4.4.6. AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES: NEW BRITAIN

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4.4.6.1. INTRODUCTION

At present, the Austronesian languages of New Britain still seem to fall into the same subgroups ('families') as postulated in Chowning 1969. Relatively little new material has become available since then. Laufer (1966) published a list of New Britain languages, giving approximate locations, that helps solve the question of the probable identity of some languages he mentioned long ago (Laufer 1946-49:500). In view of the fact that he repeatedly says, referring to the speakers of these and several other languages, that "über sie und ihre Sprache ist noch kaum etwas bekannt", it is probably futile to worry about the correctness of the groups into which he puts these.

In 1971, Capell published a brief wordlist for fifteen New Britain languages, plus one from the Duke of Yorks. In most cases, he does not give his sources, but it is clear that some of the lists are from Chinnery (1926) and others from Friederici (1912). Of those he collected himself, two are new names, Solong and A Kolet, one from "near Arawe Island" and the other from "near Gasmata" (Capell 1971:268). Clearly they are both Arawe languages, and they help extend the known range of this family (see below).

Ray Johnston, of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), in an attempt to fill in gaps on the map in Chowning 1969, collected wordlists that greatly extend the boundaries of the Pasismanua dialects (Whiteman Family) to the east and north, and confirm that Getmata is a member of this group.

Work done by Hooley in the Morobe Province of New Guinea (1971) and Beaumont on the languages of New Ireland (1972) has made it possible to settle the question of the external affiliations of some New Britain languages, and to change the names of two families in order to indicate

their membership in wider groupings. I am grateful to both men for the
loan of wordlists. I have also had access to longer wordlists for
Mengen, but these have not altered my ideas about the language. Other-
wise, the data used here are essentially the same as those used for the
earlier paper.

4.4.6.2. THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

I still find it necessary to assign the Austronesian languages of New
Britain to eight distinct groups. As before, I only mention the fact
that Nakgatai, a Polynesian language, is reported by Lanyon-Orgill
(1942) to have been spoken in a single village in New Britain. In the
absence of any confirmation, I have not included this as a member of a
separate, ninth group.

4.4.6.2.1. *I. PATPATAR-TOLAI*

By far the best-known language in New Britain, and that spoken by
the most people, is Tolai (Kuanua, Tuna, Gunantuna, etc.), located in a
coastal strip at the north end of the Gazelle Peninsula and on the
island of Watom. It contains several dialects, one of which, Birara,
is sometimes listed as if it were a separate language. Because the
earliest European settlements were made in the Tolai-speaking region,
the language is sometimes referred to as the language of New Britain.
In fact, however, it has long been clear that its closest affiliations
are with the languages of the adjacent part of New Ireland and the Duke
of Yorks, rather than with the other languages of New Britain. Beaumont
has recently (1972) proposed a Patpatar-Tolai subgroup of New Ireland
languages, of which Tolai is the only member in New Britain. This
designation supersedes my suggestion that the subgroup containing Tolai
should be called 'Blanche Bay'.

Several writers, notably Friederici (1912) and Milke (1965:332),
impressed by the fact that Tolai and the Kimbe languages (see below)
share common grammatical features such as the structure of the genitive
(*'the leaf of the tree'* rather than *'tree leaf-its'*) which distinguish
them from other New Britain languages, have suggested that the resem-
blances result from Tolai influence upon Kimbe-speakers. This sugges-
tion is almost certainly incorrect; the distribution and differentiation
of the Kimbe languages indicate that they have been in New Britain much
longer than has Tolai, and although the Tolai did trade with the eastern
(Nakanai-speaking) Kimbe peoples, it hardly seems plausible that grammar
would have been so affected when lexicon shows so little evidence of
borrowing.

4.4.6.2.2. *II. KIMBE*

This term was first proposed by Goodenough (1961b) to encompass the
Nakanai and Willaumez languages. He has since accepted my suggestion
that Bali-Vitu be added to the group (personal communication). These
are the three main subgroups within Kimbe. Of these, only Nakanai is
at all well-known in the literature.

In 1969, I described in detail the ways in which the term 'Nakanai'
has been used, in hopes of clearing up a certain amount of confusion
about it, but in vain: Capell (1971:255) excludes the best-known dia-
lect, Lakalai (Bileki, Muku), from the group while labelling the re-
mainder 'Lakalai Group'. Without duplicating the whole account (given
in Chowning 1969:25-6), I shall simply repeat that the Nakanai languages
extend along the central north coast of New Britain from the Toriu River
at the base of the Gazelle Peninsula to the west side of Cape Hoskins.
There are two major divisions: Melamela (Ubili, Open Bay Dialect) in
the east, and a group of closely related dialects farther west. In
most of the early literature, such as Parkinson (1907) and Friederici
(1912), any data labelled 'Nakanai' are from Melamela. (Laufer is in
error - 1966:123 - in suggesting that Friederici's 'Nakanai' lists are
from a Willaumez language.) Hees (1915-16), however, who published many
texts along with a brief description of phonology and grammar, devoted
almost all of his attention to the westernmost dialect, Lakalai, which
is so called because it replaces the /n/ by /l/. The other members of
the West Nakanai dialects are Ubae, Vele, and Maututu; these last two
are called Tarobi and Babata by Laufer (1966). Only Ubae does not reach
the coast, although Vele extends well up into the Nakanai Mountains
(which also contain a number of non-Nakanai languages). Nakanai, like
the other Kimbe languages, is so distributed as to suggest, like Tolai,
that its speakers arrived by sea and spread inland to only a minor
extent from coastal settlements.

The Nakanai languages are separated from the Willaumez ones by Kapore,
of the Whiteman Family, which is otherwise confined to the interior and
south coast of New Britain (see below 4.4.6.2.7.). The easternmost of
the Willaumez languages is Xarua (Mai). Perhaps misled by the fact
that Lakalai and Mai both occur within the West Nakanai Census Division,
Laufer erroneously lumps them together; he also implies that only dia-
lectical differences are involved between some of the very divergent
languages spoken in the Central Nakanai Census Division (1966:123).
Goodenough has made the linguistic differences in this region clear
(1961a,b). Xarua belongs with the languages of the Willaumez Peninsula,
Bola (Bakovi), which occupies most of the peninsula, and Bulu, spoken
at the extreme tip.

The dialects or languages of the French Islands or Bali-Vitu group
are little known, though brief wordlists were published by Dempwolff
(1905) and Friederici (1912). Their closest resemblances seem definitely
to be to the Willaumez languages, and they are accordingly assigned to
the Kimbe Family. Some uncertainty about their placement may reflect
the complex history of the region, for which there is abundant ethno-
graphic evidence.

Milke (1965:332) has suggested that the Kimbe languages are linked
with the Bariai languages to the west of them. I have set out elsewhere
(Chowning 1973) my reasons for disagreeing with this suggestion. Instead,
the Kimbe languages seem to me to have their closest connections with
languages spoken to the east of New Britain, as in the Solomons south
of Bougainville. Goodenough made a similar point (1961a) in a somewhat
different form when he tried to ally them with the so-called Central
Pacific languages such as Fijian. His particular hypothesis can be
attacked (see Capell 1971:317-18), but I consider that the ties with
what Pawley calls Eastern Oceanic cannot lightly be dismissed.

4.4.6.2.3.   III. SIASI (BARIAI)

Scattered along the remaining portion of the north coast, from the
western base of the Willaumez Peninsula to the extreme western tip of
New Britain, are the languages that I previously assigned to the Bariai
Family. From east to west, they consist of at least three main divisions:
Kove-Kaliai, Bariai proper, and Kilenge-Maleu. A number of sources
(Meyer 1932, followed by Capell, and Laufer 1966), place another lan-
guage, Sahe, between Bariai and Kilenge, but there are doubts about its
separate status (see Friederici 1912:26-7). If it does exist, it cer-
tainly belongs with Bariai and Kilenge.

The dialects of Kove and Kaliai (Lusi) are more closely related to
Bariai than any of these are to Kilenge-Maleu. Friederici published
considerable material on Bariai, concentrating on but not confining him-
self to lexicon, and also set out some of the regular sound shifts that
link all of these languages together. Phonologically, Kilenge-Maleu
are the most aberrant, and Kove the most conservative; the fact that
there has been some uncertainty about the connections between the Bariai
group and languages spoken in the Siasi Islands and on New Guinea reflect
the fact that investigators looked only at Kilenge-Maleu.

The wordlists collected by Hooley (1971) in fact make it clear that
there are close connections between Kove and some of the languages of
the Siasi Islands, such as Mangap, as well as with Gitua on the mainland
of New Guinea. The data are examined in some detail in Chowning 1973.

Hooley (see 4.4.4.5.) proposed a Siasi Family, extending from the north
coast of New Guinea through the islands of the Vitiaz Strait, with some
uncertainty as to whether it reached New Britain. I see no reason to
doubt, in view of the Kove evidence, that the Bariai languages indeed
belong to this Family, and specifically to its Island Sub-Family, and
have relabelled them accordingly. The fact that the Bariai languages
were probably linked to the New Guinea mainland has long been recognised,
most recently by Milke (1965) and Capell (1971), but it is worth pointing
out that, as far as I know, these are the only languages in New Britain
that show unmistakable evidence of such links.

4.4.6.2.4. *THE AUSTRONESIAN STATUS OF THE LANGUAGES*

Before proceeding further, I should note that only the languages
described so far have always been accepted as Austronesian, although
Capell has expressed doubts about Kilenge-Maleu (1962b:375), as well as
misclassifying Lakalai (Bileki) on his map of New Britain languages in
1962a. On the whole, the north coast languages show enough easily recog-
nisable reflexes of reconstructed PAN (or POC) forms and too few oddities
of phonology or grammar to depart from conventional ideas of what an
Austronesian (or Melanesian) language is. (Their confinement to narrow
coastal strips also suggests that they are all late arrivals in New
Britain.) By contrast, the remaining languages to be considered have
all been denied fully Austronesian (AN) status by one writer or another,
on the grounds that the phonology looks odd, the number of obvious AN
cognates is few, or, particularly for Mengen and Tumuip, that the grammar
contains non-Austronesian (NAN) constructions. It is difficult to coun-
ter these assertions, especially when dealing only with short wordlists;
only in the case of the Whiteman languages do I have enough data to
establish the existence of a considerable, though still not large, num-
ber of reflexes of PAN forms and to prove that the grammar can in no way
be called NAN. In the cases of the other language 'families', my clas-
sification of them as AN is based primarily on the lexical evidence; all
contain a fair number of PAN reflexes that cannot plausibly be attributed
to recent borrowing from other New Britain languages. How significant
this seems obviously depends on one's criteria for the classification
of languages. At the very least, the evidence suggests that speakers
of AN languages which were distinct from those now spoken along the north
coast arrived in the southern and interior parts of New Britain, a long
time ago.

4.4.6.2.5. *IV. LAMOGAI*

Lamogai designates a group of languages that extend across extreme
western New Britain, apparently filling in the region not occupied by
the Bariai languages (and the NAN language Anem) to the north and west,
Arawe languages to the south, and Whiteman languages to the east. The
region is very little known, the only published information being the
Pulie River wordlist in Chinnery and, probably, the much shorter one in
Friederici labelled 'Longa' (meaning *'interior'* in some Bariai lan-
guages). It is possible that the mysterious language called Idne,
placed by Meyer and subsequently by Capell just east of the Maleu border
along the Itni River, belongs to this group. Meyer evidently regards
it as quite distinct from Arawe, but nothing has been published on it.

The known Lamogai languages, proceeding from north to south, are
Mok-Aria (two different dialects, of which the latter reaches the north
coast at the Aria River), Lamogai proper, and Pulie and Rauto, reaching
the south coast. Mok and Aria, which contain a fair number of loans
from Kaliai and Bariai, consequently have more obviously AN lexicon than
do the other languages. Like its neighbours in West New Britain, Arawe
and Whiteman, Lamogai contains consonant clusters that tend to look NAN,
but there is a considerable AN component in the lexicon even when obvious
loans are excluded. The numerals are much more obviously AN (apart from
the word for *'two'*) than those in Whiteman languages. The sentences
collected by David Counts though not ideal for comparative purposes,
show no grammatical complexities that might undermine the possible AN
status of these languages. Recent migrations of Lamogai-speakers have
affected both the phonology and the lexicon of Kaliai, and it is possible
that similar influences might have produced the apparently aberrant
phonology of Kilenge-Maleu.

4.4.6.2.6. *V. ARAWE*

This is primarily a language, or group of languages, of the small
islands off the south coast of New Britain, but there are an as yet un-
determined number of settlements on the mainland, and at least one
dialect, Gimi, extends well up into the interior west of the Alimbit
River. Laufer states that the language extends from Cape Peiho to
Lindenhafen (1966:121), and Johnston's material makes it clear that the
language of Gasmata Island is Arawe. Probably all of the inhabited
small islands in this region are occupied by Arawe-speakers, but the
situation on the mainland is still unclear, and requires a village-to-
village count. Capell has recently collected material from two dialects
of Arawe, the locations of which are reversed between map and text, but

on the map (1971:255) the areas in which they are spoken on the mainland
are shown overlapping considerably with areas in which my information
places speakers of Lamogai and Whiteman languages. Laufer mentions,
but does not locate, a 'bush dialect', Kollet or Morohunga, which pre-
sumably is Capell's A Kolet (Laufer 1966:121). Also still unknown is
the exact number of separate dialects or languages within Arawe; cer-
tainly there are more than the eastern (Pililo) and western (Moewehafen)
divisions noted in the earlier literature.

In addition to Capell's lists for Solong and A Kolet, Chinnery pub-
lished an Arawe wordlist labelled 'Moewe-Haven'. Although there has
been some lexical interchange between Arawe and languages spoken on
adjacent parts of the mainland, it has not yet been possible to link
Arawe definitely with any other languages. Like the Pasismanua and
Lamogai Families, as well as Kilenge-Maleu, Arawe shows a strong ten-
dency for /*a/ of PAN forms to shift to /o/ or /u/, but whereas in the
other languages this always seems to be the result of umlauting, Arawe
is unique in having such forms as nimo *hand* and moto *eye*.

4.4.6.2.7. *VI. WHITEMAN*

This family is so called from its distribution around the southern,
eastern, and western sides of the Whiteman Range. Spoken mostly by
small scattered groups living in the interior, it resembles Lamogai in
being concentrated in one of the least explored parts of New Britain.
Its precise boundaries are uncertain, though it certainly extends to
both the north and south coasts. To date, it is known to have three
subdivisions. The most widespread, Pasismanua (which will have to be
renamed when its boundaries are known), is a dialect chain extending at
least from Miu, west of the Alimbit, to (and including) Getmata, just
inland from Gasmata Island, and then distributed along the track that
crosses the island, ending with the Bao-speakers, about twelve miles
from the north coast. A short distance to the east, actually reaching
the north coast, is Kapore (Beli, Bebeli, Banaule), already mentioned
as separating the Nakanai and Willaumez languages. Kapore-speakers
have a tradition of having migrated from the interior at the western
base of the Willaumez Peninsula; it may well be that the Logologo lan-
guage which Meyer locates behind the Bola-Kove border belongs with this
family.

Kapore is closely related to the Pasismanua dialects, although it has
borrowed heavily from Lakalai. The other group of Whiteman languages,
the Mangseng dialects, are more aberrant. They are spoken along the
Ania River, at the eastern edge of the Nakanai Mountains, and again

extend from the south coast to a short distance from the north one.
There are reported to be four dialects, according to Allen and Hurd
1963: Roko, Sampantabil, Kulula, and Mirapu. To the extent that it is
inhabited at all, it seems likely that all the blank space now existing
on the map between the known members of the Whiteman Family will turn
out to contain Whiteman-speakers as well.

   Wordlists have been published for Kapore and Mangseng in Goodenough
1961a, and for a mixture of two Pasismanua dialects, Kaulong and
Sengseng, in Chinnery 1926, under the label of 'A Kinum and Apui'. I
have presented elsewhere (Chowning 1966) the evidence for considering
Sengseng, and by extension the other Pasismanua languages, Austronesian.
Admittedly the wordlists given by Chinnery look misleading. There are
frank errors which result in the omission of at least one obvious AN
reflex, -tama- *father* (reference rather than address). Roots, which
tend to be monosyllabic, are obscured by the inclusion of affixed pro-
nouns: a number of these roots have obvious cognates in other AN lan-
guages. A peculiarity of Whiteman languages is, along with a preference
for monosyllables, a large number of initial consonant clusters. At
least some of these can be shown to result from a tendency to drop a
first-syllable vowel in certain environments, as in the case of klat
to bite through (PAN *kaʀat) and slup *to drink through a straw* (PAN
*sIʀup). Even when these cognates are recognised, the obvious AN con-
tent of the vocabulary remains low, but this is also an area of rapid
lexical change as a result of word taboos. By contrast with the phonol-
ogy and much of the lexicon, the grammar shows nothing that can be con-
sidered NAN with the possible exception of the indication of sex dis-
tinctions in the third person singular pronouns. This last feature is
found in Kapore, but apparently not in Mangseng (see Goodenough 1961a).
The Sengseng case at least suggests that if enough data were available,
some of the other languages of south New Britain might not look so NAN.

4.4.6.2.8. *VII. MENGEN*

   This family consists of three divisions: Uvol, Mamusi, and Mengen
proper. Uvol (Lote) seems to be confined to Montagu Harbour. Mamusi,
which extends up into the Nakanai Mountains, contains two main dialects,
Kakuna, spoken along the Melkoi River, and Mamusi proper, spoken along
the Torlu. Mengen is the easternmost AN language spoken along the south
coast of New Britain. It contains at least three dialects, of which
the best known one, Maenge (Poeng, Malmal) extends around Waterfall and
Jacquinot Bays. Orford, located just south of the NAN-speaking Sulka,
is considered by Laufer to be heavily influenced by Sulka. A third

dialect, so-called Bush Mengen or Longeinga, extends to just behind the
Melamela area. It contains numerous loans from Nakanai (this is the
language called Pau by the Melamela). It is uncertain whether Mio,
another language put adjacent to Pau by Meyer, is also a dialect of
Mengen; Laufer (1966:121) seems to think that it is.

The status of Mengen has been the subject of considerable discussion.
Published material consists of wordlists in Parkinson, compiled by
Müller, which show the differences between Mengen, Tumuip, and Sulka,
and a grammar by Müller. These data show some peculiarities in the
formation of plurals and possessives, and in word-order in noun phrases,
but on the whole, especially after looking at texts collected by anthro-
pologists (the Panoffs) working in the area, I am inclined to believe
that the grammar is not very aberrant. Capell, after examining a
'scripture reader' by Culhane, concluded that Mengen is "structurally
and in some vocabulary akin to AN generally", but still considers its
status to be "marginal" (Capell 1971:267-8).

4.4.6.2.9. *VIII. TUMUIP*

Tumuip, the remaining AN language in New Britain, is located in a
small enclave inland from the Sulka area. The AN component in its
lexicon is at least as large as that in some other south coast languages,
but it resembles neither these nor Tolai, though it shares a few iso-
glosses with the latter. There is only one dialect, and I have not been
able to find any similar-looking languages in New Ireland or Bougainville,
which are physically closest. It does seem safe to say that the AN
component in Tumuip is not derived from any other languages now spoken
in New Britain.

As regards the grammar, Capell says that the forms "do not seem to
be structurally AN, apart from the lexical content, which has a degree
of AN. The verbal forms, however, are doubtful...but the possessive
suffixes to the nouns are AN" (Capell 1971:267-8). He and I are using
the same data, collected by George Grace, and I should add that only
some sets of possessive suffixes look AN; nouns, even names of different
parts of the body, take different sets. I wholly agree with Capell
about the NAN appearance of Tumuip grammar, though the possible sources
of influence are still to be identified. Of the languages I have classed
as AN, this is the only one that offers strong grounds for being con-
sidered mixed, though I have virtually no information on the grammar of
Lamogai, and little on Arawe.

4.4.6.2.10.   *COMPARISONS BETWEEN NEW BRITAIN LANGUAGES*

The differences and the resemblances between New Britain languages
can perhaps be best represented by the comparative vocabularies presented
below. A number of such vocabularies have been published - Capell 1971;
Chinnery 1926; Friederici 1912; Goodenough 1961a; Parkinson 1907 - and
among them they represent all the major groups I have postulated. Be-
cause they do not contain the same lists of words from language to
language, and also because many of them contain a large component of
'cultural' vocabulary, in which loans may be involved, they are not
always clear indicators of fundamental differences and resemblances.
In addition, for languages known to me there are various errors, such
as Chinnery's substitution cf kinship terms for the words for *'man'* and
'woman' and of the names of coloured objects for colour terms in A Kinum.
Capell's 'Nakanai' list contains forms both from Lakalai and from
Melamela, as well as a mysterious word for *'water'* and the word for
'male' rather than *'man'*. In the words for *'house'*, he sometimes gives
the one for *'family house'* and sometimes the one for *'men's house'*.
The following list undoubtedly has its errors as well, but it should
give an idea of the range of variation.

In each case, the major group is indicated by the roman numeral and
the specific language within it is named. The data should be most
accurate for Tolai, from the published sources, and Kove, Lakalai, and
Sengseng, in all of which I have done extensive fieldwork. The Mengen
lists were filled in by literate native speakers. The Tumuip list was
collected by George Grace and checked against the one in Parkinson.
The least reliable lists are probably those for Lamogai, collected by
David Counts, and Pililo, collected by myself, in both cases in a single
session from a Pidgin-speaking informant.

Where the data are full enough, I have presented only the root shorn
of affixes, but it has not always been possible to identify these with
certainty. Sengseng /e-/ before some nouns has been retained because,
although it is sometimes an article, this is not always surely the case.

Spellings are phonemic for Kove, Lakalai, Sengseng, and Tolai. It
consequently should be noted that the same symbol may represent somewhat
different sounds in different languages. For example, /r/ is a flap or
trill in Lakalai and a spirant in Kove; as an allophone of /t/ in
Sengseng, it has not been written at all. For Mengen, I have accepted
the informants' spellings and resisted the temptation to change /ng/ to
/ŋ/ (for the velar nasal), not being sure of the safety of always doing
so. For the other languages, I have omitted some of the phonetic dis-
tinctions noted by recorders; doing this should not result in serious
distortion of the data.

The POC forms given are all taken from Grace 1969, and represents
those that surely or probably have reflexes in one or more of the lan-
guages listed. I have not given POC forms that have none. In some
cases, it should be noted, the POC form is given a meaning which has
been altered in some of these presumed daughter languages; for example,
the words for *'hair'* in Kove and Maenge are from a proto-form that usually
means *'leaf'* (as it also does in these languages). In the interests of
simplicity, I have not indicated probable PAN proto-forms that have not
been reconstructed for POC (as in the cases of the Sengseng word for
'nose') nor probable POC forms that are not in Grace's list (as in the
case of the Lakalai word for *'sleep'*). I have also not listed forms
that are cognate with those in some other New Britain language when the
meaning is different; for example, the Lakalai word for *'male'*, but not
the word for *'man'*, is cognate with the Kove word for *'man'*. Syllables
in parentheses are those that appear only in certain contexts; for
example, the Sengseng word for *'breast'* regains its second vowel only
when followed by certain suffixes.

In some cases, forms taken from another language within the group
might be more clearly cognate than the one listed (for example, the word
for *'eye'* contains /m/ rather than /n/ in some Lamogai languages). The
lists should, however, be fairly typical of the groups concerned, and
contain a minimum of identifiable loans.

Comparative Vocabularies

English	*bird*	*blood*	*breast/milk*	*earth*	*eat*
POC	*manu(k)	*soso(n) *toto	*susu	*tano(q)	*kani
I. Tolai	beo	ŋap	u	pia	ian
II. Lakalai	malu	kasoso	susu	magasa	ali
III. Kove	manu	siŋi	turu	tano	ani
IV. Lamogai	munuk	morou	sune	tatlak	in
V. Plililo	mon	imlek	siy	rut	in
VI. Sengseng	eki	eŋhik	sus(u)	pluk	i
VII. Maenge	manu	toto	sisia	magalo	kani
VIII. Tumuip	men	motom	titi	ndan	in

English	*eye*	*fire*	*fish*	*hair*	*hand*
POC	*mata	*api	*ika(n)	*ndau(n)	*lima
I. Tolai	mata	iap	en	pepe	lima
II. Lakalai	mata	havi	ia	lvu	lima
III. Kove	mata	eai	iha	iauni	lima
IV. Lamogai	anta	ei	oŋwa	koio	mela
V. Pililo	moto	kwon	heil	lninin	nimo
VI. Sengseng	mata	yau	esma	yut	vili
VII. Maenge	mata	poi	lia	iaiau	kama
VIII. Tumuip	ŋomta	niu	pe	eiu	iaime

English	*head*	*hear*	*laugh*	*leg*	*liver*
POC	*ndaŋma *quiu	*ndoŋo		*paqa	*Qate
I. Tolai	uiu	waioŋore	noŋon	keke	kat
II. Lakalai	gama	lolo	iege	vaha	hate
III. Kove	voia	loŋo(ni)	ŋiŋi	ahe	ate(a)te
IV. Lamogai	ap	reŋan	devei	kaŋgu	pupuin
V. Pililo	opo	loŋi	miŋiŋ	kuyu	akat
VI. Sengseng	po, mehe	kihoŋ	hoŋ(o)	kivi	eta
VII. Maenge	giil	loŋe	maiili	ke	lona
VIII. Tumuip	bia	loŋ	ŋiŋ	kia	ber

English	*louse*	*man*	*nose*	*rain*	*sleep*
POC	*kutu, *tuma	*ŋmane/ *tamoie	*isuŋ, *ŋusu	*qunsa(n), *paʀa(t)	*eno
I. Tolai	ut(u)	tutana	bilauna	bata	wa
II. Lakalai	utu	tahaio	maisu	hura	mavuta
III. Kove	tuma	tamone	nuru	awaha	eno
IV. Lamogai	outu	aŋgraŋ	norno	erei	miak
V. Pililo	kut	tuguno	yukio	ri	duk konoŋ
VI. Sengseng	mut	ve-masaŋ	muhut	pe-yuŋ	nahuŋ
VII. Maenge	kutu	nataie	isuruma	kue	keno, kenda
VIII. Tumuip	kur	metamgen	biodun	ner	ier

English	snake	stone	sun	tooth	tree
POC	*ŋmata	*patu	*qanso, *sina(R)	*lipon	*kai
I. Tolai	vui	wat	keake	livoŋa	davai
II. Lakalai	pase	uati	haro	livo	obu
III. Kove	mota	patu	waro	luo	avei
IV. Lamogai	amat	taŋo	oklou	kakai	kamut
V. Pililo	mat	kum	sinaŋ	nono	kih
VI. Sengseng	amat	umat	sinaŋ	ŋi	sa
VII. Maenge	mue	manage	ke	ngingi	bega
VIII. Tumuip	negelem	per	ha	niou	ue

English	two	vomit	water	weep	woman
POC	*dua	*lua, *muta(q)	*ndanu(m), *wal(R)	*taŋi(s)	*tapine, *pine
I. Tolai	urua	marue	tava	taŋi	vavina
II. Lakalai	-lua	kalalua	lalu	tall	tavile
III. Kove	hua	lua	eau	taŋi	tamine
IV. Lamogai	akap	puogiak	ouri	kerpin	elim
V. Pililo	enokip	mtumut	inuŋ	teŋ	elineno
VI. Sengseng	hwo, ponual	mutwok	eki	hau	et-wala
VII. Maenge	luo	muta	me	tani	avale
VIII. Tumuip	ro huru	boro	nuie	tirpek	nolo

4.4.6.2.11. RELATIONSHIPS AMONG NEW BRITAIN LANGUAGES

There is abundant evidence for lexical borrowing between neighbouring languages, but there are also numerous cases in which it is not clear whether borrowing or a relatively recent common ancestry accounts for certain lexical resemblances. Several cases suggest that the Whiteman languages may turn out to belong in a larger subgrouping not only with Arawe and Mengen, as I suggested in Chowning 1969, but with Lamogai as well. Proof or disproof of this hypothesis requires much more material than is available at present.

To take the opposite approach, I fully agree with Capell that it should be useful for subgrouping to study what he calls "areal vocabularies" (Capell 1971:318ff.). See, for example, the distribution of reflexes of the two POC words for 'vomit' in the preceding lists. It can nevertheless be dangerous to base conclusions on short lists. For example, Capell tabulates the distribution of different forms meaning 'house', 'sleep', and 'louse'. For Lakalai, he gives only luma house, ignoring hulumu men's house and valua men; only mavuta sleep, ignorning mata-tutulu

sleepy; and only utu *louse*, ignoring tuma *flea* and lega *nit*. Inclusion
of these would present a different picture of the areal distribution of
some of the forms discussed. For most languages, available lexical
data are too few for the problem to be investigated fully.

On the phonological side, it is evident that several languages share
features which make words look somewhat NAN: initial and medial consonant
clusters, reduction to monosyllables, and vowel shifts. The combination
is characteristic of south-west New Britain, from Kilenge through the
Arawe and Whiteman regions, and there have probably been common influ-
ences at work. Tumuip shares these features, although the vowel shifts
are different, while Tolai has only a comparatively large number of
monosyllabic forms, compared with Kimbe and the eastern Bariai languages.
Tolai also resembles some of the western languages, but differs from
those in between, in not only permitting word-final consonants but some-
times preserving those of the PAN form (compare Tolai karat, Sengseng
klat with Lakalai ala *bite*). In a general sort of way, Tolai and the
New Ireland languages on the one hand, and the southern New Britain
languages on the other, look more like each other than they do the Kimbe
languages and Kove-Kaliai (see below).

At the same time, the phonological diversity is so great that it is
not possible to say, as Capell does (Capell 1971:309-10), that particular
consonants in PAN have particular reflexes "in New Britain". I have
described the reflexes of Sengseng in Chowning 1966 and of Lakalai and
Kove in Chowning 1973.

Some grammatical features of these three languages are described in
the same papers. It is not yet possible to make any generalisations
about the grammars of New Britain languages as a whole. From what is
known so far, it does not seem likely that they will resemble each other
any more than do other AN languages in northern Melanesia. One point
is perhaps worth making. Features sometimes regarded as significant in
grouping languages may vary within the families as well as between them.
In the Bariai languages, only Kilenge-Maleu have the noun-marking article
/na/. Kaliai has compulsory dual pronouns, but Kove does not, and both
of these lack the peculiar possessive form ('*I father-my*') of their
closest relative, Bariai. In the Kimbe languages, complete decimal
systems are found in Lakalai and some of the Willaumez languages, but
not in Melamela. Melamela has a double set of subject pronouns, inclu-
ding the short "subject marker" (Capell 1969:45), while Lakalai has only
one set. The Pasismanua dialects and Kapore distinguish gender in third
person singular pronouns, but Mangseng apparently does not. The occa-
sional grammatical feature unites languages that have little else in
common: Tolai and Sengseng have four sets of pronouns (singular, dual,

paucal, and plural), while most New Britain languages seem to have only
two or three.   A feature that is odd enough possibly to be significant
is the fact that some languages in different south New Britain families -
Arawe, Whiteman, Mengen, Tumuip, and perhaps Lamogai - use two different
sets of possessive pronouns for different parts of the body, one suffixed
and one not.   It has already been mentioned that all the languages, apart
from Kimbe and Tolai, have the "preposed genitive" - *tree leaf* - a
feature that is generally agreed to link them with the western part of
Melanesia, including most of the island of New Guinea, rather than with
the east.   On the whole, however, the variations are such as to suggest
that we do not yet know just which grammatical features are likely to be
significant for subgrouping.

4.4.6.2.12.   *EXTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS*

It has already been noted that only in two cases, Tolai and the
Bariai group, do New Britain languages have very close affiliations with
any spoken outside the island.   (This point needs stressing because of Capell's
pointing out the necessity of considering the languages of all the adjacent regions,
such as the Admiralties and Bougainville, in setting up subgroups (Capell 1971:295).
In my attempts to trace external relationships for the three New Britain languages
with which I have worked, and also for Tumuip, I have examined many wordlists from
Bougainville and other parts of the Solomons, New Ireland, the Admiralties, and the
north coast of New Guinea, and feel safe in saying that New Britain languages are
essentially separate from those of the neighbouring islands, with the exceptions men-
tioned above.   I still have hopes that some of the south New Britain languages may turn
out to be related to some of the languages of northern New Guinea.   There are a few
suggestive resemblances, including the possibility of phonemic tone in some Whiteman
languages, but the distinctive part of the lexicon seems to be confined to New Britain
itself.)

I have set out elsewhere (Chowning 1971, 1973) my reasons for postu-
lating more remote connections between the Kimbe languages and those of
eastern Oceania; the evidence does seem to point to a relatively recent
common ancestry, but does not justify any special subgrouping.

The present evidence gives some clues about the sequence in which
different AN languages reached New Britain, Tumuip, with its very limited
distribution, remaining the mystery.   It is likely to have been there a
long time; otherwise it should be easy to locate its place of origin.
The Lamogai, Whiteman, and Mengen groups probably all (with or without
Tumuip) represent the earliest arrivals of AN-speakers in New Britain.
At one time, they probably occupied the whole south coast from Cape
Gloucester to Open Bay, and spread across the island to the north coast.
It is impossible now to judge how, and to what extent, the speakers of

these languages may have been influenced by the putative NAN-speaking
groups who preceded them to New Britain; in historic times, only a few
enclaves of NAN languages are to be found west of the Gazelle Peninsula.

   The Arawe-speakers presumably came later, as is indicated by their
location on offshore islands. The entire north coast of New Britain,
it is worth remembering, contains a chain of active volcanoes, and it
may have been as the result of their activity that later settlers were
able to occupy these regions. The degree of diversification suggests
that the Kimbe-speakers came first, probably from the east (see Goodenough
1970 for the suggestion that their languages were affected by Whiteman
languages already present on the north coast). The Bariai-speakers
would have come later, undoubtedly from the Vitiaz Strait region, and
the Tolai last, via the Duke of Yorks from New Ireland. It is not
possible to say whether the speakers of the south coast languages came
from New Guinea or from farther east, but I would suggest that they,
like the New Ireland inhabitants (including Tolai), represent early settle-
ments of AN speakers in this part of Melanesia; the question of possible
back-migrations from farther east can be raised not only for the Kimbe
languages but for the Siasi Family (or many of its members) as a whole
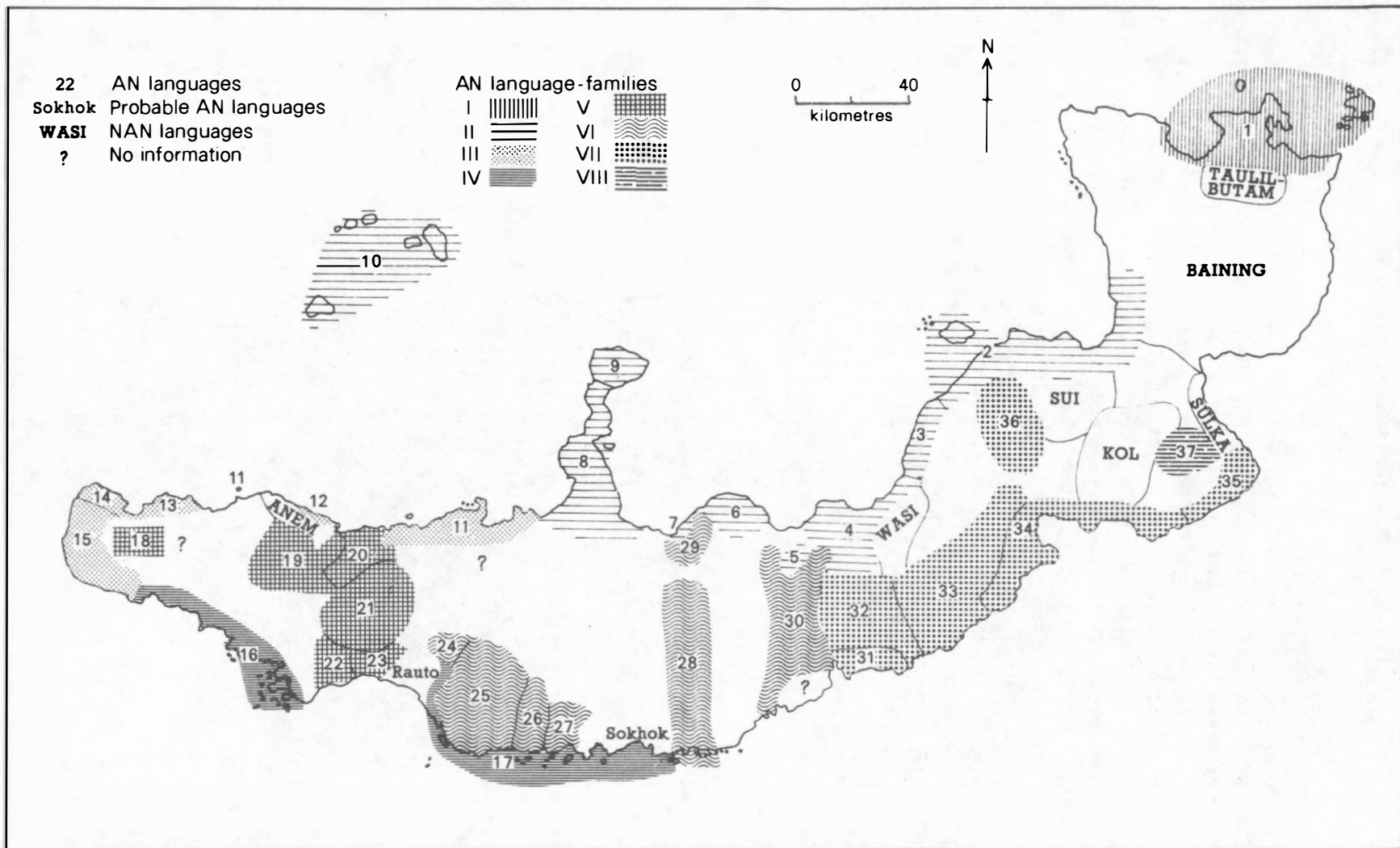(see Chowning 1971).

4.4.6.2.13. MAPS

   We may confine discussion to those maps likely to be consulted, in
Capell 1962a and 1971, and Chowning 1969. Capell 1962a (Map VIII) is
reasonably accurate in locating the AN languages known to him at the
time, with the single exception of 'Maseki' (Mangseng), which is too
far west. (This error, like much else in Capell's map, is probably
taken from Meyer's 1932 map.)   There is some confusion about language
as opposed to dialect names, but the only serious error is separating
Lakalai (labelled 'Bileki') from the rest of the Nakanai group and
calling it "mixed Melanesian-Papuan". In 1971, as has been noted above,
the same language causes trouble. On Map 3 (p.255) Capell ends the
Nakanai-speaking region (labelled 'Lakalai Group') to the east of Cape
Hoskins, and assigns the Lakalai themselves, along with the Kapore of
the Whiteman Family, to the Willaumez Group, within which only Bola is
distinguished as a separate language. By contrast, the languages to the
west of the Willaumez Peninsula are all separated, even when the differ-
ence, as between Kove and Kaliai, is merely dialectical. Along the
south coast, there is no mention of Lamogai and Whiteman languages, and,
as has been noted, Capell's Arawe dialects, A Kolet and Solong, are
shown extending inland into regions in which languages of these other
families are spoken.

The map in Chowning 1969 has been emended as follows. The small
island offshore in north-west New Britain should be numbered 11, not
12; it is the Kove outlier of Tamoniai. On the south coast, the markings
for the Arawe Family should extend from the coast up to No.24 to show
the area occupied by the Gimi speakers, and eastwards to encompass the
island of Gasmata and its neighbours. No.28, Bao of the Whiteman Family,
should extend straight down to the south coast to encompass Getmata.

My own recent fieldwork has also made it possible to extend the
Lamogai languages into the region inland from the western Kove-speakers.
It is not known whether the particular language spoken there is distinct
from No.20 (Aria).

The map as emended above is given in this chapter. (Some of the
blank spaces on the map, notably the heights of the Whiteman Range (north
of 24-27), are known to be uninhabited.)

NEW BRITAIN LANGUAGES

KEY TO AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS ON MAP

I.   **Patpatar-Tolai Sub-Group of New Ireland Languages**
  1. Tolai (only member in New Britain)

II. **Kimbe Family**
  2. Melamela
  3. Maututu
  4. Vele
  5. Ubae
  6. Bileki
  7. Xarua
  8. Bola
  9. Bulu
  10. Bali-Vitu

III. **Bariai Family**
  11. Kove
  12. Kaliai
  13. Bariai
  14. Kilenge
  15. Maleu

IV. **Arawe Family**
  16. Arawe
  17. Moewehafen

V.   **Lamogai Family**
  18. Longa
  19. Mok
  20. Aria
  21. Lamogai
  22. Pulie
  23. Rauto

VI. **Whiteman Family**
  24. Miu
  25. Kaulong
  26. Sengseng
  27. Karore
  28. Bao
  29. Kapore
  30. Mangseng

VII. **Mengen Family**
  31. Uvol
  32. Kakuna
  33. Mamusi
  34. Poeng
  35. Orford
  36. Longeinga

VIII. **Tumuip Family**
  37. Tumuip

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