie, which had been made responsible by the German Government for the administration of the colony in order to promote trade, plantation development and to civilise the New Guineans.

The attitude of the Imperial Government was friendly towards the establishment of a mission society in the protectorate, and officials of the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie (NGK) received directives to "support the Missionaries as far as possible and provide them with food and other goods at the same concession rates applying to the Company Officials" (Tschauder n.d.:9).

After travelling along the north coast and inspecting other NGK settlements like Konstantin-Hafen and Hatzfeld-Hafen, Flierl decided to build the first mission station in the vicinity of Finschhafen. Permission was granted by the German Commissary to settle at Simbang in October 1886.

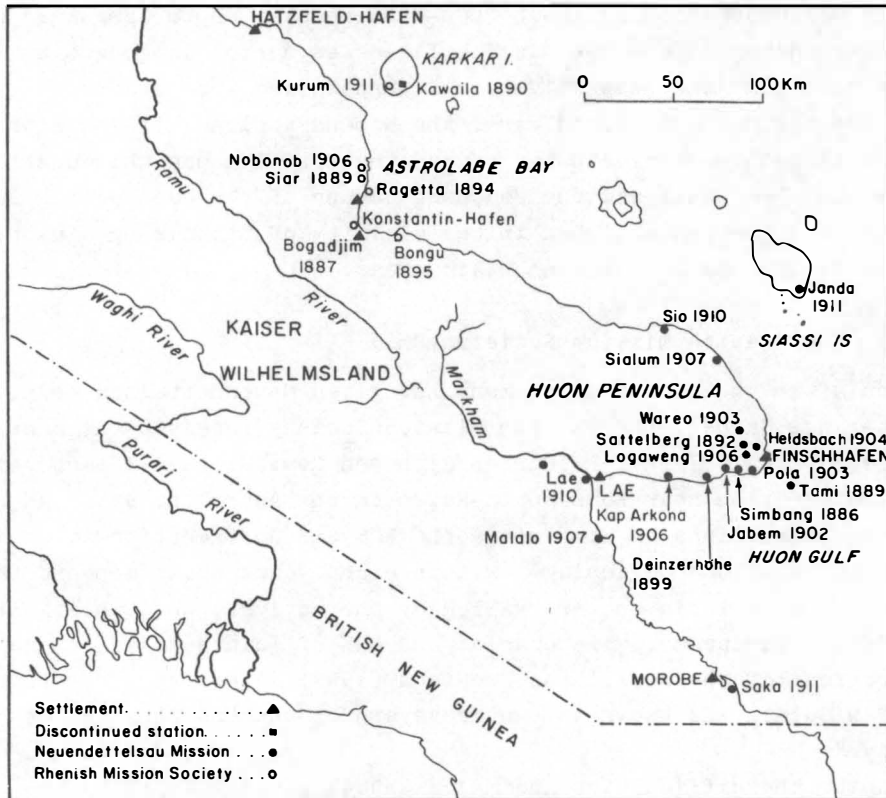
Flierl was received with suspicion and hostility by the local tribe, but after two years he was able to establish a good relationship with the villagers so that other missionaries could follow.

The second station was set up on Tami Island, a few kilometres off the shore. Using this station as a base, the Neuendettelsau Mission extended its field of influence along the south coast of the Huon Peninsula following traditional trade routes between Tami Island and coastal villages. Thus Deinzerhoehe (1899), Kap Arkona (1906), and Malalo (1907) were founded (see Map 1).

While the first wave of expansion was directed along the coast, the second wave into the interior of the Huon Peninsula commenced with the opening of the Sattelberg station in 1892 on a hill (900m) two days' walk from Finschhafen.

The missionaries and the employees of the NGK suffered severely from the unfavourable conditions of the tropical coastal climate. In 1891 40 Europeans died of malaria and the headquarters of the NGK were transferred to Konstantin-Hafen in the Astrolabe Bay and Sattelberg was founded as a health resort for missionary personnel.

In the course of time this station developed into the "dominant mission post of the Huon Peninsula" (Frerichs 1969:15) and with the assistance of evangelists of the Sattelberg congregation the NM 'occupied' its hinterland and the north coast.



MAP 1: MAIN STATIONS OF THE NEUENDETTLSAU AND RHENISH MISSION SOCIETIES (1886-1914)

From the beginning the study of vernacular languages was one of the main problems the missionaries faced. They had started with Jabem at Simbang and the opening of Sattelberg made the studying of a new language, Kate, necessary.

Jabem⁵ was originally spoken by about 900 (Zahn 1940:v) and Kate by about 600 people (Pilhofer 1933:13). With dialectal differences each of them was understood by about 3000-4000 people. Both languages were later introduced in the new mission fields as school languages while at the same time the respective local vernaculars were studied.

By the beginning of World War I the Neuendettelsau Mission with the help of indigenous converts had spread the Gospel along the coastline of the Huon Peninsula and the southern border of the Huon Gulf. Out-stations had been established in the vicinity of Sattelberg, in the Markham Valley and adjacent mountain areas.

1.1.2. The Rhenish Mission Society (RMS)

Soon after the German Government had given Neuendettelsau permission to enter New Guinea, the Rhenish Mission Society received the same privilege. In 1887 Rev. Friedrich Eich and Rev. Wilhelm Thomas set up the first station near Konstantin-Hafen in the Astrolabe Bay. As with most of the missions in New Guinea the RMS was no exception in having difficulties at the beginning. Within eight years seven men and three women died of malaria or were killed by the natives, whose hostility towards the Europeans, missionaries and NGK officials alike, hampered the progress of the work.⁷ As Frerichs (1969:13) reports, "by that time New Guinea was known as the graveyard of the Rhenish Mission Society."

Despite the difficulties and major setbacks encountered by the missionaries the following stations were founded: Siar (1889), Kawailo (on Karkar Island) (1890), Ragetta later called Graged (1894) and Bongu (1895). Kawailo had to be given up after a short time and not until 1911 was work resumed again.

But most frustrating was the fact that even after 10 years of missionary endeavours there were no converts. Only as late as 1906, after a defeat of a native revolt against the Europeans, the first large baptisms were celebrated at Bogadjim, Ragetta and Bongu.

Having overcome initial difficulties, and since the Madang area was sparsely populated, the RMS attempted to extend its mission field. Exploratory trips had been undertaken to the upper Ramu Valley and down the Markham River, but these expeditions proved unsuccessful. The natural line of expansion along the north coast was met by a strong

opposition from the Catholic Mission. They had brought this area under their influence after 1905 which prevented the further expansion of the society's activities.

1.2. THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS (1914-1945)

1.2.1. World War I

With the outbreak of World War I Australian troops occupied German New Guinea in 1914 and the colony fell under military rule until 1921 when it became the Australian Mandated Territory of New Guinea until 1942.

In the beginning relationships between the Neuendettelsau Mission and the Australian military government were strained and general distrust towards German missionaries was typical among military officials. But the attitude of the then Australian prime minister was favourable towards mission work in New Guinea. And during the war most of the German missionaries were allowed to carry on, after having been asked to sign an oath of neutrality.

Since former German supply sources like school and printing material, medicine, tools and textiles were cut off, Johann Flierl resumed his connections with Australian mission circles of the newly formed United Evangelical Church of Australia (UELCA).

These connections originated from his missionary work among aborigines in Central Australia, where he had served on behalf of the NM before he came to New Guinea. Furthermore already before the outbreak of World War I a few Australian lay missionaries had worked with the Neuendettelsau Mission.

Under the leadership of Pastor Otto Thiele of the UELCA relief actions were organised to supply the NM and RMS mission fields with necessary goods during the war.

Besides resuming his links with the Australian mission circles Flierl contacted the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa in USA. They were willing to transfer supply through O. Thiele, who had become agent in Australia for the two New Guinea missions.

The time of cooperation with Australian and American churches had begun and the two societies were able to open new mission fields mostly in the hinterland of existing stations. Thus Amele (1916) and Keku (1918) were founded in the sphere of the RMS and Kaiapit (1919), Kipu (1916) and Kalasa (1918) were established within the NM field and used as bases for further expansion into the interior (see Map 2). "The number of Christians grew phenomenally. Noteworthy translations into local languages were made" (Frerichs 1969:18).

1.2.2. Amalgamation with Australian and American Churches

When Germany lost its colonies through the Peace Treaty of Versailles in 1919 the NM and RMS had to resign from their fields in former German New Guinea. In the meantime a negative attitude had arisen among Australian politicians towards the residence of German missionaries in the Territory. Originally the Australian Government intended to hand over the NM and RMS fields to an English mission society. But through negotiations of O. Theile and the president of the Iowa Synod, D. Richter, the Government finally agreed to assign the administration of the two mission fields to the UELCA in 1921. The Iowa Synod was permitted to cooperate.

The gradual replacement of German missionaries and their deportation within two years was demanded by the Government. This limit was after some time extended to four and seven years. Later in 1925 the Government declared that all German missionaries resident in the Territory in 1921 were allowed to stay. The NM and the RMS assumed the role of sponsoring mission bodies.

Pastor O. Thiele became director of the former German mission fields and he administered both sections as one until 1929. In 1922 ordained Australian and American missionaries had started work in the field.

After much dispute representatives of the four sponsoring church bodies, UELCA, Iowa Synod (since 1930 American Lutheran Church, ALC), NM and RMS, decided at a conference in Brisbane in 1929 to divide the field into three separate sections. The RMS was to continue in the Madang area, the Americans obtained the Rai-coast east of Madang to Finschhafen and the field of the NM was reduced to the southern part of its original territory. The UELCA did not claim a separate field for themselves but supported the work in the three sections. Although the field was divided up into three regions all mission bodies cooperated in institutions like seminaries, printeries and supply centres.

When the RMS had to withdraw from its mission work because of financial difficulties the allotment of the three sections was reorganised. In 1932 at a conference in Columbus (USA) representatives of the four church bodies decided to assign the Madang field also to the American Lutheran Church. The northern part of the Huon Peninsula was returned to the Neuendettelsau Mission.

Madang and Finschhafen became headquarters of the newly formed two mission fields which operated under the names of Lutheran Mission, New Guinea, Madang and Lutheran Mission, New Guinea, Finschhafen until 1953.

1.2.3. Expansion into the Highlands

In 1927 Germany became a member of the League of Nations and new German missionaries were permitted to enter the Territory to reinforce in-service staff of the three nationalities. Thus the Lutheran Missions were able to respond to the challenge of expanding into the Central Highlands when they were opened by the Australian Government.

In 1933 the Administration sent an expedition into the Hagen area in search for gold. The result was negative. Through a private visit of the former Australian director of Lutheran Missions, O. Thiele, to the Acting Administrator T. Griffiths, the headquarters in Madang and Finschhafen learnt that although the Administration intended to withdraw from that area "he (Griffiths) would appreciate it if a Lutheran missionary could replace his government officers" (translated from Pilhofer 1963:228).

Thus the second great period of expansion of the Lutheran Missions was initiated. The Madang and Finschhafen headquarters decided to cooperate and with the assistance of indigenous evangelists from both fields the following main stations were established within only two years: Onerunka (1933), Ega (1934), Kerowagi (1934) and Ogelbeng (1934).

Frerichs (1969:23), as one of the first American missionaries to enter the Highlands, reports: "This forceful thrust by the combined Madang and Finschhafen Missions led to the firm establishment of Lutheran work in the Highlands". Other missions like Catholic and Adventist were also building stations in the interior at that time. But only two years later (1936) all missions experienced a severe setback by the imposition of government restrictions on mission activities:

- a) All indigenous evangelists had to be brought back to the main stations (230 evangelists of the Lutheran Missions)
- b) Travelling was only allowed in groups together with a European under supervision of the Administration and armed with ten guns.

These regulations were caused because of the murder of a Catholic priest and a lay-brother by highlanders and a change in the administration. In 1934 the Acting Administrator Griffiths was replaced by Sir Walter McNicoll. His negative attitude towards the influence of the missions on the people (Pilhofer 1963:248) made sure that the implementation of the restrictions were drastically supervised. Thus expansion of missionary work in the Central Highlands came to a standstill, which lasted until 1939 and continued through World War II. By that time the Finschhafen Mission counted 40,000 and the Madang Mission 20,000 baptised Christians.



MAP 2: MAIN STATIONS OF THE LUTHERAN MISSIONS (1914-1945) (NM, RMS until 1932, UELCA, Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa, since 1930 ALC)

During World War II, particularly at the time of Japanese occupation (1942-1944), all expatriate mission activities, in the Highlands and on the coast alike, came to an end. Missionaries of German nationality were interned, most of the American and Australian missionaries were either evacuated or captured by the Japanese.

1.3. POST-WORLD WAR II PERIOD (1945-1976)

Immediately after the war the American (ALC) and Australian Lutheran Churches (UELCA) began to rebuild and reorganise what had been left of the destruction. Although the work of the Missions was physically wrecked, the spiritual work of spreading the Gospel was still alive in the local congregations and had survived the pandemonium.

1.3.1. Foundation of the Lutheran Mission New Guinea

In 1945 the first American and later the first Australian missionaries returned and in 1951, after some dispute with the Administration and only under certain conditions, German missionaries were allowed to return as well. About 100 evangelists had resumed their service in the Highlands.

In 1953 it was decided to unite the Finschhafen and Madang mission fields and to form a single autonomous institution the Lutheran Mission New Guinea (LMNG) with full power of decision on the field. The supporting churches in the home countries were only responsible for procurement of monetary funds, personnel and supply. At annual field conferences at Wau all missionaries determined the development for the next year, gradually increasing the right of co-determination with indigenous representatives.

1.3.2. Independent Lutheran Mission Bodies

Other Lutheran Missions took the chance of rebuilding or beginning new mission fields after World War II. The Australian Lutheran Mission (ALM) of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (ELCA) reopened its field on Siassi Islands, where they had begun in 1936 and started a new field at Menyamya near Wau. The ALM counted 16,000 converts (1968).

Later in 1966 the two Australian Churches, the UELCA and ELCA, merged into the Lutheran Church of Australia (LCA). Both fields of the Australian Lutheran Mission are now integrated in the ELC-PNG, the Siassi field forming one of the seven districts of the Church, while the Menyamya field became a circuit of the Jabem district.

The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod of USA commenced work in co-operation with the ELCA west of Mt Hagen in the Enga District in 1948. They built up a separate operation culminating in the foundation of the Wabag Lutheran Church in 1961 with a membership of about 35,000 baptised Christians.

1.3.3. Foundation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea

Since World War I it had been the paramount aim of the Missions to build up a united, indigenous Lutheran Church. On the 70th anniversary of the Neuendettelsau Mission in the Territory the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea (ELCONG) was founded and its first synod was held at the historic place of Simbang (1956). The total number of Lutheran Christians was given as 163,222.

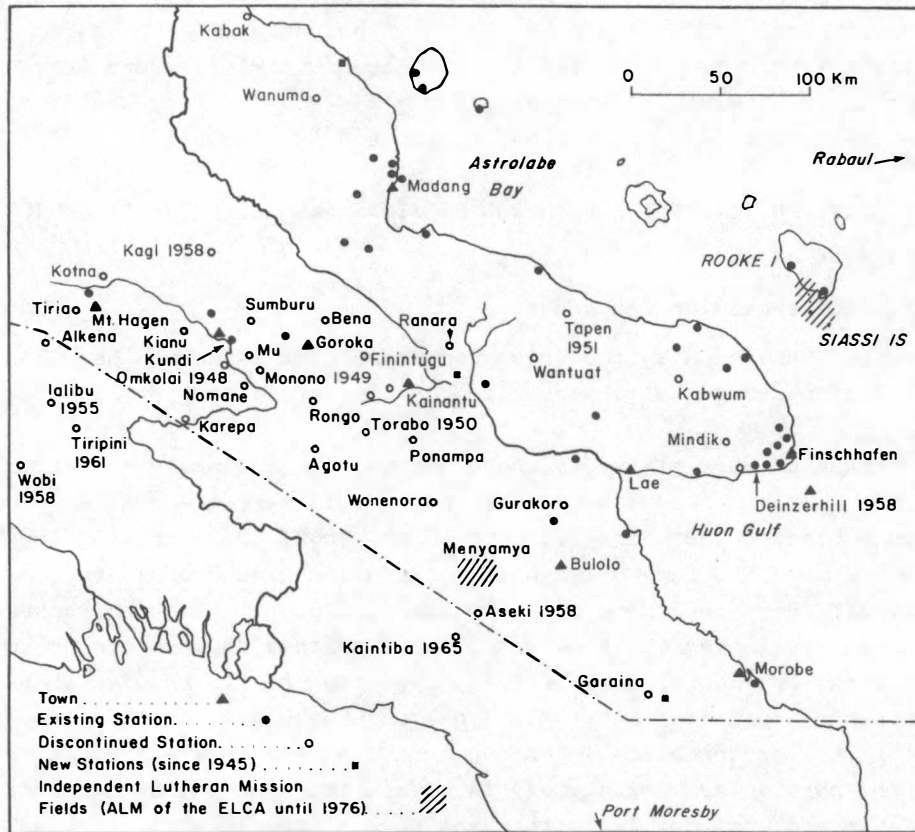
In the following years the LMNG and the ELCONG - with Dr John Kuder (ALC) representing both organisations in personal union - cooperated closely in spreading and consolidating the Christian faith and assisted in the development of the country.

The work accomplished has been manifold:

- a) Further expansion into the Central Highlands with the erection of 20 new stations;
- b) Consolidation of the work in the coastal areas with 10 new stations;
- c) Further development of the Vernacular School Programme;
- d) Establishment of an English Education Programme;
- e) Foundation of the indigenous owned company NAMASU and transport systems;
- f) Further development of medical institutions;
- g) Erection of vocational and ministerial training centres;
- h) The beginning of a town mission in the urban centres;
- i) Extension of the Church's involvement in printing and distribution of religious and secular literature.

In 1973 Zurewe Zurenuo took the place of Dr John Kuder and was elected Bishop of the Lutheran Church which two years later integrated the LMNG. According to the latest estimate of the National Office, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea has a total membership of about 500,000 baptised Christians in 1976.

The main supporting partners overseas are the American Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Church of Australia, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria, including the former Neuendettelsau Mission, and the



MAP 3: MAIN STATIONS OF THE LUTHERAN MISSIONS (1945-1953), THE LUTHERAN MISSION NEW GUINEA (1935-1975) AND THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA (SINCE 1956)⁹

Mission Society of the North-Elbion Churches in Germany. The number of expatriate personnel in the ELC-PNG was 179 staff members in July 1976 of whom 36% were Australian, 33% North American and 27% German; 4% were of other overseas countries.

With national office at Ampo in Lae, the ELC-PNG is divided into seven districts which for the most part coincide with PNG mainland government provinces. Within the Morobe Province are three church districts: Kate, Jabem and Siassi. The Hagen District covers the Western and Southern Highlands Provinces (W.H.P., S.H.P.), the names of the other districts are Madang, Chimbu and Goroka Districts.

2. LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE LUTHERAN MISSIONS AND THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

2.1. GERMAN COLONIAL PERIOD (1886-1914)

2.1.1. The Vernacular Languages

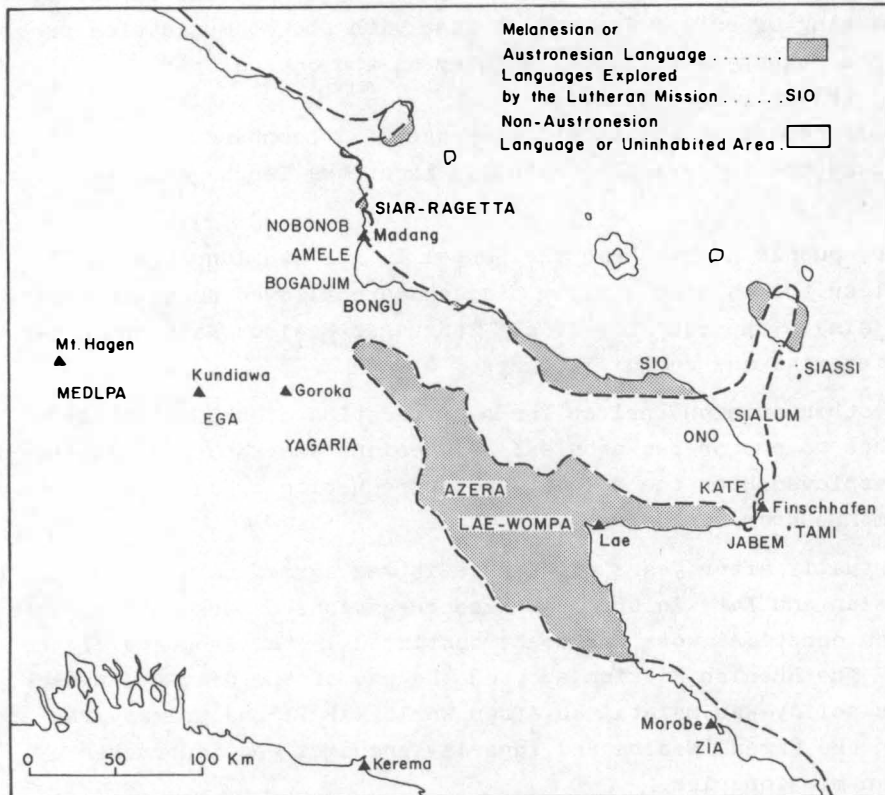
The two Lutheran Missions which commenced work in German New Guinea had hardly any notion of the complicated language situation of the country.

According to Wurm (1974:52) there are two basic language types in Papua New Guinea, the Melanesian or Austronesian and the non-Austronesian or Papuan types. There are reported to be about 200 Melanesian languages and over 500 Papuan languages. Both language groups are completely different in grammatical structure, pronunciation and vocabulary.

From the beginning the Neuendettelsau missionaries were confronted with the exploration of both language types in the Finschhafen area. With further expansion of the Mission along the coast and into the interior the same problem was encountered and each missionary had to study the particular language of his area. Thus the NM had started with Jabem and Tami and later the knowledge of Sio, Siassi, Laewompa and Azera was acquired. These vernaculars belong to the Melanesian group. The first language to be explored of the Papuan group was Kate and later Sialum, Ono, and Zia followed (Pilhofer 1963:68) (see Map 4).

The Rhenish Mission Society worked on Bogadjim, Bongu, Nobonob and Amele of the Papuan and Siar-Ragetta of the Melanesian language group (see 2.2.1.2. Graged).

It has been regarded as one of the most basic demands of missionary work that in order to exert a deep religious influence the Word of God cannot be transmitted properly unless preached in the local vernacular of the people. This conviction of the Lutheran Missions has been the underlying principle for studying local languages together with the production of elementary literature requirements in the beginning and



MAP 4: DISTRIBUTION OF AUSTRONESIAN AND NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES
(after Wurm 1974:53)

culminating in translations of the New Testament. These translations were completed in Jabem 1924, Kate 1938 and Graged prior to World War II and in the Kuman, Medlpa and Azera languages after World War II.

Research work in all different vernaculars was far beyond the ability of the Missions, e.g. the Huon Peninsula Stock alone comprises 27 languages. Therefore it was decided to put emphasis on the study and teaching of only a few and so cope with the communication problem in such a "super-multilingual country as the coastal parts of New Guinea" (Flierl, W. 1959:2).

In his report to the Kate Conference 1920 Leonhard Flierl (1920:2) summarises the two existing opinions about the language policy of the time:

- a) Every people has to hear the Gospel in its own language, only smaller tribes with similar dialects are allowed to be integrated. The aim is the equality of all languages besides Kate and Jabem as ministerial and school languages.
- b) The other opinion thrives for a unification of the multitude of tribes to one or two peoples: Melanesians and Papuans. This is to be achieved with the help of the introduction of Jabem and Kate as common church languages.

Eventually after years of dispute it was agreed to use Jabem in the Melanesian and Kate in the Papuan congregations as school languages, while catechetical work was to be continued in the language of the tribe. The Rhenish Mission adopted the use of the Graged language.

This policy was maintained after World War II and primary research work in the Kuman, Medlpa and Yagarua languages was undertaken by Lutheran missionaries.

2.1.2. German

In 1899 the German Government took over the administration of Kaiser Wilhelmsland from the Deutsche Neuguinea Kompagnie and entered the field of education. They opened a school at Namanula near Rabaul in 1907 in order to spread the German language and to supersede Pidgin-English. Kuanua and German became media of instruction (Pilhofer 1963: 66; Ralph 1965:77).

Not until the Imperial Government took over the administration of German New Guinea were first steps undertaken to influence the language situation in the colony. Throughout the period until 1914 it was intended to uproot Pidgin-English and replace it with German (Mühlhäusler 1976:137-138).

In December 1913 Governor Dr Hahl sent out a circular to all missions stating that German should be taught as widely as possible instead of Pidgin with the aim of spreading German as the lingua franca. In an education ordinance planned for 1915 it was decreed to permit only German and a local vernacular as teaching media in schools (Harrison 1975:99; Mühlhäusler 1976:140).

Finally the German Administration attempted to organise an education system on a wider scale on the lines of the school established near Rabaul (Smith 1975:18).

Proposals to the missions for cooperation were made by Governor Hahl with the promise of subsidies. This was done not so much with the intention of taking responsibility of schools away from mission agencies, but rather to coordinate mission and government education activities.

While other missions complied with the suggestions, the Neuendettelsau Mission was determined not to alter its principle of teaching in vernaculars. This position was supported by a decision of the Continental Mission Conference at Bremen in 1887 "that missions should refuse subsidies unless education in the vernacular was preserved" (Smith 1975:14).

But according to Pilhofer (1963:66) and Smith (1975:14) at the end of the German period the NM decided to introduce German at its two teacher training schools for indigenous assistants at Logaweng and Heldsbach. They did this as a unifying element since the mission field was in danger of breaking up between the Melanesian and Papuan congregations.

All attempts by the Government and the missions to disseminate and introduce German among the people of New Guinea came to an end at the outbreak of World War I.

2.2. AUSTRALIAN ADMINISTRATION PERIOD (1914-1975)

2.2.1. Pre-War Period

2.2.1.1. *The Controversy about the Kate and Jabem Languages*

In the period between the two World Wars the Neuendettelsau Mission struggled to establish one single church language for use at the inter-district level and within the school system. It seemed that without a generally recognised language the aim of forming an indigenous church would be thwarted. Furthermore the expansion into the Central Highlands raised the question of which of the two or three church languages was to be used as a medium of instruction and communication.

2.2.1.1.1. The Origin of two Mission Districts

With Simbang/Tami and Sattelberg as centres the NM extended its work in two different directions, predominantly influenced by the distribution of Melanesian and Papuan languages. Thus Jabem was introduced in the congregations along the coast of the Huon Gulf and Kate along the north coast and the interior of the Huon Peninsula.

With the intention of occupying the hinterland of Malalo at the end of World War I, Kate evangelists undertook initial exploratory trips expecting a Papuan language area (see Map 5). As it turned out the tribes belonged to the Melanesian people and the task of spreading the Gospel among them was handed over to the Malalo congregation (Pilhofer 1961:208).

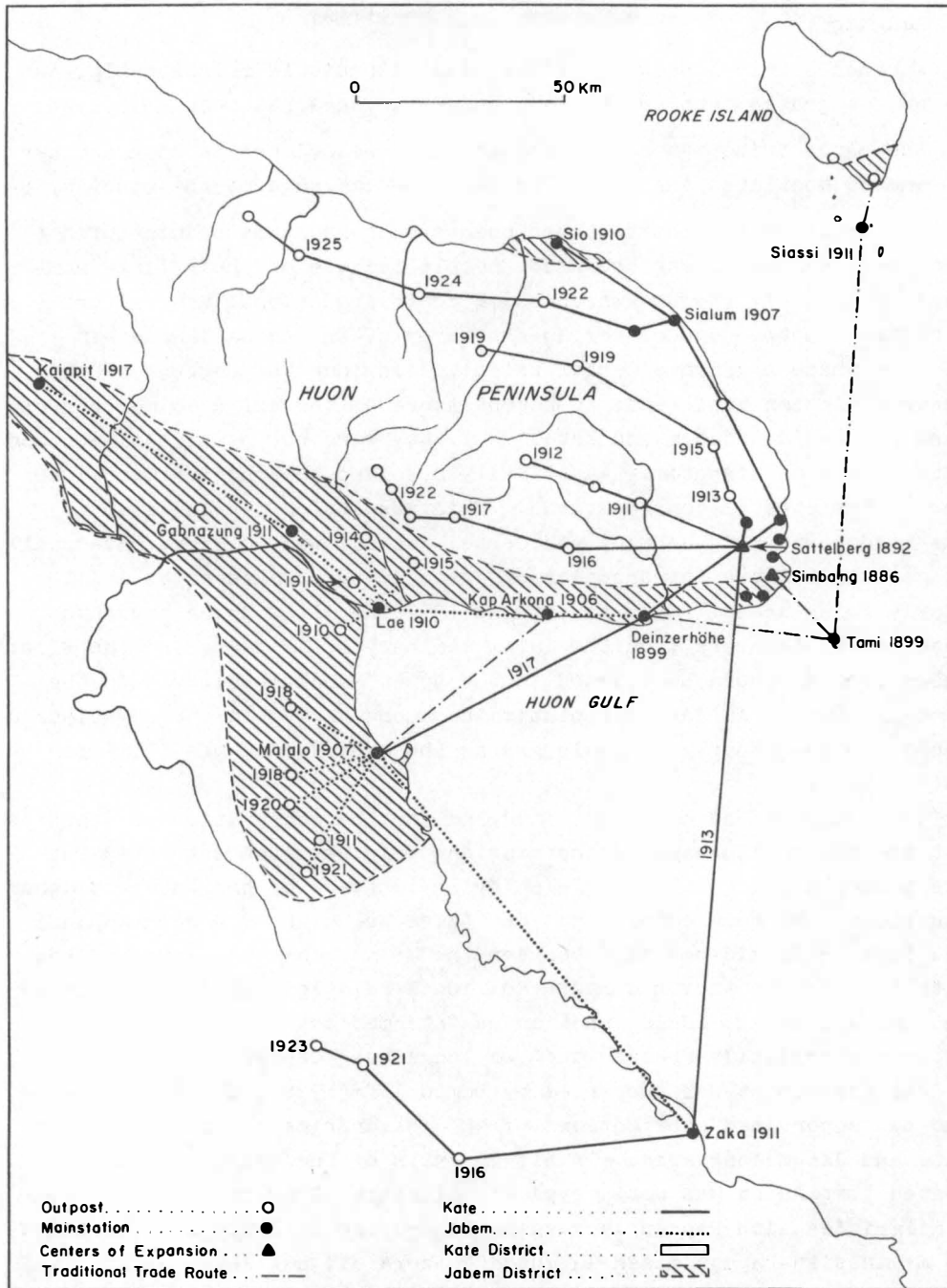
Zaka, further down the coast, had been founded by the Malalo circuit with the assistance of Jabem evangelists. But even after two years they had not been able to express themselves properly in the Zia language belonging to the Papuan group. Later they were replaced by Kate evangelists and the field was supervised from Sattelberg (Pilhofer 1961:165-166).

In the course of time two mission districts gradually developed within the area of the NM coinciding with the distribution of Melanesian and Papuan languages (see Map 4, p.85). Each district was united by its own lingua franca. Relationships between church leaders of both fields were strained, especially when the Melanesian congregations attempted to start missionary work in Papuan language areas since they soon reached their limit of expansion. Cooperation within the districts was hampered by the irregular distribution of the respective language groups. This caused isolated fields within the other district, e.g. the Sio and Siassi congregations on the north coast within the Kate District and the Zaka congregations south of the Jabem District.

Further difficulties arose when a new field was started in the upper Markham Valley among the Azera. With more than 10,000 people this was the most densely populated area with a common language ever to come under the influence of the Mission until World War II (Pilhofer 1963: 165).

Fritz Oertel (1921), pioneer missionary of the Azera, built up a strong opposition against the introduction of Jabem among them, giving the following reasons at the Jabem Conference 1921:

The arbitrary introduction of the two church languages into new areas should be discarded and after doing so the following points should be considered:



MAP 5: EXPANSION OF THE NEUENDETELSAU MISSION (1886-1924)
(after Pilhofer 1961:Outline Map)

- a) Whether a tribe is so small that it is not worthwhile studying its language;
- b) Whether a tribe, because of its close linguistic relationship, can be integrated into another one whose language has been preserved;
- c) Whether a tribe can be induced to start relationships with another one so that its language melts into the language of the other tribe.

The negative answers to these points supported his opinion of not introducing Jabem among the Azera people because of their large numbers, relatively strong awareness of their traditional and cultural heritage and the non-Melanesian character of the Azera language.

With these arguments Oertel tried to convince the members of the general mission conference to accept Azera as the third common church language besides Jabem and Kate. But they were not of his opinion and after years of dispute it was finally resolved to transfer Oertel to one of the coastal congregations. This resolution was cancelled by the headquarters in Germany and Oertel was allowed to stay. Eventually he gave in but the introduction of Jabem among the Azera was still slowly going ahead. Only as late as 1937 the first Azera students returned as teachers from the Jabem seminary at Logaweng and the first Jabem schools could be started in the Upper Markham Valley. In the same year after an informal plebiscite among the Azera congregations Jabem was unanimously acknowledged as the school language (Pilhofer 1963:169-170).

Fritz Oertel had not only struggled for the recognition of Azera as a third common language in the mission field, he even suggested that Azera should become the single unifying language of the Kate and Jabem Districts. He pointed out that the Azera people held a geographical and linguistic mid-position between the Melanesian and Papuan tribes. With both groups they had had traditional relationships. Therefore the Azera language could function as intermediary between Kate and Jabem and gradually replace the two languages (Oertel 1921).

His standpoint was supported by Dempwolf (1928), a German linguist who had supervised publications of NM missionaries especially on the Kate and Jabem languages. In his analysis of the Azera language he stated that Azera was not of typical Melanesian character and had some similarities with Papuan languages. Therefore it could be classified as Melanesian-Papuan mixed language. Azera did not show the stylistic variation of Jabem and the richness of grammatical structure of the Kate language.

With regard to a Bible translation into Azera he was of the opinion that Azera would be more suitable than either Jabem or Kate. The Jabem language has the disadvantage of relatively poor grammatical structure and complicated phonology while the rigid syntax of Kate leaves little room for stylistic expression. A translation of the Bible into Azera could overcome these disadvantages and bring forth not only an authentic document but also a devotional book (Dempwolff c.1928:55).

The General Conference of the Lutheran Mission, Finschhafen (1929), could not follow Oertel's suggestions about the importance of Azera for the future development of the language situation in the field. A special committee was appointed to study the facts and arguments again. Although certain advantages of the Azera language were acknowledged, the main reasons for its rejection were given as follows (Referat-Kommission 1930:Paragraph IV):

- a) Most of the catechetical, school and literature work has been accomplished in the Kate and Jabem languages. A replacement of both languages by Azera will only be possible, if the same would have been done in this language.
- b) A replacement of Jabem or Kate through Azera would be met with even more resistance by the population of our mission field than the introduction of one of the two languages as single church languages.

2.2.1.1.2. The Struggle to Unify the two Districts

At the end of the twenties the mission field was in danger of breaking up into three parts and missionaries and indigenous church leaders alike endeavoured to find a solution in the area of:

- a) Establishing a single church language or/and
- b) Improving cooperation between the Districts or/and
- c) Directing efforts towards a new goal.

When in the years 1926-28 Leonhard Flierl undertook the first expeditions into the Central Highlands the possibility of further extension of the work of the mission came into view.

After a discussion at the General Conference at Finschhafen in 1929 of two papers by missionaries Zahn and Pilhofer about the advantage of Kate becoming the common language of the two districts no decision was reached and the problem was postponed again. But it was realised that the work of the Mission had arrived at a point of reorientation and the following resolution was passed (translated from Lutheran Mission, NG, 1929:15th Session - Paragraph 20):

It is acknowledged that we have reached a turning point. The principle that each congregation should have its own mission field cannot be maintained for the future. Mission work of the distant interior requires the cooperation of the congregations of both districts.

Furthermore it was decided to improve the cooperation of the two districts by the introduction of joint conferences with indigenous delegates of both language areas. The exchange of students of secondary and tertiary institutions of both districts should be promoted. Mutual information about the two fields in schools and through monthly periodicals was to be increased (Referat-Kommission 1930:Paragraph II).

Should the Melanesian congregations wish to start mission work among Papuan tribes they were only allowed to do so with catechetical instruction in the vernacular and using Kate as the school language (Referat-Kommission 1930:Paragraph III).

In the following years expansion into the Central Highlands began with the erection of Kambaidam east of Kainantu by W. Bergmann in 1931 (Pilhofer 1963:226). This was continued with the opening of stations in the western and eastern part of the Highlands and in the later Chimbu District (1933/34).

Inter-district conferences during these years were still struggling with the 'Language Question', but the discussions now focused on the work in the new highlands mission fields rather than on the coastal districts.

Eventually in 1936 at a conference with delegates of all coastal congregations, except for Jabem, all Melanesian circuits agreed to cooperate in the spreading of the Gospel in the Central Highlands and to support the introduction of Kate as the common church language (Pilhofer 1963:205). Half a year later the Jabem congregation as well gave its consent with the following remarks (translated from Herrlinger 1936):

We do not want to carry the language duality into the interior that would not be right. But on the other hand we also want to have the certainty that our language is allowed to continue.

2.2.1.2. *Graged*

The Rhenish missionaries in the Madang area encountered the same language diversity as the Neuendettelsau missionaries on the Huon Peninsula and they had to struggle with similar problems arising out of the existence of two different linguistic groups, the Melanesian and Papuan languages (see Map 4, p.85).

The mountain tribes of Papuan origin populated the southern coast-line of the Astrolabe Bay but none of their vernaculars gained the importance of the Kate language for a possible expansion into the interior. Graged, the traditional trade language of the Melanesian tribes on the north coast finally became the common church language of the Madang District.

With the erection of the first stations Bogadjim, Bongu, Nobonob and Siar; Rargetta the missionaries soon discovered that they had started work in two different linguistic areas, the former belonging to the Papuan group, the latter belonging to the Melanesian group.

While the three Papuan languages were confined to small areas and only understood by a few hundred speakers, the Siar-Rargetta language, later called Graged, had been used as supra-regional trade language in the Astrolabe Bay (Kriele 1927:45).

With further expansion to Karkar and Bagabag Islands and along the Rai-coast this language was without resistance adopted as church language by the local congregations (Kriele 1927:103).

Since the Rhenish Society like the Neuendettelsau Mission upheld the principle of initial spreading of the Gospel in the local vernacular, first publications in all languages were produced in the time before World War I: Bible stories and primers in Siar-Rargetta (1898), Bogadjin (1897) and Bongu (1895), a grammar and a dictionary in Bongu in 1909.

After the war the New Testament was translated and a grammar and dictionary were produced in Graged.

Amele was the first station to be established in the coastal hinterland in 1916 and since the distribution of the vernacular of this area exceeded the other Papuan languages, it was decided to introduce Amele first in Bongu (Rhenish Mission, NG 1923:6) later in Nobonob (Theile 1928:26) and in Keku/Bogadjim (Rhenish Mission, NG 1931:3) as common church language. This was accepted by the Bongu congregation and met with resistance by the Nobonob congregation.

During the whole period of spreading Siar-Rargetta and Amele as unifying media both were in competition with the rapid acceptance of Pidgin-English in the Madang area. This was usually not appreciated by the missionaries (Theile 1928:26). In 1932 just before the Rhenish Mission Society withdrew from its field in New Guinea they suggested the introduction of Rargetta as common church language for the Madang District: (translated from Rhenish Mission, NG 1932:3rd Session- Item 11):

The Conference has the unanimous conviction that the introduction of the Rargetta language is the best policy for the wellbeing of the field for the future. To regard this

fundamental alteration in the language question as an adequate decision, this is verified by its positive acceptance of the Keku and Nobonob congregations.

The Rhenish Mission Society had not been successful in expanding its influence into the distant interior of the country. This was caused by difficulties encountered in the beginning while in the meantime the Catholic Mission had started work in the hinterland of the northern Astrolabe Bay and the Neuendettelsau Mission had occupied the upper Ramu Valley. Thus further expansion of the activities of the Society was directed along the coast and to the offshore islands Karkar and Bagabag (Eiffert 1932:5). At the time of the RMS's withdrawal from the field it had a membership of 11,000 baptised Christians, of whom 9,000 lived on Karkar Island (Eiffert 1932:2).

In the same year (1932) the field was given to the American Lutheran Church whose missionaries confirmed the decision about the 'Language Question' on their first field conference. It was resolved to facilitate the introduction of Graged through the distribution of gratis literature to teachers and pupils of the Amele, Nobonob and Keku church schools (Lutheran Mission Madang 1933:19th Session-Item 231,232) and by the establishment of a committee for creating literature in the language (Item 233).

When the Madang Mission cooperated with the Finschhafen Mission in the expansion into the Central Highlands they decided to accept the Kate language for the work in the interior (Lutheran Mission Madang 1935:Res.53).

2.2.1.3. *English*

In a country like New Guinea without a traditional lingua franca the problem of intentionally spreading a common language has always been connected with the development of an education system, e.g. as the Lutheran Missions tried to introduce vernaculars as supra-regional languages.

As far back as 1907 the Administration chose English as being the most suitable language in Papua and directed its officers to speak English with the people (Murray 1929:46-50). After World War I they concentrated on the spreading of English by building up a school system in both territories, Papua and New Guinea.

The teaching of vernaculars in primary education was first encouraged and later gradually lessened with changing office-holders.

The first Administration primary school was opened at Kokopo in 1922 and although the erection of further schools was announced, nothing

happened. B.J. McKenna, Director of Education in Queensland, was asked to draw up a plan for native education in the Territory in 1929 (Jinks, Biskup and Nelson 1973:279). Naturally his first problem was to sort out the language difficulty and realising that there was no universal tongue in the Mandated Territory, McKenna suggested English as the medium of instruction. He also proposed that in order to start a school system the Government should consider (Territory of New Guinea 1929/30: 127-129): "The granting of subsidies to Mission schools on condition that they teach English and throw their schools open to Government inspection." McKenna's suggestions were not implemented and the missions went on as before.

Some years later in 1933 the Acting Administrator Griffiths proposed the handing over of all education to the missions and the Government on its part was to issue the necessary regulations and subsidise the school system. Vernaculars should be used at primary level and English at secondary level (McNicoll 1969:8-10).

There were objections to Griffiths' proposals especially from his successor McNicoll, who assumed office in 1934. He formed the opinion that mission schools could not be used for the development of a general education system. The main reason was that most of the mission workers in the Territory were of German nationality, and their competence in teaching English was questioned (Jinks, Biskup and Nelson 1973:282). At that time (1938) fewer than 100 of the 682 mission workers were of non-German origin (Smith 1975:15).

All attempts by the Administration to build up a universal school system were cut off with the outbreak of World War II and no system of cooperation with the missions had been worked out.

The Lutheran Missions had been able to continue their education programme without major interference through Government regulations. The introduction of English was discussed at several conferences but without result.

One of the few missionaries to foresee the implementation of post-war official language policy was Fritz Oertel, who unsuccessfully attempted to achieve the recognition of Azera as a common church language. In his report to the Jabem Conference 1921 he anticipated the future development of the Government and church education systems (Oertel 1921:8,9):

- a) There is no doubt that sooner or later the Administration will want us to introduce English as the school language;
- b) We will have to introduce English in our higher institutions of education;

- c) We cannot go much further without making the cultural language of this land accessible to our teachers and educated New Guineans.

2.2.1.4. *Pidgin-English*

The attitude of the Government and the Lutheran Missions towards Pidgin-English between the two World Wars resulted in the tacit understanding to use and tolerate it but not to recognise it officially. From different backgrounds, the Administration with English in mind, the Lutherans with their church languages in mind, this temporary agreement in attitudes represents one of the rare cases in the history of language policy in New Guinea that both had the same opinion on the same issue.

At the General Conference of the NM at Sattelberg, Lehner (1930) delivered a report on the present situation of Pidgin-English in the Territory and within the work of the Mission: Naturally natives from different areas and languages talked with each other in Pidgin when they happened to live and work together on compounds and at settlements. As early as 1927 the Administration and mission representatives suggested tolerating its use. But as long as a missionary had the chance of speaking in a vernacular - as Lehner pointed out - he should refrain from using Pidgin in his work. He discussed the present development of the language and exemplified its close imitation of English spelling and vocabulary by quoting the current version of the Lord's Prayer (Lehner 1930:4):

Pappa belong me fellow he stop on top, name belong you he
tambou, fashion belong you he come. Some thing he stop along
bell belong you all he make him down below, kaikai belong me
fellow all time you give him me fellow, loose him trouble
belong me fellow past time alright, you me loose him trouble
belong brother belong you me: You look out Satan he no try
him me fellow too much, altogether something heavy he stop
belong skin belong me fellow you loose him, altogether bush,
altogether strong, altogether light too much belong you all
time. Him he tru.

The Conference passed the following resolutions about the future use of Pidgin-English within the mission field (Lutheran Mission, NG 1930:8th Session):

It was accepted that the use of Pidgin was justified to a certain degree because of its wide distribution, preferential treatment by the Government, neutrality within a linguistic diversity and its easy acquisition. The knowledge of Pidgin was recommended for every missionary.

But for mission work the Conference emphasised severe disadvantages of the language:

- a) Since Pidgin was not standardised and had been changing rapidly, the production of literature would cause insurmountable difficulties;
- b) It promoted to a certain extent the negative influences of Western civilisation on the people;
- c) There is hardly any chance of creating a deep religious impact in the souls of the natives.

2.2.2. Post-War Period

2.2.2.1. *The Controversy about the Church Languages and English*

As the pre-war period had been typified by inter-district disputes about a common language within the Lutheran Missions the post-war period had been dominated by a growing conflict at the national level with the Administration about a common language for the education system. The argument gradually developed in the immediate post-war period and culminated in the years 1955 to 1959.

The Australian Administration seriously endeavoured to implement its aim of making English the language of the Territory as it built up an education programme. The Lutheran Church was willing to cooperate and finally accepted controversial Government directives. But in order to uphold its concept of the importance of local languages for mission work and the development of the country, the Church continued with its vernacular school system.

2.2.2.1.1. The Administration Policy

When in 1945 the United Nations entrusted Papua and New Guinea to the Australian Government with the obligation of leading both territories to independence, expansion of schooling was slowly going ahead restricted by the limitation of finance, staff and buildings. By 1954 the number of Administration schools had increased to 85 with about 12,000 enrolments at primary level (Smith 1975:31).

Again the problem arose, what languages were to be used. According to White (1972:162) after World War II the choice clearly lay between Pidgin, which had improved in efficiency and which had become more widespread, and English. Furthermore the teaching of vernaculars was still discussed.

In 1946 W.C. Groves was appointed director of the newly formed Department of Education and he envisaged the building up of a school system in close cooperation with the missions. He suggested four years of sub-primary education in local vernaculars, four years of primary

and two years of secondary education in English. After years of negotiations between the Administration the missions and the government in Canberra, an education ordinance was produced in 1952 (Smith 1975:28).

Pidgin was not mentioned as a teaching medium, a decision explicitly supported by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations (UN) in their Annual Report to the General Assembly after a regular inspection of how Australia was carrying out its trusteeship obligations (1952/53:99):

The Council ... recommends that the Administrating Authority take energetic steps to eradicate it from all instruction given within the Territory, that it urgently develop plans to eliminate it completely from the Territory, and that in areas where the population is as yet unfamiliar with Melanesian Pidgin its use should be officially prohibited immediately.

The UN mission had been especially offended by characteristics of the language derived from colonial times and except for a few attempts to eradicate the use of words like 'house boi' and 'meri' the Administration only indirectly followed the proposals of the UN Mission by emphasising the promotion of English in the country. In 1955 the Minister for Territories, P. Hasluck, decreed the priority of the education policy as follows (Smith 1975:31):

- (a) First attention to be given to primary schools with the goal of teaching all children in controlled areas to read and write in English;
- (b) For the above purpose, efforts to be made to ensure the cooperation of the Christians missions, and special attention to be given to teacher-training.

The new Administration syllabus demanded the teaching of English from the third year of village schooling and in order to discourage the teaching in a vernacular, grants to the missions were offered on the basis of qualified English teachers (Mair 1970:227).

The Administration became exclusively responsible for the control and direction of secular education through an education ordinance in 1954. It asked all missions to register their schools, which were either recognised or exempted by the Government according to their teaching standards as prescribed in the regulations (Mair 1970:226).

In order finally to discard the vernacular languages in its school system and to fulfil its aim of universal literacy in English the Administration released the Press Statement (No.3), Port Moresby, January 30, 1959:

Missions using as teaching media vernacular languages which are not the mother tongues of the children attending school, are informed that in 1960 schools where the children are taught in a 'foreign' vernacular will not be exempted but closed. This is in accordance with the provisions of the

Education Ordinance which empower the Director of Education to determine the language to be used as a medium of instruction in any particular school.

The year before G.T. Roscoe had succeeded Groves as the Director of Education.

It was obvious that in a multilingual country like Papua and New Guinea especially the Lutherans - the other missions like the Catholic, Anglican and Adventists had from the beginning more concentrated on English as teaching medium - would not be able to instruct in vernaculars any longer except for the limited areas where the church languages originated. It was estimated that about 200 different languages and dialects were spoken in the field of the Lutheran Mission New Guinea (Kuder 1959:16).

In the following years the number of enrolments at schools of the Government and the missions increased tremendously although the envisaged targets have never been reached.

14,510 pupils were enrolled at Administration primary schools and 48,000 at recognised Mission schools in 1958, about 100,000 children were taught at exempted schools. Roscoe's plan was to raise total enrolments to 400,000 within ten years but by that time Administration primary schools had reached 80,000 and 132,000 attended church schools (Smith 1975:33-35).

The target of universal primary education remained still far distant at the end of the sixties, although the missions - the Lutheran Church included - had fully cooperated to the extent of their capabilities in the support of an all-English school system.

2.2.2.1.2. The Lutheran Mission Policy

When the Administration struck its severest blow against the vernacular language policy of the Lutheran Mission - the quoted press statement was released during the session of the 13th Annual Field Conference after the visit of the Director of Education - the action of the Government was received with indignation.

At the First Post-War Field Conference in 1947 the Lutheran Missions laid the foundation for the future development of the work including their language policy. It was resolved (LMNG 1947a:47-59): "that we be in full accord with the policy of the Department of Education that the first four years of village schooling be conducted in a vernacular."

The pre-war resolution of 1936 to introduce Kate in the Central Highlands for the teaching programme was confirmed (see p.92), but this time more because of its linguistic and social justification (LMNG 1947a: 47-82):

- a) The Kate language belonging to the large group of Papuan languages is of the same structural pattern as the languages of the Central Highlands;
- b) According to experience the Kate language is received without prejudice by all the tribes of the Central Highlands, who are opposed to the adoption of the language of another group;
- c) Intensive linguistic research in Kate has resulted in the production of the necessary school literature for primary education and in the training of European and indigenous teachers;
- d) Primary education to be carried out in each vernacular would be beyond the ability of the Missions and unduly delay the continuation of the educational programme.

With regard to English it was decided (LMNG 1947b):

- a) To cooperate with the Administration in its programme for the development of the indigenous population;
- b) To enable the natives to have access to the accumulated store of general knowledge;
- c) To provide the New Guinea Church a medium of contact with the whole Christian Church.

The initial step to implement the last resolutions was undertaken in 1952 with the opening of the first Lutheran all-English school, located at Bumayong near Lae (LMNG 1951:51-13).

When the Administration in 1955 decided to reduce the teaching of vernaculars from four to two years, the Field Conference made the following resolution (LMNG 1955:55-144): "Whereas the new Administration Syllabus requires the teaching of English as a subject beginning with the third year of village school, therefore be it resolved that we comply with this where and if possible."

Under the leadership of Wilhelm Flierl this decision set in motion a movement within the Church against the Government and the indicated intention of the Conference which finally resulted in a change of mission policy.

In several papers over the following years Flierl gradually elaborated a new language policy for the Church and eventually convinced the majority of the LMNG members that the Mission could not completely comply with the Government directives. But for the sake of the people of New Guinea and its god-given 'mission' it had to proceed with its own policy as well. Flierl (1955:2) was certain that if the resolution would be carried out the value of the village schools for Christian training

would be essentially reduced with the result that the congregations would be deprived of future church workers.

The work of the Church could even become a disservice to the people, if it "would be adding to the momentum which the tide of secularistic thinking is gaining among the natives" by unconditional cooperation with the Government (Flierl 1956:6). Nevertheless he pointed out that the Church must enter the field of secular education to avoid the trend that the best talents are distracted from the Church.

The common school languages must retain an important place because of their significance in exerting a deep religious influence. Even if the language is not the actual vernacular of the student, but as a New Guinea language it is a compromise for the difficult linguistic situation, far better than a European language like English (Flierl 1956:7).

With regard to the subjects required by the Administration syllabus even Pidgin would outstrip English since it is more related to native languages (Flierl 1955:7-8).

But later Flierl (1957:12) conceded that English must - for the interest of the Church - receive an important place in the education programme to train leaders who can represent the institution over against the Government and the white population.

At the before-mentioned 13th Annual Conference, Flierl (1959) presented a well-balanced report of his former opinions about the role of the church languages in the LMNG and the ELCONG. This was generally accepted and recommended for use in the Church's approach to the Department of Education as a response to the challenging press statement.

In his letter to P. Hasluck, Minister for Territories, October 1959, President J. Kuder defended the course of the Lutheran Mission in the linguistic-educational field with the following main arguments (Kuder 1959):

- a) The church languages function as an educational bridge between stone age and Western civilisation;
- b) The church languages function as an adequate channel for religious education;
- c) The church languages preserve for the youth what has been created in literature;
- d) The church feels responsible for those children who are not able to enter the Administration school system.

Furthermore it was suggested that the education system of the Mission/Church be adapted to the official programme by introducing two

school years prior to recognised government schooling. Thus the church would be able to teach its common languages and could begin with standard I and II following the Administration syllabus in the third and fourth year.

In the meantime, until the Church had trained sufficient teachers to meet the Government requirements, the Church be allowed to continue as before.

2.2.2.1.3. The Origin of the Dual Education System

The 'foreign' vernacular statement of the Administration did not hit the LMNG completely unprepared, since Flierl's first objections to resolution 55-144 (see p.100) had resulted in the reconsideration of the Mission's policy.

At the Educational and Literature Conference in 1955 the general sentiment was for a dual system of schools for the reason that "this would go along with the Lutheran aim of education which is to bring literacy to the masses and not just highly train a few who can learn English" (LMNG 1955b:1).

The fear was expressed, predicting the Government decision of 1959, that the Administration would extend the time available for teaching English and secular subjects, leaving less and less space for the Church to fulfil its task of teaching its languages and religious instruction.

The next year the topic was resumed again and the far-reaching resolution for the initiation of a dual education system was passed (LMNG 1956b:56-327): "Resolved that we go along with the Administration's English programme to the extent of our capacity, and that on the other hand we put emphasis on the training in our Common Church languages for church and religious purposes."

The decision was implemented by dividing up individual schools into two separate classes, one for more capable students attending full English courses and the other for the remaining students attending Bible courses. This development began at the secondary school at Kewamugl in 1956 and was later encouraged at village level in all areas.

In contrast to the Government the Lutheran Mission recognised Pidgin as an acceptable language in all church work and resolved to teach Pidgin at its secondary schools and to produce the necessary literature (LMNG 1956b:56-331).

At that time other missions had more concentrated on the teaching of English and the training of recognised teachers which could result in the employment of non-Lutheran teachers in Lutheran areas by the Government. The Lutheran Mission gave high priority to the development

of its all-English school system to supply the children of its adherents also with an officially accepted education programme.

2.2.2.1.4. The Church's English Education System

Within 24 years with the opening of the first Lutheran English school at Bumaying in 1952 the Church had built up an English education programme - recognised and subsidised by the Government - which in 1976 consisted of 138 primary schools with a total number of 19,538 pupils and 619 indigenous teachers. The Church maintains three high schools with 1,023 students, 19 indigenous and 40 expatriate teachers and operates with the Anglican Church as supporting partner a teachers training college at Lae with 299 pre-service students of different denominations (Lutheran Education Office 1975/76). Besides this the Church maintains an agricultural school and a theological seminary both not being subsidised by the Government.

Most of the primary schools are located in the three oldest church districts: Jabem District 28% (38), Kate District 20% (27) and Madang District 19% (26) (Lutheran Education Office 1975/76). The three high schools are placed at Asaroka near Goroka, Bumayong near Lae and on Rooke Island in the Siassi District.

The development of the English education system is characterised by a continuous increase of pupils' enrolments at the primary level with a slight decrease in the years 1964-1967 (see Chart 1, p.107). This typifies the importance with which the Church as a whole considered its assistance to the establishment of a general school system for the development of the country, although adverse voices within the Church have never been silent.

In 1969 the Annual Field Conference passed a resolution (LMNG 1969: 69-55) that the overbalanced emphasis upon English should be re-examined. The education officer was authorised to make recommendations to the Department of Education, whether more emphasis could be given to practical village agriculture and basic technical skills and to explore the possibility of using other languages as media of instruction.

One of the main concerns of the Church about its English school system is the availability of sufficient teaching time for religious instruction and the employment of Christian teachers. At the 'Number Ten Synod' of the ELC-PNG in January 1976 the delegates unanimously emphasised the necessity of the Church's commitment in the support of its primary English and vernacular programmes (ELC-PNG 1976:76-102). But they did not reach a decision whether the three high schools still complied with the Church's concern for an adequate Christian education of the students.

2.2.2.2. Tok Pisin

The conflict with the Administration about the 'Language Question' had brought about a reorientation within the Lutheran Church through which Tok Pisin had gradually evolved as an acceptable language. Tok Pisin was seen as a solution for the Church in continuing its specific educational objectives.

After 70 years of struggling for a common language to assist in building up and unifying an indigenous Lutheran Church, a tongue which had been neglected for such a long time, was recognised as a possibility in the very year of the foundation of the ELCONG. A few years later it was acknowledged as the lingua franca with the widest circulation and most speakers in the Church (LMNG 1963b:2-63).

Although its value in spiritual matters was still disputed, its usefulness as communication medium at compounds and urban settlements and for inter-district conferences was unquestioned and antagonistic voices mainly among the missionaries had become less demanding.

Flierl (1957:13) still insisted on its inferiority concerning the proper expression of the deepest thoughts of the Christian faith and suspected Tok Pisin to favour shallowness in Christian life. However he pointed out that the language seemed acceptable for secular education. He considered that for the New Guineans Tok Pisin was more suitable than English because of its Melanesian thought patterns and he stressed the need to increase the production of good literature.

Hannemann (1955) feared that this would distract the most capable writers from their work on the church languages and suggested just to produce what was necessary at the moment.

Frerichs (1955:2) wondered "if the Fathers had not done better by using Pidgin-English in the school and concentrated on the local languages for evangelistic work", because at the first post-war Highlands Conference every statement had to be translated into five different languages. He believed that more delegates understood Tok Pisin than Kate.

When the Catholics approached the Lutheran Church to study the type of Tok Pisin to be used in both missions with the intention of unifying terminology and spelling the Lutherans agreed to cooperate (LMNG 1955: 55-125). Later they asked the British and Foreign Bible Society about the possibility of translating the New Testament into Tok Pisin realising an urgent demand for its production. First attempts to standardise the language had been made by Robert Hall (1955) and were mimeographed by the Department of Education.

When the director of the same department approved Tok Pisin as a satisfactory substitute for a local vernacular at his address to the members of the 13th Annual Field Conference, he showed the Lutheran Church a way to avoid the closing down of their schools. The next conference, however, felt it could not assume a similar attitude and resolved to establish Tok Pisin schools only temporarily where there was no possibility of running a school in a local vernacular (LMNG 1960:60-131).

Especially for the Central Highlands this implied the progressive reduction of teaching Kate until it could be entirely replaced by one of their major vernaculars like Kamano, Asaro, Kuman, Medlpa and others (LMNG 1960:60-123,126).

Naturally this attempt was doomed to fail on a broader scale because of the tremendous research and literature work involved and the short time available.

Eventually in 1962 the Lutheran Church undertook a serious step to introduce Tok Pisin in its exempted schools with the creation of a 'Pidgin Programmes Committee' to work out a detailed four years' course for Tok Pisin primary education. This was simultaneously to serve as a model and guide for instruction in local languages (LMNG 1962:62-74,75).

In order to improve the image of the exempted schools and to divert government attention from them, these institutions were called Religious Literacy Centres, a name later to be changed into Village Bible Schools.

The Department of Education did not object to the dividing up of the school system into two categories but insisted on its prohibition of teaching in 'foreign' vernaculars. Tok Pisin was recognised as equivalent to a local language (Roscoe 1962).

2.2.2.2.1. Recent Development of the Vernacular Education Programme (VEP)

During the sixties the exempted schools of the Lutheran Church with vernacular languages and English as teaching media gradually changed over into recognised all-English schools or Village Bible Schools according to the qualification of the teachers employed. At the same time new English and vernacular schools were established.

The programme for the latter was divided into four years instruction at village level (Village Bible Schools), two years training at circuit level (Circuit Bible Schools) and after further selection students could enroll for a four years' course at district level (District Bible Schools, DBS).

President Kuder (1964) in his covering letter of the 18th Annual Conference to the Boards of the Supporting Churches overseas explained the significance of the vernacular programme as follows: "These schools are an attempt to make available to children who cannot enter the English schools ... some type of education and training and this is carried out in local vernaculars, pidgin, or in some cases Yabem and Kate."

The particular purpose of these schools was discussed in the following years, whether they were supposed to be complementary to the Government education or offering an alternative education programme.

The following general objectives were drawn up in 1965 (LMNG 65-58):

- a) To strengthen the Christian belief of the students;
- b) To train students to return to their villages;
- c) To train students to become church workers like evangelists, teachers, pastors, etc.

It was resolved to include at the primary level subjects like social studies, hygiene, nature study, and arts and crafts to achieve a well-rounded syllabus which combined religious and secular education (LMNG 1964:64-220). The appointment of a Pidgin Programmes Committee resulted in the production of the respective textbooks (see Appendix 5.1.2.: Pidgin Programmes Committee, Rintebe Programmes).

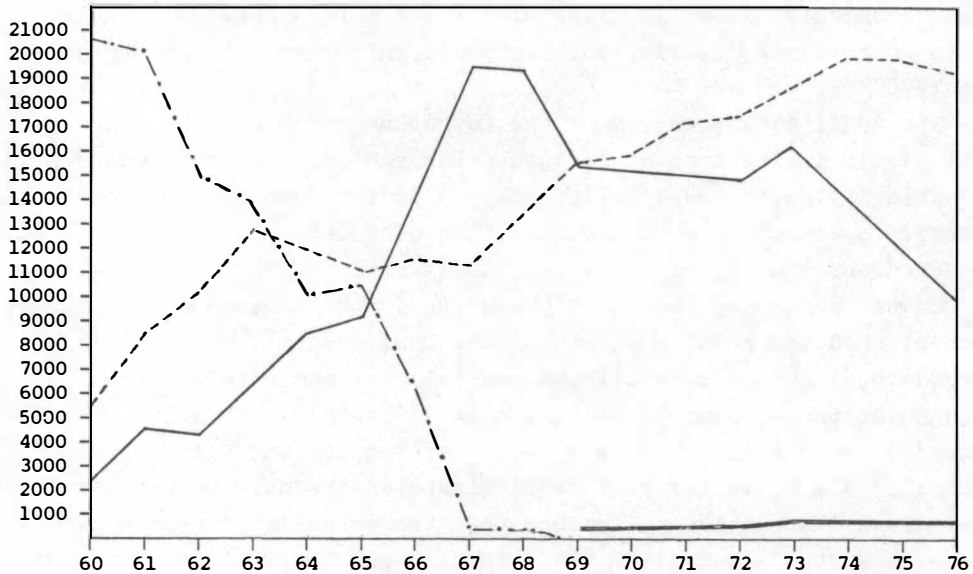
At the peak of its development at the end of the sixties, the Bible School Programme boasted about 19,000 pupils in village and circuit schools (see next page).

But in the following years it became obvious that the capacity of the church was overtaxed by trying to support two school systems and energies were directed more towards the development of the English programme.

Some indigenous church leaders sent their children to the recognised school system while at the same time stressing the importance of the Bible schools. Several times the members of the Annual Field Conferences encouraged themselves not to neglect the vernacular system with resolutions like "to do all within our power to improve our Exempt Schools" (LMNG 1961:61-57) or with the appointment of a Religious Literacy Officer "to assure that the Pidgin programme is not neglected and becomes more unified and coordinated" (LMNG 1964). But alterations leading to long-range improvements were rare.

Furthermore the Report of the Commission on Higher Education - Currie Report - supported exclusively the teaching of English against the vernaculars and Tok Pisin. It was stated that none of the indigenous languages would be suitable for mass communication and even Tok Pisin

CHART 1
DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR PRIMARY SCHOOL SYSTEMS (1960-1976)*



- Exempted Schools
- Recognised Primary T Schools 1960-1974, Community Schools 1975-
- Religious Literacy Centres (until 1964), Village and Circuit Bible Schools 1964-1973, Viles Tok Ples Skul 1973-
- District Bible Schools, Grade 7-10 (until 1973); Distrik Tok Ples Skul 1973-

	Exempt	English	Vernac.		Exempt	English	Vernac.
1960	20,678	5,499	2,349	1969	-	15,438	15,251
1961	20,196	8,165	4,695	1970	-	15,972	-
1962	15,085	10,224	4,402	1971	-	17,319	-
1963	13,925	12,803	6,256	1972	-	17,517	14,927
1964	9,949	11,987	8,206	1973	-	-	16,264
1965	10,411	11,169	8,960	1974	-	20,054	-
1966	5,935	11,746	14,487	1975	-	19,921	-
1967	216	11,348	19,572	1976	-	19,538	9,987
1968	175	13,466	19,355				

*After Jaeschke 1970:17; Vernacular Education Office 1972, 1973, 1976; Lutheran Education Office 1968-74, 1975/76

would not be able to assume this role because of its vague and limited vocabulary (Spate 1966).

At the end of the decade proposals about the future development of the Vernacular Education Programme became more systematic, in order to lead it to a new destination, a process which has not come to an end in 1976.

The traditional concern of the Lutheran Church for the education of all people in its area of influence was emphasised. This was considered an obligation especially during a period when the Government preferred to concentrate on the education of an elite able to run a future independent country of Papua New Guinea.

It was suggested that an alternative to the Government schools be established and so make an end of the dual system. The circuit schools (grade 5,6) should be abolished and religion and literacy were to be taught at the village level (grade 1-4) (Hage 1971:57,58). The recognised schools should act as a feeder system for the District Bible Schools to achieve the real requirements at the moment that was "quality religious instruction ... rather than the establishment of a parallel schools system" (Hage 1971:55). English and Tok Pisin were supposed to be languages of instruction at the secondary level and if necessary a church language in addition.

Other voices stressed the improvement and extension of the traditional goal of the church schools in the training of evangelists (Jaeschke 1968:5). The vocation for church work should not only be confined to its original field - the local congregation - but also performed in other professions. Therefore a new curriculum for this training was necessary. A syllabus of religious instruction which had broken up into 12 different subjects occupying at least 80% of the available teaching time at district schools was not suitable for the intended improvement. It was suggested that agriculture and technical handicraft with practical application be introduced together with subjects like business arithmetic, book-keeping and typewriting (Jaeschke 1968:6,7).

In 1973 the Church Council of the ELCONG drew up a similar list of objectives as in 1965 (see p.106) and entrusted a committee with working out a new approach for its implementation mainly at the secondary level. At district schools religious subjects were reduced to seven periods a week and secular subjects increased to 28 periods.

A provisional syllabus was drafted which followed the orthodox pattern of secular subjects like arithmetic, composition, social studies, history, science, arts and crafts, one church language, and English,

etc. (ELCONG 1973). The name of the school system was changed into Tok Ples Skul Program (ELCONG 1973:73-79) with Tok Pisin as the main teaching language.

The original concepts of creating an alternative to the Government school system was not achieved but development in a new direction had begun.

2.2.2.2.2. The Present Situation of the Vernacular Education Programme

The latest statistics of the VEP (1976) show a sharp decrease of pupil enrolments at the primary level. In 1976 the children attending Village and Circuit Vernacular Schools numbered about 10,000, a decrease of 37% in comparison with 1973 (see Chart 1). The attendance of students at the seven District Vernacular Schools (DTPS) and the three semi-vocational women training centres (Wok Meri Trening, WMT) remained relatively unchanged.

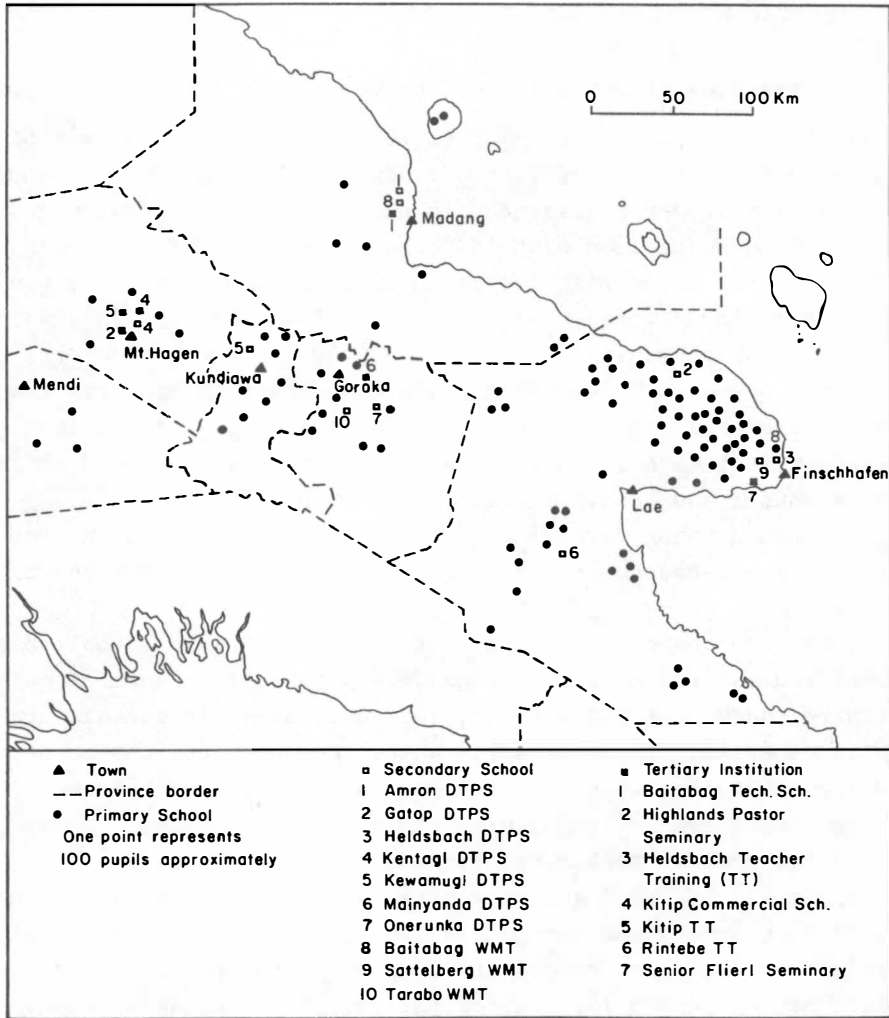
The Church operates three teacher training institutions, two seminaries for the training of pastors, a technical and a commercial school as tertiary institutions. In 1976 about 20 expatriates worked at the various secondary and tertiary training centres.

Besides this a young farmers organisation, Yangpela Didiman, for agricultural short-course training in the villages, is supported by the Church.

At a time when the curriculum for village and circuit schools has been completed according to its originally planned framework of objectives (Gware and Osmers 1976a:3-10), the Administration schools draw off pupils especially in those areas where they have the choice between the two school systems. Only in the remoter areas, e.g. the interior of the Huon Peninsula are vernacular schools well attended. About 50% (5,000) of the present pupils are listed in the Kate District.

The curriculum of the district vernacular schools is still in the process of development and reorganisation, although the educational objectives specifying the course of study with the corresponding textbooks have been produced for most of the religious and some of the secular subjects.

With the introduction of a core syllabus of subjects like technical handicraft, agricultural school projects and economics which emphasise village-oriented objectives with theoretical and practical instruction, it is intended to prepare male and female students especially for the rural environment (Gware and Osmers 1976b). This syllabus is at the beginning of implementation at most of the District Schools.



MAP 6: THE VERNACULAR EDUCATION PROGRAMME 1976

2.2.2.2.3. Implications of the 1975 Education Plan

In 1974 the Five Year Education Plan Committee, of which the under-study of the Lutheran Education Secretary was the Churches' representative, drew up the following proposals for the language policy for the Government education system. At that time it seemed that the Vernacular Education Programme could gain new recognition (Five Year Education Plan Committee 1974:38):

- a) The language policy in PNG schools must conform to the general diversity of the society, its people and their languages;
- b) The medium of instruction from Grades 1 to 4 will be the functional language of the country in which the school serves;
- c) Although English will be taught as a subject in the lower grades, it will become the medium of instruction in all schools as from Grade 5. Both Melanesian Pidgin and Hiri Motu must be used when and where ever necessary;
- d) English will remain the language of high school and tertiary education.

The enormous additional production of textbooks in vernaculars, Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu implied by these proposals could have been supported by the ELC-PNG in cooperation with other institutions of the country.

But although approving the 1975 Education Plan on February 2, 1976, which essentially consisted of the Committee's proposals, the newly formed PNG Government decided against the teaching of vernaculars, Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu in its education system. English was to remain the only medium of instruction.

The Government emphasised political and financial difficulties in explaining its decision:

- a) The Government cannot jeopardise the national unity of the country by supporting the teaching of lingue franche limited to regional areas. This could result in the reinforcement of secession movements in the country;
- b) Financial straits would make it impossible for the Government to produce textbooks and reorganise teacher training by following the suggestions of the Committee. According to its estimate about 50 languages would have been eligible for teaching at the primary level.

2.2.2.2.4. Literature Work of the ELC-PNG in Tok Pisin

With the recognition of Tok Pisin as an acceptable language for church work in the fifties (see p.102) literature work in the language was encouraged by the Tenth Annual Field Conference through a resolution

that any missionary "working on any scripture portion in any language be asked at the same time to make a tentative Pidgin translation" (LMNG 1956:56-42).

In 1963 the Pidgin Translation Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which was working on the translation of the New Testament, accepted the spelling and orthography of Fr F. Mihalic's grammar and dictionary of Neo-Melanesian (1957). Anybody in the Church working on Tok Pisin was asked to follow the approved orthography (LMNG 1963: 63-104).

From the beginning the Lutheran Missions have involved themselves in printing and publishing. The first printeries were located at Logaweng (1906) and on Karkar Island. This latter press was later transferred to the mainland. Both enterprises were destroyed during World War II and a joint printery for the Missions was built after the war called Lutheran Mission Press until 1965, Luther Press until 1969, and at the present Kristen Pres Incorporated (KPI).

It has been the policy of the press to assist in the development of a Tok Pisin which is as intelligible, meaningful, and unambiguous as possible. As P.G. Freyberg, Tok Pisin editor of KPI, pointed out in his report to the 17th Annual Field Conference:

So we avoid anglicisms and the newest expressions one may hear in the towns (until they are widely known), as well as any expressions which may be peculiar to only one of the various dialects of Pidgin. We aim for no "learned" or "literary" style based on some English model, but for the colloquial language of the average Pidgin speaker, hoping to achieve the expressiveness of the oral language used daily by hundreds of thousands of speakers.

a. List of Materials Available in Tok Pisin (see Appendix A)

The main production of Tok Pisin literature was started at the beginning of the sixties to cover the growing demand of the various institutions of the Vernacular Education Programme. The number of titles show the equal priority given to religious (111) and secular (120) topics. Europeans are mainly listed as the authors of these publications of which 39% are printed and 61% mimeographed. However the contribution of indigenous authors has increased recently.

The number of copies of the collected titles range from only a few written for limited use at a single institution to thousands for use at the national level, e.g. the Lotu Buk by J.F. Sievert with 30,000 copies in 1970.

b. Nupela Testamen

When the British and Foreign Bible Society decided to translate the New Testament into Tok Pisin, two Lutheran missionaries were involved in the task first half-time and later full-time.

Its completion in 1969 was received with enthusiasm by the 23rd Annual Field Conference and compared with the importance of the Luther Bible for the development of the German language and the Authorised Version in Great Britain for the growth of the English language.

The initial printing of the New Testament in Tok Pisin was 40,000 copies, the largest issue of any book published in this language within the Territory of Papua New Guinea.

3. EVALUATION OF THE PRESENT LANGUAGE SITUATION

After the long period of Lutheran involvement in tackling with the complicated language situation in PNG, an evaluation of the results of this involvement could help to determine further development within the Church. On the other hand these results could contribute to the general discussion about the language situation in the country. For these reasons three surveys were designed and undertaken at the end of 1976 to answer the following questions:

- 1) What are the results of the Tok Pisin policy of the Church? To what extent has the Church's involvement in spreading this language helped to standardise its orthography and vocabulary?
- 2) What is the effectiveness of the VEP? How well is this programme producing the results? What effect has its curriculum of what students intend to do afterwards when they have graduated? What chances do these students have to find employment outside the Church?
- 3) What do adherents of the Lutheran Church think about the present language situation? Which languages, in their opinion, should be used for communication within the Church and in the country? And finally, which languages should be taught in a school system?

The surveys and their results are described and discussed in the same order in the following sections.

3.1. TOK PISIN STANDARD IN THE VERNACULAR EDUCATION PROGRAMME (CENTRAL HIGHLANDS)

A survey was carried out with the aim of demonstrating to what extent the Lutheran Church has contributed to the standardisation of Tok Pisin in the Central Highlands. For this purpose samples of speech

were collected from newly enrolled students at three DTPS in the Western and Eastern Highlands and the Chimbu Province. These samples attempt to illustrate the standard of Tok Pisin as a result of the teaching at village and circuit schools of the Vernacular Education Programme in most of the Church's highlands circuits.

3.1.1. Details of the Students Tested

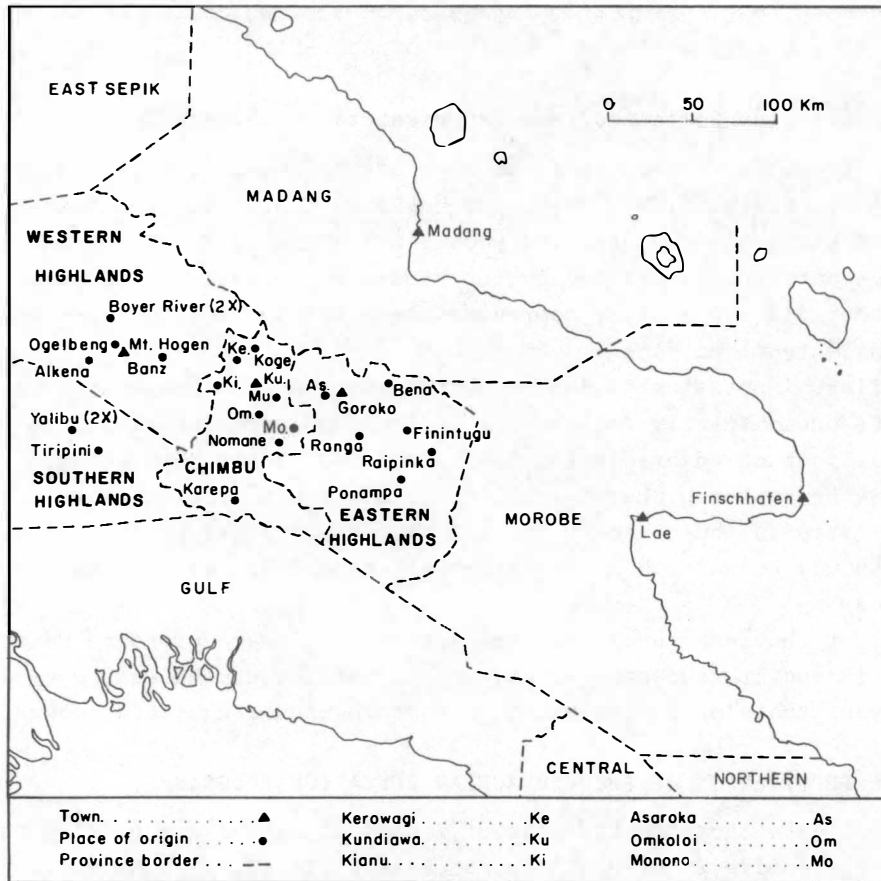
- Total number: 133 of the following DTPS: Kentagl, Kewamugl, Onerunka
- Average age: 16.3 years
- Average attendance at vernacular schools: 4.4 years
- Number of students who attended English schools: 38 (28.5%)
- Average attendance at English schools: 4.6 years
- Speakers of 36 different native languages: Kuman 19% (25), Kamano-Kafe 12% (16), Medlpa 9% (12), Frigano 7% (9), Mam 5% (6), Siane 5% (6), etc.
- Circuits of origin:

S.H.P.	W.H.P.	Chimbu P.	E.H.P.	Coastal
Tiripini*: 6	Alkena* : 5	Nomane* : 18	Asaroka*: 2	Fanara : 2
Yalibu* : 2	Ogelbg.*: 5	Onkolai*: 5	Rongo* : 9	Tapen : 1
Wabi : -	Bayer* : 6	Mu* : 8	Bena* : 9	Malalo : 1
	Banz* : 1	Karepa* : 5	Finint.*: 11	Kaiapit: 2
	Kotna : 2	Monono* : 4	Raipin.*: 6	Laewom.: 1
	Tiria : -	Koge* : 7	Ponamp.*: 2	Aseki : 1
		Kianu* : 7	Agotu : -	
		Kerow.* : 5	GorokaT.: -	
		Sumburu : -		

* Sample of Tok Pisin speaker (see Appendices A and B)

All students in Grade 7 were given the task of writing a traditional tribal story from their place of origin. One story of a representative of each circuit present was selected to be recorded on tape. The story was read by the student. This method has the disadvantage of presenting artificial intonation of speech and a style of language used mainly for written expression, but was able to overcome the natural inhibitions of the students to speak on tape and was also a means of producing a complete piece of narration in written and oral form. To be selected for recording the students had to fulfil the following prerequisites in order to obtain the most representative speaker of each circuit:

- a) Origin in a highland circuit;
- b) Non-attendance at an English school;
- c) Minimum attendance at a vernacular school of six years.



MAP 7: LOCATION OF THE PLACES OF ORIGIN OF THE TOK PISIN SPEAKERS

In case no student of a circuit fulfilled these requirements - which occurred for the most part - first choice was given to a speaker of an additional circuit even with the condition of less than six years vernacular school attendance or English school attendance (see Appendix B (i):Ex.3,4,5,7; (ii):Ex.1,3,7,8; (iii):Ex.1,2,4,5,6).

In a few cases several students of the same circuit fulfilled all requirements, e.g. Omkolai 2, Karepa 3, Bena 4, which led to the selection of the more well-rounded piece of narration.

3.1.2. Examples Collected from Representative Speakers

The 22 samples of speech cover most of the Church's highlands circuits (26): S.H.P. 3, W.H.P. 5, Chimbu P. 8, E.H.P. 6. The transcriptions of these examples for the most part follow the spelling and sentence patterns as written by the students. Only in those cases where they did not exactly reproduce their written version were adaptations made from the tape.

On first impression it can be stated that the Tok Pisin used by the students predominantly follows the lexical and grammatical use as originally compiled by Mihalic 1957 and later improved in Mihalic 1971. In 1963 the Lutheran Church resolved to adopt his dictionary and grammar of Tok Pisin as the standard for all church work (see p.112). A detailed study to ascertain the extent to which this has occurred would be necessary.

Most of the departures from the approved language standard have to be considered as students errors, which could be caused either by insufficient training or the handicap of unrelated linguistic background.

3.2. EFFECTIVENESS OF THE VERNACULAR EDUCATION PROGRAMME

To evaluate the effectiveness of a complex school system like the VEP, an extensive study would be necessary. Especially the exact determination of the influence of its curriculum - which underwent several changes - and its organisational system would require a detailed investigation of its set-up and the results. This would have led to an examination of educational problems which would go beyond the scope of this paper.

For this reason only a comparison of the intended general objectives with the students' opinions about their future plans was undertaken. This at least provides some evidence of the effectiveness of the programme and its position within the overall scheme of the development of the country.

When the ELC-PNG reviewed its educational policy of the Tok Ples Skul Program in 1973 it drew up the following objectives for a combined religious and general education as outlined in the provisional syllabus (translated from ELCONG 1973:11,111):

A. Specific Objectives for Vernacular Schools, Grade 1-6

Educate the children in the Word of God and Christian ethics and build up their faith in the following ways:

- 1) Teach the children to read and write;
- 2) Give the children a general education so that they understand the Bible and other books, newspapers and radio broadcasts;
- 3) Teach them the good values of traditional New Guinean culture that they lead good lives in villages and towns;
- 4) Awaken the pupils' minds so that they feel the responsibility of helping other people in villages and of helping their country.

B. Specific Objectives for District Vernacular Schools, Grade 7-10

Teach the students the Word of God and give them a general education that they lead a Christian life in villages and within the church, so that they help all people and become leaders in their clan, in their congregation and their country in the following ways:

- 1) Educate some of the students so that they are prepared to go to tertiary training institutions to become church workers;
- 2) Educate some of the students so that they are prepared to go to other vocational training institutions;
- 3) Educate some of the students so that they return straight to their birthplaces to look after their land and become good Christian leaders to help their clan, congregation, government, and their country.

3.2.1. Methodical Approach to Assess the Effectiveness

This survey was undertaken among grade 10 students at six District Vernacular Schools at the end of the school year 1976 to determine to what extent the objectives were achieved. The survey aimed at the comparison of the students' job expectations with the outlined objectives for DTPS. Naturally these expectations do not always coincide with the later occupation into which the students go, but this method attempts to illustrate the influence of the ten years' training as one factor in forming the students' opinions about their future plans. Furthermore to try to track down the students after their graduation would result in an undue amount of time and energy being spent with a probably less complete collection of data.

The questioning was carried out in two steps consisting of a part in which information of job opportunities was given. During a one hour period these possibilities of the students as a result of their training were discussed and tabulated as follows:

Possible Occupation	Further Training	Probable Destination
Evangelist	-	Village congregation
Pastor	Highlands Pastor Sem. Senior Flierl Seminary	Village congregation
Teacher (VEP)	Rintebe Teacher Training Hedsbach Teacher Training	Village congregation
Carpenter	Baitabag Tech. School	Village, circuit, town
Medical Orderly	Gaubin Health Centre	Village, circuit
Town Evangelist	Madang Town Training	Town
Private Entrepreneur	-	Village, circuit, town
Labourer	-	District, town
Secretary	Kitip Com. School	Circuit, town
Farmer*	Y.D. training	Village congregation

* Club member of the Lutheran Yangpela Didiman organisation (Y.D.)

In the second part the students were asked to answer the following questions in written form:

- 1) What sort of work or training do you want to do afterwards?
- 2) What are the possibilities of doing this work or training?
- 3) What is the reason for your choice?

3.2.2. Data Collected from the Survey

1. Personal data of the students interviewed

- Total number: 137 of the following DTPS: Amron, Heldsbach, Kentagl, Kewamugl, Mainyanda, Onerunka
- Average age: 20.1 years
- Average attendance at vernacular schools: 8.7 years
- Number of students who attended English schools: 25
- Average attendance at English schools: 5 years
- Speakers of 49 different native languages: Kate 12.4% (17), Kamano 9.4% (13), Medlpa 6.5% (9), Wiru 5.8% (8), Kewa 5.8% (8), etc.
- Districts of origin:

Church			Government	
Kate	27.7%	(38)	Morobe	35.8% (49)
Jabem	8.1%	(11)		
Goroka	23.3%	(32)	E.H.P.	23.3% (32)
Hagen	18.3%	(25)	S.H.P.	12.5% (17)
			W.H.P.	5.8% (8)
Chimbu	15.3%	(21)	Chimbu	15.3% (21)
Madang	7.3%	(10)	Madang	7.3% (10)
TOTAL	100%	(137)		100% (137)

2. Job expectations of the students

1. Teacher	25.8%	(40)
2. Medical Orderly	14.1%	(22)
3. Farmer (Y.D.)	14.1%	(22)
4. Secretary	11.7%	(18)
5. Pastor	11.0%	(17)
6. Carpenter	8.3%	(13)
7. Town Evangelist	4.5%	(7)
8. Evangelist	2.6%	(4)
9. Private Entrepreneur	2.0%	(3)
10. Labourer	-	
11. Women's Worker	2.6%	(4)*
12. Agriculturist	2.0%	(3)+
13. Mechanic**	1.3%	(2)
	100%	(155)++

* Intended training after 4/6 years of VEP

+ Not possible with VEP training at Banz Agricultural School

** No training facilities in the Church

+ Some students mentioned two or three different occupations

3. Motivations for choice of occupation

The figures indicate the majority of reasons given for the respective occupation.

Teacher

- Teach the pupils to read and write (16)
- Teach the pupils the Word of God (16)

- Many children in PNG have not got the chance of receiving an education (9)
- Return to the circuit of origin (8)
- Assist in developing the country (4)
- Teach the pupils how to start smallholder business activities (3)

Medical Orderly

- Return to the circuit of origin and help all people and children (7)
- Assist in developing the Church (2)
- Assist in developing the country (2)

Farmer (Y.D.)

- Return to the village and help the clan with some sort of business (15)
- Africulture is the basis for developing the country (6)

Secretary

- Return to the place of origin to help the congregation (7)
- Return to the birthplace and start some business and help the clan (4)

Pastor

- Teach all people the Word of God so that they can become Christians (7)
- Assist in the growth of the Church

Carpenter

- Return to the village of origin and start some sort of work (3)

Town Evangelist -**Evangelist**

- Return to the congregation of origin and help the clan (2)

Private Entrepreneur

- Return to the village and start a business (2)

Labourer -**Women's Worker**

- Return to the village and help the clan (2)

Agriculturist -**Mechanic -****3.2.3. Evaluation of the Survey**

The characteristic attitude of the graduating students of 1976 is the wish to continue their training at one of the Church's tertiary

institutions. A small number of them expressed their intention of going back to their villages and starting some sort of occupation immediately. However, after the completion of the training most of them have the desire to return home and assist in developing the local community.

41.3% of the given occupational preferences would result - after additional training - in the students working as church workers in a narrow sense of the word as described in objective B.1. (p.117), like teachers(25.8%), pastors (11.0%) and town evangelists (4.5%).

54.1% of the given preferences would result - after additional training - in activities of the students in other professions, part of them as church workers in a broader sense of the word, e.g. carpenters working in church circuits, secretaries employed in congregational offices, medical orderlies in church health centres (medical orderly 14.1%, farmer 14.1%, secretary 11.7%, carpenter 8.3%, women's worker 2.6%, agriculturist 2.0%, mechanic 1.3%). These job expectations fulfil the objective as described in B.2.

The lowest percentage (4.6%) of intended occupations coincide with the third objective as described in B.3. to return without further training to the village of origin, like evangelist 4.6% and private entrepreneur 2.0%.

The graduates of 1976 who mainly prefer to specialise in various occupations are still in line with the traditional aim of the secondary school programme to prepare students as church workers, although the former all-round evangelist is among the least preferred professions.

The enrolment capacity of the medical training institutions is disproportionate with the percentage of intentions desiring to enter these places. The sharp decrease of pupil enrolments at the primary level (see Chart 1) makes a lesser demand for newly trained teachers predictable, assuming that the present trend will continue. Both facts are in conflict with the high preference given to these occupations.

The intake capacity of the other church institutions does not thwart the students ambitions provided that they pass the necessary admission tests.

According to experience usually about 40% of the annual school-leavers are not able to continue their education at one of the additional training centres, either for lack of space or failure in tests. These students need an appropriate education - necessarily in combination with the other objectives - to become recognised members in their communities. This requirement was already pointed out as far back as 1951 at the Fifth Annual Field Conference (LMNG 1951:51-39): "Resolved

that we declare that our aim shall be to provide a broad and balanced curriculum suitable for the mass of the students who will wish to return to the villages."

The question arises as to what chance the students have to find an occupation outside the Church. For most jobs which would be appropriate after a ten years' school training, a fair command of English is regarded as necessary in government institutions and in the private sector.

Therefore the VEP graduates can hardly compete with Form II and Form IV leavers of the government school system. It is intended to instruct VEP students of the secondary level in English (compare Provisional Syllabus, p.108), but its implementation is still at the beginning. For the same reason DTPS graduates cannot apply at recognised tertiary training centres. Thus most of them are confined to the church institutions in order to continue their education.

The 'Eight Point Plan' of the government of PNG emphasises the improvement of the living standard in the rural areas. This plan was drafted as a guideline for the socio-economic development of the country. As indicated above the majority of the VEP graduates have the intention of returning to their villages and circuits and assisting in the development of the local community. This particular contribution of these students to the general plan of PNG's progress as individuals and church workers, therefore, cannot be neglected.

3.3. OPINIONS OF LUTHERAN ADHERENTS ABOUT THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

At the 10th Synod of the ELC-PNG at Asaroka in January 1976 the delegates passed the following resolution about the development of the Church's dual education system (translated from ELC-PNG 1976:76-102): "Resolved to continue both education systems, the English and Vernacular Primary Schools, but to be prepared for any future change."

In the same year the National Government of PNG was discussing a reform of the Provincial Government Organic Laws. This discussion could include a reorganisation of the education system with the possibility of separate curricula and teaching media for each province. The outcome of this reform could imply a change of the linguistic-educational situation of the country. The question arises as to what members of the Lutheran Church think about the present language situation and a possible future change.

3.3.1. Methodical Approach of the Assessment

Indigenous representatives with executive power at the intermediate level in the Church were selected for questioning. All circuit leaders (total number 52) and a proportionate number of English primary teachers (619),¹¹ vernacular primary teachers (414),¹² English high school teachers (19),¹¹ and district vernacular teachers (48)¹² received 138 questionnaires; 101 (73%) of these questionnaires were returned.

Position	Questionnaires forwarded	Questionnaires returned
Circuit leader	52	35
Engl.Prim.Teacher ¹³	39	26
Vern.Prim.Teacher	26	25
Engl.High.Teacher	6	5
DTPS Teacher	15	10
TOTAL	138	101

In part I of the questionnaire the interviewees were asked to answer the following questions which refer to the above mentioned resolution 76-102:

- 1) Do you think that the Church must support:
 - a) only English?
 - b) only Tok Pisin?
 - c) both languages?
- 2) Do you think that the Church must support its own languages like:
 - a) Kate?
 - b) Jabem?
 - c) Graged?

In part II of the questionnaire the interviewees were asked to answer those questions which refer to the present discussion about the Provincial Government Organic Laws:

- 1) Should the children in your province learn:
 - a) only English?
 - b) only Tok Pisin?
 - c) both languages?
- 2) If you vote for a vernacular language in addition give the name of the language.

Except for the last all questions had to be answered with 'yes' or 'no'. Additionally the interviewees could write a short explanation about their choice of language(s).

3.3.2. Data Collected from the Survey

a. Districts of origin:

Kate 23, Madang 16, Jabem 15, Chimbu 15, Hagen 14, Goroka 13, Siassi 3, (Wabag 2).

b. Districts of residence:

Kate 19, Goroka 19, Hagen 18, Chimbu 15, Madang 14, Jabem 14, Siassi 1, Port Moresby (circuit) 1.

c. Language background of the interviewees:

- Speakers of 52 different native languages
- First foreign language learnt at school: Tok Pisin 34, Kate 33, Graged 10, English 9, Yabem 8, Kuman 4, Gahuku 3
- Second foreign language learnt at school: English 40, Tok Pisin 33, Kate 6, Medlpa 3, etc.
- Other languages learnt: Tok Pisin 24, Kate 15, English 14, Jabem 5, Kamano-Kafe 4, Graged 3.
- Number of languages spoken by individuals: one: 1, two: 2, three: 37, four: 43, five: 11, six: 5, seven: 2.

d. Number of positive statements of part I:

Position	Q.R.*	Only English	Only Tok Pisin	Both lgs.	Kate	Jabem	Graged
Circuit leader	35	-	2	33	30	22	22
E.P. Teacher	26	3	-	23	15	13	13
V.P. Teacher	25	-	4	21	19	17	15
H.S. Teacher	5	1	-	4	2	2	2
DTPS Teacher	10	-	3	7	2	2	2
Total number	101	4	9	88	67	54	52

* Questionnaires returned

e. Number of positive statements of part II:

Position	Q.R.	Only English	Only Tok Pisin	Both Languages
Circuit leader	35	-	-	35
E.P. Teacher	26	3	-	23
V.P. Teacher	25	-	3	22
H.S. Teacher	5	1	-	4
DTPS Teacher	10	-	2	8
Total number	101	4	5	92

The following vernacular languages were suggested for teaching at the projected Provincial Government Primary Schools in addition to English and Tok Pisin: Kate (16), Kuman (9), the vernacular of the region (11), Graged (7), Jabem (6), Kamano-Kafe (4), Kewa (3), Gahuku (3), Medlpa (2), Bena, Baruya, Yagaria, Siane, Wampar, Timbe, Gagap, Kakul (each 1), (Total 69).

f. Correlation between languages and their importance for regional areas

Most of the interviewees indicated the importance of a language in relation to the extent of its use in a regional area, e.g. its use for communication in the village, government province or church district, at the national level or for overseas connections. 201 given data received from the questionnaires correlate as follows:

	Village	Province/ District	Country	Overseas	Total
English	1	4	2	49	56
Tok Pisin	1	10	68	-	79
Church Lg.	-	25	-	-	25
Vernacular	5	36	-	-	41

3.3.3. Evaluation of the Survey

The general opinion of the Lutheran members interviewed about the language situation of the Church and the country is for a bilingual or even trilingual system. Tok Pisin and English are the most favoured languages at the national level and the latter also for the international level.

The vernacular languages, including the three church languages, are exclusively considered for communication within the provinces or church

districts. This signifies a step-like arrangement of the languages as described by some interviewees in the following way: the vernacular is our spear, Tok Pisin our bow and arrow and English our shotgun, thus illustrating their radius of application. Hiri Motu was not mentioned by the persons questioned because it is only spoken in the Lutheran town circuit of Port Moresby.

For the educational work of the Church, Lutheran adherents indicated high preference for both languages, Tok Pisin and English. Preferably, both should be taught in a joint school system as implied by their equal importance as national languages and not separately in a dual system. The church languages Kate, Jabem and Graged are highly recognised mainly for catechetical instruction by the interviewees in their explanations for their choice of languages. The continuation of the teaching of these languages is therefore indispensable for the school work of the Church.

The latter conclusion of the preference of the interviewed members for teaching Tok Pisin and English and if possible vernaculars in one education system becomes more obvious through the results of part II about the projected Provincial Government Primary Schools. Tok Pisin and English have almost 100% preference as teaching media together with the instruction in local vernaculars.

The three coastal church languages Kate, Graged and Jabem and the highlands vernaculars Kuman, Kamano-Kafe, Kewa, Gahuku and Medlpa are among the most favoured native tongues to be taught at these schools. These proposals imply a trilingual regional school system with the respective native vernacular preferably taught in the lower grades and Tok Pisin and English in the higher grades.

Considering the linguistic background of the persons interviewed, especially the languages spoken by individuals, most of them claimed to speak three or four languages either learnt at school or self-taught. This illustrates a high capability of learning languages and could also imply the necessity of a multilingual education for Papua New Guinea.

According to the correlation between languages and regional areas, Tok Pisin is distinctly preferred as a language up to the national level, while English is considered important for national but mainly for international communication.

The Lutheran area of influence covers for the most part the mainland of the former Territory of New Guinea, where Hiri Motu has never played an important role as a lingua franca. Consequently consideration of the importance of this language either for provincial or national communication did not evolve, but would be necessary in a separate investigation.

4. SUMMARY

In 1976 the Evangelical Lutheran Church of PNG celebrated the 90th anniversary of the beginning of the Lutheran Mission in New Guinea. This took place with the landing of the first missionary at Finschhafen in 1886. Today the Lutheran Church numbers about half a million adherents and is predominantly distributed on the mainland of the former Territory of New Guinea.

During the Church's history one of the main obstacles to establishing the Christian faith in this country was the language diversity of its people. To overcome this problem the language policy of the Lutheran Missions and the Lutheran Church has been characterised by a constant struggle in unifying indigenous and foreign languages.

In the beginning preference was given to traditional languages like Jabem, Kate and Graged which were spoken by only a limited number of people. Later also new and foreign languages like Tok Pisin and English were chosen.

A school system developed as a necessity to disseminate these languages for religious and secular education. The result was that former local languages achieved the status of *lingue franche* within the area of the Church and that the spreading of the new and foreign languages was promoted.

The preference given to one language over another has for the most part initiated controversies either within the Church or at the national level. During these disputes the leaders of the Church were guided by the envisaged implementation of three paramount aims:

- 1) The spreading of the Word of God among the people of PNG;
- 2) The concern for the wellbeing of all members of the Church's area of influence;
- 2) The establishment of a unified indigenous Lutheran Church.

The achievement of these aims to a limited extent was generally characterised by efforts to work out acceptable compromises and the recognition of the need to adapt to the changes taking place in the country.

The problem of the present language situation in the Church is represented by its dual education system: an English school programme which is integrated in the Government education system and a vernacular school programme, with Tok Pisin as main teaching medium, operating independently from government regulations.

The Vernacular Education Programme has contributed considerably to the standardisation of the Tok Pisin language as investigated for the

Central Highlands. However, its school leavers have hardly a chance of finding an occupation outside the Church. This applies for employments appropriate after a ten years' school training. But most of them have the intention of returning to their villages and assisting in the development of the local community.

Lutheran adherents questioned about their opinion of the language situation in the Church and the country favoured a bilingual or even trilingual language policy. They voted for the recognition of vernacular languages in limited areas and the recognition of supra-regional languages like Tok Pisin and English at the national level. These statements are supported by the prevalence of multilingualism among its voters. Consequently they were of the opinion that local and national languages should be taught in a general school system.

APPENDIX A

List of Materials Available in Tok Pisin

ABBREVIATIONS

DBS	Distrik Baibel Skul
DTPS	Distrik Tok Ples Skul
GT	Gutnius Dipatmen, ELC-PNG
HPS	Hailans Pasto Seminari
KPI	Kristen Pres Incorporated
LMP	Lutheran Mission Press
LP	Luther Press
SFS	Senior Flierl Seminari
TPO	Tok Ples Opis, ELC-PNG
TT	Tisa Trening
n.d.	undated

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APPENDIX B

Transcriptions of Stories Told by Representative Speakers¹⁴

The following stories are transcriptions of those recorded on tape by representative speakers of Tok Pisin from different parts of the area included in this survey. They are grouped into three sections corresponding to administrative provinces: Southern and Western Highlands Provinces, Chimbu Province and Eastern Highlands Province, and are presented in the same order.

(i) Southern and Western Highlands Provinces

EXAMPLE 1: Circuit : Tiripini (S.H.P.)
Age : 16 years
Prim.Vern.School: 6 years
Mother tongue : Wiru

STORI BILONG TUMBUNA SOLT

Bipo tru hap bilong mipela, Pangia, mipela ino gat Tumbuna solt. Tasol bihain ol tumbuna bilong mipela ol i ran long pait na lukim solt istap long Ialibu eria. Nau ol tumbuna bilong mipela igo kisim. Em ol ino igo kisim nating, nogat!! Ol i baim ol long traipela, traipela pik, na gutpela gutpela Kina. Na ol baim pinis ol ikarim ikam long ples na putim istap. Na dispela solt em i olsem, das bilong graun. Olsem tasol ol i bungim na pasim long wanpela lip. Na ol Tumbuna bilong mi ol i rausim dispela karapam na lukim. Nanau ol i lukim solt i olsem das. Nau ol yet i miksim wantaim wara na kukim long paia na em i kamap strong. Na sampela ol i kaikai na sampela putim bilong arapela de. Na nau dispela solt istap yet. Em tasol stori bilong Tumbuna Solt.

EXAMPLE 2: Circuit : Ialibu (S.H.P.)
 Age : 12 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 6 years
 Mother tongue : Kewa

STORI BILONG DOK TUPELA KAPUL ISTAP BIRUA

Em i olsem bipo tru long wanpela taim bikpela singsing i kamap long Mt Gilue. Na Lain bilong Dok wantaim Lain bilong Kapul, ol i singsing. San tu i gutpela na gupela taim tru. Na wanpela dok em i singsing i stap na em i Hangre long wara na em i go long wara na em i lukim wanpela Kapul em i dai stap na em i smelim. Na em i traिम long kaikai dispela Kapul. Nau em i pilim suwit tru. Na em i go tokim ol narapela dok na ol i traिम kaikai Kapul. Na em i gutpela long ol. Na ol i raunim na kilim ol Kapul na kaikaim ol. Na long dispela taim ol Kapul i go antap long diwai na wokabout. Na ol dok i stap long graun na was long Kapul. Na Kapul i stap long graun. Em dok i save simelim na kilim ol. Na long dispela taim tasol. Dok tupela Kapul istap Birua. Nau tu dispela pasin birua i stap yet. Na long dispela taim dok i no go long wara na dring wara. Bai pasin birua ino inap istap long dok tupela Kapul. Nalong tok ples Kewa mipela save kolim olsem. Yana yapa lapo.

EXAMPLE 3: Circuit : Alkena (W.H.P.)
 Age : 15 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 5 years
 Mother tongue : Medlpa

STORI BILONG WANPELA KAPUL

Dispela Kapul em i bikpela na tel bilong em i longpela. Na em i save wokabout antap long han bilong diwai. Na ol man i laik kilim dispela Kapul na ol i tromwe spia na banara supsup samting, ol dispela samting ino save kisim hap bodi bilong em.

Orait dispela Kapul i was long spia na istap. Na wanpela i kamap klostu long ai bilong em. Em i save kisim long han bilong em na em i tromwe gen long man. Na spia na supsup i go stret, orait ol man i kisim bagrap long het na han hap bodi bilong ol. Na tu, man i givim stret long hap bodi bilong em, em tu idai. Tasol man yet i popaia orait Kapul i bekim spia bilong em tu.

Na dispela Kapu em i stap long bikpela bus, na long liklik bus ino gat. Na dispela Kapul em ino liklik. Nogat, em i olsem dok. Tasol dok em i sotpela na bunnating. Tasol dispela Kapul em i patpela na longpela. Na pinga bilong em i longpela na em ino save kaikai man. Tasol em i holim long han tasol na bulut bilong man i save kapsait. Em tasol Stori bilong SIKAU bilong bus.

EXAMPLE 4: Circuit : Ogelbeng (W.H.P.)
 Age : 17 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 5 years
 Mother tongue : Medlpa

STORI BILONG PIK NA DOK I BRUK

Long wanpela de pik wantaim dok tupela i sindaun long wanpela haus i stap. Na tupela i holim wan wan hop paia i stap.

Nau dok i kirap na tokim pik olsem: "Mi kol nogut tru na mi kaikaim paia bilong mi na nau mi hat nogut tru. Yu mas traim na kaikaim paia bilong yu olsem mi bin kaikai na bai yu hat.

Tasol dok i no kaikaim paia bilong em, em i putim i go insait long mambu na em i laik trikim pik. Nau pik ya ting tru na em i kaikaim paia bilong em pinis. Dok ya lukim pik i kaikaim paia bilong em pinis. Nau em i kisim paia bilong em aut, na em i tokim pik olsem: "Mi trikim yu, tasol, paia bilong mi i stap yet".

Olsem na nau pik em i belhat nogut tru na em i laik kilim dok, olem na dok em i ran i go long ples bilong ol man, na em i givim paia bilong em long ol man. Nau ol man i wokim paia dok i givim long ol.

Nau taim bilong ren dok i save ran i kam long haus kwiktaim. Na pik em i kaikaim paia bilong em pinis na em i hat na em i stap yet long wanem hap kona em i stap long en.

Olsem na nau mipela Hagen mipela i holim paia bilong pik (dok). Em tasol sotpela stori bilong me.

EXAMPLE 5: Circuit : Baiyer River (W.H.P.)
 Age : 17 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 5 years
 Mother tongue : Medlpa

STORI BILONG WANPELA DOK NA WANPELA MAN

Stori i olsem: wanpela taim wanpela man i kisim dok bilong en na kisim supsup na banara igo long bus bilong painim kapul na wel pik na wel muruk. Tupela igo long bus na tupela ino kilim wanpela samting nogat tru. Nau tupela i laik wok long painim kapul yet. Tupela i wok long painim igo igo na tudak. Nau tupela i panim sampela bus haus tasol tupela ino panim wanpela haus Nogat tru. Tupela i wok long panim yet na tudak i kamap bikpela na tupela i go long bikbus igat masalai long en na tupela i lukim wanpela haus man istap nau tupela igo insait na lukim tupela man istap. Tupela man istap long en kisim skan long Dok wantaim man i kam long en. Na tupela man i skanim man no dok pinis na tupela i tokim tupela igo katim wanpela banana bilong yutupela. Nau tupela i kisim akis igo na Dok i bihainim tupela. Nau tupela igo ausait

na pasim tok olsem. Mi tupela ikatim banana i kam giuim long tupela pastaim na bihain mi tupela i sapim akis bilong mitupela na ikam katim tupela. Na dok i hari pinis na i kam bek na tokim papa. Tupela man ya pasin tok long kilim mitupela. Nau mitupela i mekim wanem: Na man i tok mi wanpela man tasol istap tupela man inap katin mitupela. Nau dok i tok mi inap kilim wanpela man yu kilim wanpela man. Nau dok i tok yu silip na holim akis bilong yu. Na mi kam krugutim lek bilong yu orait yu kirap na katim wanpela man. Nami kilim wanpela man. Nau tupela i kam na dok i kirap na igo krugutim lek bilong papa. Nau papa i kirap na katim wanpela na dok i kilim narapela man. Nau tupela katim pinis na lukim. Tupela silip long wanpela haus iya nogat silip long as bilong diwai. Na tupela i kam bek na stori long ol man. Em tasol.

EXAMPLE 6: Circuit : Banz (W.H.P.)
 Age : 16 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 6 years
 Prim.Engl.School: 1 year
 Mother tongue : Kuman

STORI BILONG KILIM KASKAS

Onepela de sampela man i redim olgela Bunera na supsup bilong ol i go long bus. Long narapela de long moningtaim tru ol i lusim ples long 5 klok na ol i go kamap long bus long 6 klok long apinun. Nau ol i no gat wanpela haus bilong ol. Ol i stat long wokim wanpela haus. Ol i pinisim na ol i mekim paia na slep. Long moning taim ol i kirap na kisim Bunera supsup i go long bus. Ol i raun i go kamap long wanpela hul ston na ol i lukim rot bilong kaskas. Na ol i stat long brukim ston na ol i painim haus bilong kaskas. Wanpela man i putim han bilong em i go long hul na i kisim wanpela pikinini kaskas. Na ol i brukim ston no mama bilong kaskas i klap i kam ausait na i go antap long wanpela diwai. Na wanpela man i kisim supsup na sutim em na em i pundaun na ol i kilim em. Ol i digim ston i go inside tasol ol i no kisim sampela.

Ol i lusim na i go long arapela hap. Wanpela man i go na i painim wanpela hul long wanpela diwai. Em i kisim tamiok na i katim dispela diwai na em i lukim tupela kaskas i stap. Kwiktaim em i pasim hul na i singautim ol brata bilong em. Ol i kam na brukim diwai na i kilim dispela kaskas.

Nau em i taim bilong i go long haus. Ol i kisim kaskas na i go long haus. Ol i mumuim na wetim olsem 2 pela aua na i rausim. Ol i inapim ol yet. Ol i raun olsem wanpela wik na i go bek long ples.

Em store bilong me.

(ii) Chimbu Province

EXAMPLE 1: Circuit : Nomane
 Age : 16 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 5 years
 Mother tongue : Kuman

STORI BILONG RAUNWARA

Bipo tru long ples bilong mi i gat wanpela bikpela raunwara istap. Na i longpela tru na namel i bruk na i kamap tupela hap, na wanpela diwai i sanap namel, na hap ol i tok. Raunwara man i stap, na hap raunwara meri istap. Ol i tok olsem, na ol manmeri ino save raun long dispela hap. Ol i pret nogut tru. Na papa bilong dispela raunwara tasol em i save raun long dispela hap. Wanem kain abus i stap long dispela hap em yet i save kisim i kam na givim long ol manmeri, na ol manmeri i save kaikai. Na ol manmeri ol yet ol i no save kisim kaikai, nogat tru. Em i wanem as tru na ol i mekim. Em mi no save, tasol ol i tok: Wanpela welman nogut tru i stap long raunwara na papa bilong dispela raunwara em yet em i save larim em, na em i go raun long dispela hap na i go. Tasol ol sampela manmeri nating ol i go em i save ranim ol na ol i ranewe igo long bus nabaut na longlong na paul nabaut. Olsem na ol manmeri i no save i go long dispela hap raunwara i stap long en. Tasol nau Misin na Tok bilong God i kam na daunim pawa bilong dispela tok pret, na nau mipela i stap nating. Nau mipela ino pret moa long dispela hap. Nau mipela man meri nating mipela i save raun long dispela hap. Wanpela tumbuna bilong mi em i stori long mi olsem na mi harim. Dispela stori em i stori nating bilong ol tumbuna bilong mi.

EXAMPLE 2: Circuit : Omkolai
 Age : 18 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 6 years
 Mother tongue : Golin

STORI BILONG OL TUMBUNA I RAUN LONG BUS

Long ples bilong wanpela man nem bilong en Pari. Em olgeta taim i go raun long bus na em i save kilim planti kapul. Na wanpela taim em i go kisim sampela lain bilong em, na oli go long bikbus tru na ol i wokabout long painim kapul igo igo, tasol oli no kilim wanpela kapul na oli belhat nogut tru na oli kam bek. Na dispela man pari em i tok olsem, mi man bilong kilim kapul, tasol nau long dispela taim mi no kilim wanpela kapul tru, olsem bai mi mekim wanem. Em i tingting planti, na i go kisim wanpela pik bilong em i kam na em i ofa long Tambran bilong ol Tumbuna bipo i dai. Em i ofa pinis na taim em i go long bus

em i save kilim planti kapul moa i kam na emi kukim karkai, emi no kisim dok na wokabout emi raun nating tasol na kilim kapul.

Na wanpela taim em i go long bus tasol ol maslai i kam kilim em na em i dai long bus na mipela painim tasol mipela i no lukim em. Na em i lus pinis long bus na mipela sori nogut tru. Na mipela karkai nogut.

EXAMPLE 3: Circuit : Mu
Age : 15 years
Prim.Vern.School: 5 years
Mother tongue : Sinasina

HETTOK BILONG STORI BILONG DOK

Pastaim tru ol man i lukautim dok, na dok i helpim man na taim sanguma i laik karkaim man dok i save bikmaus na sanguma i ranawe. Na tu birua bilong man i kam na dok i save bikmaus na ol i ranawe. Na wanpela birua bilong dok em i Kapul, taim dok i lukim kapul na kapul i lukim dok dispela taim kapul i no stap ranewe pinis long bus na dok yet em i smelim na em i raunim igo na kapul i goap long diwai nau dok i bikmaus na man i bihainim na dok igo lukim kapul na man em i kisim spia wantaim banara na sutim kapul na karkim i kam long ples nau na meri bilong dispela man em i amamas nogut tru long man bilong em. Na meri i rausim gras bilong Kapul na meri i wokim malo bilong man na em yet i wokim purpur bilong em na amamas na taim em i kukim karkai givim gutpela karkai long Dok.

EXAMPLE 4: Circuit : Karepa
Age : 19 years
Prim.Vern.School: 6 tears
Mother tongue : Daribi

TUPELA MAN MERI I GO LONG BUS

Long ples bilong mi Tupela manmeri bin igo long bus bilong Painim Abus. Na tupela i go long bus na kilim planti Abus. Na tupela igo kamap long wanpela hap. Na taim i pinis na laik tudak. Nau tupela i Wokim Wanpela haus. Na tupela i slip long dispela haus. Na long moningtaim tupela i kirap na kukim karkai na stat long Wokabout igo igo na kamap long arere long Wanpela bikpela mauten. Na tupela i lukim Wapela gutpela hul bilong slip. Na tupela i stretim ples bilong Mekim paia. Na tupela i slip. Na long dispela hul i gat planti wait Karanas tu istap. Na tupela i slip. Na long biknait meri i slip tasol Em i pilim Kol nogut tru. Na em i kirap na laik boinim skin bilong em long Paia. Na em i laik brukim paia. Na em i painim tamiok tasol em i no

lukim. Nau em i kisim paia na brukim long wanpela ston. Na em i lukim wanpela ston wait istap. Tasol em i no ston tru. Nogat. Em i het bilong het kela bilong man bilong em. Nau meri i tromoi paia long het bilong man bilong em. Na man em i pilim pen na kirap nogut na long biknait em i ranewe igo, em i ting wanpela birua i kam kilim em. Na meri tu i bihainim man bilong em na tupela i ranewe igo kamap long haus lain. Na meri i mekim dispela stori long man bilong em.

Na man i kirap na Paitim meri bilong em. Em tasol tumbuna stori bilong mi.

EXAMPLE 5: Circuit : Monono
 Age : 16 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 6 years
 Mother tongue : Mam

TUMBUNA STORI BILONG RAUNWARA NA MASALAI NA MAMBU

Long taim mi stap liklik yet, Papa na tumbuna bilong mi i stori long mi olsem. Raunwara, taim bilong Kol na long apinun yu no ken igo long Raunwara. Nogat yu igo long Raunwara na masalai i kisim yu igo. Na tu yu no ken i go long Bikbus. Nogut masarai ikisim yu igo. Na Tu. Papa na tumbuna i tokim mi olsem yuno ken igo long dispela ples. Em iples tambu tru. No ken tru. Yuigo. Na ol itokim mi olsem yuno ken igo long ples matmat. Spos yu igo bai yu idai. Tasol l-pela taim mi traim long igo. Papa em i mekim save tru long Paitim mi. Nau mi i bilipim tru tok bilong ol na mi ipret long igo long Raunwara no long ples tambu no long long ples matmat. Na mi ting tru masalai istap.

Tasol long ples bilong mi igat l-pela God bilong ol i stap, em mambu. Papa na tumbuna i tok No.1 God em i mambu. Taim ol i laik kilim pik ol i mas Toksave long mambu pastaim na bihain ol i save kilim pik na reva bilong pik ol ikukim naitok em i bilong God. Na kisim igo na i givim ol Lapun man na i ol kaikai na ol i tokim mipela liklik pikinini, yupela ino ken Lukim god bilong mipela. Tasol l-pela pikinini i Lukim mambu ol i save Pasim Lek Han bilong em na putim em igo Antap long Rup bilong Haus na long daunbilo ol i save mekim planti smok na smok igo bagarapim em nogut tru. Nau em i tanim bel na wanpela meri i lukim ol mambu ol i mas Kilim em i dai no pusim em igo daun long Hil na em iidai. Tasol nau mi i bilipim tru long dispela tok.

EXAMPLE 6: Circuit : Kol
 Age : 15 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 6 years
 Mother tongue : ?

STORI BILONG TUMBUNA I KAM LONG DOK NA KAPUL

Bipo tru dok na kapul tupela i stap brata tru. Tasol bihain tupela i kirap na kros na kapul igo antap long diwai. Na tupela i birua na igo nabaut. Na Dok i tok sapos yu kamdaun bai mi kaikaim yu. Em i tok olsem na kapul i stap antapna em i tok sapos yu wokbaunt waitam ol man orait ol i no inap givim gutpela kaikai long yu, ol bai givim skin kaukau long yu. Na Dok i kirap na i mekim wanpela giaman long kapul olsem. Dok i burkim ia bilong en igo antap na em i tok. Wantok yu lukim ia bilong mi. Na Dok i tok mi kaitim ia bilong igo pisin tasol mi no pilim pen tumas em i tok olsem. Na kapul i kirap na i tok yu no pilim pen, a? Na Dok i tok yes mi no pilim pen. Na Dok i kirap na i tok yu kirap na kaitim ia bilong yu. Na em i kirap na kaitim ia bilong em. Na em i pilim pen na em i kari istap. Na Dok i tok lukim ia bilong mi. Na em i lukim ia bilong Dok istap. Na kapul i belhat nogut tru. Na nau tupela istap birua na Dok i kirap kilim kapul. Na kapul istap long bus tasol. Em tasol Tumbuna stori bilong mi.

EXAMPLE 7: Circuit : Kian
 Age : 15 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 3 years
 Mother tongue : ?

DOK I RAUN WANTIM LAPUN MAMA BILONG EM

Wanpela lapun tumbuna bilong mi nem Bilong em Muna Sira. Emi tokim mi olsem. Long taim mi raun long pait na mi save kisim wanpela dok nem bilong em: Koropaido. Em i tok mi givim hap paia na mi tok yu kisim dispela paia na yu mas ... Bihainim mi. Emi tok dispela Dok emi save harim tok. Olsem na emi tok. Long wanpela taim mipela igo long wanpela ples. Nem bilong em. Murika na narapela em Sirino. Mipela i go long dispela hap Buss na ol Birua ol iraunim mipela, orait na nau Dok i go hait wantaim. Dispela lapun mama na emi lukim Bikpela man igat nem em i kam lostu long lapun wantaim Dok. Dok ilaik igo kilim em, tasol lapun mama i holim pass tru long maus bilong Dok. Orait dispela man emi tok ol man igo we na lapun mama emi pret: Na tokim Dok bilong em, yu igo kaikaim hap lek bilong em: Dok em i harim tok ya na emi igo na kaikaim Boll bilong dispela man. Na emi Dai. Nao mama ikisim Dok bilong em na igo tokim ol lain bilong en. Nao ol iamamas na

ol i karim em wokobaut, na oli litimapim nem bilong lapun mama wantaim Dok.

Na tu emi tok Dok isave helpim mi long paia na pulumapim wara. Dispela Dok emi dai pinis. Mi stori long yu. Taim Dok i kaikaim hap Lek bilong dispela man emi no gat wanpela nois moa. Na emi tok mi hamamas na mi singsing olsem Dispela lapun mama bilong mi Muna Sira emi no day yet: Nogat: Emi stap yet long pless Yondumo.

EXAMPLE 8: Circuit : Kerowagi
 Age : 14 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 3 years
 Mother tongue : Kuman

STORI BILONG WANPELA MAN I MEKIM GIAMAN MIREKO

Bipo wanpela man istap long ples bilong mi. Em i save mekim kain kain mireko. Orait long Ples planti manmeri olisik. Dispela man igo na mekim giaman mireko long ol Sikmanan Kisim bikpela pik an Kakaru samting olsem. Wanpela taim tupela boi isik nogut tru an Papa an mama tupela igo long Bus na kisim marasin bilong bus ikam an givim tupela boi. Orait tupela ikaikai tasol sik ino Pinis. Olsem an papamama ol i sigautim Dispela man i kam mekim iorait Pikinini bilong mitupela. Tupela isigaut olsem an dispela man i arim an kisim wanpela liklik stron tru na emi kisim wanpela liklik rop. Emi kisim na rouim long dispela liklikstron. Emi rouim pinis orait em i putim hol bilong tip bilong en an igo. Orait dispela tupela boi istap an papa an mama tupela itok. Mitupela i kari long dispela tupela pikinini igat bikpela sik Tur. Nau dispela man itok yutupela i no ken kari dispela tupela Pikinini em tupela bai iorait nau. Emi tok olsem an kisim han bilong en igo na holim dispela tupela pikinini. Na Bihain em i holim long bel bilong tupela an itok. Sik istap long bel bilong yu olsem na mi bai rousim long mous bilong mi yutupela iken istap gut. Emi tok olsem an giaman tasol em i putim mous bilong en long bel bilong dispela tupela boi na tok. Mipulim sik bilong tupela pinis. Em tok olsem na Papa na mama tupela i ting tru an ol igivim Tripela bikpela Pik an 5-pela Kakaru an tupela stron Tamiox long dispela man an Dispela man em i kisim samting na go long Haus bilong en. Em tasol.

(iii) Eastern Highlands Province

EXAMPLE 1: Circuit : Asaroka
 Age : 16 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 5 years
 Mother tongue : Kahuku

TUMBUNA STORI BILONG TUPELA BOI

Wanpela lapun meri istap na ol yangpela meri ol i save i kam silip wantaim em long nait tasol, na tulait em ol i save igo kamap olsem mareta na istap. Tupela boi istap em tupela i boroman bilong man, tupela i pasim tok long igo painim abus long bus. Na tupela i wokabout igo long rot na tupela i lukim wanpela diwai emigat planti prut inap long ol pisin i kam sindaun na kaikai. Na wanpela boi em i kirap na tok, wantok mi bai istap hia na wetim ol pisin i kam kaikai, na em i wet istap. Na ol planti pisin ol i kam sindaun nabaut long han bilong en na ol wok long kaikai. Na dispela boi em i kirap isi tasol na sutim wanpela pisin, dispela pisin em i no pundaun klosut long boi nogat, em igo pundaun klosut long Lapun meri, na lapun meri em i kisim dispela na em igo long haus na Kuk na kaikai pinis, na istap, em i putim Sipa tasol istap. Na bihain boi em i bihainim dispela pisin i kam, na em i lukim lapun meri. Na em i askim em hai lapun yu lukim wanpela pisin o. Na lapun em i bekim tok. Yes samting bilong kaikai, olsem na mi kaikai pinis, na mi putim sipa tasol istap. Na em i tok yes. Na lapun em i tok yu igo daun long gaden na kisim tupela mareta i kam. Na boi em ran i go daun na kisim tupela mareta i kam na i tokim lapun. Hai lapun em yu tokim mi em mi kisim i kam. Na lapun i tok kisim igo long ples bilong yu. Dispela tupela mareta i tanim i kamap tupela meri. Na em i kisim tupela meri igo long ples bilong em.

EXAMPLE 2: Circuit : Rongo
 Age : 14 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 5 years
 Mother tongue : Frigano

TUMBUNA STORI BILONG TUPELA MAN MERI

Wanpela man em i tokim meri bilong em olsem: Pik em i bagarapim gaden bilong mitupela, olsem na mi igo long bus na katim rop ikam. Em i tokim meri bilong em olsem.

Na meri bilong em igo long gaden bilong tupela pinis. Na man bilong em, em i go kisim susap long rup bilong haus na em i paitim istap. Na wanpela meri em i kam bikmaus long wanpela maunten. Na dispela man em i harim bikmaus bilong dispela meri pinis. Nau em igo insait long haus

na em i kisim wanpela bus naip na em igo kamap long dispela maunten. Na em i paitim susap gen. Na dispela meri em i bikmaus gen long insait long bus. Na dispela man em i pasim susap bilong em, na em igo insait long bus na em i lukim wanpela meri istap long haus bilong en. Na meri em i kirap na em i tok olsem. Man yu olsem wanem nau, na man em i tok, mi harim bikmaus bilong yu na mi kam. Na meri em i tok olsem, gutpela tru yu kam olsem na mitupela iken kukim ston. Meri em i tok olsem na tupela i kukim ston na tupela igo long gaden na kisim kaikai ikam mumuim na tupela i rausim mumu na tupela i kaikai pinis. Na man em i lusim meri na em ikam long haus bilong em. Tasol em ino katim rop ikam bilong wokim banis. Na long apinun meri bilong em i kam askim man bilong em na man em ino gat toktok bilong em. Na nau tupela i slip na long moning meri bilong em, em i was long man bilong em istap. Na dispela man em igo kisim susap na paitim susap istap na wanpela meri em i kam bikmaus long maunten gen. Na man em i go kisim naip na em igo long meri i bikmaus long en. Na meri bilong em, em i bihainim em igo na em i lukim man bilong em wantaim narapela meri tupela i toktok istap. Na olupela meri bilong em, em igo kilim nupela meri bilong man bilong en. Na man em i belhat na kilim olupela meri bilong em. Em tasol.

EXAMPLE 3: Circuit : Bena
 Age : 15 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 6 years
 Mother tongue : Bena

WANPELA BOI WANTAIM WANPELA LAPUN MAN

Wanpela taim wanpela boi i bihainim wara igo, na em i lukim wanpela diwai i kam daun. Na em i stat long rausim dispela hap diwai na igo kamap long dispela lapun i wok long brukim diwai na kisim binatang insait long diwai.

Nau dispela boi kirap na tok. Tatao yu mekim wonem. Nau lapun ia kirap na tok. Tatao mi stap hia.

Nau lapun i tok, yu mas bungim ol dispela binatang. Tamlok i katim long en yu mas bungim long narapela hap, na em i stap gut long en yu mas bungim long narapela hap. Boi i bihainim tok bilong lapun na mekimolsem, tupela i mekim olsem pinis.

Nau tupela i kalim i go long ples. Lapun i tok, Sapos yu laik katim stik bilong kamautim kaukau, yu mas katim gut. I no ken bruk namel. Na sapos yu laik sapim stik bilong kamautim kaukau yu mas sapim gut ino ken bruk.

Na lapun i tok yu laik brukim marita yu mas brukim gut. Boi i bihainim olgeta tok lapun i mekim long en.

Nau tupela i kukim kain kain kaikai long graun sospen, tupela i putim planti sospen. Nau boi i kirap na tok, Tatao bai mitupela kaikai dispela kaikai olsem wonem. Nau lapun i kirap na tok, bai mitupela i givim man, na pik na ol dok. Nau ren i kam. Boi i kirap na tok Tatao ren i kam. Nau lapun i tok. Moti na wanpela hul bilong ston i kamap. Em i kamap haus bilong lapun. Nau tupela i go insait pinis, lapun i kirap na tok. Molimi nau dispela haus i go daun. Na tupela i silip, long nait tupela i harim planti manmeri, ol i kam winim mambu na paitim susap na mekim kainkain pasin, nau bel bilong boi i kirap. Tasol em i silip i stap. Lapun i kirap na tok yu mas silip gut. Nau em i silip gut, long moningtaim tupela i kirap na i kam autsait long haus.

Long moningtaim tupela i lukim wanpela yangpela meri i stap. Nau lapun i kirap na tok, yu mas kisim i go long ples bilong yu, na em i kisim i go long ples bilong em. Ol papamama i amamas tru long em. Em tasol.

EXAMPLE 4: Circuit : Finintugu
 Age : 14 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 4 years
 Mother tongue : Kamano

STORI BILONG TUMBUNA WEL MAN

Yes, long bipo tru, mi no kamap yet long dispela taim, wanpela Wel man i stap nem bilong em Kasureve. Long biknait tru dispela Wel man i kam nok nok long dua bilong wanpela meri na meri i ting em i man bilong mi, em i ting olsem na em i opim dua long em na tupela i save slip, na i no tulait yet dispela Wel man i save lusim meri long 5 okolk samting na em i save ranewe i go long bus. Oltaim em i mekim olsem tasol. Olsem na wanpela taim meri i askim man bilong em, na i tok, olgeta taim long biknait, yu save i kam long haus bilong mi, no nogat. Na man bilong em i tok, nogat. Na meri i tok, long olgeta biknait Wanpela man i save i kam long haus bilong mi, na man bilong em i tok, ralim em. Em i tok olsem na em i go long haus bilong em na em i taitim banara wantaim spia, na kisim i kam na was i stap.

Na nau dispela wel man i kam long haus bilong meri, na meri i opim dua long em na em i go insait. Na nau man tru bilong dispela meri em i kirap na tok, yu husat. Na dispela Wel man i no gat toktok bilong em. Na nau man tru bilong meri i kirap na sutim spia long em na dispela Wel man em i ranewe i go long hul bilong wanpela ston na em i dai. Na sampela famili bilong em ol i kra i kra i stap na bihain man bilong ples em i kisim lek bilong blut i kam antap long wanpela maunten na i

harim kra i stapna em tu i gat bikpela sori tru na em i go bek long ples bilong em. Na em i kilim planti bik na kisim i kam antap na em i wokim bet na em i putim ol dispela pik antap na em i singautim famili bilong dispela Wel man ol i kam kisim dispela kaikai i go daun long dispela hul bilong ston. Em tasol liklik stori bilong wanpela Wel man nem bilong em Kasureve.

EXAMPLE 5: Circuit : Raipinka
 Age : 16 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 5 years
 Mother tongue : Kamano

STORI BILONG TUMBUNA

Wanpela man i gat tupela meri. Stori bilong dispela man. Oltaim dispela man i save igo pait wantaim ol birua bilong em. Oltaim em i save mekim olsem. Na wanpela taim ol man i go long dispela pait na ol i singautim em. Ol i tok, mipela bai i go pait wantaim ol Namula, olsem na yu mas kisim gutpela gutpela spia bilong yu i kam. Na man ia kisim spia pinis. Em i go long wanpela meri na em i tok meri yu givim rop long mi na mi pasim spia na mi go pait na meri i tok. Mi go gat rap, yu go long narapela meri bilon yu. Na man ia i go long narapela meri na i tok. Meri yu givim rap long mi na mi pasim spia na mi igo pait. Tasol tupela meri i tok olsem na tupela i no givim em. Na man ia em i go kisim kabiak rap na pasim na i go pait wantaim ol birua. Na ol birua i sutim spia long Em na Em i dai. Na wanpela boi ran i kam na em i kolim nem bilong dispela tupela meri na i tok. Man bilong yutupela ol kilim na i dai na tupela meri harim na tupela singim song olsem. Em man bilong mi. Em man bilong mi tupela i sigim song olsem na kari kari no tupela i kam kisim dispela man. Na haus tupela i save silp long en. Tupela i planim dispela man na kisim samting bilong tupela na i go long Ples bilong Papa mama. Bilong tupela igo slip na i kam lukim bikpela pik slip long hul bilong dispelaman. Tupela i kam lukim na kilim dispela pik na ol man harim tok ol i kaikai pik na ol man i no harim tok ol i kaikai man. Na ol i planim taket igo i kam.

EXAMPLE 6: Circuit : Ponampa
 Age : 16 years
 Prim.Vern.School: 5 years
 Mother tongue : Aviana

TUPELA BRATA I STAP LONG WANPELA PLES

Tupela brata i stap long wanpela ples i no gat papamama bilong tupela. Olsem na tupela i stap long dispela ples, na wanpela taim

namba wan brata i raun long wanpela ples bilong ol birua. Na i stilim prut bilong diwai kalip na i kisim i kam long ples bilong em. Na liklik brata bilong em wantaim tupela i traim dispela diwai kalip na kukim long paia, man suwit bilong em i kamap narakain tru, na namba wan brata i tokim liklik brata bilong em olsem. Nogut ol birua i kilim mitupela yu bai i stap long ples na bai mi go kisim bilong yu wantaim i kam. Na bai mitupela i kukim kaikai. Na namba tu brata i tok strong long em i go wanraim Bikbrata, olsem em i pilim pinis swit bilong em. Olsem na tupela i go hap nait tru. Na tupela i kamap long dispela ples pinis.

Na namba wan brata i tokim namba tu olsem yu go antap long diwai kalip, yu no ken mekim nois naboutlong diwai kalip, yu mas i stap isi long diwai kalip na kisim prut bilong em tasol. Na tupela i go antap long diwai. Nau ol Birua i lukim tupela na ol i opim Bikipela Bilum long as bilong diwai kalip. Na i tokim Bikbrata olsem, yu spet na spet bilong yu i go long ples bilong yu. Orait bai yu kamap na ranewe igo long ples bilong yu. Na spet bilong liklik brata i go insait long Bilum bilong ol birua na ol i kisim liklik brata tasol. Na bikbrata i go pinis long ples bilong em. Na ol Birua i laik kilim em na kaikai na singsing. Bikbrata i harim stori olsem na em i wokim kankan long i go singsing long dispela ples. Olsem na em i go singsing na kisim Brata bilong em. Na ol Birua i no kaikaim em.

N O T E S

1. The report was compiled with financial assistance of 'Dienste in Uebersee' - Committee of Protestant Churches in Germany for Service Overseas, while I was a teacher with the ELC-PNG. I wish to thank Rev. M. Bartsch, Curriculum Advisor for Christian Education, and R.T. Blacklock, Administrative Secretary (both ELC-PNG), for their assistance given in reading the manuscript and their comments during the writing of this paper.

I am further indebted to Mrs F. Helbig, Archivist of the ELC-PNG, for her support in locating the necessary resources.

2. Most recent publications which partially discuss this topic were not available in PNG while this paper was being written: Neuendorf 1977, Renck 1977, both in Wurm, ed. 1977.

3. This language is spoken by up to one million Papua New Guineans. It has been referred to variously as Melanesian Pidgin, Neo-Melanesian, New Guinea Pidgin and Pidgin-English. However, the term 'Tok Pisin' seems to be most appropriate and will be used throughout this paper since this is the name that is generally used by its speakers. 'Melanesian Pidgin' is not quite correct because at least two pidginised languages exist in this cultural area: Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu. The term 'Neo-Melanesian' would be acceptable if referring to the Melanesian language pattern of Tok Pisin, otherwise the name neglects the importance of other large languages in this region and could therefore favour a language chauvinistic attitude. 'New Guinea Pidgin' is only a descriptive term used to indicate where the language is most widely spoken but as a name it is seldom used by its speakers. The name 'Pidgin-English' has gradually been replaced by the other terms with the growing standardisation of Tok Pisin spelling, grammar and vocabulary since World War II.

4. The listing was compiled from the following sources: Frerichs 1969; Gash and Whittaker 1975; Kraus n.d.; Kriele 1927; Mrossko 1976; Nelson 1972; Pilhofer 1961,1963; Renck and Hage 1971; Tschauder n.d.
5. Two spellings are possible for this language: Jabem and Yabem. Since its name was originally introduced with 'J' and is written like this in all Jabem publications, we will follow this spelling.
6. After Gash and Whittaker 1975:152; Kriele 1927; Mrossko 1976; Pilhofer 1961; and Renck and Hage 1971.
7. The hostility of the natives was undoubtedly due to the NGK's treatment of the people. The company illegally acquired their land for the purpose of extensive plantation development in the Astrolabe Bay. This is described in Mikloucho-Maclay 1975:323-342. In the initial period of German occupation, it is reported that relationships between German officials, missionaries and natives were favourable.
8. For references see Map 1.
9. For references see Map 1.
10. After Jaeschke 1970:17; Vernacular Education Office 1972, 1973, 1976; Lutheran Education Office 1968-74, 1975/76.
11. Lutheran Education Office 1975/76.
12. Vernacular Education Office 1976.
13. The number of questionnaires sent to all teachers is proportionate to their total number and to their distribution in the Church districts.
14. Tape of Tok Pisin Speakers: S.H.P., W.H.P.: 0-74; Chimbu Province: 211-322; E.H.P.: 323-421.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ampo	ELC-PNG National Office
ELCONG	Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea
ELC-PNG	Evangelical Lutheran Church - Papua New Guinea
LMNG	Lutheran Mission New Guinea
n.d.	undated

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AUSTRONESIAN 'LOANWORDS' (?) IN TRANS-NEW GUINEA PHYLUM VOCABULARY

JOHN LYNCH

0. INTRODUCTION

The purported Austronesian (AN) content in various Papuan languages and language groups has been discussed in a number of places.¹ These accounts, however, seem to me to understate both the quantity and the quality of this 'influence' and, in so understating, may be obscuring some very fruitful lines of further research. In this paper, I intend to show how the case has been understated, and what lines of further research should be pursued.

1. McELHANON AND VOORHOEVE 1970

In 1970 McElhanon and Voorhoeve published a lexical study of many of the Papuan languages which is now considered the starting-point for investigations into wide-ranging interphylic relationships among these languages. This work (henceforth MV 1970) is basically a listing of vocabulary items whose apparent similarities led the authors to the following conclusion:

Even if one allows for a wide margin of error in the postulated series [of cognates], it should be clear beyond doubt that there is substantial evidence for a positive genetic relationship between the languages of the CSNGP [Central and South New Guinea Phylum] and the FHP [Finisterre-Huon Phylum]. The authors therefore propose that the CSNGP and the FHP be combined into a single phylum, the Trans-New Guinea Phylum.

(MV 1970:102)

It should be pointed out from the outset that

... because of the exploratory nature of the study, no attempt was made to systematically trace regular sound correspondences. ... Neither was the construction of protoforms systematically attempted.

(MV 1970:5)

Rather, "the inspection method as outlined by Gudschinsky (1956) was used in identifying probable cognates" (MV 1970:5) in languages of the CSNGP and the FHP. (Some notice was also taken of languages of the Binandere Family.) Eighty-five items from a standard 140-wordlist were compared, and of these "fifty-three yielded interphylic series of probable cognates" (MV 1970:4).

In the course of their discussion of these fifty-three items, the authors point to nine cases where the cognate series appears to have been borrowed from some Austronesian source. These cases will be noted in the appropriate places below.

While working through the fifty-three vocabulary items, I was struck by the fact that rather more than nine bore some resemblance to Proto-Austronesian (PAN) or Proto-Oceanic (POC) reconstructed forms. I thus worked through each interphylic series of cognates using a similar kind of 'inspection method', with the following result: in twenty-two of the fifty-three items, there appeared to be a distinct resemblance between the members of at least one interphylic series of cognates and at least one PAN or POC reconstructed form.

These data are presented below - and where MV 1970 noted some connection between one of the series and an AN source I have also noted this. The data are organised as follows: numbers in brackets are sequential in this section; the first line gives MV 1970's code-number and gloss, together with the number of the interphylic series which is relevant to the present discussion (in Roman numerals) followed by the total number of interphylic series of cognates established for that meaning. This is followed by relevant PAN and POC reconstructed forms, then by examples of cognate words in the series which occur in the various families and stocks of the CSNGP and the FHP.²

(1) 2. *BONE*; II of 2

PAN *(t)ulaŋ; POC *suRi.

CSNGP: KIW soro; MAR hiau; YAQ ia.

FHP: ERA sail; WHF set, sara, siwit, hiwit, suwit, sii', sigit, sir, hait, haŋit, siŋit, set; EHF sir, sie, sia', sie', hia'.

(2) 3. BREAST; II of 2.

PAN *susu; POC *su(n)su.

CSNGP: APA tute; BED tor, toto; BOA toto.

FHP: GUS sutyi, susi, susu; WHF adzu, dzudzu; KOV suyo; EHF
sutu, soso', susu.

(MV 1970:25 note that these forms are "suspected Austronesian loans".)

(3) 4. EAR; I and II of 2.

PAN *taliŋa; POC *taliŋa.

CSNGP: AWY toro, turu, suru, turu/top (I), kere/top (II);

OK kende, kene/kot, kee/hoo, ken/oot, koron, kaluun, karuun
(II), tilaŋ, tuluŋ, tolooŋ (I); APA kendo/ke (II); BED
duw/ëw, du:ri, du:r (I), kē, kələn (II); KIW gare (II); BOA
gia (II).

FHP: ERA du, dzu (I); WHF ket, ked/zap, ki/zap, ge/dzi, ke/tsap,
ge/tsaw, ɔn/dɔp, ke/sap (II); EHF ke/dza', ha/de', ko/dze,
ad/za', ha/dza', ha/tse', ka/dze' (II).

(4) 7. HAIR; I, II and IV of 4.

(a) PAN *bulu; POC *pulu - with series I.

CSNGP: ASK wiri, fini, fin; FAS iti.

FHP: GUS ui, wi.

(MV 1970:33 state that "at first sight series I seems to link with PAN *pulu (sic) 'body hair'. However, the widespread occurrences of high front vowels ... added to the fact that the protoform ... may have had a final stop (evidence: EHFa [Dedua] witi' [meaning 'vine']) make the equation with PAN *pulu unlikely".)

(b) PAN *da[un]; POC *ndau(n) 'leaf' - with series II.

CSNGP: AWY ro, ron.

FHP: URU di/roŋ, ti/roŋ, dzi/oŋ, e/roŋ; YUP e/ʌŋ.

(MV 1970:33 note that these forms are "probable Austronesian loans".)

(c) PAN *z(ae)(m)but - with series IV.

CSNGP: KIW muso, muho; YAQ rumb.

FHP: URU rom, dim, dem; ERA dumu, dom; WHF dzou, dzo, dzup,
dzomor, dzu, dumut, somot, sʌmot.

("The similarity of forms like WHF dzomor, dzumut to PAN *d'ambut 'hair' seems accidental" (MV 1970:33).)

- (5) 10. *KNEE*; I of 2.
 PAN *tuhud; POC *turu, *tu(dr)(iu).
 CSNGP: ASK iri/po, ini/po, yina, zini; AWY kero/p; OK katuun,
 katin; BED kulau; FAS kakuna; BOA katuk.
 FHP: URU turuk, tul, tur, gɔrug, kɔndug, gotu', gorug; YUP
 geruk; ERA kaŋ/kariŋ; EHF fa/kuruŋ, tiri', turu'.
- (6) 13. *SKIN/BARK*; I of 1; selected forms only.
 PAN *kulit; POC *kuli(t).
 CSNGP: AWY xa, kota, kotae; OK kat, kaa, ār, kaal, kaar; APA
 kare; BED kɔrɔfu, kɔrɔ, kiari, kadofu; FAS kau.
 FHP: ERA ge', gerɔp, gɔlɔp, girim.
- (7) 14. *NOSE*; II of 2.
 PAN *ijun; POC *usu, *isu(ŋ).
 CSNGP: OK kiniŋ/kono, kiriŋ/kono; APA koe, kene.
 FHP: URU kuruk, kurɔk; ERA kiniŋ.
 (MV 1970:43 note that these forms are "probable Austronesian
 loans".)
- (8) 16. *TONGUE*; I of 2.
 PAN *maya; POC *maya, *(a)me(a), *(a)ŋme(a).
 CSNGP: ASK mare, o/mane, ko/men; BED meremai; GOG meɛ/pila.
 FHP: WAR meɛ, mələ-; GUS mə-, meɛ-, mi-, me-; URU mo-, məl-,
 mə-, mot-, me-; YUP mə, mel; WAN mə-, me-, mə-; ERA mi-,
 mə-, mə-, me-.
- (9) 20. *ELDER BROTHER*; II of 2.
 PAN *kaka 'older sister'; POC *kaka 'older sibling of same
 sex (vocative)'.
 CSNGP: GOG kaka.
 FHP: GUS kɔkɔi, kak; EHF kaka', kake, haha'.
 (MV 1970:54 note that these forms are "suspected Austronesian
 loans".)
- (10) 22. *MOTHER*; I of 1; selected forms only.
 PAN *ina; POC *tina.
 CSNGP: ASK enea, enae, enew; OK naŋ, enaŋ, neŋ, ena.
 FHP: GUS na, name, nimi, namo; WHF naga, na, naŋ, namo, namŋi,
 namɔn, nanggi, nengia; EHF nongge', nengga', nenggo'.

- (11) 23. I; I of 1.

PAN *aku; POC *au; PEO *i-nau, *i(n)au, *nau.

CSNGP: ASK noro, no, nor; AWY no, nu; OK ne, nere, na, nila, nala; APA no, nō; BED ā, na, ne; FAS ano; GOG ne; SUK ne; MAR nok; BOA no; YAQ ano.

FHP: WAR ne, nλ, na; GUS na, nλwe, nɔ, no; URU nλk, nλ', nɔk, na; YUP nak, nλ; WAN nλ, nλk; ERA noŋo', nλgλ, na, nok, naŋ, nλk, nu, na, naŋa, noŋo; WHF na, no, ni, nɔ, nλ, nλŋ; EHF ni, na, nane, nani, no, noŋ.

- (12) 25. YOU (SG.); I of 1.

PAN *kaw; POC *ko(e).

CSNGP: ASK oro, o, or; AWY go, gu, ŋgo, ŋgu; OK tep, ep, kep, kerep, kab, kaltab, kalab; APA go; BED ge; KIW ro, arapu; MAR oŋ; BOA ŋo; YAQ aq.

FHP: WAR ge, gλ, ga; GUS ga, gλwe, ka, ge, ke; URU gλk, kλk, go', gɔk, ga; YUP gak, gλ; WAN ŋgλ, ŋgλk, gλk; ERA goŋo', gu, gɔk, gλk; WHF ge, go, goŋo, gi, gɔ, gλŋ, gλ; EHF ge, ga, go; KOV gok.

- (13) 27. HE; I of 2; selected forms only.

PAN *iya; POC *ia.

CSNGP: AWY e, ye; OK ye, e, a, i, ere, ala, ila; APA yɔ; BED yā, yā, ya, e.

FHP: WAR yen; URU yu, yɔ, eλk, e; WHF eŋe, yaŋa, yok, yogo, yɔk, zɔk, λk, iλ, e, i; EHF e, oe, ye, eŋe, iŋo, yɔŋa.

- (14) 28. LOUSE; I of 1; selected forms only.

PAN *tuma(qh); POC *tuma.

CSNGP: OK tim, im, kwim, kim; KIW nimo.

FHP: WAR iməŋ, yumun; GUS im, imi, imiŋ, tomoŋ; URU imon, tamλn, imλn, tλmλn; WAN tɔmun, tλmun, amun, imλn; ERA yim, tumuŋ, tumun, tim, emen, mi; WHF emen, yaman, yomen, imen, imɔŋ, imin, imiŋ, imen, emin, lam; EHF yomiŋ, yɔmeŋ, ime, iməŋ, imeŋ.

(MV 1970:69 make the following comment: "Related forms are also found in a number of Melanesian [=AN] languages along the coast of south-east New Guinea (tuma, tumani, ...). The series does not seem to be of Austronesian origin".)

- (15) 30. *ASHES*; I of 1.
 PAN *Dabuk; POC *ndapu.
 CSNGP: ASK eao, yowo/mic, zoo/mit; AWY ko/tep, ko/sep; OK ku/
 tab, ku/tub, ku/teeb; APA tiwe; BED da/su, da/subu, da/suf;
 KIW tuwo.
 FHP: WAR nɒbɒ; GUS de/nɒbɒ, ta/napa, si/nap, nembo, nombo;
 WHF dzefe, dzepe, dziu, too'; KOV tep; EHF defe, dape, dzoe',
 dzofu, dzafe.
- (16) 34. *DOG*; IV of 4.
 PAN *asu.
 CSNGP: BED kasa; FAS kasa.
 FHP: WHF kasi, kasu, katsu; EHF kasi.
 (MV 1970:79 note that these forms are "suspected AN loans".)
- (17) 35. *LEAF*; II of 3.
 PAN *da[]un; POC *ndau(n).
 CSNGP: AWY rō, õ, ron.
 FHP: URU i+oŋ, ilŋ; KOV lau.
 (See also (4b) above. MV 1970:80 note that these forms are
 "probable Austronesian loans".)
- (18) 39. *STAR*; I and II of 3.
 PAN *bituqen, *bintaŋ; POC *pituqu, *pituqo(n).
 CSNGP: ASK maako, maweto, mait (I); AWY mi, mī, minap, minduy
 (II); OK minoo, min, mindoŋ, biniŋ/ook (II); YAQ mind (II).
 FHP: GUS boiŋ, poiŋ (I); WAR biŋsarŋ, ben (II); URU hituŋ,
 fituŋ, fiduŋ (II); WHF pitu, pituŋ (II); EHF bɔbiŋ, bɔpiŋ,
 bɔboŋ, bɔuŋ (I).
 (MV 1970:84) note that "the members of series II are suspected
 Austronesian loans".)
- (19) 41. *WATER*; (I? and) III of 4.
 PAN *wayeR; POC *wai(R).
 CSNGP: ASK mi, mu, m^ui (I); GOG wi (I); YAQ mi (I?); APA wae
 (III).
 FHP: WAR fo (I); WHF o, ou (I); EHF opu, opo, obu, obo (I);
 GUS wai (III).
 (In addition, the following words for 'rain' are also probably
 cognate with series III in the OK family of the CSNGP: woom,
 weeb, waib.)

- (20) 45. *NEW*; I of 1; selected forms only.
 PAN *baqeRu(h); POC *paqoRu.
 CSNGP: AWY are, ariok; OK kuri, kiri, aluk/soo; APA koārē, kōnē; BED hiriki; KIW orio, korio.
 FHP: WHF gbali, gbili, gbala, gbilik-gbilik, gbeli, irak, arak, alak; EHF gbori, gberi', gbere', gbari', gbori', gari'.
- (21) 49. *EAT*; I of 1.
 PAN *kaen; POC *kani.
 CSNGP: ASK ne, na; AWY en, e, nī, ē, andi; OK ane, anye, ine, anei, una, in, wan; APA də, da; BED na; FAS na; GOG na; SUK na.
 FHP: WAR na, n-, ne+; GUS anyo, ne, nei, ni, ne; URU ne, na; YUP na; WAN na, nō, nλ, ne; ERA nλ, na, nana; WHF ni, ne; EHF ne, no, nō.
- (22) 51. *TIE*; I of 1.
 PAN *iket.
 CSNGP: ASK eka, yik, zik; BED tiga, tiā, degi.
 FHP: WHF dzoko, dzala, dziki, dōgō, sōgō, teku, heku, sλga, dza; EHF dzege.

In addition, MV 1970:75 suggest that interphylic series III of '*rain*' "are suspected Austronesian loans, from PAN *ʔut'an (sic), '*rain*'".

The data are:

- (23) 31. *RAIN*; III of 4.
 PAN *uDan, *quzan; POC *qunsa(n).
 CSNGP: BED hūī, hū; GOG gui; MAR xe, hei; BOA gae, gaja.
 FHP: GUS yango; ERA wii', gii, gwi; WHF koya, kie, kia; EHF kia, hae, kio, oyo, hoe, koe, kue.

I myself would not be prepared to give this set of forms the same weight as the preceding twenty-two forms; however, it is useful to compare them with the forms in (19) *WATER* above.

The fifty-three shared basic vocabulary items identified by MV 1970 were apparently sufficient to allow the Trans-New Guinea Phylum (TNGP) to be established.³ If, however, over forty percent of these show recognisable similarities with reconstructed PAN and POC forms, these similarities must be explained. I will return to this topic in a later section of this paper.

2. OTHER STUDIES

Franklin (1975) is an 'exploratory' attempt to outline "some cognate sets [in Proto-Engan] upon which a reconstruction may legitimately be attempted" (Franklin 1975:263). He establishes 99 cognate sets for this branch of the TNGP. Of these 99, six which appear to show POC connections have already been mentioned in section 1 of this paper: (1), (2), (3), (4), (14), and (21). However, it seems to me that as many as twenty-one additional cognate sets bear at least a superficial resemblance to a POC reconstructed form with a similar meaning. The evidence is presented below. The numbering of examples continues from the previous section. Franklin's data are cited by using his identifying letter-number combinations (A1, B3, etc.), and by giving the full list of words from his proposed cognate set without, however, naming the individual languages involved - this information can be recovered from Franklin 1975:264-268.

- (24) *LEG.* POC *waqe. A8: àà, ange, ang, anke, kápé, ge, kene, korake.
- (25) *HAND.* POC *kuku. A11: ki, kiki, kigi, kini.
- (26) *ROOT.* POC *puqu(n). A16: pitya, pi+a, piki, pigi, pini, pikinu.
- (27) *SHOULDER.* POC *paRa. A17: pasa, pesa, peyoko, payia(ne).
- (28) *BROTHER.* POC *ŋmane. B2: ame, hame, hameme, amene, wamene.
- (29) *MAN.* POC *laki. B5: ali, áá, ɔɔ, hali, akari, agali.
- (30) *WOMAN.* POC *-pine. B9: winya, ona, éda, wali, wada, honamo.
- (31) *WHO.* POC *nsapa. C12: api, ap, epi, apí, ai, epa.
- (32) *YOU PL.* POC *kamiu. C13: (n)imi, imi, iki, nyakáma, ti, yakaba, nanima.
- (33) *STONE.* POC *kara. D10: kana, han, kaná, ana, eke.
- (34) *PANDANUS.* POC *kiekie. E3: aga, ank, ankə, anga.
- (35) *TARO.* POC *ŋmao. E6: maa, mɔ, mə, máa, ma, anama/ma, mí, me.
- (36) *HOLD.* POC *sapat. F2: sapira, ripinya, wapiɔ, minə, minyir, yu bia, mina.
- (37) *DIE.* POC *mate. F4: koma, ome, homə, kumi, homa, oma.
- (38) *SEE.* POC *kita. F11: ada, ɔnde, handə, kadege, hàndá, ada, eneko.
- (39) *STAND UP.* POC *tuqud. F13: reka, tiko, tiəsə, kategé.
- (40) *GO.* POC *pano. F14: pu, pe, paegé, pú, puu.

- (41) *BAD*. POC *njin̄kap, *nsaqat. Gl: kolea, ko, hoke, koó, koo, poko.
 (42) *GOOD*. POC *pia. G6: epe, epeke, épé, epe téko.
 (43) *STINK*. POC *mpo-. Gl3: pugu, punk, punku mi, púgú pigí, ngu ha.
 (44) *SPLIT*. POC *kasup. Gl7: sope raa, dopi tã, sopo kári, soo laa.
 (45) *VOMIT*. POC *mutaq. Gl8: maaku ra, mak, myúku talyígi, magu tagu wia, miagu tagua.

In a more recent general survey of the TNGP, Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon (1975) also take note of "the presence of Austronesian loanwords, some of them recognisably of Eastern Oceanic type, in many languages of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum" (p.318). They list eleven such words, in which are included seven already covered in section 1 above: (2), (4), (16), (17), (18), (19), and (23). The other four are as follows:⁴

- (46) *PIG*. POC *mpoRo ± m, *npawe, *npo(e). Gadsup po, Kamano fu' (PNG Highlands), Moni woro, Uhunduni bowe (Wissel Lakes), Kiwai boromo, Sentani bo; Afoa polu (Goilala).
 (47) *TOOTH*. PAN *gigi. Enga nege; Telefol nj̄; Kewieng gen (Finisterre); Ekagi ego (Wissel Lakes).
 (48) *MOON*. PAN *bulan, POC *pula(n). Kamoro pura (S-E Irian Jaya); Kuman ba.
 (49) *MOUTH*. POC *maŋa ± t. Awyi minggir (N-E Irian Jaya); Kalam meŋk (PNG Highlands); Kiwai magota; Kati monggot (S-E Irian Jaya).

These forty-nine words require some explanation, and I will attempt to give one in the next section.

3. EXPLANATION(S)

Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon (1975:320), after examining those areas in which AN-like lexical items seem to be most prominent, make the following statement:

It is of interest to note that the inland areas in which Austronesian loanwords are most strongly in evidence, almost completely co-incide with those areas in which certain formally similar to identical verbal subject and object markers appear. This has considerable bearing on the study of past Papuan language migrations within the New Guinea mainland.

In the same volume, Wurm, Laycock, Voorhoeve and Dutton (1975:947) expand on this general statement:

A very major disturbing factor appears to have affected the linguistic picture of the New Guinea mainland as from approximately 5,000 or so years ago in the form of an Austronesian immigration centering on the Markham Valley. That area seems at that time to have been occupied by late forms of the original Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages which were characterised by certain sets of subject and object person markers with verbs, and certain typological features. These languages appear to have started migrating quite extensively at some time after the first Austronesian contact which had been long enough to allow them to adopt a number of basic vocabulary Austronesian loanwords - some of them ... of Eastern Oceanic type.

The authors go on to specify the directions of these migrations: north and northwest into the Huon Peninsula, the Finisterre Range, and the present Madang Province; and south and southwest into the present Eastern Highlands Province and into the Angan (Kukukuku) area:

All along these routes, and further west, the typological features mentioned, and Austronesian loanwords, are present.

(Wurm, Laycock, Voorhoeve and Dutton 1975:947; emphasis mine)

4. CONCLUSION

Previous studies have tended to treat the AN influence on TNGP vocabulary as either minor, or in other ways not worth explaining in any detail. The bland statement by Wurm et al. immediately above suggests that the odd AN loanword was picked up by some TNGP language or other about five thousand years or so ago, and that this odd loanword happened to make its way around the area into which these languages migrated.

This explanation raises quite a number of questions. But the most important of these concerns the nature of the vocabulary items supposedly transferred from some AN language(s) to some TNGP language(s). An examination of the forty-nine items listed in sections 1 and 2 above shows that, apart from 'pandanus', 'taro', 'pig', and possibly 'dog', all of these items are of the kind that one finds on a 'basic vocabulary' list - i.e. they are all form-meaning combinations which are supposed to be relatively impervious to borrowing.

Now it should be clear that the supposed similarities between PAN/POC forms and TNGP forms are just that - supposed similarities. However, it should be pointed out that no sets of sound correspondences have been established for TNGP languages and, with few exceptions, no reconstructions have been made.⁵ Therefore, the proposed cognate sets (TNGP or Proto-Engan) are also merely supposed similarities, and the sound changes which seem to have taken place in Papuan languages are

such as to obscure cognation, at least at the present stage of our knowledge of Papuan languages. This has not prevented general acceptance of the TNGP (and, indeed, other similar groupings of Papuan languages). But without a clear set of sound correspondences, therefore, the apparent similarity between a PAN or POC reconstruction and some member(s) of a TPNG cognate set seems, to me at least, no less secure than the similarity which purportedly exists between all the members of that cognate set.⁶

Given this, what must be explained is the sheer size of the apparent PAN/POC content of the TNGP basic vocabulary. Of McElhanon and Voorhoeve's (1970) original list of 53, for example, 22 or 23 could well be of AN or OC origin; of Franklin's (1975) 99 Proto-Engan cognate sets, 27 could well be of AN or OC origin; and, in addition to these, another four 'possibles' have been identified by Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon (1975).

I used the term 'of AN or OC origin' rather than the phrase 'AN or OC loans' in the last paragraph because I just cannot imagine a situation in which such a massive amount of basic vocabulary could be borrowed into a language, with that language still clearly retaining its genetic identity. It seems to me, then, that one of the following three explanations must be correct:

(a) That I have totally misinterpreted the data, and that the apparent connections between PAN/POC forms and TNGP forms are merely figments of my imagination. This is, of course, distinctly possible; but it will only be when good comparative studies of the TNGP languages have been carried out that the feasibility of the comparisons I have made can be assessed. Meanwhile, I can point to what I believe to be an exceedingly large number of apparent similarities which suggest that any misinterpretation must be one of degree, and not of fact.

(b) That far greater contact between AN- and TNGP-speakers occurred in the New Guinea area (quite possibly in the Markham Valley, as Wurm et al. suggest) than has heretofore been imagined; and that, furthermore, the AN-speakers must have been in some considerable position of politico-economic dominance, if the TNGP-speakers were forced to borrow so heavily from them, particularly in the area of basic vocabulary.

(c) That AN and TNGP languages are ultimately related, and that the words listed above are simply lexical items which have been retained in both 'branches' of this grouping.

Time, and detailed comparative work on the TNGP languages, will tell whether explanation (a) is correct or not. If it is not correct (as I

suspect), then the data presented in earlier sections of this brief note must cause us to substantially (explanation (b)) or radically (explanation (c)) revise our attitudes to Melanesian linguistic prehistory.

My purpose in this note has been to show that the supposed sporadic connection between AN and Papuan (especially TNGP) languages in the New Guinea area is far greater than had originally been supposed. Further research - particularly comparative research among the families of the TNGP - may eventually help us to elucidate this problem. Until that time, I feel we should exercise great care in making generalisations about the linguistic prehistory of the New Guinea area.

N O T E S

1. See, e.g., McElhanon and Voorhoeve 1970, Wurm, Laycock, Voorhoeve and Dutton 1975, and Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon 1975.
2. McElhanon and Voorhoeve's orthography has been retained, except that the glottal stop is represented by an apostrophe. Their language family abbreviations have also been retained; these are:

Members of the Central and South New Guinea Phylum (CSNGP):

APA	Awin-Pare Family	GOG	Gogodala
ASK	Asmat-Sempan-Kamoro Family	KIW	Kiwai Family
AWY	Awyu Family	MAR	Marind Family
BED	Bedamini Family	OK	Ok Family
BOA	Boazi Family	SUK	Suki
FAS	Fasu	YAQ	Yaqay Family

Members of the Finisterre-Huon Phylum (FHP):

EHF	Eastern Huon Family	WAN	Wantoat Family
ERA	Erap Family	WAR	Warup Family
GUS	Gusap-Mot Family	WHF	Western Huon Family
KOV	Kovai	YUP	Yupna Family
URU	Uruwa Family		

Other abbreviations:

PAN	Proto-Austronesian	POC	Proto-Oceanic
PEO	Proto-Eastern Oceanic		

The data comprise various forms found in the member-languages of the various families of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. The form present in any particular language can be retrieved from MV 1970; it was not thought necessary to go into this kind of detail here.

3. Only one of these fifty-three words ('dog') might not be found on a generally-used basic vocabulary list.
4. Forms are cited as per the original, except that only the geographical - and not the genetic - data regarding each language will be given.
5. Although see in this connection Wurm 1975, Franklin 1975, Kerr 1975, and, of course, Healey 1964.
6. See especially, for example, (3) and (20) of the TNGP data, and (30), (32), and (39) of the Proto-Engan data for an illustration of cognate sets which do not, at least at first glance, strike the casual observer as particularly secure.

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THE POSSESSIVE CLASS SYSTEMS IN ÄIWO, REEF ISLANDS, SOLOMON ISLANDS

S.A. WURM

NOTE: This article constitutes some of the results of a preliminary analysis of a limited corpus of Äiwo materials, and acknowledgement is given to help received from Äiwo speakers, especially Mr Patrick Bakolo and Rev. Martin Moiya.

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS¹

The very similar dialects of the Äiwo language are spoken by approximately 4000 people on the Reef Islands in the Santa Cruz Archipelago, situated far to the east of the main Solomon Islands chain. Äiwo speakers have also settled in some numbers on Ndeni (Santa Cruz), the main island of the Santa Cruz Archipelago, and a considerable number of them is living in Honiara, the Solomon Islands capital. Äiwo and the two (or three) languages spoken on Santa Cruz Island constitute a family named the Reefs-Santa Cruz Family (Wurm 1969, 1972, 1976, 1981a, Simons 1977) (the major language on Santa Cruz, called Northern Santa Cruz (or Lödäi), can be regarded as consisting of two sub-languages which virtually constitute separate languages (Wurm 1978)). The members of this family seem to be languages which were originally Papuan, but they have been so heavily influenced by Austronesian that it can be suggested that the speakers have incompletely taken over an Austronesian language (Wurm 1978). This incomplete language take-over has very strongly influenced and changed much of the assumed original Papuan structure of the languages, and has replaced it by Austronesian forms and structures, which applies especially to transparent surface features. However, some Papuan structural systems and principles have been preserved, though affixes and other markers functioning in them have often

been replaced by formally Austronesian ones. The Papuan structural elements are mainly limited to core features such as complex traits of the verb structure, the forms and underlying principles of the subject (and in part object) marking with the verbs through suffixes, and the presence and in part the form, of elaborate class and gender systems with nouns. These Papuan elements display some formal and system links with elements encountered in the other Papuan languages located in the island world to the east of the New Guinea mainland which have been included into what has been named the East Papuan Phylum (Wurm 1975, 1981a). A number of links are also present between the un-Austronesian lexical elements in the Reefs-Santa Cruz Family languages and the Papuan lexical elements in East Papuan Phylum languages (most of these have also been subject to considerable lexical, and in part also structural, influence from Austronesian languages). In the light of this, the languages of the Reefs-Santa Cruz Family have been included in the East Papuan Phylum as aberrant members.

The languages of the Reefs-Santa Cruz Family have quite complex phonologies, though that of the Äiwo language is simpler than those of the Santa Cruzan languages. In recent years, practical orthographies have been set up for Äiwo and Northern Santa Cruz (Löddäi), very largely through the efforts and ingenuity of some educated local people who had some linguistic training, and were given some limited help in this by outside linguists. The Äiwo alphabet is as follows:

Vowels:

i	u
e	
ä	o
a	<u>a</u>

Diphthongs:

ei	
äi	ou

Vowel length (double articulation) is indicated through the doubling of the vowel symbol, e.g. aa.

In vowel clusters, strong glides are present which are represented in the orthography as follows:

- between the high vowels i, e + the low vowels a, a, o, y appears word-medially;
- between the low vowels a, o in word-initial position, and a prefix ending in i or e, w appears, e.g. opwa 'to be white', dyiwopwa 'we two (incl.) are white'. There is no glide between i or e, and word initial a- in such a case;
- between the high vowel u + o, a, a, and also between o + a, a, w appears;

- between u + ä and o + ä, the insertion of w is optional, and w appears in free variation with 0.

Consonants:

p	t		k
pw			kw
b	d	dy	g
bw			gw
m	n	ny	ng
mw			ngw
	s		
	l		
w		y	

In the sequence C + unstressed u + V, the short u manifests itself through labialisation of the consonant only, and is written as such, e.g. *nwoli* 'knife', < *nuóli. Stress is predictable.

The materials presented here are in the Nenubo (N) and Ngawawa (Ng) dialects. If no dialect abbreviation appears, the forms are identical in both dialects.

2. PERSON MARKING WITH NOMINALS (NOUNS, VERBAL NOUNS)

There are only three word classes in Äiwo: nouns (including a range of verbal nouns), verbs, and particles. The noun and verb morphology employs prefixes and suffixes.

Four numbers, singular, plural, dual and trial, are distinguished. In the non-singular first persons, an inclusive-exclusive distinction is present. The dual is marked by -le, the trial by the addition of special forms, and in the 1st inclusive by the addition of -le to the 1pl. inclusive suffix -de.

The trial number forms which follow the person suffixes are the numeral verb *eve* 'to be three' preceded in all persons (except the 3rd) by *pe-* which marks the person noun class in the noun class system (Wurm 1981b). This is preceded by the subject prefixes used with most intransitive verbs. After *eve* 'to be three', *enge* 'this' follows in the 1st person, and *enga* (shortened from *eyanga* 'that' in the 2nd and 3rd persons. In the 3rd person, *mi-* is the gender marker indicating neutrality in the noun class system, and -li- is the 3pl. subject prefix with intransitive verbs.

TABLE 1
PERSON SUFFIXES WITH NOMINALS

	1st incl.	1st excl.	2nd	3rd
sg.	any vowel, or -u, or + -o		-mu	θ, or V → ä (e, o)
pl.	-de	-ngo	-mi	-i, or V → ä + -i
dl.	-dyi	-ngole	-mile	-ile, or V → ä + -ile
tl.	-dele -de depeeveenge	-ngo mäpeeveenge N -ngo mepeeveenge Ng	-mi mipeeveenga	θ V → ä + milieveenga

The person suffixes (given in Table 1) are added to those nouns with which personal possession is indicated by person suffixes only (see below 3.2.1.). They are also used in the formation of free person markers which in Äiwo are formally verbal nouns: these suffixes are, in general, added to the verb base *i- v y-* 'to exist, to be' to produce in accordance with rules of verbal noun formation in Äiwo, verbal nouns with the meaning of 'the fact of my, your, etc. existing; my, your, etc. existing as a fact'. In the non-singular 1st person forms, and in the 2sg. form, the person suffixes are added to the 1sg. person suffix, e.g. *y-u-mu*: verb base - 1sg. person suffix - 2sg. person suffix = 2sg. free person marker. There are however some special cases:

In the 3sg., *-na* (or *-nanga*) is added to *i-*. In the 3pl., *-dyii* is added to *i-*, *yu-*, or occurs by itself.

TABLE 2
FREE PERSON MARKERS

	1st incl.	1st excl.	2nd	3rd
sg.	<i>yu</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>yumu</i>	{ <i>ina</i> <i>inanga</i>
pl.	<i>yude</i>	<i>yungo</i> N } (<i>ingo</i>) Ng }	<i>imi</i>	{ <i>yudyii</i> <i>idyii</i> <i>dyii</i> (<i>dyiilanga</i>)
dl.	<i>yudyi</i>	<i>yungole</i> N, Ng } (<i>ingole</i>) Ng }	<i>imile</i>	{ <i>yudyiile</i> <i>idyiile</i> <i>dyiile</i>
tl.	<i>yudele</i> <i>yude depeeveenge</i> }	<i>yungo</i> <i>mäpeeveenge</i> N } <i>yungo</i> (<i>ingo</i>) <i>mepeeveenge</i> Ng }	<i>imi mipeeveenga</i>	(<i>kala</i>) <i>milieveenga</i>

3. NOMINAL CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS

3.1. GENERAL REMARKS

The languages of the Reefs-Santa Cruz Family have a number of unusual features of which three may be of particular interest here:

One of these features is the occurrence of several almost entirely semantically based, independent, multiple-class nominal classification systems in these languages. Äiwo in particular, shows a personal possessive class system comprising three main noun types. The first of these types comprises three main categories, and each of these categories is sub-divided into sub-categories. In addition, an as yet undetermined number of minor categories also belongs to this first type. Each of these minor categories, and each of the sub-categories of the major categories, constitutes a separate personal possessive noun class of which a total of 25 has been established to date. The second noun type comprises at least eight, and the third only one, separate personal possessive noun classes. A construct possessive class system with at least four classes is also met with, as well as a noun class system with two types of classes (Wurm 1981b). One of these types constitutes a variable noun class system in which 32 classes, including five genders, have been established so far (two classes only tentatively), and the other is a fixed noun class system in which eight classes have been established to date. These three noun class and gender systems appear to have little relationship to each other, and are cross-cutting.

The second outstanding feature of the languages of the Reef-Santa Cruz Family to be mentioned here is the fact that a large proportion of their nouns, including many which indicate common items such as birds, mosquitoes, rivers, babies, children, etc. do not constitute original noun bases, but are verbal nouns of a descriptive nature. In Äiwo, the numerous class and gender prefixes play a very important role in the formation of these. Examples: *dekuwo* 'bird' (lit. *something that sinks (i.e. dives) into water habitually*), *dekumwange* 'mosquito' (lit. *something that bites habitually*), *ukipe* 'river' (lit. *something that is flowing liquid that goes along all the time*), *giva* 'male baby' (lit. *male human that is immature*), *silaki* 'female child' (lit. *female human that is small*), etc.

The third unusual feature of the Reef-Santa Cruz Family languages to be referred to here is the occurrence of a large number of words in them which are very similar in form and, at the same time, have very similar, but nevertheless different, meanings. This characteristic is also encountered in other languages of the East Papuan Phylum, e.g. Buin of South Bougainville (Laycock 1981). A few examples from Äiwo may be given here: *nyopaa* 'arrow for shooting birds', *nyopwaa* 'fighting

arrow', *singeda* 'female'; *sigedaa* 'his wife'; *nwopwa* 'house', *nwopwa* 'canoe platform, canoe house', *papu* 'vagina', *pwapu* 'virgin'. Some of this has an air of artificiality about it, and seems to suggest the possibility of deliberate interference and tampering with, the languages by their speakers.

It may be mentioned at the same time that a large portion of the words in *Äiwo* and in the other languages of the Reef-Santa Cruz Family recognisably consist of a varying number of very prevalently monosyllabic nuclear elements each of which has a specific meaning and function.

3.2. THE PERSONAL POSSESSIVE CLASS SYSTEM

There are, in *Äiwo*, three main types of nouns with regard to the way in which personal possession is marked with them:

Type A: With most terms of relationship, many nouns indicating parts of the body, and some other nouns, possession is indicated by the addition of the person suffixes listed in Table 1, to the nouns themselves.

Type B: With other nouns, personal possession is indicated by a range of special possessive class markers which usually follow the nouns, and the person suffixes are added to these possessive class markers. The possessive class markers themselves are verbal in nature, and possessive class markers + personal suffixes constitute verbal nouns.

Type C: With some verbal nouns, personal possession is indicated through the ordinary verb subject suffixes + special verbal noun possessive suffixes.

3.2.1. Type A Nouns

The nouns to which the person suffixes are directly added, belong to three main categories, each of them containing sub-categories of which more than those described are likely to exist in the language. There is also an as yet not fully known number of minor categories. The membership of nouns to the three main categories and their sub-categories, or to the minor categories, is not semantically determined, and no reasons for the appearance of the various categories and sub-categories have yet been established. The three main categories are as follows:

3.2.1.1. *Category A*3.2.1.1.1. *Sub-Category or Class A1*

The basic form is the 1sg. form which can end in *-e*, *-o*, or *-u* (other vowels have not yet been observed). In the other persons, the person markers are suffixed to this basic form. In the 3rd person, in all numbers, the final vowel of the basic form changes to *-ä*. If the basic form ends in *-mo*, the 3rd person forms change to *-mwä(-)*.

Example:

nyibe	'my eye'	1sg.
nyibemu	'thy eye'	2sg.
nyibä	'his, her, its eye'	3sg.
nyibede	etc.	1pl.incl.
nyibengo		1pl.excl.
nyibemi		2pl.
nyibäi		3pl.
nyibedyi		1dl.incl.
nyibengole		1dl.excl.
nyibemile		2dl.
nyibäile		3dl.
nyibedele	}	1tl.incl.
nyibede depeeveenge		
nyibengo mäpeeveenge N	}	1tl.excl.
nyibengo mepeeveenge Ng		
nyibemi mipeeveenga		2tl.
nyiba milieveenga		3tl.

Other nouns which belong to this sub-category or class A1 are for instance: *tumo* 'my father' (3sg. *tumwä*), *noto* 'my nose', *nulo* 'my neck', *nyime* 'my arm', *nyii velu* 'my spirit (when I am dead)' (3sg. *nyii velä*), *nämelu* 'my reflection', etc.

3.2.1.1.2. *Sub-Category or Class A2*

The basic form is the 1sg. form which ends in *-i*. In the other persons, the person markers are suffixed to this basic form, and in the 3rd person this final *-i* remains unchanged. Example:

nyisi	'my body'	1sg.
nyisimu	'thy body'	2sg.
nyisi	'his, her, its body'	3sg.
nyiside	etc.	1pl.incl.
nyisingo		1pl.excl.
nyisimi		2pl.
nyisii		3pl.
	etc.	

Another noun which belongs to this sub-category or class A2 is for instance *nyigisi* 'my body odour'.

3.2.1.1.3. Sub-Category or Class A3

The basic form is the lsg. form which ends in -u. In the other persons, the person markers are suffixed to this basic form. In the 3rd person, in all numbers, the final -u changes to -e. With nouns which have -a- in the penultimate syllable, this -a- changes to -ä-. Example:

nedu	'my mouth'	lsg.
nedumu	'thy mouth'	2sg.
nede	'his, her, its mouth'	3sg.
nedude	etc.	lpl.incl.
nedungo		lpl.excl.
nedumi		2pl.
nedei		3pl.
	etc.	

Other nouns which belong to this sub-category or class A3 are for instance: *nubuledu* 'my lip', *nwotedu* 'my tooth', *nubuleku* 'my knee', *napwalu* 'my chin' (3sg. *napwäle*), *giyalu* 'my husband' (3sg. *giyäle*), *nyigalu* 'my chest' (3sg. *nyigäle*), *numwangu* 'my back' (3sg. *numwängä*), etc.

3.2.1.1.4. Sub-Category or Class A4

The basic form is the lsg. form which ends in -u. In the other persons, the person markers are suffixed to this basic form. In the 3rd person in all numbers, the final -u changes to -o. Example:

gibu	'my nephew'	lsg.
gibumu	'thy nephew'	2sg.
gibo	'his, her nephew'	3sg.
gibude	etc.	lpl.incl.
gibungo		lpl.excl.
gibumi		2pl.
giboi		3pl.
	etc.	

Other nouns which belong to this sub-category or class A4 are for instance: *sibu* 'my niece', *meegu* 'my matrilineal mate', *giogu* 'my companion', *pelivagu* 'my relative' (3sg. *pelivago*), *topapwaagu* 'my upper back', etc.

3.2.1.1.5. Sub-Category or Class A5

The basic form is the 1sg. form which ends in -u. In the other persons, the person markers are suffixed to this basic form, and in the 3rd person in all numbers, this final -u remains unchanged.

Example:

peluu	'my son-in-law' (in a strict avoidance relationship)	1sg.
peluumu	'thy son-in-law'	2sg.
peluu	'his, her son-in-law'	3sg.
peluude	etc.	1pl.incl.
peluungo		1pl.excl.
peluumi		2pl.
peluui		3pl.
	etc.	

3.2.1.2. Category B

3.2.1.2.1. Sub-Category or Class B1

The basic form is the 3sg. form which ends in a vowel, usually -a, -o, or -e. In the 1sg., -u is suffixed to this basic form, and in the 1st person of the other numbers, the person suffixes are added to this -u. In the 2nd and 3rd person in all numbers, the person suffixes are added to the basic form. Example:

siwolepaau	'my lung'	1sg.
siwolepaamu	'thy lung'	2sg.
siwolepaa	'his, her, its lung'	3sg.
siwolepaaude	etc.	1pl.incl.
siwolepaaungo		1pl.excl.
siwolepaami		2pl.
siwolepaai		3pl.
siwolepaaudyi		1dl.incl.
siwolepaaungole		1dl.excl.
siwolepaamile		2dl.
siwolepaaile		3dl.
siwolepaaudele	}	1tl.incl.
siwolepaaude depeeveenge		
siwolepaaungo māpeeveenge N	}	1tl.excl.
siwolepaaungo mepeeveenge Ng		
siwolepaami mipeeveenga		2tl.
siwolepaa milieveenga		3tl.

Other nouns which belong to this sub-category or class B1 are for instance: sipe 'his, her daughter', gino 'his, her son', pelivano 'his,

her children (collective)' (lsg. *pelivanou*), *nuwotaa* 'his, her head', *numabo* 'his beard', *nyida* 'his, her inside belly', etc.

3.2.1.2.2. Sub-Category or Class B2

This sub-category or class is essentially the same as B1, except that the final vowel in the 3sg. basic form is long, but becomes short when a 1st person suffix is added to it. Example:

<i>nyivau</i>	'my cheek'	1sg.
<i>nyivaamu</i>	'thy cheek'	2sg.
<i>nyivaa</i>	'his, her, its cheek'	3sg.
<i>nyivaude</i>	etc.	1pl.incl.
<i>nyivaungo</i>		1pl.excl.
<i>nyivaami</i>		2pl.
<i>nyivaai</i>		3pl.
<i>nyivaudyi</i>		1dl.incl.
<i>nyivaungole</i>		1dl.excl.
<i>nyivaamile</i>		2dl.
<i>nyivaaille</i>		3dl.
	etc.	

Another noun which belongs to sub-category or class B2 is for instance *topwalea* 'long fin of a fish', i.e. *topwaleau* (also *topwaleau*, see 3.2.1.4.) 'my long fin' (a fish speaking in a story), *topwaleaamu* 'thy long fin', *topwaleaa* 'its long fin'.

3.2.1.3. Category C

The basic form of nouns belonging to Category C has no possessive class marker and the nouns can be used independently, without any indication of personal possession. When personal possession is indicated with them, possessive suffixes are added to them. These belong to a range of different sets. Some nouns can take suffixes of more than one set. Each set is characteristic of a sub-category or class in Category C.

3.2.1.3.1. Sub-Category or Class C1

To nouns of the sub-category or class C1, -o is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. This -o appears as -yo after -i and -e and as -wo after -u, in accordance with what has been said in 1. about glides in vowel clusters. In the other persons, the person suffixes are added to this -o, and in the 3rd person in all numbers, the -o changes to -ä, or -wä after -u. Example:

näbili	'tongue'	
näbiliyo	'my tongue'	1sg.
näbiliyomu	'thy tongue'	2sg.
näbiliä	'his, her, its tongue'	3sg.
näbiliyode	etc.	1pl.incl.
näbiliyongo		1pl.excl.
näbiliyomi		2pl.
näbiliäi		3pl.
näbiliyodyi		1dl.incl.
näbiliyongole		1dl.excl.
näbiliyomile		2dl.
näbiliäile		3dl.
näbiliyodele		
näbiliyode depeeveenge }		1tl.incl.
näbiliyongo mäpeeveenge N }		
näbiliyongo mepeeveenge Ng }		1tl.excl.
näbiliyomi mipeeveenga		2tl.
näbiliä miliyeveenga		3tl.

Other nouns which belong to sub-category or class C1 are for instance: gipi 'brother-in-law', i.e. gipiyo 'my brother-in-law'; sipi 'sister-in-law', i.e. sipiyo 'my sister-in-law'; nenu 'womb', i.e. nenuwo 'my womb', nenuwä 'her womb'; nwosi 'tribe', i.e. nwosiyo 'my tribe'; mwoli 'eggs', i.e. nwoliyo 'my eggs (which I laid)' (a bird speaking in a myth); nalu 'dance decoration', i.e. naluwo 'my dance decoration', naluwä 'his dance decoration', etc.

3.2.1.3.2. Sub-Category or Class C2

To nouns of the sub-category or class C2, -eyo is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. In the other persons, the person suffixes are added to this -eyo. In the 3rd person in all numbers, -eyo changes to -eä. Example:

kupu	'swelling'	
kupueyo	'my swelling'	1sg.
kupueyomu	'thy swelling'	2sg.
kupueä	'his, her, its swelling'	3sg.
kupueyode	etc.	1pl.incl.
kupueyongo		1pl.excl.
kupueyomi		2pl.
kupueyoi		3pl.
	etc.	

Other nouns which belong to this sub-category or class C2 are for instance: pipi 'diarrhoea', i.e. pipieyo 'my diarrhoea'; nyinaa 'power', i.e. nyinaeayo 'my power', etc.

3.2.1.3.3. Sub-Category or Class C3

This sub-category or class C3 is essentially the same as C2, except that in the 3rd person in all numbers, -eyo changes to -ä or optionally to -(y)owä ~ -(y)oä, and after -u, -o, optionally (see 1.) to -wä ~ -ä. Example:

papu	'vagina'	
papueyo	'my vagina'	1sg.
papueyomu	'thy vagina'	2sg.
papuä ~ papuwä	'her, its vagina'	3sg.
papueyode	etc.	1pl.incl.
papueyongo		1pl.excl.
papueyomi		2pl.
papuäi ~ papuwäi		3pl.
	etc.	

Another noun which belongs to sub-category or class C3 is for instance: sigiläi 'male; husband', i.e. sigiläieyo 'my husband', sigiläiä (~ sigiläiyo(w)ä) 'her husband'.

3.2.1.3.4. Sub-Category or Class C4

To nouns of the sub-category or class C4, -eyou is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. In the 1st person of the other numbers, the person suffixes are added to this -eyou. In the 2nd person in all numbers, the -u is dropped and the person suffixes are added to -eyo. In the 3rd person in all numbers, -eyou changes to -eä (sometimes also the forms -eyowä ~ -eyoä and -owä ~ -oä are found), which alternates with -wä ~ -ä after final -u and -o. Example:

alangenao	'wart'	
alangenaoeyou	'my wart'	1sg.
alangenaoeyomu	'thy wart'	2sg.
alangenaoeä ~ alangenao(ey)o(w)ä	'his, her, its wart'	3sg.
alangenaoeyoude	etc.	1pl.incl.
alangenaoeyoungo		1pl.excl.
alangenaoeyomi		2pl.
alangenaoeäi ~ alangenao(ey)o(w)äi		3pl.
alangenaoeyoudyi		1dl.incl.
	etc.	

Other nouns which belong to sub-category or class C4 are for instance: *dänyo* 'a part of something (not the one which has already been referred to)', i.e. *dänyoeyou* 'a part of me', *dänyoeä* ~ *dänyo(w)ä* 'a part of it'; *nupwanuupe* 'kidney', i.e. *nupwanuupeeyou* 'my kidney', *nupwanuupeä* ~ *nupwanuupe(ey)o(w)ä* 'his, her, its kidney'; *tepäyakoko* 'internal stomach', i.e. *tepäyakokoyeou* 'my internal stomach', *tepäyakoko(w)ä* 'his, her, its internal stomach', etc.

3.2.1.3.5. Sub-Category or Class C5

This sub-category or class C5 is similar to C4, but the lsg. personal possession suffix is *-(y)ou* which in the 3rd person, changes to *-eä* which freely alternates with *-(y)owä* and *-ä* (which can be *-wä* after *-o*, *-u*). Example:

<i>kokope</i>	'lung'	
<i>kokopeyou</i>	'my lung(s)'	lsg.
<i>kokopeyomu</i>	'thy lung(s)'	2sg.
<i>kokopeeä</i> ~ <i>kokopeyowä</i> ~ <i>kokopeä</i>	'his, her, its lung(s)'	3sg.
<i>kokopeyoude</i>	etc.	1pl.incl.
<i>kokopeyoungo</i>		1pl.excl.
<i>kokopeyomi</i>		2pl.
<i>kokopeeäi</i> ~ <i>kokopeyowäi</i> ~ <i>kokopeäi</i>		3pl.
	etc.	

Other nouns which belong to sub-category or class C5 are for instance: *nepe* (lit. *moon*) in the meaning of 'menstruation', i.e. *nepeyou* 'my menstruation', *nepeeä* ~ *nepeyowä* ~ *nepeä* 'her, its menstruation'; *neve* 'bone (in one's body)', i.e. *neveyou* 'my bone (in my body)', *neveeä* ~ *neveyowä* ~ *neveä* 'his, her, its bone (in the body)' (*neve* 'bone (in one's body)' optionally also belongs to sub-category or class C10, i.e. *nevengu* 'my bone'), etc.

3.2.1.3.6. Sub-Category or Class C6

To nouns of the sub-category or class C6, *-(y)aa* is suffixed to indicate lsg. personal possession. The manner in which the possessive suffixes are added to this *-(y)aa* is identical to what can be observed with nouns of class B1 (see 3.2.1.2.1.). Example:

temenge Ng	<i>'skull (of living person or animal)'</i>	
temengeyaau	<i>'my skull'</i>	1sg.
temengeyaamu	<i>'thy skull'</i>	2sg.
temengeyaa	<i>'his, her, its skull'</i>	3sg.
temengeyaau	etc.	1pl.incl.
temengeyaau		1pl.excl.
temengeyaami		2pl.
temengeyaa		3pl.
temengeyaadyi		1dl.incl.
	etc.	

Another noun which belongs to sub-category or class C6 is for instance: tepeke N *'skull (of a dead person or animal)'*, i.e. tepekeyaau *'my skull'* (said by a spirit of a dead man in a story), tepekeyaa *'his, her, its skull'*.

3.2.1.3.7. Sub-Category or Class C7

Nouns of the sub-category or class C7 have the final vowel -a when they are used independently. When personal possession is indicated with them, the -a is replaced by -aa for the 1sg., with this -aa undergoing changes as with nouns of the sub-categories or classes C6 and B1. Example:

dela	<i>'blood'</i>	
delaau	<i>'my (body's) blood'</i>	1sg.
delaamu	<i>'thy (body's) blood'</i>	2sg.
dela	<i>'his, her, its blood'</i>	3sg.
delaau	etc.	1pl.incl.
delaau		1pl.excl.
delaami		2pl.
delaai		3pl.
delaadyi		1dl.incl.
	etc.	

3.2.1.3.8. Sub-Category or Class C8

To nouns of the sub-category or class C8, -lo is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. In the other persons, the person suffixes are added to this -lo. In the 3rd person in all numbers, -lo changes to -lä. Example:

nwapu	'vulva'	
nwapulo	'my vulva'	1sg.
nwapulomu	'thy vulva'	2sg.
nwapulä	'her, its vulva'	3sg.
nwapulode	etc.	1pl.incl.
nwapulongo		1pl.excl.
nwapulomi		2pl.
nwapuläi		3pl.
	etc.	

3.2.1.3.9. Sub-Category or Class C9

To nouns of the sub-category of class C9, -lu is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. In the other persons, the person suffixes are added to this -lu. In the 3rd person in all numbers, -lu changes to -lä. Example:

nyiive	'spirit of dead'	
nyiivelu	'my spirit' (said by a dead man in a myth)	1sg.
nyiivelumu	'thy spirit'	2sg.
nyiivelä	'his, her, its spirit'	3sg.
nyiivelude	etc.	1pl.incl.
nyiivelungo		1pl.excl.
nyiivelumi		2pl.
nyiiveläi		3pl.
	etc.	

nyiive 'spirit of dead' optionally also belongs to sub-category or class C1 (see 3.2.1.3.1.), i.e. nyiiveyo 'my spirit', nyiiveä 'his, her, its spirit'.

3.2.1.3.10. Sub-Category or Class C10

To nouns of the sub-category or class C10, -ngu is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. In the other persons, the person suffixes are added to this -ngu. In the 3rd person in all numbers, -ngu changes to -ngä. With nouns ending in -a, this -a changes to -o before the possessive suffixes of sub-category or class C10. Example:

neve	'bone (in one's body)'	(see also 3.2.1.3.5.)
nevengu	'my bone'	1sg.
nevengumu	'thy bone'	2sg.
nevengä	'his, her, its bone'	3sg.
nevengude	etc.	1pl.incl.
nevengungo		1pl.excl.
nevengumi		2pl.
nevengäi		3pl.
	etc.	

Another noun which belongs to sub-category or class C10 is for instance: numoba 'hole, opening', i.e. numobongu 'my opening (on my body)'.
'

3.2.1.4. Minor Categories or Classes

In addition to the nouns belonging to the three main categories or classes described above, a number of Type A nouns are found which show various irregularities in the indication of personal possession with them, and therefore constitute minor additional categories or classes, each consisting of one to a limited number of member nouns. The total number of these additional categories or classes has not yet been determined, but it may be considerable. A few may be mentioned here:

One of these categories or classes is constituted by nouns such as gisi 'my brother (man speaking)' which has gisimu 'thy brother', etc. but the irregular forms gite for 'his brother', gitei 'their brother(s)', etc. Similarly, sisi 'my sister (woman speaking)' shows site 'her sister', ibesi 'my friend' shows ibete 'his, her, its (m. or f.) friend', etc.

'Leg' belongs to another such category or class: nuku is 'my leg' which shows the regular nukumu 'thy leg', etc. but 'his, her, its leg' is nyike, 'their leg(s)' is nyikei, etc.

Another such category or class is constituted by ginuwou 'my brother (woman speaking)' which largely functions as if it belonged to sub-category or class B1 (see 3.2.1.2.1.) and has for instance regular ginuwomu for 'thy brother'. However, 'her brother' is ginuwe, not ginuwo as would be expected if the word were regular. 'My sister (man speaking)' belongs to the same category or class: it is siwou, and 'thy sister' is siwomu, but 'his sister' is siwe. Another example is nyigilou 'my tail' (a dog speaking in a story), which has nyigilomu 'thy tail', but nyigile for 'its tail'.

'Skin' belongs to another such category or class: läge is 'skin', and 'my skin' is lägeyou which would make this noun a member of sub-

category or class C5 (see 3.2.1.3.5.). However, the 3sg. personal possessive shows -ou > -θ, i.e. *'his, her, its skin'* is läge, *'their skin'* is lägei, etc.

'Face' constitutes another such category or class: nyivädolaau or nyivadoläu is *'my face'*, which has nyivädolaamu or nyivadolämu for *'thy face'*, but *'his, her, its face'* is only nyivadolä.

'Pubic hair' belongs to another such category or class: nwanupulo is *'my pubic hair'* and *'his, her, its pubic hair'* is nwanupule instead of the regular nwanupulä (see 3.2.1.2.1.).

The words for *'fin'* constitute another such category or class in one of their optional varieties (for the other one of *'long fin'* see 3.2.1.2.2.): *'long fin'* and *'back fin'* are topwleau in the 1sg. personal possessive form (a fish speaking in a story).

The -a- changes to -aa- in all persons except the 1st person, i.e.

topw <u>le</u> au	<i>'my long fin'</i>	1sg.
topw <u>le</u> aamu	<i>'thy long fin'</i>	2sg.
topw <u>le</u> aa	<i>'its long fin'</i>	3sg.
topw <u>le</u> aude	etc.	1pl.incl.
topw <u>le</u> aungo		1pl.excl.
topw <u>le</u> aami		2pl.
topw <u>le</u> aa		3pl.
topw <u>le</u> audyi		1dl.incl.
	etc.	

Similarly, *'my fin (in general)'* is topwäleau (also topwäleau), *'thy fin'* is topwäleamu, and *'its fin'*, topwäleaa.

Another such category or class is constituted by nyibeli *'tapa cloth wrapping of a corpse'*: *'my wrapping'* is nyibeliyo which would make this noun a member of sub-category or class C1 (see 3.2.1.3.1.). However, in all forms except the 1sg., -li changes to -le, i.e.

nyibeliyo	<i>'my wrapping'</i>	1sg.
nyibeleyomu	<i>'thy wrapping'</i>	2sg.
nyibeleä	<i>'his, her, its wrapping'</i>	3sg.
nyibeleyode	etc.	1pl.incl.
nyibeleyongo		1pl.excl.
nyibeleyomu		2pl.
nyibeleäi		3pl.
	etc.	

There are apparently quite a few more such additional categories or classes.

3.2.2. Type B Nouns

The nouns belonging to Type B, i.e. nouns with which personal possession is expressed through separate possessive class markers to which the person markers are suffixed, belong to at least eight categories or classes, referred to here as Possessive Classes. It is possible that additional, as yet unrecognised, possessive classes of this kind may exist in the language.

3.2.2.1. General Possession Possessive Class

Nouns belonging to this possessive class indicate items which do not belong to one of the other seven established possessive classes of type B nouns. Items which belong to the general possession possessive class are, for instance, animals which are not thought of as food (i.e. pets such as dogs, pet birds, inedible animals, etc.), objects in nature such as the sun, moon, stars, wind, rain, clouds, sky, etc., and also persons.

One item can belong to different possessive classes according to its purpose and to what its possessor wants to do with it. For instance, *poi* 'pig', thought of as a pet or an animal in general, belongs to the general possessive class (*poi nou* 'my pig'), but if it is thought of as food, it belongs to the food possessive class (*poi nugo* 'my pig'). *Nenu* 'coconut' can belong to the general possessive class if it is something to hold in one's hand, e.g. for playing (*nenu nou* 'my coconut'), but to the food possessive class if it is food (*nenu nugo* 'my coconut'), and to the drink possessive class if it is for drinking (*nenu numo* 'my coconut').

The possessive class marker of the general possession possessive class is *no-*. In the 1sg., *-u* is suffixed to it, and *no + u* constitutes the base to which the person suffixes of the non-singular 1st person suffixes are added. The base for the addition of the person suffixes of the other persons is *no-*, i.e.

<i>nou</i>	'my'	1sg.
<i>nomu</i>	'thy'	2sg.
<i>no</i>	'his, her, its'	3sg.
<i>noude</i>	etc.	1pl.incl.
<i>noungo</i>		1pl.excl.
<i>nomi</i>		2pl.
<i>noi</i>		3pl.
<i>noudyi</i>		1dl.incl.
<i>noungole</i>		1dl.excl.

nomile	2dl.
noile	3dl.
noudele noude depeeveenge }	1tl.incl.
noungo mäpeeveenge N } noungo mepeeveenge Ng }	1tl.excl.
nomi mipeeveenga	2tl.
no milieveenga	3tl.

Examples: kuli nomu 'your dog', nyiivä no 'his stone (in his hand)',
nale noude 'our sun'.

3.2.2.2. Food Possessive Class

Nouns belonging to the food possessive class indicate things which are food (except edibles such as sugarcane which have a high liquid content - they belong to the drink possessive class), and some objects which are associated with food or the obtaining of food, e.g. some baskets, knives, axes, etc. The possessive class markers of the food possessive class are as follows:

nugo	'my'	1sg.
namu	'thy'	2sg.
na	'his, her, its'	3sg.
näde	etc.	1pl.incl.
nugongo		1pl.excl.
nämi		2pl.
nai		3pl.
nädyi		1dl.incl.
nugongole		1dl.excl.
nämile		2dl.
naile		3dl.
nädele näde depeeveenge }		1tl.incl.
nugongo mäpeeveenge N } nugongo mepeeveenge Ng }		1tl.excl.
nämi mipeeveenga		2tl.
na milieveenga		3tl.

Examples: nubole nugo 'my taro (for eating)', nwoli näde 'our knives',
nyiivä na 'his cooking stones', nabwe nai 'their digging sticks'.

3.2.2.3. Drink Possessive Class

Nouns belonging to this possessive class indicate things which are potable liquids, or food with a high liquid content such as sugarcane,

pawpaw (papaya), etc. The possessive class marker of the drink possessive class is *numo* in lsg. This is the base to which the person suffixes are added in the 1st and 2nd person forms, but *numo* changes to *numwä* as the 3rd person base. The possessive class markers are therefore as follows:

<i>numo</i>	'my'	lsg.
<i>numomu</i>	'thy'	2sg.
<i>numwä</i>	'his, her, its'	3sg.
<i>numode</i>	etc.	1pl.incl.
<i>numongo</i>		1pl.excl.
<i>numomi</i>		2pl.
<i>numwäi</i>		3pl.
<i>numodyi</i>		1dl.incl.
<i>numongole</i>		1dl.excl.
<i>numomile</i>		2d.
<i>numwäile</i>		3dl.
<i>numodele</i>		
<i>numode depeeveenge</i>		1tl.incl.
<i>numongo mäpeeveenge N</i>		
<i>numongo mepeeveenge Ng</i>		1tl.excl.
<i>numomi mippeeveenga</i>		2tl.
<i>numwäi milieveenga</i>		3tl.

Examples: *nwoi numo 'my water (for drinking)'*, *nenu numwä 'his coconut (for drinking)'*, *nau numongo 'our(excl.) sugarcane'*.

3.2.2.4. Betel Possessive Class

Nouns which belong to this possessive class indicate betel nuts and things used in connection with chewing betel such as lime, lime containers, lime spatulas, etc. The possessive class markers of the betel possessive class are as follows:

<i>dano</i>	'my'	lsg.
<i>damu</i>	'thy'	2sg.
<i>da</i>	'his, her, its'	3sg.
<i>däde</i>	etc.	1pl.incl.
<i>dangopu</i>		1pl.excl.
<i>dämi</i>		2pl.
<i>dai</i>		3pl.
<i>dädyi</i>		1dl.incl.
<i>dangole</i>		1dl.excl.
<i>dämile</i>		2dl.
<i>daile</i>		3dl.

dādele dade depeeveenge }	1tl.incl.
dango māpeeveenge N } dāngo mepeeveenge Ng }	1tl.excl.
dāmi mipeeveenga	2tl.
da milieveenga	3tl.

Examples: numatāpi dano 'my betelnut', nato da 'his lime container',
nupu dangopu 'our(excl.) betel leaf'.

3.2.2.5. Utensils Possessive Class

Nouns which belong to this possessive class indicate utensils, tools, and things used for achieving some purpose, such as bows, nets, adzes for carving, fire, lies, talks, unless they belong to the food possessive class (e.g. knives, baskets, digging sticks, etc., see 3.2.2.2.). The possessive class markers of the utensils possessive class have the base form nugu in all persons except the 3rd in which it changes to nogo:

nugu	'my'	1sg.
nugumu	'thy'	2sg.
nogo	'his, her, its'	3sg.
nugude	etc.	1pl.incl.
nugungo		1pl.excl.
nugumi		2pl.
nogoi		3pl.
nugudyi		1dl.incl.
nugungole		1dl.excl.
nugumile		2dl.
nogoile		3dl.
nugudele nugude depeeveenge }		1tl.incl.
nugungo māpeeveenge N } nugungo mepeeveenge Ng }		1tl.excl.
nugumi mipeeveenga		2tl.
nogo milieveenga		3tl.

Examples: dyāpwa nugu 'my bow', saloko nogo 'his adze', singā nugumu 'your(sg.) lie', lopwa nugungo 'our(excl.) story', nyieuna nogoi 'their speech', nyie nugumile 'your(dl.) fire', etc.

3.2.2.6. Immovables and Location Possessive Class

Nouns which belong to this possessive class indicate things which are located somewhere, and which are not movable, such as islands, valleys, hills, or which are not normally moved while they are what they are, e.g. houses, trees, etc. The possessive class markers of the immovables and location possessive class are as follows:

to	'my'	1sg.
tomu	'thy'	2sg.
tä	'his, her, its'	3sg.
tode	etc.	1pl.incl.
tongo		1pl.excl.
tomi		2pl.
täi		3pl.
todyi		1dl.incl.
tongole		1dl.excl.
tomile		2dl.
täile		3dl.
todele		
tode depeeveenge }		1tl.incl.
tongo mäpeeveenge N }		
tongo mepeeveenge Ng }		1tl.excl.
tomi mipeeveenga		2tl.
täi milieveenga		3tl.

Examples: nwopwa to 'my house', temotu täi 'their island', numoba tongo 'our(excl.) valley', nyenaa tomi 'your(pl.) tree'.

3.2.2.7. FLOWER AND FRUIT POSSESSIVE CLASS

Nouns belonging to this possessive class indicate flowers and fruit (as long as the latter do not belong to the food class, see 3.2.2.2.). The possessive class markers of the flower and fruit possessive class seem to be the possessive class markers of the general possession class no-, etc. (see 3.2.2.1.), with the thing and non-person noun class marker de- (Wurm 1981b) prefixed to it:

denou	'my'	1sg.
denomu	'thy'	2sg.
deno	'his, her, its'	3sg.
denoude	etc.	1pl.incl.
denoungo		1pl.excl.
denomi		2pl.
denoi		3pl.
denoudyi		1dl.incl.
denoungole		1dl.excl.
denomile		2dl.
denoile		3dl.
denoudele		
denoude depeeveenge }		1tl.incl.
denoungo mäpeeveenge N }		
denoungo mepeeveenge Ng }		1tl.excl.

denomi mipeeveenga	2tl.
denoi milieveenga	3tl.

Examples: nupwa denou 'my flower', nuwa deno 'his fruit (not for eating)'.

3.2.2.8. Wound Possessive Class

Nouns belonging to this possessive class indicate wounds and sores. The possessive class marker of the wound class seems to be the deictic verbal nga- which indicates that something is destined for someone, is for someone (e.g. ngagu 'it is for me'). The forms of the possessive class markers of the wound class are as follows:

<u>ng</u> agu	'my'	1sg.
<u>ng</u> agumu	'thy'	2sg.
<u>ng</u> ago	'his, her, its'	3sg.
<u>ng</u> agude	etc.	1pl.incl.
<u>ng</u> agungo		1pl.excl.
<u>ng</u> agumi		2pl.
<u>ng</u> agoi		3pl.
<u>ng</u> agudyi		1dl.incl.
<u>ng</u> agungole		1dl.excl.
<u>ng</u> agumile		2dl.
<u>ng</u> agoile		3dl.
<u>ng</u> agudele <u>ng</u> agude depeeveenge }		1tl.incl.
<u>ng</u> agungo mäpeeveenge N <u>ng</u> agungo mepeeveenge Ng }		1tl.excl.
<u>ng</u> agumi mipeeveenga		2tl.
<u>ng</u> agoi milieveenga		3tl.

Examples: nyebwali ngagu 'my wound', nyetopwalu ngagu 'my (large) sore, the sore part of me'.

3.2.3. Type C Nouns

With one of the types of the range of verbal nouns in Äiwo, personal possession is indicated through the verb subject suffixes which are very similar to the person suffixes given in 2., + special verbal noun possessive suffixes of which some appear to be formally the same as the construct possessive class suffixes (see 3.3.), though with verbal nouns, their forms appear to be determined by the person of the possessor rather than by the factors observed with construct possessive classes in general (see 3.3.). Such verbal nouns have the prefix nye- and contain the realis progressive aspect prefix ki- ~ ku-. With many

of these verbal nouns, *nye-* is the noun class prefix *nye₁-* of the location noun class (Wurm 1981b). With others, it is the general verbal noun class prefix *nye₂-* indicating the manner of doing something. An example is *nyekulunongä* 'my heart' (verbal noun prefix *nye₁-* - realis progressive aspect prefix - 'live' - lsg. subject suffix - verbal noun possessive suffix 1st person singular and non-singular inclusive, lit. 'the place where I am alive all the time'). The range of forms is:

Verb subject suffix	Verbal noun possessive suffix	
-no	-ngä	1sg.
-mu	-ä	2sg.
-θ	-nä	3sg.
-de	-ngä	1pl.incl.
-ngo	-pwä (v -ngä)	1pl.excl.
-mi	-ä	2pl.
-i	-lä	3pl.
-dyi	-ngä	1dl.incl.
-ngole	-nä	1dl.excl.
-mile	-nä	2dl.
-ile	-nä	3dl.
-dele	-nä	} 1tl.incl.
-de	-ngä depeeveenge	
-ngo	-pwä mäpeeveenga N	} 1tl.excl.
-ngo	-pwä mepeeveenge Ng	
-mi	-ä mipeeveenga	2tl.
-i	-lä milieveenga	3tl.

It can be seen that the possessive suffixes are as follows:

- ngä with 1sg., 1dl.incl., 1pl.incl., 1tl.incl. possessor
- ä with 2sg., 2pl., 2tl. possessor
- nä with 3sg. possessor and with all dl. (and 1tl.incl.) numbers containing the dl. suffix -le
- lä with 3pl., 3tl. possessor
- pwä with 1pl.excl., 1tl.excl. possessor

Examples: *nyekulumwä* (< *nyekulumu-ä*) 'thy heart', *nyekuludelenä* 'our three's (incl.) hearts'; *nyekivädolanongä* 'my appearance' (verbal noun prefix *nye₂-*; lit. *the manner of my appearing all the time*), *nyekivädolamiyä* (< *nyekivädolami-ä*) 'your(pl.) appearance' (the verb is *vädolä* (-lä > -la) 'to appear, to look like'); *nyekivebinongä* 'my waist, flank' (verbal noun prefix *nye₁-*; lit. *the place where I habitually*

put a belt on), nyekivebingolenä 'our two's (excl.) waists' (the verb is *vebi* 'to put a belt on'); nyeki-iiēnongä 'my ladder' (verbal noun prefix *nye*₁-; lit. *the place where I habitually step on something*), nyeki-iiēnä 'his ladder' (the verb is *iie* 'to step on something'), etc.

3.3. THE CONSTRUCT POSSESSIVE NOUN CLASS SYSTEM

3.3.1. One Item Possessing Another

The possession of a person or thing which is indicated by a noun, by someone or something which is also denoted by a noun, is expressed in Äiwo as follows:

3.3.1.1. Type A Nouns

A type A noun (see 3.2.1.) indicating a possessed item appears in the 3rd person possessed form, and the noun indicating the possessor follows it, e.g. *nyimä singedä*; *the hand of the woman*', *nuwotaa sime enge* 'the head of this person'.

3.3.1.2. Type B Nouns

The noun indicating the possessed item is placed first, followed by the 3sg. form of the possessive class marker of the possessive class to which that noun belongs, and the noun indicating the possessor is added, e.g. *kuli no sime eangä* 'the dog of that person', *nyiiä nogo iso* 'the basket of my mother', *nwoi numwä kuli* 'the water of the dog (for its drink)'

3.3.1.3. Type C Nouns

If, in a construct, the noun indicating the possessed item is a verbal noun of the type discussed above in 3.2.3., it appears without the verbal noun possessive suffix, and the noun denoting the possessor follows. If the noun denoting the possessor is itself subject to personal possession (e.g. in 'the heart of MY father'), the verbal noun possessive suffix indicating the person of this personal possession is added to the personal possession marker which itself appears with the noun denoting the possessor. Examples: *nyekulu sime enge* 'the heart of this person', *nyekulu tumomwä* (< *tumomumwä*) 'the heart of thy father', *nyekivebi tumongopwä* 'the belt of our(excl.) father', *nyekivädola tumongä* 'the appearance of my father', *nyeki-iiēi gisingä* 'the ladders of my brother (man speaking)'

3.3.2. Two Items Belonging Together

Situations in which the relationship between the two items referred to by two nouns in a construct relationship is not one of one item actually possessing the other, but one in which the nouns either refer to items which belong together or form a unit, or refer to something which is in reality a single item, are expressed in Äiwo in a variety of ways.

3.3.2.1. Juxtapositional Construct Possessive Noun Class

Two nouns in juxtaposition may refer to situations in which the two nouns together denote a single item only, and one of the nouns is used either figuratively, or by way of explanation, with the noun thus used constituting vaguely the possessor of the item referred to by the other noun, e.g. pwapu nwoi 'dragonfly' (lit. *virgin of the water*), nyiluu nyibe 'my eyelash' (lit. *the hair of my eye*), nyiluu taigo 'eyebrow' (lit. *hair of the eyebrow*, but taigo is never used alone for 'eyebrow'), nyipaa näte 'a chip of firewood, a firewood chip' (nyipaa 'a chip, a small piece cut off from something', näte 'firewood'), nyimaa bobago 'white ant nest' (nyimaa 'nest', bobago 'white ant'), nyileyaa nyidei 'ripples (on water)' (nyileyaa 'lines or marks of a current', nyidei 'a current'), tabutepaa 'a nail' (tabu 'arrow', tepaa 'iron', but an 'iron arrow' is tabu wä tepaa, see 3.3.2.2.).

3.3.2.2. Base, Background or Material Construct Possessive Noun Class

The marker of this construct possessive noun class is ä which is placed between two nouns which are in a construct relationship with each other. When the first noun ends in -u or -o, this ä usually changes to wä (or yä after -uu). A construction containing ä indicates that the item denoted by the second noun constitutes the base or background, or something of importance for the existence of, the item referred to by the first noun. This includes situations in which the second noun indicates the material from which the item referred to by the first noun is made of. Example: mwalu wä nwopwa 'middle of the house', tomwaki ä nukumu 'a sore of (i.e. on) thy leg', saloko wä nedu 'my jaw' (lit. *adze of my mouth*), nablela ä nwopwa 'ladder of the house', sapulau wä nuumä 'the men's house of the village', neve ä topapwaago 'his shoulder blade' (lit. *the bone of the upper part of his back*), uu yä nwopwa 'the upper part of the house', nwopwa ä nyilivä 'stone house, house (built) of stone', etc.

3.3.2.3. Purpose or Assignment Construct Possessive Noun Class

The marker of this construct possessive noun class is *nä*. In a construction containing *nä*, the item referred to by the second noun specifies the purpose or particular role, or assignment to a particular category, of the item denoted by the first noun. Examples: *nupo nä sii* 'a fish net' (lit. a net of fish, i.e. a net for the purpose of catching fish), *nupo nä dekumwange* 'mosquito net' (lit. a net of mosquito, i.e. a net for the purpose of keeping mosquitoes away), *meva nä singeda* 'a woman's babies' (lit. babies of woman, i.e. babies in whose production a woman plays a particular role), *nwosi nä nwoli* 'a kind of knife' (i.e. a category assigned to the concept of 'knife'), etc.

3.3.2.4. Derivation or Result Construct Possessive Noun Class

The marker of this construct possessive noun class is *lä*. In a construction containing *lä*, the item referred to by the first noun constitutes something derived from, or resulting from, the item indicated by the second noun. Example: *nwoi lä nyenaa* 'tree sap' (lit. water of the tree), *nwoi lä sapolo* 'pawpaw juice' (lit. water of pawpaw).

It seems likely that additional construct possessive noun classes exist in Äiwo, but the evidence for them is as yet inconclusive.

3.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Though the complex possessive class systems in Äiwo, and what has been discussed here of the person marking system in it, mostly reflect Austronesian principles, their very complexity is atypical of most of the Austronesian languages of Melanesia. Some of the features, e.g. those connected with the indication of personal possession with type C nouns (see 3.2.3.), are not typically Austronesian. The un-Austronesian and in some instances, typically East Papuan Phylum (see 1.), characteristics of Äiwo are much more strongly in evidence in its complex noun class system which has been discussed elsewhere (Wurm 1981b) in some detail, in its verb structure, and in its semantic features.

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