

7.4.5.9. MISSIONARY LINGUE FRANCHE: DOBU

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7.4.5.9.0. INTRODUCTION

7.4.5.9.0.1. THE MISSION BEGINS

Sir William MacGregor, the Administrator of British New Guinea (later simply Papua) sought that all his territory should be open to missionary influence. He suggested a zoning arrangement whereby each of the four major missions (London Missionary Society, Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist) should work each in its own area without overlapping on the field of another mission. Thus when the Methodist Church came to Papua it found itself with well-defined boundaries in an area which included almost all of the islands of what is now called the Milne Bay Province, plus a foothold on the mainland of New Guinea itself, at East Cape. The party that landed on the island of Dobu in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands on 19 June 1891 was under the leadership of Rev. William E. Bromilow, a missionary with ten years' experience in Fiji, and with him was a large party of European and South Sea Island missionaries.

7.4.5.9.0.2. DOBU CHOSEN AS CENTRE

The selection of Dobu as the centre for this missionary enterprise was by no means arbitrary. Amongst all the indigenes of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands the people of Dobu were renowned for savage and inhuman cruelty. It was not just that the missionaries were following out the principle laid down by John Wesley, 'Go not to those who need you but to those who need you most'. From a practical point of view these Dobuans were a ticket of entry to most people of the D'Entrecasteaux and to many beyond them. The savage cannibal raids of the Dobuans had carried fear of them and, compulsively, some knowledge of their language

to most places 80 miles away in any direction. Also, the cultural trade activity of Kula made them prominent among the wealthy and important of the Papuan cultures all around them.

So the missionaries hoped that through the winning of Dobu an initial point of contact might be established with many others - and found it so. For Bromilow records, in reference to those early days,

At points remote from Dobu we were to find it possible to establish limited communications in Dobuan, and again and again we were to be thankful for the possibility of making ourselves understood in at least a few leading words. It was no mere happy accident that led us to fix on Dobu as our centre, since it put us into extended linguistic touch in a way that no other spot could have done.¹

7.4.5.9.1. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION

The 'Papuan Babel' into which the missionaries came was a complexity of languages for which even their Fijian background had scarcely prepared them. The situation in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands as studied by Lithgow and Staalsen in 1965² is substantially that which Bromilow entered, and so will serve to show us the bewildering array of tongues that met the men of Methodism as they sought to extend their work into the area immediately adjacent to their starting point.

7.4.5.9.1.1. THE NUMBER OF LANGUAGES

The survey of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands conducted by Lithgow and Staalsen shows a total of 19 languages in a population of about 30,000. It is probable that the number is higher than this. For example, they show the Morima language to be a loose grouping of three dialects with percentage cognates of 75% and 76%, which makes their relation as dialects mutually intelligible open to doubt; the more so as they note that 'where there is a low cognate count at language borders ... comprehension of this language falls off sharply as one moves away from it'.³ Thus in many cases the mutual intelligibility of groups such as those referred to above as 'Morima language' could be more dependent on the 'degree of contact'⁴ than on the percentage of cognates. The writer patrolled extensively in Fergusson Island, which is the central island of the D'Entrecasteaux and the territory of Morima, in the period 1957-62, and can testify to the truth of this; I was on occasions told that men, who travelled, could understand neighbouring languages, but women, who for the most part stayed at home, could not.

So the figure of 19 languages for the D'Entrecasteaux Islands must be taken as being a minimum; and it may in fact be as high as 30.⁵

The linguistic diversity of the balance of the area of Methodist influence is not so great, as the remaining 37,000 or so include one group of 15,000 with one language, and total only about nine more.⁶ The total number of languages which confronted the missionaries over all of their area would thus have been between 30 and 40. This of course was not immediately apparent to them; but as they sought to open new stations and reach out to the furthest bounds of the area they had undertaken to evangelise, it was soon clear that each new place meant a new language to be learnt, a new alphabet to be decided on, new literature to be planned - and each new language multiplied the task.

7.4.5.9.1.2. THE CHOICE OF ONE LANGUAGE

Thus the Methodist Missionary Society had not been long established in its new British New Guinea District before the missionaries gave explicit reference to the hope that Dobuan could become a medium for the expression of their message in every part of their Papuan work. They had already had experience of the usefulness of Dobuan as an initial point of contact almost wherever they went. But it was of little use beyond this - as Bromilow himself says:

I have spoken of the Dobuan language as having considerable currency within these island groups. This must be understood, however, in a limited sense and as confined to a small, utilitarian vocabulary. The amazingly frequent change of speech, at very short distances, was brought perplexingly home to us with each extension of the mission. In the area touched from any one station the missionary needed to be a veritable polyglot. The hope of the mission was that Dobuan could be adopted as the literary language of the whole field. It is impossible to give the Bible and other books in each of the languages of this Papuan babel.⁷

7.4.5.9.1.3. ADMINISTRATOR ENCOURAGED USE OF LINGUA FRANCA

This hope had indeed been held by the Administrator himself. 'Sir William MacGregor ... believed that Dobuan would become the lingua franca of our District'.⁸ No doubt he had seen the strong place it held in Papuan society because of the bold ascendancy of the Dobuan people, and realised that the Mission by using it as a lingua franca would thus tend to bind together a community already fragmented by many small language groups.

7.4.5.9.1.4. DOBUAN ALREADY IN USE AS SECOND LANGUAGE

7.4.5.9.1.4.1. Dobuan - in Kula

I have already made passing reference (in 7.4.5.9.0.2.) to the prominence which Kula trade activity gave to the Dobu people. Malinowski in his definitive work on the Kula says that Dobu

was, and still is, one of the main links in the Kula, a centre of trade, industries and general cultural influence. It is characteristic of the international position of the Dobuans that their language is spoken as a lingua franca all over the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago, in the Amphletts, and as far as the Trobriands. In the southern part of these latter islands almost everyone speaks Dobuan, although in Dobu the language of the Trobriands ... is hardly spoken by anyone.⁹

7.4.5.9.1.4.2. Dobuan - in War - the Dobu Warriors' Prowess

Malinowski also mentions the 'fierce and daring cannibal expeditions' which were launched from Dobu, adding that 'the more distant districts, often over a hundred miles away by sail, never felt safe from the Dobuans'.¹⁰ This would have undoubtedly been a contributing factor to the wider knowledge of Dobuan. However I have been told by reliable Dobuan informants that the rise of cannibalism and the subsequent raiding for human flesh was a comparatively recent thing, commencing only one or two decades before the arrival of the first missionaries, and having its origin in successive garden failures following a period of volcanic activity on Dobu Island itself. Thus I feel that the Kula prominence of the Dobuans rather than their cannibal exploits must be seen as the major reason for the wider use of Dobuan as a second language within the existing cultural framework.

7.4.5.9.1.4.3. Dobuan - in the Labour Line - 'Gosiagu Talk'

Another factor, though of recent origin, would be the use of a much debased and 'pidginised' Dobuan as the language of the labour line in and adjacent to the Milne Bay Province. This is known as 'Gosiagu Talk';¹¹ from this expression the D'Entrecasteaux people have come to be referred to collectively as 'the Gosiagus'. We may regard this usage of Dobuan as being a contributing factor in the place the Dobu language held as a second language, although the range of communication was limited.

7.4.5.9.1.5. INFLUENCE OF THE MISSIONARIES' FIJI BACKGROUND

The area in which Dobuan was effective as a lingua franca in the pre-mission period was mainly as a means of trade communication between the

men, and predominantly the wealthy and influential among them. However, the missionaries wished to communicate with the whole society. One reason why they believed that they could succeed in making Dobuan their means of communication was that in an analogous situation in Fiji the Methodist Church had succeeded, in a period of 25 years commencing 1845, in having one Fijian dialect adopted and widely accepted as the lingua franca for all their Fijian work. Part of the reason for Bromilow's selection as leader of the British New Guinea mission field was his background of ten years' service in Fiji. It is thus clear that the missionaries were partly conditioned to the idea of a lingua franca.

The Fijian linguistic diversity is by no means as complex as that which confronted the missionaries in Papua. While the first missionaries in Fiji wavered between opinions of 'dialect homogeneity',¹² and 'extreme diversity',¹³ yet by the time of John Hunt in 1845 the Church in Fiji was able to take the step of deciding to use the Bau dialect as a lingua franca. Hunt did actually put his finger on the basic division between East and West Fijian when he wrote, 'The principle difference in dialects is to be found between the western part of the group and all those dialects now known to us ...';¹⁴ and also in reference to a curious poly-dialect New Testament which the Church had proposed in 1843¹⁵ but never actually carried out, Hunt said,

It must be remembered, however, that these four dialects do not differ from each other a tenth part so much as the other six differ from them; so that in this (proposed) translation but little if any provision is made for one half of the group; the other half, however, will be well provided for.¹⁶

Thus, while Fiji does not present the linguistic diversity to be found in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands, yet a comparison of the map of cognate percentages in Schütz¹⁷ with that illustrating cognate percentages for (for example) the Sewa Bay language in Lithgow and Staalsen¹⁸ will show that the two positions may be found to have similarities. However when we remember that in Viti Levu we are dealing with perhaps 50,000 speakers, while speakers of the Sewa Bay language number about 1,600; and moreover that the Sewa Bay language is but one of 19 or more, all of which occur within a radius of about 40 miles of Dobu, then we are able to see how much more complex is the linguistic situation that challenged Bromilow and his staff.¹⁹ But with the knowledge they had of the successful use of Bauan, plus their knowledge of the cultural prominence of Dobu as outlined above, the choice of Dobuan was inevitable.

7.4.5.9.1.6. THE DECISION - DOBU AS A LITERARY LANGUAGE

So we find, four years after the work of the mission had started, that the Fifth Annual District Synod of the British New Guinea District, which met in October 1895, made its decision. 'It was decided that we adopt Dobuan as the literary language of the District'.²⁰ Thereafter the terms 'literary language', 'district language' and 'lingua franca' appear frequently in the mission records, usually with the same connotation.

7.4.5.9.2. A LINGUA FRANCA - OR USE MANY LANGUAGES?

It was one thing to declare that one language was to predominate, and yet another thing to put it into effect. Their aim and intention as missionaries was to reach the whole of society with their message, and in the final analysis any avenue that seemed to achieve this was used.

Even given the existing prominence of Dobuan as a lingua franca for cultural trade contact and in a limited environment in the new trade contact of the labour line, yet the various other languages still held sway each in its own place. I have already noted (7.4.5.9.0.2. above) that the use of Dobuan in this multi-lingual society as a trade lingua franca was only by a few, predominantly those who engaged in Kula; and by no means all of the people were so involved.²¹ Goodenough Island people, and all central and western Fergusson Island people, totalling perhaps two-thirds of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands population, were substantially untouched by Kula trading. And as to the grasp one's own tongue has on a person, it may be well to quote the Kiriwinan who said of his own language,

There is no language like it anywhere. It gets right into you - into your body - you feel it - you see it with your eyes. Other languages you breathe and they die. With our speech it is different. You feel it right through you.²²

So the efforts of the missionary translators in this area seem to be indicative of the recognition of the two factors - the desirability of a lingua franca and the necessity of reaching every man in his own language - and an attempt to respond to both.

7.4.5.9.2.1. THE NEED FOR UNIFORMITY

They recognised the very desirable uniformity which would issue from the use of one language. There were a number of advantages to be gained. One language would be a unifying force in a country split apart not only

by language differences but also by internal suspicion and long-standing feuds. Beyond this general consideration, they had to consider the practical details of their own work.

In order to train native pastors they would need to produce textbook materials and conduct lessons, preferably in one central institution and in one language. They would want flexibility in moving trained staff from one language area to another, and one language basic to the whole region would greatly simplify their task.

In reference to expatriate staff, while knowledge of local languages was desirable, the ability to communicate effectively with indigenous pastors was basic. If the indigenous pastors had all been trained in a central institution which used one language, then the stationing of expatriate staff could be made with greater flexibility.

Two quotations will amplify these last two points. Rev. J.W. Burton, General Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, in his report published in November 1923, says:

The difficulty of language is great. The gospel is preached Sunday by Sunday in eight or more languages. This makes it hard to change teachers²³ from one village to another, and also makes it inadvisable to shift missionaries²³ from one circuit to another when on other grounds a move would be in the interests of the work. We are seeking to solve this problem by standardising Dobuan throughout our area. All our students will learn Dobuan, and what little translation has been done has been done in Dobuan.²⁴ It will take years to effect the change; but, just as we standardised Bauan in Fiji until it became the lingua franca of the whole group, so eventually in our District of Papua Dobuan will be the language of the people.²⁵

Nine years later, Rev. E.A. Clarke in a letter reflected the partial success of this programme:

Just at present the prospects before me seem to be that of relieving the various members of our staff as they go south on furlough. To do this necessitates a knowledge of Dobuan, which is our District language. In every circuit our teachers²³ have a good knowledge of Dobuan, as they have all had three years on the head station completing their training, and also from the Dobuan Bible. Consequently if the relieving man knows Dobuan he is able to carry on.²⁶

There were two other factors - a desirable economy in any printed literature for general use - school primers, newspapers, study books and others; and the need for one official language to be used in Synods and Church committees where frequently men of a dozen or more different languages would be gathered.

Apart from the early reference in 1895 to Dobuan as the 'literary language' there does not seem to have been an open statement of policy on this desire to make Dobuan a lingua franca. It seems rather to have

grown within the life of the Church in response to this polyglot situation and the stimuli from the needs expressed above. Its most extreme expression seems to have been in the report quoted above, where Burton explicitly goes beyond the idea of Dobuan as a lingua franca, to a more distant ideal when it would have supplanted all languages and be the one language used by all, becoming thus a creole rather than a pidgin. However the more general reference is to the pidgin or 'lingua franca' ideal.

7.4.5.9.2.2. HOW THE CHURCH APPROACHED THE PROBLEM

Such an ideal with all its desirable features did not however prevent the missionaries from using every language they could to carry their message. In the first 30 years the records make frequent reference to scripture portions and other books printed in the Panaeati, Tubetube, Kiriwina, Bwaidoga and Tavara languages as well as those in Dobuan.

The tendency throughout this period was to concentrate on Dobuan literature. The Dobu New Testament was completed by 1907, and the entire Bible 20 years later. But at no time was there any move to concentrate exclusively on one language so that literature available in Dobuan only could force the issue.²⁷ The opposite principle was in fact ultimately adopted as a policy; we find the Methodist Mission Board in January 1925 affirming the following:

The principle (is) affirmed that a small quantity of literature (including a Gospel, Catechism, Hymn Book, and a second book of the New Testament or "The Life of Christ") should be provided for the use of schools and class members²⁸ in the Kiriwina, Bwaidoga, Tubetube, Tavara and Panaeati dialects.²⁹

7.4.5.9.2.3. THE 1933 BOARD COMMISSION - LITTLE HOPE FOR LINGUA FRANCA

In 1933 a Commission from the Mission Board visited Papua to check over every aspect of the life and work of the Methodist Mission. This very perceptive group of men soon came to see that the lingua franca ideal as some saw it would be impossible of fulfilment. 'The Dobuan language is used by the rank and file of the people in (the Dobu Circuit) only', they recorded,

and Dobu Circuit therefore is the only area in which the Gospel is preached entirely in Dobuan. Incidentally we discovered that there is little hope of one language becoming universal throughout our District for generations to come.³⁰

7.4.5.9.2.4. LITERATURE PRODUCED BY THE METHODIST CHURCH IN PAPUA

When the Board Commission examined the literature available in the various languages, they were outspokenly critical in their concern. It is clear they felt no obligation to concentrate on one language. 'We are deeply concerned', they said,

at the lack of literature for our Papuan people. After forty years, it is humiliating to see so few books in the language of the people. Only in one language is the whole Bible printed. The reason doubtless is that only a few missionaries have stayed long enough to learn the language thoroughly, and still fewer have had the educational advantages to make them competent translators.³¹

Since that date there have been two giants in the field of translation who have done much to create a comprehensive literature. They are Rev. John W. Dixon and Rev. Ralph V. Grant; all of their work is in Dobuan.³²

7.4.5.9.2.4.1. John W. Dixon

Dixon was on the staff in Papua during the visit of the 1933 Board Commission, and must in fact have had some of his earlier works in preparation at that time; the Commission recorded their appreciation of his linguistic skill, and added,

What the District sorely needs is a man of scholarly training who can give himself for many years to the task of creating a literature for this backward people. We fear however that such a dream is impossible of fulfilment on financial and other grounds.³³

Dixon did in fact give himself to the task of translation for many years after this. However he himself found that the demand for Dobuan books beyond the area of Dobu itself, apart from trained pastoral staff, was minimal. In an article published in the *Missionary Review* in May 1951 but written about ten years earlier, he says,

We are today printing all religious and educational books as needed. There is a ready sale for books dealing with Bible Study and Sunday School lesson books. But this ready sale is, unfortunately, confined to mission folk and native staff generally; the response among the village people is weak.³⁴

Dixon was nonetheless a champion of the lingua franca ideal, and even while he saw the lack of interest in Dobuan literature yet believed that the time would come when that literature would fulfil its purpose. He saw it however not as a means of replacing other languages as Burton had done, but as a means of

teaching the village people to love reading. When this happens (and I feel sure that it will happen), then we shall see every circuit with its own paper or magazine giving the news to its people in their own tongue.³⁵

7.4.5.9.2.4.2. Ralph V. Grant

Unfortunately Dixon's confidence has not been confirmed by the developments of today. For today the Church is still experiencing difficulty in the sale of Dobuan books and is frequently embarrassed with excess stock on the shelves that cannot be moved. By the time Ralph V. Grant began his work of translation after the war, the society for which he was labouring was a different society, and his work was not to have the good effect it should have had.³⁶

If the war had not taken place, or if both Dixon and Grant had been able to make their contributions 20 years earlier, the story of Dobuan as a lingua franca could well have been different.

7.4.5.9.2.5. AFTER THE WAR

The 1939-45 war acted as a dividing line between two periods, as it cut ruthlessly across policies and training programmes, and sounded at the same time the death-knell of Dobuan as a lingua franca serving the whole community. We do find an occasional reference now to the lingua franca ideal, but in this post-war period a far stronger resurgence was taking place across all Papua. This was a resurgence of cultural identities, in which the prime place now given to local languages made it difficult for such a phenomenon as a struggling lingua franca to find any place at all.

7.4.5.9.2.6. DOBUAN IN THE CHURCH NOW

Within the Church in post-war Papua today the Dobuan language still holds a place of importance, and will do for some time to come. It is now limited however to being the official language for the Synod and committees of the Church, and the language for some theological training. But even this is now in a state of flux, as I have outlined below (see 7.4.5.9.2.8.). Sales of Dobuan books are still encouraged, but are not for the most part popular outside of the Dobu area.

7.4.5.9.2.7. THE PLACE OF DOBUAN TODAY OUTSIDE OF DOBU

My own experience, over the past decade, during which time I have been living in the Trobriand Islands on the island of Kiriwina, may be taken as a testimony to the place Dobuan holds today in a non-Dobuan community.

The old cultural function of Dobuan as a lingua franca for Kula transactions still holds a firm place. This is limited however to about

a third of the population of the Trobriands, namely the islands of Vakuta and Kailleula, and possibly Kitava, and also the Kiriwina lagoon villages of Sinaketa, Tukwaukwa and Kavataria. The other Kiriwinan villages are largely untouched by Dobuan, despite 80 years of Church contact under pastors trained in the Dobu language; and attempts to start a conversation in Dobuan are usually doomed to failure.

Within the Church in Kiriwina a curious stratification may be observed in relation to Dobuan. Amongst the Church leaders, particularly pastors and the foremost laymen, it is a matter of personal status to be able to make fluent use of Dobuan on occasions, in Church meetings. It marks those who have been sent away for training in that language. Also, as the whole Bible is still only available in Dobuan, it continues to be the vehicle for most public reading of scripture. But away from these inner-core groups it has no status, and is only used on occasions by one or two of the less perceptive leaders who may wish to draw attention to their status within the inner-core group. Its use is not well-received when the speaker is known to be fluent in Kiriwinan. Many Kiriwinans indeed despise the Dobuans even now, because of their cannibal background; Kiriwina, both as to customs and language, is considered vastly superior.

7.4.5.9.2.8. CONCLUSION

In conclusion I may say that the idea of developing Dobuan as a lingua franca for the whole community has been set aside today. Instead there is a growing sense of the need for scriptures and other materials in many languages, with the result that today, in addition to the Dobu Bible, there is a complete New Testament and parts of the Old Testament in Panaeati and Muyuwa³⁷ (Woodlark Island) languages; work is proceeding on the Kiriwina New Testament; work is also being done in Vivigana (northern Goodenough Island), Yamalele (west Fergusson Island) and Rossel Island languages by linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Dobuan will continue to have a place for a while as a Church language, but even this will change. One of the modern pressures for change is the new United Church, of which the Methodist Church in Papua is a part. Now, not infrequently, Papuans will enter Church meetings of the United Church held in the Dobu area, without having any knowledge of Dobuan. So now the Dobuan language can no longer be used exclusively for the conduct of such meetings. Also vernacular theological training has been combined with that of mainland Papua, with the awkward double use of two

vernaculars as mediums of instruction as a temporary approach to the difficulty. It is clear, in a continuing intra-Church relationship involving these difficulties, that Dobuan will soon lose its place. The language most likely to replace it in official Church use is simple English,³⁸ which is itself developing some interesting modifications as it is increasingly used and adapted to operate in this multilingual environment.

7.4.5.9.3. THE DOBU LANGUAGE

The purpose of this chapter is not the examination of the Dobu language in depth or to any great detail. I intend to state here the phonology of the language, highlighting any items that may be of interest; to give a brief overview of the morphology and some points of grammar; and to mention some of the differences between the so-called 'classical' and the pidginised forms of the language.

7.4.5.9.3.1. CLASSIFICATION

The Dobu language is an Austronesian language.³⁹ In his study of languages based on the concepts of event-domination and object-domination, Capell has placed Dobuan in the AN1 group, having 'a tagmemic order of S+O+P'.⁴⁰ Reflexes of proto-forms are also discussed by Capell.⁴¹

7.4.5.9.3.2. PHONOLOGY

7.4.5.9.3.2.1. Vowels

The vowel phonemes of Dobu are as set out in Tables 1 and 2 below.

TABLE 1: Dobu Monophthongs

i	u
e	o
a	

TABLE 2: Dobu Diphthongs

ei	eu	oi	ou
ae		ao	
	ai	au	

The central and front vowels a, e and i respectively bear the greatest functional load. The back vowels u and o respectively bear much lighter functional loads. I have mentioned them in order from a bearing the highest load (20.97%) to o bearing the lightest amongst the vowels of 3.07%.

The diphthongs, which appear to pattern as a completely symmetrical arrangement, in fact bear a very light functional load - monophthongs 49.82%, diphthongs 3.22% of the total phoneme inventory in an average

specimen of text. The diphthongs also vary greatly among themselves; three of them, ou, ei and eu, have a total functional load of only 0.08%.⁴²

Vowel length is sometimes claimed as a phonemic feature, but a case may be made for regarding such phenomena as vowel clusters; vowel clustering is commented on in 7.4.5.9.3.2.3. below.⁴³

7.4.5.9.3.2.2. Consonants

The consonantal phonemes of Dobuan are as in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3: Dobu Consonants

stops	bw		gw	
	b	d	g	
	pw		kw	ʔ ^w ⁴⁴
	p	t	k	ʔ ⁴⁴
continuants		l, r		
		s		
		mw		
	m	n		
	w	y		

The consistent pattern of labialisation on consonants articulated at front and back extremes of the oral cavity must be noted; all such occurrences are fully phonemic and may be established in minimal contrast pairs with their non-labialised counterparts. The labialised glottal is the rarest consonantal phoneme in the language. It is sometimes found in fluctuation with the labialised voiceless velar stop kw, as for example ʔwabura / kwabura 'widow'.

The letters l and r are probably allophonic variants of the one phoneme, environmentally conditioned, or in some environments in free fluctuation. The one or two examples of minimal contrast do not constitute a large enough body of evidence to justify their phonemic distinction. However, they are at present written differently; spelling conventions for the most part determine which shall appear in the existing orthography.

The glottal stop ʔ is replaced in the Sanaroa dialect of Dobuan with k.

7.4.5.9.3.2.3. The Syllable

The syllable in Dobuan may be expressed by the formula (C)V, where C indicates an optional consonantal phoneme on the syllable initial margin, and V indicates the obligatory vowel nucleus of every syllable. Thus all syllables are open. One or two examples where m seems to be used as the nucleus of a syllable may be shown to fluctuate with mu, as for example *ʔudamudari / ʔudamdari* 'You may throw it away'.

Syllables in word final position having on their initial margin a voiceless consonant may undergo devoicing or complete loss of the vowel; also vowels occurring between two voiceless consonants are frequently devoiced. These features are not reflected in the written language in existing orthographies.

There are no consonant clusters; labialised consonants being phonemically single phonemes as pointed out in 7.4.5.9.3.2.2. above. Vowel clusters however are very much a feature of the language. An example would be the verb stem *-gieauau* 'renew' (from *gi-* causal, *e-* 'become' and the adjective *auauna* 'new').

7.4.5.9.3.3. DOBU MORPHOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

7.4.5.9.3.3.1. Word Order in the Sentence

The Dobuan sentence regularly places the verb after the subject and object noun phrases. When there is no particular emphasis the general order is Subject noun phrase, Object noun phrase, Verb phrase, as:

Saragigi	autui	niʔatu	iʔitena.
Subject NP	Object NP	Verb	Phrase
<i>Saragigi</i>	<i>house-site</i>	<i>already</i>	<i>he-saw-it</i>
<i>'Saragigi saw the house-site'.</i>			

The first two noun phrases (subject and object) may in fact be varied in order according to the particular emphasis required, or if one element in particular has to be brought into particular focus for that sentence. The major topic, or the element to be placed in sharp focus, is placed first in the sentence. If for example the object noun phrase of a sentence referred to a previous sentence then it could be emphasised by being placed first, as for example:

Mwaratoi	nina	ʔaboʔama	ʔapilisinena.
Object NP		Subject NP	Verb
<i>knowledge that</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>(excl.)</i>	<i>we-fled-from-it</i>
<i>'We abandoned THAT knowledge' (a reference to an old skill)</i>			

Other elements in the sentence, such as temporal, benefactive, locative, agentive, etc., may occupy any place. If they are required to bear particular emphasis they may occupy initial position in the sentence,

but otherwise they may be located anywhere between other phrases, and may even follow the verb. (Certain restrictions exist but I will not detail them here.) Two examples follow.

Erua ona	tauna	asiata gote	taudi edia	iinanena.
Object NP	Subject	Temporal NP	Locative NP	Verb
<i>two word</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>day that</i>	<i>they them-to</i>	<i>he-spoke-it</i>

'On that day he spoke two (IMPORTANT) messages to them'.

Boredima	sinabwana	ta kunuwai	Saragigi	Gabeyai	i'ebwa'ena
Object	Noun Phrase		Subject	Indirect Obj.	Verb
<i>bead</i>	<i>big-it</i>	<i>and axe</i>	<i>Saragigi</i>	<i>Gabeyai</i>	<i>he-gave-it</i>

asiata nina	sena gote	manuna.
Temporal	Locative NP	
<i>day that</i>	<i>place that</i>	<i>for-it</i>

'A great quantity of beads, and axes too, Saragigi gave to Gabeyai that day (in payment) for that area of land'.

7.4.5.9.3.3.2. The Noun Phrase

Order in the noun phrase is generally the noun followed by its modifier. Examples are:

boredima sinabwana	<i>bead big-it ('a large quantity of beads')</i>
bulubulu yauna	<i>skull many-it ('many skulls')</i>

Numerals however are free to move either side of the head noun:

nawarae ebweuna	<i>month one ('one month')</i>
etoi tomota	<i>three person ('three people')</i>

The noun in Dobuan is characterised by different modes of possession.

Body parts and kinship terms indicate possession with an inalienable suffix.

nimagu	<i>hand-my ('my hand')</i>
tamada	<i>father-our (incl.pl.) ('our father')</i>

Intimate possession is indicated by a class of preclitic possessive pronouns.

?agu ?wama	<i>my clothing (i.e. 'the things I wear')</i>
?ana masura	<i>his food (i.e. 'the food that he will eat or is eating')</i>
?ami oboboma	<i>your (pl.) love gift (i.e. 'the gift intended especially for you')</i>

General possession is indicated by a different class of preclitic possessive pronouns.

?imi oboboma	<i>your (pl.) love gift (i.e. 'the gift you are going to give to someone else')</i>
?igu anua	<i>'my house'</i>
?ina ona	<i>'his words'</i>

Examination of the examples given for the two groups of possessive preclitic markers will indicate that the grouping is semantic rather than formal, so that the same word is frequently able to bear either of the two different classes of preclitic markers according to the peculiar relation that object may bear to the person possessing or about to possess it. Thus a person desiring to possess a well-made canoe would say, 'agu waga! *'my canoe!'* - which must be translated, *'oh that I had that canoe for my own!'* - a common expression of praise given even when there is no serious thought entertained by the speaker of his possessing the praised object. When however the person does possess the canoe, he would then describe it as 'igu waga *'my canoe'*, i.e. *'the canoe that I now possess'*.

A general comment may be made here about the first person plural pronoun, which must apply to the absolute personal pronoun 'we' as well as to personal possessive pronouns and verb subject and object pronominal affixes. The categories of inclusive, referring to 'we, i.e. *I the speaker and the person or persons I now address'*, and exclusive, referring to 'we, i.e. *I the speaker and another person or other persons exclusive of the person(s) I now address'*, apply in all classes. Plural forms are used; there are no dual or trial forms, except insofar as the morpheme indicating specific numbers in a group may be added as a separate word to a noun phrase.

'abo?ama ?atetoi *'we (excl.) we (excl.)-three'*

'abo?ada tatenima *'we (incl.) we (incl.)-five'*

Numerals are based on a counting of fingers and toes; a fact which the writer saw confirmed in a quiet little-visited village as a man told off the number of the inhabitants by first checking to ten on his fingers then placing each foot successively on the gunwale of his canoe and running through the digits until he had exhausted the 16 names of the inhabitants of the village; which he then gave as sanau ta nima ta ?ebweu *'ten and five and one'*. The reader is referred to J.K. Arnold's excellent book⁴⁵ for the paradigm of numerals.

7.4.5.9.3.3.3. The Verb Phrase

Order in the verb phrase is regularly with the verb in a central position, which may be preceded by a small class of tense or imminence-indicating words; or it may be followed by verbal modifiers.

ni?atu igumwara ?ai?aila.

completed it-finish true

'It has really finished'.

?iabe sielobaloba
almost they-are-meeting

'They were just about to meet'.

The verb word consists of a central verb stem which has an inalienable subject prefix, and an optional modal indicator -da- may also be prefixed; the stem may also be followed by several orders of suffixes, including modifiers, object personal pronouns, emphatic markers and others. This frequently results in some very long verb words. Examples of the verb are:

?i.esinue.mi.mo⁴⁶ *'he-chose-you (pl.)-only'*
 wa.da.tu?e.ma *'you (pl.)-may-ascend-here (to me)'*

I now make some comments about the formation of the verb stem; prefixes; and suffixes.

The verb stem may have two types of reduplicative processes to express what Arnold⁴⁷ refers to as the processive and projective forms. The first may refer to a process which is in process of going on - in the past, the present or the imminent future; the second to an activity which is in the future relative to the time being spoken about. Processive reduplication is by the reduplication of the first two syllables of the verb stem, and projective reduplication is by the reduplication of the first syllable of the verb stem.⁴⁸

processive	ya.gui.guinua <i>I-do-ing-(it)</i> <i>'I am doing it'.</i>	?iabe ya.gui.guinua <i>imminent I-do-ing-(it)</i> <i>'I am about to start doing it'.</i>
projective	ya.tu.tu?e etamo ya.tu.tu?e <i>'I would ascend later on' or 'I will ascend later'.</i> (according to contextual implication)	<i>I-will-ascend</i> <i>later I-will-ascend</i>

A compound verb stem is capable of considerable lengthening due to these reduplicative rules. Thus the two simple verb stems -?ita 'see' and -esinua 'choose' may be combined to form the semantically complex notion -?itaesinua 'look at in order to choose'. Now either or both of these notions 'look at' or 'choose' may require to be given a processive sense, so that each or both may need to be reduplicated in the verb stem, thus:

-?ita?itaesinua *'be looking at to choose'*
 -?itaesiesinua *'looked at while choosing'*
 -?ita?itaesiesinua *'be looking at and choosing'*

These expanded verb forms are a regular part of Dobuan conversation, and the writer has recently gathered (unsolicited) text forms such as:

si.awa.awa.were.werebane.ma
they-say-ing-witch-ing-us(excl.)

'They are declaring that we are being witches (now)'.

nigea si.da.mwara.mwaratoni.ʔaiʔail.i
not they-can-know-ing-truly-it

'They can't be truly aware of this'.

This is a regularly-encountered phenomenon; it has been suggested that under such circumstances it would be better to regard the verb word as a close-knit phrase.⁴⁹

Part of our consideration of the verb stem must be given to particles which prefix to some stems; their function is to produce derived stems which 'enlarge or specify the meanings of the word; or they convert other parts of speech into verbs.'⁵⁰ Thus the noun *waine* 'woman' with a prefix *e-* 'become' is converted to a verb stem *-ewaine* 'become a woman'.

Prefixes to the verb stem consist of the inalienable subject pronoun with the optional modal marker *-da-*; these two prefixes must occur in that order.

ya.guinua *'I-do (it)'*

ya.da.guinua *'I-can (will)-do (it)'*

Suffixes to the verb stem consist of modifiers, transitive marker, pronoun objects, and several other particles. The transitive marker only appears if there is no pronominal object suffix, and functions frequently to imply the existence of an object which must be understood from contextual implication. Where modifiers are used as affixes to the verb stem they occur first in order, being followed if applicable by the transitive marker or pronominal object suffixes already referred to. Some examples of verbs with these suffixes are now given:

Simple verb (no suffix) ʔu.ʔita *you (sg.)-look 'Look!'*

With suffixes ʔu.ʔita.ʔaiʔaila *'you-look-properly'*

ʔu.ʔita.ʔaiʔail.i *'you-see-properly-this'*

ʔu.ʔite.i *'you-see-this'*

ʔu.ʔite.gu *'you-see-me'*

ʔu.ʔita.ʔaiʔaili.gu *'you-see-properly-me'*

Other suffixes may follow the above, including the exclusive marker *-mo* 'only'; the here/there indicators *-ma* and *-wa*; and emphatic markers *-ya* or *-ga*.

ʔu.ʔite.gu.mo *you-see-me-only 'Look at me and no-one else'*

ʔu.ʔite.gu.ya *you-see-me-emphatic 'Look at me!!!'*

The heavy semantic load carried by the verb word seems to lend emphasis to the expression 'event-dominated' as used by Capell.⁵¹

7.4.5.9.3.4. CLASSICAL AND LINGUA FRANCA FORMS OF DOBUAN

A word needs to be added as to the differences observable in the pidginised or lingua franca form of Dobuan, where it is used as a second language by non-Dobuan-speaking people.

7.4.5.9.3.4.1. Church Policy in Regard to Literature

Amongst the Dobuan Church leaders there has been a long-standing recognition that if their language has to be used as the literary language for an area of such linguistic diversity, then some aspects of Dobuan will need to be simplified. This has found expression on more than one occasion during the writer's time in Papua in formal resolutions of the Synod - 'That in all published Dobuan words the simpler words only shall be used'.⁵² This has been invoked mainly in reference to the longer verbs, which are used quite acceptably in spoken Dobuan but when reduced to writing, at least as written in the present orthography, they are unsatisfactory even for many well-educated Dobuans to read.

Dobuan which is either read or spoken as a second language becomes subject to some modification. These modifications are made in respect of phonological features of Dobuan not found in the languages of those using Dobuan as their second language.

7.4.5.9.3.4.2. The Glottal Stop

As most speakers do not have the glottal stop in their language, and have not been trained in their learning of Dobuan to reproduce the glottal stop, this feature in consequence suffers considerably; however it must be recorded that one seldom finds violence done to the meaning as a result; Dobuan which is spoken with total disregard for the glottal stop seems to be able to convey meaning adequately and unambiguously.⁵³

7.4.5.9.3.4.3. The Letters l and r

A second modification is the pronunciation of r and l according to the particular sound which predominates as a phoneme in a given area. Fluctuation between these two phones is a common feature in South-Eastern Papua languages, though there are one or two languages in this area where phonemic distinction is made between the two.

7.4.5.9.3.4.4. The Labialised Glottal Stop

One feature of written Dobuan which has caused confusion among non-Dobuan-speakers is the rendering of the labialised glottal stop ʷ by the orthographic sequence 'o'. Because of the large number of vowel sequences that is a feature of Dobuan, this spelling has resulted in confusion, as the letter o has been seen not as part of a consonant on the initial margin of a syllable but as a vowel in sequence with another vowel (which is of course the nuclear vowel of the same syllable). Thus words spelt as above with a labialised glottal are seen as having two phonemes in sequence and are pronounced accordingly. One Dobuan Church leader told me that in words containing this letter it was always possible to detect the non-Dobuan-speaker, because no non-Dobuan pronounced it correctly. The foreigner would see a word like *leʷasa* '*sickness*' spelt as *le'oasa* and would regard it as a four-syllable word *le.'o.a.sa*, and try to pronounce it as such.

7.4.5.9.4. THE DOBUAN ORTHOGRAPHY

In this final section we look at the Dobuan orthography, which even today is a developing rather than a static thing.

7.4.5.9.4.1. THE ORIGINAL ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography laid down originally by Bromilow and his fellow-missionaries was carefully chosen, and for the most part is still satisfactory. There are however some reasons which cause us today to seek some improvement. These include the factor of language change, some observations of set patterns of writing among literate Dobuans that do not accord with the orthography of printed works, one or two inconsistencies in the old orthography - these things collectively have turned the attention of modern users of written Dobuan towards possible revision. Also the entrance of missionaries of the Sacred Heart, of the Roman Catholic Church, into the Dobuan area in the mid-1930s, has brought some differences, due mainly to their adoption of some different spelling conventions.

7.4.5.9.4.2. MATTERS FOR REVISION

The matters that came under consideration for possible revision include the treatment of long vowels; consistent representation of labialisation; problems of long words; the writing of the verb word; the glottal stop; the l/r question; and syllable margins in vowel clusters.

7.4.5.9.4.3. THE PILOT TRANSLATION PROGRAMME AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Some of these matters have in fact had a long history of controversy, forming subjects of keen if inconclusive debate at Synod meetings. Then in 1964 and 1968, when the United Bible Societies conducted Translation Institutes at Lae and at Banz, translators from both missions working in the Dobu area attended, each group being keen to initiate a revision of the Dobu Bible. This gave an opportunity for consultation on orthography difficulties; and so from the second Translation Institute joint proposals were made on orthography reform. In addition,

this report suggested a pilot translation programme, and that at the beginning of that programme both United Church⁵⁴ and Roman Catholic groups should first agree to the proposed orthography changes before commencing their work.⁵⁵

Rev. Fr Martin Atchison, of the Sacred Heart Order of the Roman Catholic Church, and the writer, of the United Church, were chosen as translators for the pilot programme. After some work on the problem areas, the translators met together with representatives of their Churches and of the Bible Society, and considered some specific proposals on orthography change.

7.4.5.9.4.3.1. Long Vowels

The representation of long vowels either as a single letter with a diacritic bar or as a pair of vowels in sequence had been brought into consideration originally by Rev. John W. Dixon, who had during and after the war worked on a draft translation of the New Testament, and who had used the diacritic throughout. The committee decided that since vowel clusters were a regular pattern in Dobuan there was no need to introduce a diacritical mark for one kind of cluster. Thus all double letters will continue to be so written, as for example in -'aari 'carry'.

7.4.5.9.4.3.2. Labialisation

The consistent representation of the phenomenon of labialisation on consonants⁵⁶ came next under consideration. Up to the time of the completion of the Dobuan Bible in 1927, there had not been a consistent representation of this in the orthography. Thus we find in the Buki Tabu it is written as o in boasi, for bwasi 'water'; as u in guausoara, for gwausoara 'joy'; and as w in -gwae 'said'. Later printed works however had tended towards standardisation by using w, except in the labialised glottal, which still retained o as in 'oama 'clothing'. The confusion which arises from this spelling⁵⁷ was also discussed. The

committee however decided against change in this last outpost of inconsistency, arguing that unfamiliarity would make such a change unacceptable to the people.

7.4.5.9.4.3.3. Long Words

The problems associated with long words were also considered.⁵⁸ The difficulty lay in regarding the affixes attached to the verb stem as marking the initial and final boundaries of the verb word; thus if *ya'itena* 'I saw him' is a single word bounded by subject and object pronominal affixes, then by the same rule *ya'ita'ai'ailina* 'I see him properly' must also be a single word, as also must *sidunedune'ae'asienamo* 'They are just watching him without helping him', and so on. The committee decided that whenever a verb stem was compounded with an adverbial element then it should be broken with a hyphen at this point. Thus the last two words quoted, when rewritten, would read *ya'ita-ai'ailina* and *sidunedune-ae'asienamo* respectively.

The writer had the opportunity of consulting further on this with staff consultants of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, at Ukarumpa, New Guinea, some time later. Miss Dorothy James had the following helpful comment on this problem.

On looking more closely at the material, we found that most if not all of the unduly long 'words' that resulted could in fact be interpreted as close-knit phrases containing a verb stem with its prefixes followed by an adverbial element with the remaining verbal suffixes as enclitics. This interpretation is further borne out by the fact that there are stresses both on the verbal and the adverbial parts of the phrase, though often one is more prominent than the other. This interpretation takes care not *only* of the long verbs, but also of the nouns and *adjectives*.⁵⁹

Thus by James' recommendation the long words would be written as two separate words.⁶⁰ This has yet to be considered by an orthography committee.

7.4.5.9.4.3.4. Verb Prefixes

The question of the method of writing verbal prefixes is really part of the same problem as outlined in 7.4.5.9.4.3.3. above. It was however treated separately by the committee. The traditional approach had been to write disjunctively, so that *sidatauya* 'they may go' would be found in the printed Dobuan works as *si da tauya*. After consideration of the written style displayed in a number of pieces of text, being unsolicited letters written in Dobuan by several people, where more than two-thirds

of the verbs had been written conjunctively, the committee decided in favour of conjunctive writing of verbs, as being apparently the most acceptable way for our people.

7.4.5.9.4.4. MATTERS TO BE SETTLED

The remaining three matters were left over, and to the best of my knowledge have not yet been settled by any committee. Because of the interest they have in the total picture of the Dobuan orthography I deal with each here, outlining main difficulties and some suggestions.

7.4.5.9.4.4.1. The Glottal Stop

The glottal stop as a changing phenomenon in the language has been under some study. However I did not recommend anything on this, as the whole matter needs detailed study in some depth. We are probably witnessing a language change phenomenon in the fluctuating place given to this phoneme in the language; the type of usage recorded by Bromilow, which reflects language study in the late 19th century, does not accord with that which Dixon used in his draft New Testament, which reflects intensive language study from the mid-1930s. And neither accord with the data we collect or the use we hear today. Further we have the testimony of some older informants who said to me, 'Young people do not worry about this (speaking with glottals) like we do. When we die it will all be finished.'⁶¹

This leads me to say that I believe the glottal stop may have been over-recorded, due perhaps to a sensitivity to it as an unusual feature of Dobuan phonology. This over-recording took the form of writing it every time it appeared, which meant that its appearance as a phonetic feature (i.e. non-phonemic) at the beginning of every sentence and following every pause in speech, whenever the sentence or phrase commenced with a vowel, was recorded; with the result that existing spelling conventions tend to reproduce it more often than necessary.⁶² It is clear that this area of Dobuan phonology needs a good deal of further study before a sure conclusion may be reached.

7.4.5.9.4.4.2. The l/r Question

The l/r question was tabled before the orthography committee but was not studied due to lack of time. But while the writer had at the time recommended that they be regarded as separate phonemes, he is now of the opinion that there is not enough evidence to support this proposal.

7.4.5.9.4.4.3. Syllable Margins

The major question of syllable margins in vowel clusters was also bypassed for lack of time. This is probably the most difficult decision to make, as it will be coloured with non-linguistic overtones; for within the United Church literature such sequences have been from the first time presented as, for example, *gea'abo*, *nuanua*, *anua*, *batua*, etc.; whereas the Roman Catholic solutions for these words have leaned more towards *geya'abo*, *nuwanuwa*, *anuwa*, *batuwa*, etc. There is probably equal justification for either decision, although it is possible on occasions to split hairs over the pronunciation of one informant or over one style of discourse. A major difficulty is the widely divergent appearance of samples of text when written with one or the other approach, as vowel clustering is so much a feature of the Dobuan language. Consider, for example, the following words representing on one hand the 'traditional' approach to vowel clusters, and on the other a proposed approach which spells out each transition sound in vowel clusters:

'uegueguyai	'uweguweguyai
'uatuatui	'uwatuwatuwi
siatuatui	siyatuwatuwi

There are possibly occasional potential confusions of morphemes when transitional phonetic elements are written in, as when *loaga* (*lo.aga*, from *lo-* 'do something by speaking' and *aga* 'article obtained on promise of payment') becomes *lowaga*, which has possible confusion with *waga* 'canoe'. Similarly *toai* 'person to be married' becoming *towai* which could be confused with *-wai* 'strike or slap someone'. If however such expressions are homophonous anyway, the potential for confusion is already built into the spoken language, so these points may not have validity. However I would not like to predict what will be the eventual issue of this last and thorniest problem.

7.4.5.9.4.5. RECENT RESEARCH

Since the above committee last functioned, a linguistic team from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dr David and Mrs Lithgow, has come to Dobu with the intention of helping where possible in the task of revision of the Dobu Bible. Some comments from Dr Lithgow's last letter have bearing on the problems of orthography revision, and I include them here as an indication of the most recent thinking on them. In reference to the glottal stop, Lithgow says, 'We feel the need to stress the full consonantal status of the glottal, giving it an upper-case form ? and a lower-case form .' In reference to *l/r*, 'We can hear no contrast

between l and r with speakers who speak the language but have not been taught to write or read it.' He mentions the 'transitional y and w' problem but has not yet come to grips with it. In reference to the verbal prefixes Lithgow has an interesting comment. He says, 'We join subject prefixes to the verb, but separate them if followed by -da-, for example tada tauya. It is possible that the -da- creates conditions of loose-juncture. Writers almost invariably make a separation after -da-.'⁶³ I have checked this last statement of Lithgow's and can confirm its accuracy.

Thus the stage seems set for the final decisions on the Dobuan orthography. The ultimate decisions will have to come from the Dobuan people themselves.

7.4.5.9.5. A FINAL COMMENT

We have considered the early intentions of the Church in Papua to make use of the Dobuan language as a lingua franca or as a literary language throughout the area of its work; then we saw how the practical situation of a great diversity of languages modified this early intention, to such an extent that the original idea has largely been laid aside, or is held in only a much more limited form. Also we saw how modern influences are working against any resurgence of the lingua franca ideal. This we followed by a brief consideration of the shape of the Dobu language in its 'classical' form and as modified by second-language users; and finally considered some of the modern efforts towards orthography reform.

My final comment must be that the shape in which it is being studied and the methods being used to reform the orthography seem to me to support the continuation of Dobuan in its unmodified or 'classical' shape rather than as a lingua franca. It will continue to have a limited lingua franca use, but its main justification for being used will be that it is the language of the Dobuan people which is accessible to an inner-core of bilingual Church leaders - and not that it may reach out to 60,000 people as a common tongue.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my thanks to the Council and Librarians of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, for research facilities extended to me in connection with the preparation of this chapter.

N O T E S

1. Bromilow 1929:61.
2. Lithgow and Staalsen 1965.
3. *ibid*:14.
4. *ibid*:14.
5. This figure must also be taken as arbitrary as I have based it on the dialect maps in Lithgow and Staalsen (1965:16ff) where percentage cognates of less than 80% show areas where mutual intelligibility is probably more a matter of culture contact than semantic cognates. The impossibility of thus juggling with figures with any degree of certainty may be seen by referring to the complex diagram for the Sewa Bay language (Lithgow and Staalsen 1965:19) where to take one example Bwakera and Maiabare are separated by a cognate percentage of 64%, yet the central dialect shows a relationship to them of 80% and 82% respectively. What may be taken as certain is that the linguistic situation in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands is extremely complex. (See also note 19 below.)
6. These include, with approximate numbers, Kiriwina (15,000; the Lusancay Island dialect Simsimla, 120 speakers, is almost certainly a dialect of Kiriwinan); Muyuwa (1,500); Budibudi (Laughlan Islands - 170); Keherara (8,000; Tavara, Nuakata and others included here but I have no information on them); Tubetube (1,500; includes Ware); Panaeati (7,000; includes Misima); Sudest (1,800); Nimoa (1,000); Rossel (2,300).
7. Bromilow 1929:204.

8. *Missionary Review* May 1951:16.
9. Malinowski 1922:39-40.
10. *ibid.*
11. The word *gosiagu* is Dobuan for '*my friend*', and forms the usual opening gambit for conversation in Dobu.
12. See Schütz 1972:30. Cargill, who was the first student of Fijian, typifies this opinion -
Although the language of the Feejeeans is the same in its idioms, genus and construction; yet each district has a dialect peculiar to itself. But the same grammar will do for all the dialects, and the same dictionary, by writing each dialect in a column by itself.
(From a letter written 13 October 1836, printed in Report VII, 1838:53.)
13. Schütz's handling of this in Chapter 9 of his book is an enlightening treatment of this problem, well worth the attention of the student of 'language vs. dialect'.
14. Quoted in Schütz 1972:33.
15. Report IX, 1844:52.
16. *ibid*:53.
17. Schütz 1972:99 (map 1).
18. Lithgow and Staalsen 1965:19.
19. The phenomenon referred to by Schütz on page 94 as 'chains of mutual intelligibility with neighbouring villages understanding each other, and the extremes unable to communicate' is very much a feature of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands - as the writer has experienced along, for example, the south coast of Fergusson Island (the central island of the group) easily within the compass of a single day's walk.
20. Minutes of Synod, at Mitchell Library.
21. See Bromilow's reference to a 'small utilitarian vocabulary' quoted in section 7.4.5.9.1.2. above.

22. Rainey 1947:40.
23. In mission records for Papua, the term 'teacher' has reference to the indigenous pastor; 'missionary' to the expatriate staff member.
24. Burton was wrong here. By this time gospels, other scripture portions, hymn books, catechisms, etc., had been printed in four other languages besides Dobuan. See Dixon's article in *Missionary Review*, May 1951:16-17, where books are detailed in chronological order.
25. *Missionary Review* 33/6, 1923:5.
26. *Missionary Review* 42/8, 1932.
27. However the Dobu language did become on many of the Head Stations of each circuit the medium of instruction in the schools, for general education.
28. 'Schools' refers to day schools for formal education; 'class members' to meetings of those preparing for Church membership.
29. Methodist Mission records in Mitchell Library.
30. Report of Commission to Papua October-November 1933:13 (Mitchell Library).
31. *ibid*:16-17. See Appendix I for the Commission's list of books either printed or in course of preparation at the time of their visit.
32. See Appendix II to this chapter for a list of works produced in the various vernaculars in this area of the Methodist Church's activity. The list is not limited to those produced by the Methodist Church.
33. Report of Commission to Papua October-November 1933:16-17.
34. *Missionary Review* May 1951:17.
35. *ibid*.
36. Grant's works are listed in Appendix II to this chapter.

37. This is the work of Dr and Mrs Lithgow of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

38. There has always been, in my experience, some pressure against the use of New Guinea Pidgin, as the humorist or clown in any group of Dobuan-speakers will frequently speak 'Pidgin English' to 'get a laugh'. Though this is lessening today, it is still likely to cause simple English rather than Pidgin to have prior place.

39. Along with all other languages in the area occupied by the Methodist Church in South-east Papua, with the exception of the language of Rossel Island.

40. Capell 1969:23, 26. See also my statement on word order in section 7.4.5.9.3.3.1.

41. Capell 1943:61-3.

42. Comments on functional load are based on a phoneme count made for the studies on Dobuan orthography (Lawton 1970:15 (appendix II)).

43. An example of this is itoo '*he tried*'; itotoo '*he will try*' (where the rule duplicates first syllable of the verb stem); itootoo '*he is trying*' (where the rule duplicates the first two syllables of the verb stem). Of incidental interest also are the examples where the two vowel elements of a glide phoneme are seen to act as a sequence of two vowels which may be separated to meet the needs of this rule, giving support to the suggestion that glides are in reality vowel clusters and not single indivisible phonemes.

44. The glottal stop is represented in the traditional orthography as ', and the labialised glottal as 'o. Thus ?wabura '*widow*' is spelt 'oabura.

45. Arnold 1928: section 140.

46. The dots here are used to indicate morpheme boundaries.

47. Arnold 1928: sections 100 to 108.

48. See also the example quoted in note 43. Note that this explanation of the rules for processive and projective forms gives the most general

forms only; the total picture in fact is much more complicated than this. The reader is referred to Arnold 1928: section 108 where a more detailed statement is made.

49. See also section 7.4.5.9.4.3.3. on this feature.

50. Arnold 1928: section 129. See also the list of such prefixes which Arnold includes in this section.

51. Capell 1969:23, 26.

52. This is quoted from memory only.

53. See also section 7.4.5.9.4.4.1.

54. The Methodist Church became part of the new United Church in January 1969, at its inception.

55. Lawton 1970.

56. See also section 7.4.5.9.3.2.2.

57. This has already been mentioned - see section 7.4.5.9.3.4.4.

58. This was introduced in section 7.4.5.9.3.3.3.

59. Letter dated 16 September 1971.

60. If James' recommendation was followed, the two hyphenated examples given in this section would be written as two words, with the word break at the hyphen.

61. Lawton 1970.

62. See record of research done by the writer on this - Lawton 1970.

63. Letter dated 31 January 1974.

APPENDIX I

The Board Commission which visited Papua in 1933 listed the following as those which were available at that time or were shortly to become available. Thus we are able to see the level of achievement some 40 years after the work had commenced in Papua; and it must be compared with Appendix II, which lists books printed up to the present time, 40 years later.

Books printed or roneoed	Proposed books
I DOBUAN	
Old and New Testaments	Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles
Two small primers	Local paper from January 1934
Hymn Book and Catechism	
Newspaper - in abeyance at present	
II KIRIWINAN	
Mark and Acts of Apostles	One Primer
Hymn Book and Catechism	
Primer	
III PANAEATIAN	
Mark	St John's Gospel (manuscript will need much revision)
Hymn Book and Catechism	
IV BWAIDOGAN	
Mark (manuscript)	
Hymn Book and Catechism	
Primer (now being printed)	
V TUBETUBEAN	
Luke	
Pilgrim's Progress	
Hymn Book and Catechism	
Twenty Hymns in Bunaman	

Books printed or roneoed
VI TAVARAN (East Cape)
Hymn Book
Catechism (four chapters)
Newspaper

Proposed books
Complete Catechism
Life of Christ
Lives of Biblical Characters

APPENDIX II

Here are listed books which have been printed in the various languages in South-east Papua, in which the Methodist Church (now United Church Papuan Islands Region) has worked. Books are included from both United Church and Roman Catholic Church; also Summer Institute of Linguistics and Government sources where known to me. Unfortunately I cannot lay claim to presenting here an exhaustive list.

I DOBU

Book of Offices. Geelong 1896.

Hymn Book and Catechism. Various editions, the first being 1898.

Dobuan Bible, *Buki Tabu*, first printed 1927.

Two small primers printed before 1933.

Newspaper *Tapwaroro Teterina* has been in continuous publication from Methodist Mission Press since mid-1930s, except during wartime.

BROMILOW, Rev. W.E. *Hymns in the Language of Dobu, British New Guinea; With Literal Translations.* Townsville (1895?).

ANDREW, J.R. *Gimi Waridi be 'Ewa be Same.* Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1938.

DIXON, Rev. J.W. *Aposetolo Idi Guinua Enega.* Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1936.

_____ *Nuaedaedadama Marika Ina Tetera Bobo'ana manuna.*
Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1934.

_____ *Tetera Bobo'adi Ediega.* Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1934.

_____ *Paulo Teterina* (translating text by H.T. Schotton.
Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1936.

_____ *Wiki Tabu ta Yesu Keriso ina Tooro Limana.* Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1938.

(Note: Dixon also produced a complete manuscript retranslation of the New Testament, completed about 1949; this was not printed, but is in use in a scripture revision programme.)

GRANT, Rev. R.V. *Dobuan Reader No.1.* East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1952.

_____ *Dobuan Reader No.2.* East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1953.

_____ *Augustine Teterina.* Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1940.

_____ *Tosinasinapu Eatana Bomatuyega Teterina.* Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1941.

_____ *Onaupaua Auauna - Ana To'Etoladi be 'idi Leta Teteridi.* Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1941.

_____ *Tetera Bobo'ana Marika Etoladina 'Ana Ebeli'ama.* Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1940.

_____ *Ta Da Tapwaroro.* Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1941.

_____ *Buki Tabu Teterina (nos.1-8?).* East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press. Several of these books on general Bible knowledge were printed from 1948 to about 1955.

_____ *'Imu Buki Tabu 'uda Mwaratoni (nos.1-10).* East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press. These were translations of the 'Know Your Bible' series by Dr R.L. Smith. Manuscripts of books 11 and 12 are in the hands of Mrs Grant.

_____ *Yesu Keriso Yawasina Teterina.* East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1949.

_____ *Guinua 'Ana Ebeli'ama Buki 1, Upwa 1-12.* East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1950.

_____ *John Wesley Teterina.* East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1950.

_____ *Kerisitianiti Teterina (Church History).* East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1950.

_____ *Aggrey Goma Africa.* East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1954.

_____ *Yesu 'ina onasemalimali 'ana ebeli'ama.* East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1951.

_____ *Buki E'ita'ita 'ana ebeli'ama.* East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1958.

- _____ *Gosedao Me Australia*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1953.
- _____ *Ida Sena Papua*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1954.
- _____ *A School Dictionary*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1954.
- _____ *Ida Tapwarono Methodist Teterina*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1954.
- _____ *The Village Committee Book*. (This was from an English text by W. Cottrell-Dormer.)
- _____ *Nuaedaedadama 'Aina Yesu Keriso Manuna*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1955.
- _____ *Gogama 'Enadi*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1955.
- _____ *Aposetolo 'Idi Vareyare*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1955.
- _____ *Yoni Part III*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1959.
- _____ *Buki Tabu 'Ana Ebeloesaesabwarena*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1963.
- SECOMB, Sr G.R. *Pilgrim's Progress*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1968?
- _____ *How The Jews Lived* (a translation of book by PNG S.I.L.). East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1968?
- ATCHISON, Fr M. *Hymn Books*.
- _____ *Catechism of Catholic Mission*. 1961.
- _____ *Catechism 'Ana Liama*. 1960.
- _____ *'Igu Buki Sidasida*.

II BUNAMAN (DUAU)

Book of Twenty Hymns.

III BWAIDOGA

Gospel of Mark (Matthew, Luke, John exist in manuscript form).

John Wesley Ifufuna (Translation of book by R.V. Grant; translator not named). East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1952.

BALLANTYNE, A. *Iesu Iana Miamia Iana Ifuifu - the Life of Christ*.
Melbourne: Spectator Publishing Co., 1913.

_____ *Buki Tafalolo; Tafalolo Iana Veimea. Tafalolo Iana
Kweli Bwaidoga Wagaine (Bwaidogan Catechism and Hymn Book)*. Melbourne:
Spectator Publishing Co., 1917.

RUNDLE, Rev. J.C. *Buki Kiawawa Vona Bwaidoga No.1 (First Bwaidogan
Primer)*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1953.

_____ *Buki Kiawawa Vona Bwaidoga No.2 (Second Bwaidogan
Primer)*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1953.

IV KIRIWINA

Mark and Acts; Matthew, Luke, John. British and Foreign Bible Society.
Various dates.

Ka, Matouwena Yesu (The Life and Teachings of Jesus). The Bible Society
in Papua New Guinea, 1974.

Small *Primer* printed before 1933.

FELLOWS, Rev. S.B. *Buki Tabu Kaitala la Vavagi Yesu Keriso, bonala
Kiriwina*. 1899.

Bukila Tapwaroro, uula Tapwaroro, bonala Kiriwina. Kiriwina, Papua:
Methodist Mission Press, 1905. (The first booklet printed in the
British New Guinea District of the Methodist Church; the type set up
and work done by students of the Kiriwina Circuit Institution.)

Hymn Book and Catechism (various editions).

SHOTTON, Rev. H.T. *Livalela Keriso*. 1938?

_____ *Livalela Vosepa*. 1938?

Roman Catholic Church Catechisms. Kensington, Sydney: Annals Office,
Sacred Heart Monastery, 1940.

*Prayers and Short Catechism; for the Catechuminate, Kiriwina Dialect,
Gusoweta, Trobriand Islands*. Kensington, Sydney: Annals Office, Sacred
Heart Monastery, 1940.

BALDWIN, Fr B. *Old Testament History*.

_____ *New Testament History*.

V MUYUW (WOODLARK ISLAND)

Hymn Book and Catechism. 1968?

Old Testament - an Overview. Ukarumpa: S.I.L. Press, 1967?

New Testament. The Bible Society in Papua New Guinea, 1977.

LITHGOW, D. *How the Jews Lived* (diglot English/Muyuw). Ukarumpa: S.I.L. Press.

_____ *Primers for Literacy* (books 1 to 5). Ukarumpa: S.I.L. Press.

_____ Several books of readers associated with literary programme. Ukarumpa: S.I.L. Press.

VI PANAATI

Hymn Book and Catechism (several editions, from 1894).

New Testament. British and Foreign Bible Society, 1947.

Books of *Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah*. British and Foreign Bible Society, 1970.

Buki Vavasila no.1. Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1936.

Gamagalau Iuda Wali Pagan ge Wali Minamina ge Kaiwena (translation of book by S.I.L. PNG, *How the Jews Lived*). East Cape, Papua: United Church Press, 1969?

VII TAVARA (EAST CAPE)

Ekalesia Bukana - Hymns and Bible Stories. Port Moresby: London Missionary Society.

Four Gospels (Basilaki dialect).

Hymn Book and Catechism. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press.

Buki Aniam Hiyawa - Keherara Primer. Salamo, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1936.

Keherara Reader No.1 (Legends collected by Rev. R.V. Grant). East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1953.

Newspaper, roneoed, from 1933 to ?

Keherara dialect of Tavara has *Luke* in manuscript, to be printed.

VIII TUBETUBE

Hymn Book and Catechism (several editions, from 1897).

Gospel of Luke. British and Foreign Bible Society, 1928.

GUY, Rev. A.W. *Pilgrim's Progress*. 1928?

_____ *Tubetube Reader No.1*. East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1952.

IX NIMOA

Bible Lihane (Bible Stories). Kokopo, New Guinea: Catholic Press, Vunapope, 1963.

Catechism of Christian Doctrine. Nimoa, Papua. (Duplicated).

X ROSSEL ISLAND

Prayers and Catechism Pt. I (Qns. 1-39) in Veletnye. (Translated by Rev. Fr K. Murphy, MSC).

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