



DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, A.N.U.

MAP: FINISTERRE-HUON AREA

A HISTORY OF LINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN THE HUON PENINSULA, NEW GUINEA

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Among Professor Capell's numerous publications are many which survey the languages of the New Guinea area and/or present their typological features. The earliest of these appeared in Capell (1933) and the most recent in Capell (1969). In a number of these surveys (particularly Capell, 1954, 1962) he incorporated material from earlier writers who wrote before the development of modern linguistics and/or were trained in disciplines other than linguistics.

Capell was not the only scholar to incorporate material from these earlier writers, and the result today is that often one language is represented by several different names or one language name occurs in variant spellings for supposedly different languages. This present paper presents a survey of the literature concerning the languages and peoples of a portion of Northeast New Guinea and attempts to unravel the confusion over language names and variant classifications of the languages found there.

The area concerned in this paper encompasses the Rai Coast eastward from Billiau and Saidor, the Finisterre and Saruwaged mountain ranges, the Huon Peninsula and Umboi (Rook) Island lying between the Huon Peninsula and New Britain.

The discovery of the Huon Gulf is credited to A.J.R. D'Entrecasteaux when he visited the area in 1793 with the ships *Recherche* and *Esperance* (Rossel, 1808). The gulf is named after Huonde Kermades who was the captain of the *Esperance*. Nearly a century lapsed before the next visit to the area by Europeans was recorded, and that was by John Moresby in the ship *Basilisk* in 1874 (Moresby, 1876). Moresby named the Markham River after the secretary of the Royal Geographical Society and named the Rawlinson mountain range north of the Huon Gulf after the society's president. Shortly thereafter, O. Finsch passed

along the shores in the ship *Samoa* and contacted the inhabitants at various points, notably one which is named Finschhafen (Finsch, 1888).

Significant European contact began with the arrival of the German New Guinea Company which began work at Finschhafen on October 5, 1885. Although the German administration's policy was to establish firm control over an area before missionaries were allowed to enter, repeated petitions to Berlin by the Neuendettelsau mission persuaded the government to allow missionaries into New Guinea. The first missionary, J. Flierl, landed at Finschhafen on July 12, 1886, and he was followed by K. Tremel in September. On October 8th they moved to the Jabêm village of Simbang.

With this break from the presence of the New Guinea Company personnel, the missionaries were consistently the first Europeans to make significant contact with the neighbouring tribes. Thus scientific knowledge about the area expanded with the mission work. Once a mission station was established, expeditions were made into the surrounding countryside with a view to opening new stations.

In 1891 the European population at Finschhafen was nearly wiped out by an epidemic, and as a result the New Guinea Company and the German administration shifted the center of colonization to the Astrolabe Bay. In order to facilitate administration the German government delegated authority to the missionaries. Visits by government officials were infrequent and by the time of the Australian takeover in 1914 large areas were under mission influence. The predominance of the mission's control and influence over that of the German administration, and later the Australian administration, persisted in many areas until after World War II and in the more remote areas until the last decade.¹

From Simbang village the missionaries made expeditions along the coast and on November 9, 1889 G. Bamler opened a station in the Tami Islands. Rev. Flierl made several trips into the immediate hinterland with other missionaries, and these trips resulted in the founding of the Sattelberg station among the Kai [Kâte] people on November 8, 1892.² From Sattelberg the missionaries moved north across the Busim River to establish a station at Wareo on the Wamorâ range.

For a number of years the explorations were confined of necessity to the coastal areas and ranges. The peoples of the inland areas were cannibals and greatly feared by the more coastal peoples. Flierl and Hoh made an early attempt to cross the Cromwell range to the north in March, 1892, but their carriers deserted them at the border of the cannibalistic Poom tribe (probably the Dedua people). C. Keysser (1911) reported that the Kai people around Sattelberg regarded the inland

Hube people as being one-eyed and having tails - a sign that contact between the two peoples must have been minimal.

As a result of the failure to penetrate inland, the missionaries proceeded westward along the Huon Gulf, and in 1906 they opened a mission station at Cape Arkona among the Bukaua people and at Malalo in 1907 among the Busama people. Meanwhile Flierl opened a station at Heldsbach between Sattelberg and the coast in 1904, and from there missionaries contacted the coastal-dwelling Papuan peoples as far north as Sialum. In 1907 M. Stolz opened the Sialum station and later in 1910 proceeded northward to open a station on Sio Island (Dorf-Insel).

Most of the knowledge of the linguistic situation until the 1960's comes either directly or indirectly from the missionaries. In many cases the missionaries undoubtedly related what they knew about the area and its peoples to the occasional visitors: adventurers and tourists as well as naturalists, anthropologists and other professional scholars. Often these visitors and transient field workers published the results of their brief visits and studies well in advance of any publications by the missionaries and thereby presented observations which were not altogether accurate.³

The first statements about the Finschhafen area and its people are from the expeditions reported by F. Hellwig (1889a, 1889b, 1890). The first doctor of the New Guinea Company, O. Schellong, provided some kinship terms from Jabêm (Schellong, 1889a), mentioned the three Papuan tribes of Jabim, Bukaua and Poum (Schellong, 1889b), published a treatise on the Jabim language with wordlists from neighbouring languages (Schellong, 1890) and gave a survey of the peoples at the eastern tip of the Huon Peninsula (Schellong, 1891). In his survey Schellong (1891:169) correctly stated that the Kai people were the older and original inhabitants and completely different from the Jabim people. He was incorrect, however, in stating that the Poum dialect (spoken near Cape King William) constituted a link between the Jabim and Kai dialects. This latter observation, which was based upon a report from G. Gabelentz who compared word lists collected by Schellong, was made before the distinction between Papuan and Melanesian languages was widely recognized.⁴

The first extensive diachronic linguistic study involving languages from the area appeared in the writings of the German journalist H. Zöllner who toured the stations of the German New Guinea Company. Zöllner argued against the notion commonly held by people of the New Guinea Company and many missionaries that several hundred completely different languages existed in German New Guinea. He published two compilations of word lists from New Guinea and the neighbouring islands. The first

list (Zöllner, 1890) included fifty words from twenty-four languages and the second list (Zöllner, 1891) included three hundred words from forty-six languages. In comparing the vocabularies of the twenty-four languages with those of the Malayo-Polynesian group, Zöllner tried to establish percentages of cognate vocabulary and found that the range of percentages was quite wide. He (Zöllner, 1890:122-8) gave the following percentages of cognate vocabulary between New Guinea area languages and Malayo-Polynesian: Kelana [Austronesian (AN) - Gitua] 26.75%, Rook Island [AN - Tuam] 29.5%, Jabim [AN - Jabêm] 18.5%, Bukaua [AN] 25.75%, Simbang-Kei [non-Austronesian (NAN) - Kâte, Wanac dialect] 13%, Saleng-Kei [NAN - Kâte, Wanac dialect] 10.75%, Jabim-Kei [NAN - Kâte, Wemo dialect] 13.25%, Poom [NAN - Momare] 6.25%, Kelana-Kei [NAN - Ono] 8.5%. His erroneous conclusion, which is understandable in the context of the times, was that there was a common origin for all the Oceanic languages from Madagascar to Hawaii. The significant contribution of Zöllner was his recognition of the Kei (Kai) dialects as constituting a single group of related languages which showed closer relations to one another than to the recognized Malayo-Polynesian languages.

The first grammatical description of one of the Kai dialects was that of the Kate-dong *the forest language* near Sattelberg station by J. Flierl (Grube, 1895). This treatise included a lengthy word list with a few listings of cognate words found in other languages of the South Pacific. Flierl (Grube, 1895:83) contradicted the existence of the three dialects of Kai, viz., Simbang-Kei, Saleng-Kei and Busum-Kei, as given by Zöllner (1891:443) and stated that the apparent differences were the result of error and that these three represented the single dialect Kate-dong which stretched from the Bubui (Mape) River in the south to the Busim River in the north. Moreover, Flierl reported that related Kai dialects lay to the north, west and south of the Kate-dong dialect. Pöch (1907c:154), on the other hand, apparently taking his lead from Flierl, claimed that all the people covered by his journeys constituted a large unitary people with one language. Pöch erred in his claim since his explorations obviously included trips through the area inhabited by Mape speakers.

Flierl was perhaps too harsh in his criticism of Zöllner since the two men probably had simply different ideas of what constituted dialect differences. Zöllner's lists included two dialects of Kâte about 95% lexicostatistically related, viz., Wemo and Wanac, but Flierl probably considered these differences negligible when compared with the differences between the Kate-dong (Wemo) dialect and the other dialects, Wamorâ, Mâgobineng, Naga and Mape (see Pilhofer 1927-8, 1928-9) which are from 73-87% lexicostatistically related. Keysser (1929a:11) stated

that "near the vicinity of the station [Sattelberg] were two highly divergent dialects [Wemo and Wamorâ] so that the missionary who only had learned one was scarcely able to understand a word of the other".

Many of the reports of adventurers and tourists who passed through the area contained brief comments on the linguistic situation. Preuss (1897:100-1), after giving the supposed locations of several languages about Finschhafen, goes on to say that Schellong (following Gabelentz) grouped the Jabim and Bukaua languages together in one group, the Tami, Rook Island and New Britain languages in another, and Poom and the Kai dialects in another. The first published classifications of the Kate-dong (Kai) language as Papuan are found in Schmidt (1900-2:356, 38ff.) and in Ray (1902:189). Schmidt, who based much of his study on the earlier studies of Schellong and Zöllner, published word lists for a number of Papuan languages, viz., Kai [Kâte], Poom [Momare], Kamoka [a mixture of Ono and Migabac] and Kelana Kai [Ono], as well as a number of Melanesian languages, viz., Tami, Bukaua, Jabim, Kelana [Gitua] and Rook Island [Tuam]. Later Dempwolff (1905:243-5) published word lists from Pon [Sialum], Keseraua [Ono] and Ago [Migabac].

Subsequent confusion resulted over the use of the term Kei or Kai. Zöllner, in using the term in a generic sense, stated that the Kei dialects were found inland from the Jabim-speaking coastal people as well as from other coastal peoples. The term was also used in a generic sense in Grube (1895).

In 1911 R. Neuhauss published a three volume work *Deutsch Neuguinea* which contains important contributions about the peoples from the southern border near Morobe around the coast to Sialum on the north-east coast of the Huon Peninsula.⁵

In providing a survey of all the known groups of peoples, Neuhauss (1911, I:118-30) used the term Kai to refer to all the inland Papuan peoples (as distinct from the Melanesian peoples) from the southern border around the Huon Gulf to the area north of Finschhafen. (In a brief note Neuhauss (1909:752) had referred to the peninsula north of the Huon Gulf as the Kai peninsula.) He noted the presence of the Papuan Kai living inland behind the Ka-iwa who live between the Francisco and Nassau rivers south of the Markham River, the bearded Kai of the Rawlinson range and the Kai living west of Finschhafen. Neuhauss, not being ignorant of the diversity among the Kai peoples, distinguished the Hupe [Kube] west of Finschhafen as well as the Kodero [Nomu?] inland from Cape King William. He stated that the term Kai was a term used in New Guinea to refer to inland people which belong to different tribes (1911, I:125). Keysser (1911) provided an ethnographic description of the Kai people about Sattelberg and attributed

to them the term *Kai forest or inland* in contrast to the seacoast people who spoke the Jabim language.⁶ He stated that the term had come generally to represent the dwellers of the forested and mountainous hinterland. He also mentioned the Poum as one of the Kai family and noted that the languages of the Kai, Poum and other inland peoples were related in construction. Dempwolff (1919-20) was the first to cease using the term Kai to refer to the Sattelberg people and stated that the Europeans call them the Kai people using the term of the Jabim but that they call themselves the *Kate-ñi* (Kâte ñic) *forest people* and their language the *Kate-dañ* (Kâte dâñ) *forest language*. Keysser (1925:III) provided a dictionary of the Wena (Wemo) dialect of the Kâte language and stated in a footnote that the Europeans often refer to the people as the Kai people using a term from the Jabêm language. Loukotka (1957:38) separated the Kai from the Kâte and placed them north of the Kâte. Salzner (1960:41-2) also separated the Kai from the Kâte but he placed them west of Rawlinson ranges and in the headwaters of the Busu river. Schmitz (1960c) mentioned the Kai and appears to have equated them with the Kâte. Capell (1954, 1962), however, assigned the name to a Melanesian group said to be living inland near the Kaiwa (cf. Neuhauss' Papuan Kai living behind the Ka-iwa).⁷ This was the first appearance of the Melanesian Kai in a publication, and it was followed by Klieneberger (1957), Hollyman (1960) and Hooley (1964) all of whom listed the Melanesian Kai as a distinct group, although Hooley, following Schmitz (1960c), listed publications of the Kai and Kâte together.

Neuhauss (1911, I:125 ff.) listed the following peoples of the Huon Gulf area and the Huon Peninsula: the Bukaua and in the interior the Kai; the Labo at the mouth of the Markham River; the Lae-Womba; the Mumang-Lae-Womba (left bank of the Markham); the Melanesian Waing farther to the east [Guwot or Sirak]; the Wandjan-Lae-Womba to the northwest; the Marapuman, Karambaman, Garaman and Karamburu at the watersheds of the Markham and Ramu rivers (probably Azera villages); the Papuan inland Kai who are not a uniform group; the Taimi [Tami]; the Jabim [Jabêm]; the Sialum; three languages near the Tewae River, Poum [Momare], Depe [Dedua] and Girogat [Ono]; Kelana [Gitua]; Papuan Kodero [Nomu?], Sigaba [Sio] and the Papuan Mula [Komba]. Neuhauss (1911, I:128) also noted that the inland people of Rook (Umboi) Island were Papuans.⁸

Neuhauss (1911, I:127) noted that the people of Sialum no longer could be regarded as belonging to the tribe of the Poum, thus indicating that the earlier writers probably were using the term Poum in a broad sense. Note that Flierl (1932a:110-1) spoke of the Poum coast, the

Poum district and the Poum hinterland (the area of Zagaheme among the Dedua). The first references to the Poum tribe, viz., Hellwig 1890, Zöllner 1891, Schmidt 1900-02 and Dempwolff 1905, probably were to any of the peoples living north of the Kai people, and only after extensive contact were the various Poum groups identified. After the various Poum groups were identified the term ceased to be used just as the term Kai fell into disuse after the Kai groups were identified. The group of cannibalistic Poum tribes probably included the small group of Sene people on the right bank of the mouth of the Masaweng River, the Migabac, the Momare, and perhaps even the Dedua who are also known to have been cannibals. The Kai group probably ended at the Masaweng River for although Wamorâ and Mâgobineng were generally regarded as different languages by Europeans, they were in fact closely related to the Kai [Wemo] dialect at Sattelberg and should be regarded with the Sattelberg Kai as dialects of a single language.⁹ The missionaries were undoubtedly aware that the differences between the Poum group (Momare, Migabac and Sene) and the Kai group (Wemo, Wamorâ, Mâgobineng and Wanac) were much greater than any internal differences between the member languages of the two groups.

Concerning the problem of dialects, Neuhauss reported that in the inland area of the Kai the dialects changed in a short distance and that this splitting of dialects found its counterpart in Norway. The Neuendettelsau mission was striving to simplify the linguistic confusion of the area by introducing area languages. For the Melanesian coastal people they chose Jabêm which was easily learned by the Bukaua and the Tami peoples. For the Papuan languages they chose the Sattelberg dialect, but it was too early at that time to evaluate its success (Neuhauss, 1911, I:120-1). The decision of the missionaries to concentrate their linguistic efforts mainly in these two languages probably contributed to the general neglect of the other languages within the area under the mission's influence.¹⁰ As the mission work expanded into the hinterland, various substations staffed by mission helpers from Sattelberg were established.

By 1911 the missionaries were crossing the Cromwell range to the north. In the following year expeditions were made westward from Finschhafen across the basin of the Bulesom (Mongi or Sopa) River, over the Rawlinson range and along the southern slopes of the Saruwaged range to the Markham valley. The publications recounting these journeys paid more attention to the physical features of the land than to differences among the peoples. Furthermore, the missionaries used the terms 'tribes' and 'people' quite freely for any number of social or political groups, so that one cannot conclude whether a particular 'tribe' or

'people' represented a separate linguistic group or not. These expeditions were apparently made to check on established mission stations as well as to make further explorations so that the first legs of each journey were nearly identical. Once the stations of Kulungtufu in the Kube area, Tobou in the Kua valley and Ogeramngang in the Burum valley were visited, the missionaries would either turn north and cross the Cromwell range as did Pilhofer (1911) and Meier (1911) or proceed west across the Rawlinson range as did Pilhofer (1912) and Keysser (1912, 1913). As a result of the publication of the accounts of these trips a number of new names became known. The Hube [Kube] people were early regarded as speaking a distinct language.¹¹ Keysser (1913: 179) stated that a young mission helper (probably from near Sattelberg) stationed at the Tobou station did not understand the Bulung [Borum] language.¹² Keysser (1912:560) noted the Avenggu people [Tobo] but stated nothing about their linguistic status. His only remark which indicated probably dialect complexity was that the tribes of the interior held the Sattelberg workers in high respect (Keysser, 1912: 560). Keysser also made frequent trips to the Kombe [Komba] north of the Cromwell range.¹³

The trail out of the Bulung valley and across the Rawlinson range descended into the area of the Samukeb (Sankwep River), and Pilhofer (1912:144) stated that this small tribe could be mistaken for Melanesians except for the linguistic evidence. Keysser (1912:572,578) mentioned that both the Samukeb and Tuap men were bearded, which fact leads one to equate them with the 'bearded Kai' of the Rawlinson range in Neuhauss (1911, I:125). More precisely, the inhabitants of the Sankwep valley speak the Momolili language.¹⁴ To the west of the Samukeb the missionaries found the Ogao people in the Nimba and Tueming valleys. These people can now be identified as speakers of the Nabak language. Further to the west were a number of groups living in the headwaters of the Busu (Adler) River. In describing the population of the Busu area, Pilhofer stated that with the possible exception of the Samukeb people they were all Kai (Pilhofer, 1912:146). Keysser (1912:579) mentioned that the people on the Bondjog (Busip) River were called Waing (Wain) and were supposedly related to the Lae-Womba. Pilhofer was undoubtedly referring to the Papuan people of the Erap Family of languages and Keysser was probably referring to either the Sirak or the Guwot people (two small Melanesian groups on the lower reaches of the Busu River), since these are the only Melanesian peoples within the area which is commonly referred to as Wain. Along the Markham River to the west of the Waing, the missionaries found the Djiffesen people, a Lae-Womba tribe, and further upstream the Adjera [Azera] (Keysser, 1912:582).

Except for the studies of Pilhofer on the dialects of Kâte and related neighbouring languages (Pilhofer, 1927-8, 1928-9) and the study of Wacke on the Ono (Wacke, 1930-1), later publications on the languages of the Huon Peninsula and the Finisterre ranges had to draw from what was already known in 1913. Because these later publications were not based on original field work, many inaccuracies contained in the early publications became firmly entrenched in the literature about the area. Moreover, some writers, notably Loukotka, 1957, apparently misinterpreted the information contained in the early publications or gave them only a cursory reading and thus introduced false information. Thus Haddon (1917:347) drew on Keysser (1911) for his comment that "the Kai are a people of mixed Pygmy and Papuan descent, who speak a Papuan language and inhabit the Rawlinson and Sattelberg ranges, north of the Huon Gulf". To the present writer's knowledge, however, Keysser nowhere spoke of a single linguistic group stretching from the Sattelberg to the Rawlinson ranges, a distance of forty miles. Chinnery (1925a:8) quoted from Haddon and so perpetuated Haddon's error. Salzner (1960, map 52) apparently followed Pilhofer (1912) and indicated erroneously that the Kai language stretches from the Rawlinson ranges through the Busu headwaters to the west.

Ray (1919), drawing from the works of others, classified the known languages of the Huon Peninsula and neighbouring islands into the following groups: (1) the Tami Group; Tami, Bukaua, Yabim [Jabêm] and Suam [Jabêm]; (2) the Kelana Group; Kelana [Gitua], Rook Island [Tuam], Kaimanga in the mountain district of Rook Island (Qaimanga, Iangla, Mangaw) [Maŋap],¹⁵ Mantok [Mandok], and Sigap; (3) the Kai Group; Kai or Katedong [Kâte], Poom [Momare], Kamoka [a mixture of Ono and Migabac], Pong [Sialum], Keseraua [Sialum],¹⁶ Ago [Migabac] and Kelana Kei [Ono]. The seventy-two word lists published by Ray contained maximally 20 words each, although few actually contained the full number and some contained as few as four to six words.

Schmidt (1926:151), in summarizing the work to 1925, stated that the Kai or Katedong language was related to the Busim and Bile languages (both Wamorâ) but that the Kamoka [a mixture of Ono and Migabac] was unrelated to Kai. The Poom [Momare] and the Kelana-Kei [Ono] were said to be interrelated. Schmidt's data were limited in many cases to short word lists so that some of his observations were understandably weak. He was wrong in stating that the Kamoka dialect was unrelated to Kai, but he apparently based his statement regarding its relationship upon eleven vocabulary items, hardly enough for a suitable classification.

Pilhofer (1927-8) made a significant contribution toward the knowledge of the hinterland peoples when he published extensive

paradigmatic lists for ten dialects and languages neighbouring the Wemo dialect of Kâte, viz., Naga, Mape, Wamolâ, Mâgobineng, Sene, Momale, Migabac, Deduae, Hube [Kube] and Bulum [Borum]. Pilhofer (1928-9) published word lists from the same ten dialects plus three others, Kâte (Wemo), Ono (near Kalasa) and Zia (near Morobe). In addition to giving the locations of these languages he noted dialects and interrelationships. He grouped together the Deduae, Hube and Bulum languages and stated that Bulum was related to Komba as well as to languages in the Adler (Busu) River area to the west (Pilhofer 1927-8:196-7). Pilhofer, however, did not relate his studies to those of earlier scholars with the result that some languages and peoples were referred to by more than one name and subsequently confusion resulted. Wacke (1930-1) published a study of the Ono language and styled the format after that of Pilhofer's study of Kâte (Pilhofer, 1926-27a). Following Pilhofer's and Wacke's studies there were no linguistic publications based on original research for twenty years until that of Capell (1950, 1954 and 1962), although an administration officer, L.G. Vial, noted the different peoples contacted during his hinterland patrols and gave his impressions of possible language groups (Vial 1938, 1943). Vial (1938) grouped the languages of the Timbe, Uruwa, Yupna, Nankina, Ufim, Awara, Upper Ramu (Baiuweng) and Wantoat areas into the following groups: (1) Galena dialects [Timbe] which were spoken by about 10,000 natives of the Timbe River and its tributaries and in some villages on the coastal side of the range near Ulap mission station; (2) Nukna, Notna or Nut dialects [some languages of the Wantoat, Yupna, Gusap-Mot families and the Komutu language of the Uruwa Family]; and (3) the Arukna dialects [the Uruwa Family excluding the Komutu language] which Vial stated may in fact belong to the Nukna group. The fact that Vial thought the Arukna dialects could be grouped together with the Nukna dialects indicates that he was aware of the great differences between these two groups on the one hand and the Galena dialects [Timbe] on the other. These differences are reflected in the current classification (Hooley and McElhanon, 1970) which separates Timbe from Vial's Arukna and Nukna dialects and assigns it to a different stock.

Capell (1954) carried out a survey of the languages of the South-western Pacific by means of a linguistic sampling process and library research. His survey left large areas about which there was little or no linguistic knowledge. The following names, however, were added to those within the area encompassed by the present study: Momolili, Napa [Nabak], Wain [Sirak and Guwot], Boana [Erap Family], Amari [Azera],

Yupna, Uruwa, Timbe, Selepet, Raua (Erawa in Capell, 1962) [Rawa], Barim, Iangla [Mangap].¹⁷

Schmitz (1955) published a survey of the area preparatory to doing field work and added the following names: Buhem-Kai [Momolili] - an offshoot of the Bulung people (from Lehner, 1920); Ngain-Aschon which is not classified (from Schnable, 1925);¹⁸ and Gamak [Nankina] spoken in the headwaters of the Nankina River. Schmitz also noted that the name of a language spoken in the Wombiok and Tewiok (lok means *river*)¹⁹ valleys was not yet known. Information available to the present writer indicates that this unknown language is probably a dialect of Nankina. Schmitz also noted the Poum (from Stolz, 1911) and the dialects mentioned by Vial (1938), viz., Galena, Arukna and Nukna.

Loukotka (1957) surveyed the available materials and provided a classification of some of the NAN languages. A comparison of Loukotka's classification with earlier publications about the languages of the area indicates that Loukotka must have only cursorily read the earlier publications and not attempted to compare them. Loukotka lists three groups of languages. The Kâte group in turn is divided into three subgroups.

Kombe [Komba]: Kombe, Bulum, Zia, Selepa [Selepet].

Ono: Ono, Keseraua, Pong, Mula or Kelana Kei, Kamoka.

Kâte: (1) Hube: Hube, Deduae, Migabac

(2) Poom: Poom, Mape, Wamola, Magobinen, Sene, Momale, Ago, Busim, Bila

(3) Kâte: Kâte, Kai or Kei, Simbang, Saleñ, Naga.

Unclassified: Timbe, Momolili, Naba, Kaidemoe, Erap, Arukna.

Regarding the Kombe group it may be noted that Zia is found near Morobe in the southern Morobe District and does not belong to any of the groups within the larger Finisterre-Huon group of languages. Rather it belongs to the Binandere family (see Wilson, 1969) and is only distantly related to the Finisterre-Huon languages. Pilhofer (1927-28) published paradigmatic lists for ten dialects and languages neighbouring Kâte and later (Pilhofer, 1928-29) published word lists for these same ten. In the latter article, however, Pilhofer included word lists from Zia and Ono but he did not include these languages in any particular group of languages.

Loukotka's Ono and Kâte groups represent a somewhat confused collection of names. Note in the Ono group that the Kelana-Kei (see Zöllner, 1890) are erroneously equated with the Mula (see Neuhaus, 1911, I:125 ff.), a village of people who speak the Komba language of

Loukotka's Kombe group. Also Loukotka has omitted the Sialum language (Stolz, 1911; Neuhauss, 1911, I:127) from any of his groups. He lists the Poom as a member of the Kâte group but lists the alternate spelling Pong as a member of the Ono group. His statement (based upon Zöllner, 1890, 1891) that the Kai represent a group living north of the Kâte shows a lack of investigation into the use of these two terms. Furthermore, his use of the term Simbang for a NAN language is confusing because the people of Simbang village speak Jabêm (see Schellong, 1890; Schmidt, 1901; Zöllner, 1890:122). By the terms Simbang and Saleñ he must have meant the Simbang-Kei and Saleng-Kei (Zöllner, 1890:128). Moreover, Loukotka erroneously lists all of Umboi Island and much of the headwaters of the Busu River as areas occupied by speakers of AN languages.

Salzner (1960:28, 40-2) locates some of the languages within the area under consideration on a map (no.52) and classifies the languages into the following groups (groups I-III are NAN and groups IV-VII are AN):

- I. Kâte group: (a) Kâte: (1) Kâte, (2) Naga, (3) Mape; (b) Wamolâ; (c) Magobineng; (d) Sene; (e) Momale; (f) Migabac.
- II. Kai group: (a) Deduaë; (b) Hube; (c) Bulum; (d) Komba; (e) Selebet; (f) Kai; (g) Timbe; (h) Orowa; (i) Erap; (j) Leron; (k) Yaros.
- III. Qalmana: (a) Qalmana; (b) Umbai; (c) Aronai.
- IV. Jabêm: (a) Jabêm; (b) Tami; (c) Bukawac group (1) Bukawac, (2) Taminugedu, (3) Jao, (4) Abo, (5) Laë, (6) Yalo; (d) Musom: (1) Musom, (2) Sangkwep, (3) Nabak.
- V. Laëwomba: (a) Laëwomba; (b) Irumu; (c) Wampit; (d) Baboaf.
- VI. Waing.
- VII. Kelana group: (a) Sialum; (b) Kelana; (c) Sigabac; (f) Siassi: (1) Tuom, (2) Malawaia, (3) Mantok, (4) Aramot.

Salzner's method of listing groups, languages and dialects is somewhat confusing, so it is not clear whether a particular entry represents a dialect or a distinct language. Moreover, his location of these languages on his map is in general only approximate and his sub-classification of the languages within the divisions of Melanesian (AN) and Papuan (NAN) is often inaccurate.²⁰ He does not state his criteria upon which the classification is based, but in general it appears to be simply geographical distribution.

A number of languages have been incorrectly identified as either Papuan or Melanesian. Yaros of the Kai group is not NAN but rather an AN language closely related to Azera. Aronai [Barim] and Qaimana [Mangap] of the Qaimana group are not NAN but rather AN languages of the Siassi Family. Sangkwep (see Pilhofer, 1912:144) and Nabak of the Musom group are not AN, but rather they are the NAN Momolili and Nabak languages respectively. Irumu of the Laëwomba group is not an AN language but rather an NAN language of the Wantoat Family. The Sialum language of the Kelana group is an NAN language of the Western Huon Family. That Sialum is NAN rather than AN can be determined by a study of a text provided by Stolz (1911:282-6).

Schmitz's later work (1960c), completed after his anthropological field work of 1955-6, gives a linguistic survey of the area from Madang through the Astrolabe Bay, Rai Coast, Finisterre range, Markham valley and Huon Peninsula to Rook (Umboi) Island. His classification is unreliable and must be tested at every point. For example, he listed twenty-eight different linguistic groups (Schmitz 1960c:34 - nos.25-53) which D. Davis (personal communication) identified as speaking a single language, Wantoat, and he listed one linguistic group (p.33, no.12) which in reality represents three languages, Kube, Tobo and Mindik. Schmitz did, however, correctly identify Nabac [Nabak] as Papuan but incorrectly identified as Melanesian the Sialum (also listed as Melanesian in Schmitz 1959a) and Momolili languages. He also erred in assigning all of Umboi Island to a Melanesian language although Neuhaus (1911, I:128) and Flierl (1931:72) remarked that the interior people of the island were Papuan. Bodrogi (1961) quoted Schmitz on the classification of the Papuan languages and lists Momolili and Sialum as Melanesian.

Capell (1962) revised his earlier survey (1954) and added a number of names: Nahu, Ngaing (Maipang), Gira, Neko, Ndau (the latter four from P. Lawrence) and Umboi. The Umboi language was classified by Capell as Melanesian (following Schmitz?) but his placement of the language on the map coincides with the extent of the Papuan Koval language. Capell, by including all of Schmitz's relevant entries into his own list, introduced a considerable core of unreliable information and so his list must be used with caution.

Hooley (1964), in summarizing research done in the Morobe District, correctly reclassified the Momolili and Nabak languages as NAN but followed Capell (1962) in classifying the Kai (south of the Markham River) as Melanesian. Moreover, Hooley's identification of Awara (a dialect of the NAN Wantoat language according to Davis, 1969) as Melanesian is inaccurate as also is his identification of Sio as Papuan

(see Hooley, 1964:map). Hooley lists Wain as Papuan although previous writers followed Keysser's identification of the Wain as Melanesian. The majority of languages within the area known as Wain, however, are Papuan.

A preliminary study of the Huon Peninsula NAN languages provided by the present writer (McElhanon, 1967a) added the names Kosorong, Mindik and Tobo to the list of NAN languages and confirmed the classification of the Momolili and Nabak languages as NAN.

More recently the present writer (Hooley and McElhanon, 1970) surveyed the languages from Umboi Island westward to the Madang District border and classified the NAN languages of the area as constituting a single micro-phylum, the Finisterre-Huon micro-phylum, consisting of two stocks, the Finisterre Stock and the Huon Stock. In order to determine the western border of the Finisterre Stock, O.R. Claassen surveyed the southeastern Madang District and the results of this survey are included in Claassen and McElhanon (1970).

This paper has presented a brief history of the linguistic research carried out in the portion of New Guinea where the languages of the Finisterre-Huon micro-phylum are found. It is hoped that the confusion over language names has been unraveled and that in the future a standardization of usage will be attained.

N O T E S

1. For a thorough treatise on the changeover from German to Australian administration see Rowley (1958). After the Australian government assumed administration of German New Guinea in 1914, it was slow in establishing contact with the interior peoples. The result was that the initial government patrols into the hinterland areas in the 1930's often found that the people had been under mission influence for two or three decades. Thus in the Sialum and Kalasa area the mission opened the Sialum station in 1907 and moved it to Kalasa shortly thereafter, but the government didn't open a station in the area until the Sialum station in 1961. In 1910 the mission opened a station at Sio and in 1928 another at Ulap overlooking the Sio coast, but the first permanent government station was opened at Wasu in 1949 and moved to Kalalo (near Ulap) in the 1950's. The first government patrol into the Sio hinterland was not until 1934, although the missionaries made an initial patrol in 1911 and had maintained regular contact with the inhabitants from 1919 onward by stationing New Guinea evangelists and making periodic patrols. Mission influence was very strong in most areas, and Vial (1938:146) noted in the report of the first government patrol through the Uruwa, Yupna and Ufim areas that a Kâte interpreter was essential.

2. Language names given in brackets are used in Hooley and McElhanon (1970) and names given in parentheses are alternative names.

3. Many of these visitors simply listed their itinerary with a few observations and contributed little to the advancement of knowledge: e.g., Bennigsen (1901), Hahl (1904), Pösch (1907a, 1907b) and Vogel (1911).

4. Although Müller (1876-88) is often erroneously credited with separating the Papuan and Melanesian languages (see Laycock and

Voorhoeve, 1970), it was S.H. Ray (1895) who first outlined the differences.

5. See Bamler (1911), Keysser (1911), Lehner (1911), Stolz (1911) and Zahn (1911). Much of what was stated in Neuhauss' work served as the basis for remarks by more current writers, both in the field of linguistics as well as anthropology.

6. Keysser stated that those belonging to the Jabim group occupied the whole Huon Gulf north to the rocky coast and probably included the Bukaua, Laewomba and Tami languages. Schellong (1891:169) stated that the term Kai meant *forest* in the Tami language. Probably the term had cognates throughout the Melanesian languages of the Huon Gulf as implied by Chinnery who stated that "'Kai' is a name given to the bush people by the coastal natives whether related to one another or not" (Chinnery 1925b:32). The term Kai in the Jabêm language apparently consists of the noun *ka tree* (Koschade, 1969:299) plus the distributive suffix *-i* (Dempwolff, 1939:24) giving the sense of *those (several) in the trees*, i.e., the forest dwellers.

7. Although Neuhauss placed the Papuan Kai near the Ka-iwa, the exact location of these Kai has been difficult to determine. If Neuhauss was correctly referring to a Papuan group he must have had in mind the present inhabitants of the upper Bulolo River, viz., the Biangai or the Werî. The fact that all of the hinterland groups to the north of the Ka-iwa are Melanesian peoples may have led Capell to identify the Kai as Melanesian. Note that Hogbin (1963:3-12), in giving the Bukawa names for the peoples of the Huon Gulf, lists the Gaiwa (Ka-iwa) [Kaiwa], the Gai [Hote], and the Gaidemoe [Manga], all languages currently recognized as Melanesian.

8. Chinnery (1928:24) stated that a Papuan language was reported to be spoken in the northern part of Rook Island. Although he saw some mountain people who were shorter than the coastal people, he did not collect any linguistic data from them to check the report. The language of the interior group was first identified as Cubai by Reina (1858), but Harding (1967:123) was the first to associate the name (Kovai) with the NAN language found in the interior. A list of Kovai kin terms collected by F. Speiser is found in Bodrogi (1969:195).

9. See Pilhofer (1927-8, 1928-9) for data from these two dialects which he lists as separate languages.

10. The mission also chose Graged as an area language for the southern Madang district, but it was not used in the area encompassed by the present study.

11. The term Hube means *forest* in a western dialect of Kâte (Keysser 1925:163) and was used for all the inhabitants of the Mongi River basin irrespective of language differences. The people around Kulungtufu and Yoangen, in distinguishing themselves, use the cognate term for Hube, viz., Kube.

12. The term Tobou means *in the forest* in the Kube language and is used to refer to the Kua River valley. The inhabitants of the Kua valley have accepted the term to refer to themselves but have omitted the locative clitic *-u in* and thus say simply *Tobo*. The term *Bulung* is the Kâte speakers' corruption of *Burum* since Kâte has no distinction between *l* and *r* and all nasals are neutralized to [ŋ] in word final position.

13. The term *komba* means *wild sugar cane* in the Dedua language, and because of the heavy growth of the cane in the eastern Kwama basin, it was applied to the inhabitants of that area by Dedua evangelists who probably accompanied Keysser on his expeditions.

14. The names *Momolili* and *Naba* [Nabak] first appear with reference to peoples in Costelloe (1940). Although the *Momolili* people have accepted the name *Momolili*, they prefer the local name *Mesem*. The term *nabak* means *with bark cloth* and was used by outsiders to refer to the people because of their extensive use of the cloth.

15. The language on the south side of Umboi Island is also spoken on Sakar Island and is known as *Mangap* (see Chinnery 1928; Harding, 1967; Hooley and McElhanon, 1970).

16. Ray's lists for *Pong* and *Keseraua* are definitely from the *Sialum* language although the latter list was probably identified with the present Ono-speaking village of *Kandzarua*.

17. Capell incorrectly listed a number of groups as *Melanesian*, viz., *Momolili*, *Napa* and the *Kai* (south of the Markham near the *Ka-iwa*) - see note 7. Although the names *Momolili* and *Napa* were first mentioned by Costelloe (1940) without any linguistic classification, they could

have been equated with the bearded Papuan Kai of the Rawlinson range mentioned by Neuhauss (1911, I:125), Keysser (1912:572) and Pilhofer (1912:144).

18. Schmitz's placement of these people on the upper reaches of the Erap, Solab, and Ilap rivers would indicate that they speak languages of the Erap Family. The Ilap River (see Pilhofer, 1912, map) is an earlier name for the Erap River but the writer cannot identify the Solab River.

19. Note that the Ok Family (Healey, 1964) is named after the common word for *water* in the member languages, viz., ok. Dr. C.L. Voorhoeve and the writer are preparing lexical evidence which links the languages of the Central and South New Guinea Phylum (Voorhoeve, 1968) with those of the Finisterre-Huon Micro-phylum (Hooley and McElhanon, 1970).

20. A comparison of Salzner's language names and Capell's (1962) language names with those of the writer is found in Hooley and McElhanon (1970). Note, for example, that Salzner's Kai language includes two languages of the Southern Huon Family and four languages of the Erap Family. His Erap language includes six languages of the Erap Family. It must be remembered, however, that Salzner's study did not involve field work and so adequate data for a classification must not have been available to him.

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DKb	<i>Deutsches Kolonialblatt</i>
NKWL	<i>Nachrichten aus dem Kaiser Wilhelmsland</i>
PGM	<i>Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen</i>
PL	<i>Pacific Linguistics</i>
ZaoS	<i>Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen</i>
ZEthn	<i>Zeitschrift für Ethnologie</i>
ZfES	<i>Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen</i>

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