

# THE LANGUAGES OF THE NEW HEBRIDES; A CHECKLIST AND GENERAL SURVEY

D.T. TRYON

- 0.0 Acknowledgements.
- 1.0 Introduction.
- 2.0 Listing of New Hebrides Languages.
- 3.0 Tentative Classification.
- 3.1 New Hebrides Languages and Austronesian.
- 4.0 Checklist of New Hebrides Languages.

## 0.0 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the course of my research into the languages of the New Hebrides I have become indebted to many people. In Vila I must first thank the British Resident Commissioner, Mr C.H. Allan for his invaluable assistance at all times. My thanks are also due to the headmaster of the British Secondary School, Mr G.A.E. Longmore and his staff, and to Mr Ron Coleman and the staff of Kawenu College, not forgetting the students of both of these institutions. Thanks also to the Rev. John Cooper of the Presbyterian Mission and to the Matron and staff of Paton Memorial Hospital. I must also thank the French Resident Commissioner, Mr Langlois, Mr J. Chauvin, Mr Jean and the students at the Lycee, as well as Monseigneur Julliard, and Fathers Verlingue, Lambert and Janique. My thanks also to the ever-resourceful Mr Reece Discombe and his wife.

For his invaluable assistance with the survey of the Banks and Torres in particular I tender my sincere thanks to the Venerable Archdeacon D.A. Rawcliffe at Lolowai. On Santo I would like to thank Jacques Guy and John Mafua Piukala for their contributions. On Malekula my sincere thanks go to Mr J.M. Charpentier for his considerable assistance with the survey in the southern part of the island; in the north I must thank Gregory Fox of Brenwei for his assistance with the language of the Big Nambas; at Lakatoro I wish to thank the British District Agent, Mr D. Wilkins and also John and Anne Naupa; at Lamap I tender my sincere thanks to Father Zerger for his kind hospitality. For their valuable assistance with the survey on Pentecost I would like to thank Mr David Walsh and Miss Margaret Jolly.

In the southern islands, I would like to express my gratitude to Mr R.U. Paul and his wife on Tanna, as well as to the Rev. W. Zurrer, the Rev. K. Calvert at Whitesands and also to Mr David Birt.

My sincere thanks also to Dr A. Capell who so kindly put nearly all of his New Hebrides material at my disposal, and to Mr H. Gunther of the Department of Human Geography, A.N.U. for drawing the maps for this publication.

Finally and most importantly I must thank the many hundreds of New Hebrideans who so kindly and patiently assisted me throughout the group. Doubtless there are many other people who should have been acknowledged by name; the fact that they are not named does not indicate that I am any less appreciative of their kindness and generous assistance.

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The New Hebrides islands lie in southern Melanesia, between the Solomon Islands and New Caledonia. Administratively they include the Banks and Torres Islands, a little to the north. According to the 1967 Census Report there were 76,582 people living in the New Hebrides, including the Banks and Torres, of whom 70,837 were indigenous. At the present time the Administration estimates put the population at approximately 80,000, with an indigenous population nearing 75,000.

Even at the present time, very little is known about the languages of the group. The principal sources of information are still Codrington (1885), Hagen and Pineau (1889), Ray (1893 and 1926); Capell (1956 and 1962 revised) gives a summary of the state of knowledge until approximately 1960. Although extensive in small areas, it is mainly fragmentary. Until the present survey was undertaken, the main field-work being done between July 1970 and April 1971 and in September/October

1971, no systematic survey of all of the languages had ever been undertaken.

The present survey is complete in its first stage, apart from some minor details. This first stage is purely lexical, and consisted of the collection of basic vocabulary lists for every language in the group, so that the number of languages might be determined and so that a lexicostatistical classification of the languages might be made. Once the lexicostatistical classification is completed, representative languages can be singled out for depth study, so that subsequently a typological classification can be made. The position of New Hebrides languages within the Austronesian field will then become much clearer than at present.

The lexicostatistical classification of the New Hebrides languages is in progress, the results of which should be available within a short time. What is presented here is not the full lexicostatistical classification itself, but an enumeration, accompanied by maps, of all of the known languages listing the areas in which they are spoken and the approximate number of speakers for each. This is followed by an impressionistic and tentative classification, based on sample cognate counts and on grammatical features known to the writer. Finally there is a checklist of all the known languages with variant names which have appeared in the literature to date. The wordlist used in the survey, over 500 of which have been collected, consists of the standard Swadesh 200 list, plus 109 items thought to be valuable for the area under consideration. The wordlist is included as an appendix.

## 2.0 NEW HEBRIDES LANGUAGES AND POPULATION

This section lists all of the languages<sup>1</sup> known to be spoken in the New Hebrides at the present time, with approximate number of speakers for each. Dialect information has been included where appropriate. There are 110 known languages in the group, which are numbered serially from north to south and are shown on the accompanying set of maps. The numbers run from 1 to 116, as six numbers have been reserved for any future language discoveries. The languages of the New Hebrides including the Banks and Torres Islands are as follows:

### A. BANKS AND TORRES ISLANDS (see map 2)

The Banks and Torres Islands lie to the north of the New Hebrides, from where they are administered. The Torres Islands have a population

---

<sup>1</sup>The division between language and dialect has been taken as 81% shared cognates, following Wurm and Laycock (1961).

of only 200, while that of the Banks is approximately 3300. There are at present 14 languages spoken in these islands, although last century the number is reported to have been greater.

#### *Torres Islands*

The Torres Islands consist of the islands of Hiw, Metoma, Tegua, Loh and Toga. The total population is approximately 200. There are two languages, namely Hiw and Loh-Toga.

##### 1. Hiw

Hiw is spoken on the northernmost of the Torres Islands of the same name by approximately 50 speakers. It was formerly spoken also on Metoma, now uninhabited, and on the northern part of Tegua.

##### 2. Loh-Toga

This language is spoken by approximately 150 speakers on the islands of Loh and Toga. It is also spoken on Tegua by a few refugees from Loh. The two dialects, Loh and Toga differ slightly. It has been reported that formerly the island of Tegua was inhabited on a regular basis. At that time it would appear that there were three divisions on the island: one Hiw speaking, another speaking the same dialect of Loh-Toga as the people of Loh Island, the third group speaking a separate dialect of Loh-Toga special to Tegua.

#### *Banks Islands*

The Banks Islands consist of Ureparapara Island, Rowa or the Reef Islands, Mota Lava, Mota, Vanua Lava, Gaua, Merig and Merelava. They have a population of about 3300 at the present time. There are twelve languages spoken in the group, as follows:

##### 3. Lehali (Ureparapara)

Formerly the island of Ureparapara had only a single language, which had four dialects according to Codrington (1885). The best known of these were Tekel and Leha. Now, however, the language situation is greatly changed. On the north and west sides of the island the language of Lehali or Leha is still spoken at two villages, Lehali and Lekwarangle by approximately 100 speakers. Little dialect differentiation has been noted between these two villages. On the east side of the island at the bottom of the bay another language is spoken.

##### 4. Rowa (Ureparapara)

The Rowa language is spoken on Ureparapara at Lehalurup village at the bottom of the bay on the east coast by approximately 60 speakers. It is very closely related to Lehali, sharing 79% common cognates on a

basic vocabulary list. The people who speak this language are refugees from Rowa, one of the tiny Reef islands lying between Ureparapara and Mota Lava. The population movement is estimated by local people to have taken place about 40 years ago after a tidal wave had ravaged the Reef Islands.

#### 5. Motlav (Mota Lava)

The language of Motlav is spoken on the island of Motalava by approximately 850 speakers at the present time. It is also spoken on the tiny island of Ra, just off the tip of Mota Lava. There are four surviving dialects of Motlav, represented by Totoglag, Bun, Beklag and Valuwa. Valuwa was considered a separate language from Motlav by Codrington, but this is in fact not the case. The Valuwa or Volow dialect is today represented by very few speakers, the Bun and Beklag dialects having only one surviving speaker each. So, for all practical purposes Motlav may be considered to have only a single dialect.

#### 6.

The language of Mota is at present spoken on the island of the same name by more than 270 speakers. It is also widely spoken and understood throughout the Banks and Torres, as it is the language of the Melanesian Mission. In recent years its use has increased tremendously. On Mota Island two dialects are recognised, as follows:

we nao village: Veverau and Tasmate;

we tak villages: Lotawan, Tuqetap, Navqoe and Liwotqe.

#### 7. Vatrata (Vanua Lava)

The language of Vatrata is at present spoken by approximately 100 speakers at the village of the same name on the west side of Vanua Lava. It is reported that 7 people who have come from the now abandoned village of Sasar are also living at Vatrata. Sasar and Vatrata are in fact dialects of the same language. The now extinct villages of Pak and Leon, as reported in Codrington (1885), appear also to be dialects of Vatrata. Pak, Leon, Sasar and Vatrata have a glottal stop where the other Banks languages have /t/. Alo Teqel or Teqel, once spoken near Port Patteson, but now extinct, appears too to be very closely related to Vatrata, and was possibly a dialect of it. Nawono, the language of Port Patteson proper, was reported to be extinct at the time Codrington was writing, and no record of it has been obtained.

#### 8. Vureas (Vanua Lava)

The language of Vureas, or Vuras, is one of three surviving languages on Vanua Lava. It is spoken by approximately 350 speakers in the south-west of the island at the villages of Vetumboso, Wasaka and Kerepita.

#### 9. Mosina (Vanua Lava)

The language of Mosina or Mosin is spoken by only about 50 speakers at the village of Mosina between Wasaka and Port Patteson. It is closely related to the language of Mota, which is only a short distance away.

#### 10. Gaua (Gaua)

Gaua or Gog is spoken in the villages of Lomasarig (Namasarig), Lembot, Nume and Tarasag on the island of Gaua by approximately 120 speakers. The villages further down the coast, namely Lemanman, Tuvrat and Lambal are inhabited by people from Merig and Merelava, who have moved there because of overcrowding on these two islands.

#### 11. Dorig (Gaua)

The language of Dorig is spoken in south Gaua at the villages of Dorig and Kweteon (Wetamut) by approximately 70 speakers. It is closely related to the languages of Koro and Lakona.

#### 12. Koro (Gaua)

The language of Koro is spoken in south Gaua in the villages of Koro and Mekeon, also known as Biam. It has approximately 70 speakers, and is very closely related to Dorig.

#### 13. Lakona (Gaua)

The language of Lakona or Lakon is spoken by approximately 80 people living on the west coast of Gaua at the villages of Kwetegavig, Dulav and Ontar. Dulav is also known as Kwetevut. This language is rather different from Gaua, but is nevertheless a member of the same language family.

#### 14. Merlav (Merig and Merelava)

The Merlav language is spoken by approximately 850 speakers on the islands of Merig and Merelava. It has three dialects: a) Merig, b) the western villages of Merelava, namely Sere, Levatmese, Ngerngerig and Kwangre, and c) the seaward side of Merelava at the village of Matliwag. The dialect differences are not considerable.

*Note:* Near Port Patteson on Vanua Lava there are two small inhabited islands, Ravenga and Qakea. Ravenga is inhabited by Motlav speakers in small numbers, while Qakea is inhabited by approximately 50 Mota speakers, bringing the total number of Mota speakers to over 300.

### B. SANTO (see map 3)

The island of Santo has a population of 9925 according to the Census of 1967, although it probably exceeds 10,000 at the present time.

Several hundred of the New Hebrideans living on Santo come from other islands, many to work in the commercial centre of Luganville and on plantations. There are twenty-nine known languages spoken on Santo and the offshore islands of Mafea, Tutuba, Malo, Tangoa and Araki. They are as follows:

#### 15. Sakau

The Sakau or Sakao language is spoken by approximately 1000 speakers on the north east coast of Santo, from the village of Kolo (Kole) south of Hog Harbour as far north as Cape Quiros. It is also spoken at some inland villages in the area. The two principal villages in which Sakau is spoken are Hog Harbour and Port Olry, by which names the language is also known. There appear to be two main dialects, those of Hog Harbour and Port Olry, although some of the inland villages show other dialect variations.

#### 16. Lore diakarkar

This language, spoken at Lore diakarkar, south of Hog Harbour and also at one bush village situated about one hour's walk south of Lowerie, has only approximately 50 speakers. It is very closely related to the Shark Bay language, sharing 77% common cognates on a basic vocabulary list.

#### 17. Shark Bay

The Shark Bay language, spoken in east Santo on Litaro Island (Pilot Island), and also on the coast at Shark Bay has approximately 150 speakers. The Shark Bay people also claim that their territory includes the coastal villages of Saraotou and Sourunda. The language was also formerly spoken in the inland villages of Palon, Vanafo, Tiurumbo and Lomoru before the inhabitants of these villages moved to the coast.

#### 18. Mafea

The Mafea language, also known as Mavea, is spoken on the island of Mafea, east Santo, by approximately 50 speakers. It is also thought to have been spoken on Ais Island, also on the east coast of Santo.

#### 19. Butmas

This language, also known as Ati, is spoken in east-central Santo in the villages of Butmas, Tur, Naturuk and Polonombauk. It is at present also spoken at Palon and Vanafo, people from Butmas and Tur coming to these villages when the sites were vacated by the present Shark Bay people. It has approximately 350 speakers.

#### 20. Nambel

The Nambel language is at present spoken in the village of that name in south-eastern Santo by approximately 50 people. It is also known as

Napil.

21. Tambotalo

Tambotalo is spoken in the village of that name in south-east Santo, a little further south than Nambel and quite close to Luganville. It would have only approximately 50 speakers.

22. Tutuba

The language of Tutuba, spoken on the island of the same name in Luganville Harbour and also in Luganville itself, has more than 100 speakers.

23. Aore

Aore is remembered by only one old man on Mafea Island, the original population of Aore Island, south-east Santo, having been wiped out through various causes. It is closely related to the language of Malo.

24. Malo

The language of Malo is spoken on the large island of that name off the south-east coast of Santo. It has in the region of 1500 speakers, and has two principal dialects, represented by Avunatari and Ataripoe. It has also been referred to as Savan in some of the early literature on the subject.

25. Narango

Narango is spoken on south Santo at the village of Narango and at a few smaller villages just north of Narango. It has approximately 160 speakers. The language is also known as Farsava. It is very closely related to the language of Amblong and also to that of Moruas. For the present these three have been considered to constitute separate languages, but dialect chaining is almost certainly present, and all three may in fact prove in the final analysis to be dialects of the same language.

26. Tangoa

Tangoan is spoken in south Santo on the tiny island of Tangoa, just off the coast, and in a few mainland villages opposite Tangoa. This fairly well-known language has approximately 250 speakers.

27. Amblong

This language is spoken in the area immediately to the north of Narango at the village of Amblong and a few hamlets in the area. It is also known to some as Narango North. It would have approximately 100 speakers.

28. Araki

Araki is spoken by some 70 people on the island of Arkai, off the



south coast of Santo, west of Tangoa. It is closely related to the languages of south Santo.

#### 29. Akei

The Akei language is spoken in south-west Santo over a wide area, principally at the villages of Wailapa, Ipayato, Tasiriki, Penantsiro, and up the Navaka valley at Larakai and in the Pic Santo area at Pilipili (Bilbil). This language presents similar problems to those of east Tanna, in that complex dialect chaining is in evidence, with the result that dialects on either end of the chain are not mutually intelligible. It has approximately 600 speakers, and has been known as Navaka and also Marino and Eralado.

#### 30. Fortsenal

Fortsenal is spoken in central Santo in the villages of Fortsenal, Kuptana, Butnavaga, Funpat, Merarua, Paten, Kaintsuro and Nosusu. It has in the region of 100 speakers and is closely related to Akei.

#### 31. Roria

This language is also spoken in central Santo, north of Fortsenal, in the villages of Tonvar, Botvornov, Morgrif and Roria. It has approximately 100 speakers. This language does not appear to be at all closely related to the surrounding languages.

#### 32. Moruas

The Moruas language is spoken in central Santo, north of Roria, at the following villages: Batunlemek, Fusrumbus, Batunfaramb, Moruas and Tabulan. It is also spoken further south at Mafun, by people living nearer the south coast. Moruas has approximately 100 speakers. As was stated above, Moruas, Amblong and Narango may possibly be shown to form a dialect chain in the final analysis.

#### 33. Lametin

This language is spoken at Lametin, Tombet, Nalultsileri, Vatrof and Tondila on the Vitigo River north of Moruas. It too, has approximately 100 speakers.

#### 34. Matae

The Matae language is spoken in west-central Santo by approximately 150 speakers at the villages of Namarao, Viniu, Sau, Lolikala, Lalaere, Langutoitoli, Nabunay, Lasule, Kaipiloa and Luri. It is very closely related to Navut, below; the two may ultimately be shown to be dialects of the one language.

#### 35. Navut

The Navut language is spoken in west-central Santo at the villages of Latuptup and Saktuy by approximately 100 speakers. As was stated above,

it is very closely related to Matae.

**36. Nonona**

Nonona, closely related to Navut and Matae, is spoken by approximately 100 speakers in west-central Santo in the villages of Lamak, Rata and Nonona.

**37. Malmariv**

This language is also spoken in north-central Santo in the villages of Malmariv and Bakakara. It has in the region of 100 speakers and is closely related to the last three languages listed above.

**38. Wusi**

The Wusi language is spoken on the west coast of Santo at the villages of Wusi, Kerepua, Elia No.1 and Elia No.2. It is also spoken inland at the villages of Nokowula and 'Apuna. Wusi has approximately 170 speakers. It has also been known as Wulua.

**39. Tasmate**

The language of Tasmate is spoken on the west coast of Santo, north of Wusi, at the villages of Vasalea and Tasmate, Pealapa, Peatoai and Wunsule. It has approximately 100 speakers.

**40. Nokuku**

This language is also spoken on the west coast of Santo, north of Tasmate, at the villages of Olpoe and Nokuku and at a few smaller villages in the area, such as Pen'oru and Petawota. It has approximately 160 speakers.

**41. Valpei**

Valpei, also known as Valpay, is spoken on the north-west coast of Santo, in the Cape Cumberland area principally at the villages of Valpei, Hukua and Wunpuko. Some dialect differences have been noted between villages. The language has in the region of 200 speakers.

**42. Vunapu**

The Vunapu language is spoken on the east coast of Cape Cumberland in the villages of Vunapu (Betsalili), Papanavero, Pesena, Piarao and Piamatsina. This language is very closely related to the language of Valpei. There are dialect differences within the language, the principal one being that the Piamatsina dialect alone is without the glottal stop, characteristic of the others. Dialect chaining on the Cape Cumberland peninsula is strongly suspected, as all of the languages of the area are very closely related. The Vunapu language has about 250 speakers.

**43. Tolomako**

The Tolomako language, also known as Big Bay and Marina, is spoken in

the Big Bay area, north Santo, at the villages of Jereviu, Maloeta, Tolomako and Malao and a few hamlets in the same area. It is also spoken by a number of people at Port Olry on the east coast, since when the site of the Roman Catholic Mission was shifted from Big Bay to Port Olry many Tolomako speaking people moved from Big Bay to Port Olry also. The language has in the region of 300 speakers, possibly more. It is of interest to note that the language called "Tribu de Tikipi" by Hagen and Pineau (1889), and given the location south-east Santo, is in fact Tolomako. It would seem that they must have met a Tolomako speaker in some part of Santo other than Big Bay, and that they were confused by the location he gave them.

#### C. MALEKULA (see map 3)

Malekula has a population of 10,859 including the offshore islands according to the Census of 1967. Of these, approximately two or three hundred New Hebrideans from other islands, mainly from Ambrym and Pentecost, are living on the south-east coast.

There are at present thirty languages spoken on Malekula, and ethnological reports indicate that the number may well have been considerably higher as recently as thirty years ago. The Malekulan languages are as follows:

##### 46. Letemboi (South Small Nambas)

This language is spoken by a total of 182 people, according to J.M. Charpentier, with the following geographical distribution: 128 residing in the south Malekula bush area, 24 at Mbwitin on the east coast in the Unua region, 11 at Borumvor on the south coast, and on the west coast 6 at Lawa, 5 at Windua and 8 at Dixon Reef. The movement of Letemboi speakers from the bush to the coast is very recent, having begun at most ten years ago, when the inhabitants of Fiembetab, a bush village, moved east to Mbwitin.

##### 47. Axamb

The Axamb language is spoken by about 250 people on the island of Axamb, off the south coast of Malekula. It is also known in some quarters as Limilandr.

##### 48. Faraun

This language is also spoken on the south coast of Malekula, between Axamb and the Maskelynes. It is spoken in the villages of Faraun and Menmenboas by a group of a little over 100 people. On further analysis, this language may prove to be a dialect of Axamb.

##### 49. Maskelynes

This language is spoken in the Maskelyne Islands off the south-east

tip of Malekula by about 620 people. It is spoken on the islands of Koliviu and Koivu, and also by the women on Avok Island, who have been imported as wives. The island of Sakao is uninhabited.

#### 50. Maxbaxo

Maxbaxo language is spoken in south-east Malekula in the villages of Maxbaxo and Mais on the coast, on Varu Island, and by the men only on Avok Island. It is also spoken at the village of Vetbo near the coast north of Lamap. The people who speak this language have only recently come down from the bush to the coast. Maxbaxo, spoken by approximately 140 speakers in small communities, has several dialects.

#### 51. Port Sandwich

This important language is spoken in all of the villages on the south side of Port Sandwich, S.E. Malekula by about 700 people. It is also known as Lamap.

#### 52. Vartabo (Banan Bay)

The Banan Bay language is spoken in the villages of Burmbar, Retur, Lepaxsivir, Remep, Vartabo and Lambulpatui, on the south-east coast of Malekula by approximately 350 speakers.

#### 53. Aulua

Aulua is spoken on the south-east coast between Vartabo and Tisman at the villages of Aulua and Assuru by more than 200 speakers. Early Malekula literature also refers to a language called Benelang or Boine-lang, spoken at a village of that name situated about four miles from Aulua in the bush. The village has now been abandoned, the few survivors now living at coastal villages in the Aulua area. Comparison of the wordlist of Benelang collected by Corlette and a recent Aulua list reveals that Benelang was almost certainly only a dialect of Aulua.

#### 54. Repanbitipmbangir

This language is spoken only by a small group of some 60 people who descended from the bush to the south-east coast about ten years ago. It is spoken by approximately half of the inhabitants of Repanbitipmbangir, the other half speaking Pangkumu.

#### 55. Pangkumu

Pangkumu is also widely known as Tisman, after the principal settlement at which it is spoken. It is spoken by approximately 200 people in the villages of Rerep, Penuvere, Pangdeur (Hebel) and at Repanbitipmbangir.

#### 56. Unua

Unua is spoken in the area north of the Pangkumu River by approximately 300 people at the villages of Repenunur, Rukmbo, Mbwansarit,

Mbangtete and Mbwatambur, also known as Batambu. The collective name for all of these villages is Unua or Onua.

#### 57. Timbembe

This language is at present spoken on the east coast of Malekula at the villages of Timbembe, Katbol, and Taremp and on the west coast at Tisvel, although the west coast is dialectally different from the eastern three villages named. This language, also known as Grass Skirt, Nevaar and Nevat, has some 250 speakers. The present population of Timbembe came from the now abandoned bush village of Boton, while the present Taremp population comes from the village of Wulele. The traditional territory of these people appears to have been the central part of the island, with some of the original population migrating to the west coast and the remainder to the east.

#### 58. Bushman's Bay

This language, best known as Bushman's Bay language, but also as Wuli and Mindu in the early literature, is now spoken in the villages of Lingarak and Limap by approximately 120 people, on the east coast.

#### 59. Port Stanley

As the name indicates, this language is at present spoken on the east coast of Malekula in the Port Stanley area at the villages of Litzlitz, Visele, the Senal-Lakatoro area and was formerly spoken at Aop, a village now used by the Big Nambas people when they come to work on the Norsup plantation. The southern boundary of this language is claimed to be the Legatzgatz River. Port Stanley is spoken by approximately 200 people. It is also known as Lolnarrong and Netensal. The Lagalag of the early literature has been shown to be at most dialectally different from Port Stanley, and possibly identical with it.

#### 60. Uripiv

This language is spoken on the small offshore islands of Uripiv, Uri (now uninhabited) and Norsup, and on the east coast of Tautu, by more than 600 speakers. There are dialect differences within this area. Uripiv may prove on lexicostatistical grounds to be a dialect of the well-known Wala-Rano.

#### 61. Maragus

The Maragus language is now practically extinct. It is at present spoken by only 10 people, the survivors of a refugee group which came to Tautu in 1929 seeking refuge from the attacks of the Big Nambas. The traditional territory of the Maragus, also known as Tobah, is the mountainous area of north-central Malekula immediately to the east of the Big Nambas, which area is now uninhabited.

**62. Mae**

This language is at present spoken in the relatively new village of Mae, which was established in 1953, and also at Bethel and by some of the inhabitants of Orap on the north-east coast. The language is also known as Maraiyek, but perhaps better as the Small Nambas language of early literature. Since the term "Small Nambas" is also used to designate an entirely different group in the south, they would be better referred to as the North Small Nambas. Better still, the term "Small Nambas" should be dropped completely because of the confusion that it causes. The speakers of this language previously inhabited the area to the north of the Maragus, principally at the villages of Baterlilip and Batarhumbu. They moved to the sites which they now occupy so as to avoid the raids of the Big Nambas. Early records of this language, when it was still spoken in the bush villages refer to it as Boturuma.

**63. Wala-Rano**

The relatively well-known language of Wala-Rano is spoken by some 1300 people on the offshore islands of Wala and Rano in north-east Malekula, and also at Pinalum, Sandwir, Pourra and Stipter on the mainland. There are dialect differences between Wala and Rano, and as was stated above, this language and that of Uripiv may on further examination prove to constitute a single language, rather than two different ones.

**64. Atchin**

The language of Atchin, also known as Nale in some quarters, is spoken by approximately 950 people on the island of Atchin north of Wala and Rano, and also on the mainland at Lavalsal and by most of the inhabitants of Orap.

**65. Vao**

The Vao language is spoken on the island of Vao off the north-east tip of Malekula and also at the mainland village almost opposite the island by some 850 speakers. The language of Foa, reported by Hagen and Pineau (1889) is almost certainly Vao.

**66. Wowo**

The language of Wowo, also known as Vovo, is spoken by a little over 100 people on the north coast of Malekula at the villages of Wowo, Alavas, Naure and Tontar. It is very close to the Vao language, but will probably prove to be a separate language on lexicostatistical grounds.

**67. Matanavat**

It is claimed that at Matanavat, on the north-west coast a language

is spoken which is different from Wowo and also from Malua Bay, further to the south. No sample wordlists have yet been collected for this village, but it is hoped that one will be available in the near future, so that it may be incorporated in the lexicostatistical classification of the New Hebrides languages at present in progress.

#### 68. Malua Bay

This language is spoken on the north-west coast of Malekula from Malua Bay to Tanmial. It is also known as Espiegle Bay language and also is referred to in the early literature as the language of the Middle Nambas. This language has approximately 200 speakers and is very close to the language of Mae, the Mae people having migrated from the area adjacent to Malua Bay. The Malua Bay people, according to present inhabitants of the region, were also subjected to frequent attacks from the Big Nambas, to such an extent that many of them fled to Malo, just south of Santo, and remain there to this day.

#### 69. Big Nambas

The Big Nambas language is spoken over a large area of north-west Malekula, principally at the villages of Warnap, Tenmaru, Amok and surrounding bush villages, Win, Wilak, Leviamp, Brenwei, Unmet, Uri and by some people now living at Larevat further to the south. It has a little over 1200 speakers. In recent years there has been much movement of people from the villages of Amok and the surrounding area to the coast, leading to the formation of the new villages of Unmet and Uri.

#### 70. Larevat

This language is spoken at the west coast village of Larevat, south of the Big Nambas area by little more than 100 people.

#### 71. Vinmavis

The language of Vinmavis, perhaps better known as Lambumbu, is spoken by about 140 people at Vinmavis village on the west coast. It has also been referred to in the early literature as Winiv, Telag and Banggor. It is closely related to the Port Stanley language, the speakers of both languages having occupied a more central position in the island than they do today.

#### 72. Dixon Reef

This language, spoken by approximately 50 people at Dixon Reef village, is claimed to be closely related to the language of Tisvel (Timbembe), although no wordlist has yet been collected to show whether it is or not a separate language. It is hoped that such a wordlist will be available in the near future, so that the linguistic map of Malekula may be finalised.

## 73. Mewun

The Mewun language, locally known as Ninde is spoken at the villages of Labo, Lawa and Windua by some 350 speakers. It has several dialects. Some South Small Nambas people (see Letemboi) are now reported to be living at Lawa and Windua.

## 74. Sinesip

The Sinesip language, also known as Nahapa and Seniang and Lamangkau, is spoken at South-west Bay principally in the villages of Lembinwen and Benour, by a little over 250 people.

## 75. Nakahai

The Nakahai language, also known as Orierh and Toman is spoken by slightly more than 400 people on Toman Island, off the south-western tip of Malekula and also on the mainland at the villages of Milip and Malvaxal.

## D. MAEWO (see map 4)

According to the 1967 Census, there are 1178 people living on Maewo (Aurora). At the present time this figure would have increased to well over 1200. There are at present four languages native to Maewo spoken on the island. These are as follows:

## 78. North Maewo

The North Maewo language is spoken currently in two villages, Marino and Naone by approximately 90 speakers. The language is apparently more closely related to the language of the Banks Islands, immediately to the north, than to the other languages spoken on Maewo. The North Maewo language, formerly spoken in several dialects, has also been called Tanoriki, Lotor, Qarangave; Tasmouri, Arata and Bangoro in previous linguistic literature.

## 79. Peterara

The Peterara or north-central Maewo language is at present spoken in the villages of Galowo, Peterara, Kerepei, Rongonawo, Qatiawol and Saratamwata by approximately 350 speakers. It appears much more homogeneous than the language of Nasawa a little further to the south.

## 80. Nasawa

The Nasawa or south-central Maewo language is spoken mainly in the villages of Navenevene, Tam, Naviso, Nasawa, Narovorovo and Baitora by approximately 500 speakers. There is much dialect differentiation in this language, each village having quite considerable speech differences from the other.



### 81. South Maewo

The South Maewo language is reported to be remembered by a few old people in the extreme south of the island, although this area has now been occupied for some time by Raga speaking people from north Pentecost, who moved to south Maewo because of overcrowding in their home territory. Approximately 250 Raga speaking people live mainly in the villages of Asanvari and Avanbatai.

### E. AOBA

According to the Census of 1967, Aoba (Leper's Island) has a population of 5870. The figure has risen to over 6000 at the present time. There are only two languages spoken on Aoba as follows:

#### 82. North-East Aoban

The north-east Aoban language, variously referred to as Lombaha, Longana, Waluriki, Lolopuepue, Lolokaro and Lolsiwoi, has approximately 3000 speakers. The language has many dialects, perhaps as many as fifteen, and is very closely related to the other language spoken on Aoba, Nduindui. In some previous literature it had been suggested that the dialect of Lolokaro, in the south-east, was a separate language. A comparison of lexical items, however, reveals that the difference is only dialectal.

#### 83. Nduindui

The language of south-west Aoba, Nduindui or Duindui, has approximately the same number of speakers as North-East Aoban, somewhere between 2900 and 3000. It too has several dialects. As was stated above, it is very closely related to North-East Aoban, sharing more than 60% cognates on a basic vocabulary list.

### F. PENTECOST (see map 4)

The island of Pentecost or Whitsuntide had a population of 6750 at the Census of 1967. The figure is now probably in the region of 7000. The languages of Pentecost fall into two divisions: Raga in the north, with very close ties with Aoba and Maewo, the remainder having close ties with the languages of Ambrym. The languages of Pentecost are as follows:

#### 84. Raga

The language of Raga, also known as Lamalanga, Loltong, Vunmarama, Loltavola and Qatvenua, has approximately 2300 speakers. Raga is confined to the northern part of the island. The southern boundary of the language runs roughly from Namaram on the west coast to Aligu on the

east coast. Raga is also spoken in south Maewo, as was noted above. Dialect differences in this language are not nearly so marked as in the languages to the south.

#### 85. Apma

Apma is the language of central Pentecost. It has approximately 3000 speakers, speaking roughly four dialects of the same language. There are two major dialects - Suru-bo and Suru-marani, spoken north and south respectively of the Sesan River. Apma, whose affinities lie more with Sa to the south than with Raga, is also known as Melsisi and Bwatnapni. Within the Apma area, it is known that there are two other languages, Seke and Sowa, with only a few speakers. It is also reported that another language is spoken at the village of Kassap. This report remains to be investigated.

#### 86. Sa

The Sa or Ponorwal language is spoken by approximately 1200 speakers in south Pentecost. It has four main dialects, represented by the following areas: Bunlap-Baie Barrier; Ste. Therese; Wali-Ranputor; Point Cross. Sa is most closely related to the language of North Ambrym, sharing approximately 60% common cognates on a basic vocabulary list.

#### 87. Sowa

The language of Sowa, whose existence has been attested (Walsh), is spoken in a single village just north of the Seke speaking villages of Baravet and Hot Water. It has only approximately 20 speakers.

#### 88. Seke

The Seke language is spoken in two villages in central Pentecost, at Baravet and Hot Water, by approximately 200 speakers. It shares 60% common cognates with Apma and 55% with Sa, to the south. Most Sowa and Seke speakers also speak Apma.

### G. AMBRYM AND PAAMA (see map 4)

The island of Ambrym is inhabited by some 4230 people, according to the Census of 1967. Since then, the numbers have probably grown, although a fair number of Ambrymese are now working in Noumea. Previous writers have had some difficulty in determining the number of different languages spoken on the island (see Codrington and Ray). At the present time there are five languages, according to lexicostatistical criteria. The opinion of the Ambrymese agrees with this figure. However, there have been great population movements on the island, especially since the beginning of this century, some of this being attributable to major volcanic eruptions. The present day languages are as follows:

#### 91. North Ambrym

The language of North Ambrym is very closely related to all of the other languages on the island, with the exception of the south-east corner, where the language is most closely related to Paamese, spoken on the island of Paama and formerly Lopevi, a short distance away. North Ambrymese is also closely related to the languages of south and central Pentecost. This group shares many lexical innovations not found elsewhere in the New Hebrides.

North Ambrymese is at present spoken by approximately 1900 speakers in the northern section of the island. It is also known as Magam, Olal, Embululi, Loliwara and Limbol in the early literature. It has many dialects, although it would appear that the language has two major dialect types, characterised by Olal on the one hand and by Magam on the other.

#### 92. Lonwolwol

The language spoken in the south-west corner of Ambrym has been called Lonwolwol, Craig Cove, Fanting and also Dip Point. It appears to have two main dialects and is spoken at present by approximately 400 speakers.

#### 93. Dakaka

Dakaka is spoken by approximately 400 speakers in the area between Craig Cove and Port Vato, principally in the villages of Balap and Sesivi, although in many other smaller villages also. It is also known by the name of its two chief villages just mentioned, Balap and Sesivi.

#### 94. Port Vato

The Port Vato language has approximately 500 speakers. It is spoken in the area around Port Vato, between Dakaka and South-East Ambrym. The last three languages are very closely related, sharing in the vicinity of 70% cognates on a basic word list.

#### 95. South-East Ambrym

The language of South-East Ambrym is at present spoken by about 1000 people in the south-eastern part of the island, and also by approximately 200 Ambrymese at the village of Maat on Efate. This group moved from Ambrym to Efate a little more than twenty years ago. South-East Ambrym appears to be spoken in four main dialects, represented by Endu, Toak, Penapo, and Taveak. It is closely related to the language of Paama, sharing more than 70% common cognates on a basic wordlist.

#### 96. Paama

The Paama or Paamese language is spoken on the small island of Paama, which lies close to the south-eastern point of Ambrym, between Ambrym

and Epi. On Paama it is spoken by approximately 2000 people in two main dialects, represented by Oailev and Lironessa. It is also spoken on Epi, by approximately 150 speakers, evacuees from the tiny island of Lopevi (see Epi).

#### H. EPI (see map 4)

Epi has a New Hebridean population of 1645 according to the 1967 Census. Of these, approximately 200 are non-Epi natives from other islands employed on the various plantations around the island.

There are at present six local languages spoken on the island, plus two which are not native to Epi. The Epi languages are as follows:

##### 96. Laul

The language called Laul is in fact the language of the island of Lopevi, the inhabitants of which island were evacuated following a violent volcanic eruption some years ago. The language is included here as it appears that the ex-Lopevi people are destined to remain permanently on the east coast of Epi. It is rather different from the Epi languages, and is in fact a dialect of Paama. Laul is spoken by about 150 people in two villages, Laul and Meakumu, or Mate No.2 as it is also known.

##### 97. Lewo

Lewo is the largest language spoken on Epi, with a little more than 700 speakers. The word lewo, in fact, means '*language*' and is therefore not the name of the language in question. However, the term has been used in previous literature, and in the absence of a better one the name Lewo will be used here. Lewo is spoken in the villages of Baia, Moriu, Nivenue, Nikaura and Nuvi on the east coast, and on Lamenu Island and Visina and Esake on the north-west coast, as well as a few tiny villages on the mainland opposite Lamenu Island. Dialect differences are found in each of the villages. A good deal of evangelical literature has been written in Lewo, which has served as a church lingua franca.

##### 98. Bierebo

This language is spoken now on the north-west coast of Epi, in the villages of Bonkovia, Yevali (Nambakura), and Esake. The village of Esake, a recent one, has in fact two languages, half of the people speaking Bierebo, while the remainder speak Lewo. This is because the two former bush villages of Membremo and Burupika, or rather some of their residents, have moved to the coast to form the new village of Esake. A few of the original inhabitants of Membremo and Burupika still

remain in their respective villages. Yevali, too, is the result of the moving and amalgamation of two villages, Cokopue and Yapana. Bierebo is also spoken in one east coast village, Tavio whose inhabitants originated in a bush village called Puruvenua. Bierebo, then, was formerly spoken exclusively in the mountain areas of the north of Epi. The original home was deserted and the people moved to the coasts, mainly to the west coast. Bierebo, which has four dialects, boasts some 270 speakers.

#### 99. Baki

Baki is spoken today by approximately 100 people mainly residing in the Burumba area and small surrounding villages, on the west coast of Epi.

#### 100. Maii

This language is spoken in the relatively recent village of Mae-Morae and also by a handful of people living at Lemau on the other side of the island. It has approximately 100 speakers. The inhabitants of Mae-Morae formerly lived in the mountains behind the present site, as indeed most Epi people were bush rather than sea people as recently as the turn of this century.

#### 101. Bieria

This language is the smallest of the Epi languages, with at best approximately 70 speakers. It is spoken in the villages of Vovo and Taliko, in south west Epi. Intermediate villages are now deserted. An alternative name for Bieria is Howana, although this is not widely used. Bieria has two dialects at present.

#### 102. Tasiko

Tasiko is a language which is very closely related to Lewo. Some writers have, in fact, considered the two to be dialects of the same language. However, on lexicostatistical criteria the two must be regarded as separate. Tasiko is now spoken in the south and south-east of Epi, in the villages of Mate, Leppa, Nul, Plate and Filakara. It was also spoken in the now extinct village of Leblia. It has approximately 250 speakers. Slight dialect differences have been noted between villages.

#### *Note:*

1. There is also another language spoken on Epi at a village on the west coast, the village of Boatpasis. Here about 30 Malekulan people from the village of Mae, on east Malekula have been given ground and have settled semi-permanently.

2. The languages of Epi fall naturally into two groups, Lewo-Tasiko and the languages of the west coast, the latter being more formidable, especially phonologically than the former.

## I. EFATE AND SHEPHERD ISLAND (see map 5)

Efate and the Shepherd Island had a population of 9059 New Hebrideans at the time of the Census of 1967. The number is now probably in excess of 10,000. Workers come from nearly all of the islands of the group to work in the capital, Port Vila, as many as 3000 at any one time. However, only people born on Efate or the Shepherd Islands will be considered here. There are four languages native to the area, as follows:

### 103. Namakuran

Namakuran is spoken by approximately 1900 speakers in the following areas: half of the island of Tongoa, at the villages of Matangi, Itakoma, Euta, Mangarisu, Bongabonga and Meriu, Tongariki Island, Buninga Island, on Emae Island at the village of Finongi mainly, Makura Island, Mataso Island. The small island of Ewose is uninhabited. Namakuran has five dialects as follows: Tongoa, Tongariki, Buninga, Makura and Emae, Mataso. It is closely related to Efatese, sharing in the region of 60% common cognates on a basic vocabulary list. However, in many ways it appears to be more dissimilar than the lexicostatistical figures would suggest.

### 104. Efatese

Efatese, with more than 4500 speakers is the "largest" language in the New Hebrides. It is spoken on half of the island of Tongoa, in two villages on Emae Island, on Emau Island, Pele Island, Moso Island, Leleppa Island, Nguna Island and in nearly all of the villages on the mainland of Efate. It has also been called Nakanamanga and Ngunese-Tongoan. However, these terms are too narrow, as they refer to specific areas which exclude many of the mainland Efate villages. Efatese has seven main dialects, which fall into two groups, north and south as follows:

- A. *North.*
  - 1. Tongoa
  - 2. Emae (Sesake)
  - 3. Nguna-Pele-Paunangis-Emua-Siviri-Moso
  - 4. Emau
- B. *South.*
  - 5. Leleppa
  - 6. Erakor-Eratap-Pango
  - 7. Eton-Epau.

In north Efate great dialect standardisation has taken place, mainly because of the use of the Ngunese dialect as an evangelical language. There are perhaps further subdivisions which could be made within this group, but they are only of a minor order and would be difficult to

determine accurately at this stage. In the southern dialects, the speech is clipped and words shortened considerably compared with the northern dialects. In fact, many northern speakers have some difficulty understanding the clipped speech of the southerners.

105. Emae

Emae or Amunaomae is a Polynesian language spoken in the villages of Makatea and Tongamea on the island of Emae in the Shepherd Islands. It has only approximately 150 speakers.

106. Fila-Mele

Fila-Mele is also a Polynesian language. It is spoken at the village of Mele, on the mainland of Efate, and on Fila Island in Port Vila harbour. It was formerly spoken also on Mele Island, just opposite the site of the present-day Mele village, until it became too small for the expanding population. At the present time, Fila-Mele has approximately 1200 speakers.

J. ERROMANGA (see map 6)

The island of Erromanga is inhabited today by approximately 600 people. At the present time, there is only one language, Sie, spoken by the population. Ura is remembered by a handful of old people, see below.

107. Sie

Sie is spoken throughout Erromanga by some 600 people. It appears to have taken over from Yoku/Enyau as the standard dialect, Yoku/Enyau being equivalent to "Biblical" Erromanga. Modern Erromangan or Sie, appears to be spoken in three dialects.

108. Ura

Ura was originally the language of northern Erromanga. It is all but extinct, and is remembered by fewer than 10 people at the present time. These people reside in the Dillon's Bay area. It is a separate language from Sie, sharing approximately 65% common cognates on a basic vocabulary list.

*Note:* The language of Utaha, again a separate language, is also reported to have been spoken on the eastern side of Erromanga, but has been extinct since the turn of the century. It has been reported that the dialect of Ifo replaced Utaha when the latter became extinct. This is perhaps preserved in the Potnariven dialect today.

## K. FUTUNA-ANIWA (see map 6)

## 109. Futuna-Aniwa

Futuna-Aniwa is a Polynesian language spoken by approximately 550 speakers on the small islands of Futuna and Aniwa to the east of Tanna. There are two dialects, corresponding to each island.

## L. TANNA (see map 6)

The island of Tanna is the most densely populated in the New Hebrides. According to the 1967 Census it had a population of about 10,500. This figure is probably much higher at the present time. There are at present six languages spoken on the island as follows:

## 110. North Tanna

The North Tanna language, also known in previous literature as Iteing, Itonga and Loanatit is spoken by some 2000 speakers. It is spoken from the northern tip of Tanna as far south as a line drawn between the villages of Yimnakayip and Lenaukas. North Tanna is spoken in two main dialects, the dialect division being between the eastern and western sections of the area. It is very closely related to Whitesands and Lenakel, see below.

## 111. Whitesands

The Whitesands language is spoken by approximately 2500 speakers in villages on or close to the east coast of Tanna, between Lawenata and Sulphur Bay. It is also known as East Tanna, Waesisi and Weasisi. It is spoken in two principal dialects, represented by Waesisi in the north and Lometimetī in the south. Whitesands language is closely related to Lenakel and to North Tanna, sharing more than 50% common cognates on a basic vocabulary list.

## 112. Lenakel

The Lenakel language is spoken by approximately 3000 speakers in west and central Tanna. Its northern boundary is approximately at Lenaukas, while in the south the last Lenakel speaking village is Isini, at Lenakel proper. The easternmost boundary lies in the area about Ikeupo village. Lenakel has many dialects, more than ten, some of which have been referred to in previous literature as Naviliang, Nerokwang, Numerat and Rahna.

## 113. Nvhal

Nvhal is spoken in south-west and south-central Tanna by approximately 1000 speakers. It is spoken from Bethel on the west coast as far across the island as Imwarepo and Imreang, and as far south as Imlao. It has been known in previous literature as Ikyoo and Nerauya. This



language, while still closely related to the other languages of Tanna, is outside the tight-knit Whitesands-Lenakel-North Tanna subgroup. It has several dialects.

#### 114. South-West Tanna

The South-West Tanna language, or Nōwai and Sangali as it is also known, is spoken in the region to the south of Imlao, in a number of villages around Ikiti. It has approximately 600 speakers. Its existence as a separate language, separate from Nvhal, is not entirely conclusive, as it shares more than 80% cognates with neighbouring villages in the Nvhal area, while further away, for example at Imwarepo, the percentage of shared cognates falls to 70%. There is evidence of complex dialect chaining in this area, which only further research can elucidate.

#### 115. Kwamera

The Kwamera language is spoken in south Tanna from Port Resolution, along the coast of Kwamera and around to the west coast as far as the village of Yankwaneneai. Kwamera has approximately 1100 speakers, who speak two main dialects, represented by Port Resolution and Imaki. There are of course several more subdialects.

### M. ANEITYUM (see map 6)

#### 117. Aneityumese

Aneityumese is spoken by approximately 320 people on the island of Aneityum, the southernmost of the islands of the New Hebrides. It was reported that the former language of Anauwonse, on the northern side of the island was different from modern Aneityumese. However, this village has been abandoned for some time, the remnants of the inhabitants having moved to Anouwonamlau village. Lexical items remembered from the "old language" suggest strongly that it was only dialectally different from the present Aneityumese language.

### 3.0 TENTATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF NEW HEBRIDES LANGUAGES

For purposes of this tentative classification based on sample lexicostatistical comparisons and upon grammatical and phonological features known to the writer, the following percentages of shared cognates have been taken as diagnostic:

Dialect:	81%-100%
Group:	50%-80%
Family:	28%-49%
Stock:	12%-27%.

On this basis, all of the languages of the New Hebrides appear to be members of a single language family, since no two languages so far compared have scored less than 28%. It should be stressed that the classification which follows is tentative and may be subject to considerable revision once the full lexicostatistical counts have been completed. The languages of the New Hebrides, then, would fall into the following groups:

#### NEW HEBRIDES LANGUAGE FAMILY

##### 1. Northern New Hebrides Group (44 languages)

1. Hiw	2. Loh-Toga	3. Lehali
4. Rowa	5. Motlav	6. Mota
7. Vatrata	8. Vureas	9. Mosina
10. Gaua	11. Dorig	12. Koro
13. Lakona	14. Merlav	18. Mafea
21. Tambotalo	22. Tutuba	23. Aore
24. Malo	25. Narango	26. Tangoa
27. Amblong	28. Araki	29. Akei
30. Fortsenal	32. Moruas	33. Lametin
34. Matae	35. Navut	36. Nonona
37. Malmariv	38. Wusi	39. Tasmate
40. Nokuku	41. Valpei	42. Vunapu
43. Tolomako	78. North Maewo	79. Peterara
80. Nasawa	81. South Maewo	82. North-East Aoban
83. Nduindui	84. Raga	

This large language group is attested by the following sample of shared cognates, in which one language has been selected to represent each area:

	<i>Gaua</i>	<i>Peterara</i>	<i>Nduindui</i>	<i>Malo</i>	<i>Tasmate</i>
Gaua (Banks)	-	60%	54%	50%	51%
Petarara (Maewo)	60%	-	51%	50%	53%
Nduindui (Aoba)	54%	51%	-	52%	58%
Malo (S.Santo)	50%	50%	52%	-	57%
Tasmate (W.Santo)	51%	53%	58%	57%	-

##### 2. East Santo Group (6 languages)

15. Sakau	16. Loreliakarkar	17. Shark Bay
19. Butmas	20. Nambel	31. Roria

## 3. South Malekulan Group (13 languages)

- |                |             |                   |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 46. Letemboi   | 47. Axamb   | 48. Faraun        |
| 49. Maskelynes | 50. Maxbaxo | 51. Port Sandwich |
| 52. Vartabo    | 53. Aulua   | 54. Repanbitip    |
| 55. Pangkumu   | 73. Mewun   | 74. Sinesip       |
| 75. Nakahai    |             |                   |

## 4. North Malekulan Group (17 languages)

- |                  |                |                   |
|------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 56. Unua         | 57. Timbembe   | 58. Bushman's Bay |
| 59. Port Stanley | 60. Uripiv     | 61. Maragus       |
| 62. Mae          | 63. Wala-Rano  | 64. Atchin        |
| 65. Vao          | 66. Wowo       | 67. Matanavat     |
| 68. Malua Bay    | 69. Big Nambas | 70. Larevat       |
| 71. Vinmavis     | 72. Dixon Reef |                   |

## 5. Central New Hebrides Group (10 languages)

- |            |                  |                       |
|------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 85. Apma   | 86. Sa           | 87. Sowa              |
| 88. Seke   | 91. North Ambrym | 92. Lonwolwol         |
| 94. Dakaka | 94. Port Vato    | 95. South-East Ambrym |
| 96. Paama  |                  |                       |

It should be noted that Paama and South-East Ambrym form a subgroup within this group.

## 6. Epi Group (6 languages)

- |           |             |             |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| 97. Lewo  | 98. Bierebo | 99. Baki    |
| 100. Maii | 101. Bieria | 102. Tasiko |

## 7. Efatese Group (2 languages)

- |                |              |
|----------------|--------------|
| 103. Namakuran | 104. Efatese |
|----------------|--------------|

## 8. Erromangan Group (2 languages)

- |          |          |
|----------|----------|
| 107. Sie | 108. Ura |
|----------|----------|

## 9. Tanna Group (6 languages)

- |                  |                       |              |
|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 110. North Tanna | 111. Whitesands       | 112. Lenakel |
| 113. Nvhal       | 114. South-West Tanna | 115. Kwamera |

## 10. Aneityum Group (1 language)

- |                  |
|------------------|
| 116. Aneityumese |
|------------------|

The three Polynesian languages of Emae, Fila-Mele and Futuna-Aniwa have been excluded from this tentative classification.

### 3.1 NEW HEBRIDES LANGUAGES AND AUSTRONESIAN

All of the languages of the New Hebrides are Austronesian. However, within this island group there appear to be two distinct language types, excluding of course the three Polynesian languages. Both types have previously been described under one head as "Melanesian".

The two language types posited are as follows:

1. The Oceanic Type.
2. The "Melanesian" Type.

#### 3.1.1 The Oceanic Type

The Oceanic type of language consists of a group of 45 languages in the New Hebrides, the whole of the Northern Group listed above and most probably Efatese of the Efatese Group. The division is shown in map 1.

The Oceanic type, which appears to be closely related to the languages of the south Solomons and Fiji, has the following principal characteristics:

- a. A simple phonology with all vowels falling on the cardinal points.
- b. A distinct avoidance of consonant clustering.
- c. A simple noun morphology.
- d. A simple verb morphology, with free form verb stems, plus the use of particles to indicate tense and aspect.
- e. A word store which reflects proto-Oceanic forms, as set up by Grace, to a high degree.

#### 3.1.2 The "Melanesian" Type

While the Oceanic types form a very homogeneous group, the "Melanesian" type is not nearly as homogeneous. However, the languages of the New Hebrides which have not been described as Oceanic share much in common, and must be set apart from the Oceanic type. The principal features of the "Melanesian" type are as follows:

- a. Often a complex phonology, with up to ten vowel phonemes.
- b. Complex consonant clustering.
- c. Complex noun morphology.
- d. Complex verb morphology, absence of free form verb stems, and an affixing rather than particle tense/aspect indication.
- e. A rather different word store from the Oceanic type, better reflecting proto-Austronesian forms set up by Dempwolff, for example. Final consonants of the proto-Austronesian forms are often retained, whereas in the Oceanic type they are never retained.

The definite existence of these two language groups in the New Hebrides will be made clearer once comparative grammatical studies are

completed. The implications of the presence of an Oceanic type in island Melanesia are considerable from the point of view of Austronesian migration theory. However, the first task is to establish the existence of the type beyond any reasonable doubt and then to determine the geographical limits of the type in island Melanesia. Both of these tasks are at present being undertaken, and before long the existence of an Oceanic type or sub-group should be an established fact. Until such time, however, the writer will not attempt to put forward any hypotheses concerning the implications for Austronesian migration theory in this area.

#### 4.0 CHECKLIST OF NEW HEBRIDES LANGUAGES<sup>1</sup>

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Ahamb	see Axamb	Malekula
Akei (29)	Eralado, Ipayato, Lamarakai, Marino, Navaka, Penantsiro, Pilipili, Tasiriki, Wailapa	Santo
Alo Teqel*	Teqel	Vanua Lava, Banks
Amblong (27)	Narango North	Santo
Amunaomae	see Emae	Shepherd Is.
Aneityumese (116)		Aneityum
Apma (85)	Bwatnapni, Melsisi	Pentecost
Araki (28)		Santo
Arata	see North Maewo	Maewo
Atchin (64)	Nale	Malekula
Ati	see Butmas	Santo
Aulua (53)	Benelang, Boinelang	Malekula
Axamb (47)	Ahamb, Limilandr	Malekula
Balap	see Dakaka	Ambrym
Baki (99)	Burumba	Epi

<sup>1</sup> a. Number in brackets refers to language number in the text.  
 b. Names in heavy type are preferred names for languages.  
 c. Starred items refer to extinct languages, or to unidentifiable language names.

## CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Banan Bay	see Vartabo	Malekula
Bangasa	see Timbembe	Malekula
Banggor	see Vinnavis	Malekula
Bangoro	see North Maewo	Maewo
Beklag	see Motlav	Mota Lava, Banks
Benelang	see Aulua	Malekula
Big Bay	see Tolomako	Santo
Big Nambas (69)		Malekula
Bierebo (98)	Bonkovia, Cokopue, Nambakura, Yevali	Epi
Bieria (101)	Howana	Epi
Boinelang	see Aulua	Malekula
Bonkovia	see Bierebo	Epi
Boturuma	see Mae	Malekula
Bugeor*		Malekula
Bun	see Motlav	Vanua Lava, Banks
Buninga	see Namakuran	Shepherd Is.
Burumba	see Baki	Epi
Bushman's Bay (58)	Wuli, Mindu, Lingarak	Malekula
Butmas (19)	Ati, Polonombauk	Santo
Bwatnapni	see Apma	Pentecost
Cokopue	see Bierebo	Epi
Craig Cove	see Lonwolwol	Ambrym
Dakaka (93)	Balap, Sesivi	Ambrym
Dip Point	see Lonwolwol	Ambrym
Dixon Reef (72)		Malekula
Dorig (11)		Gaua, Banks
Duindui	see Nduindui	Aoba
East Tanna	see Whitesands	Tanna

## CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
<b>Efatese (104)</b>	Emau, Emua, Epau, Erakor, Eratap, Eton, Havannah Harbour, Leleppa, Moso, Nakanamanga, Ngunese, Pango, Paunangis, Pele, Sesake, Siviri, Tongoan, Utaone	Efate
<b>Emae (105)</b>	Amunaomae, Mae	Shepherd Is.
<b>Emau</b>	see Efatese	Efate
<b>Embululi</b>	see North Ambrym	Ambrym
<b>Emua</b>	see Efatese	Efate
<b>Enyau</b>	see Sie	Erromanga
<b>Epau</b>	see Efatese	Efate
<b>Erakor</b>	see Efatese	Efate
<b>Eralado</b>	see Akei	Santo
<b>Eratap</b>	see Efatese	Efate
<b>Espiegle Bay</b>	see Malua Bay	Malekula
<b>Eton</b>	see Efatese	Efate
<b>Fanting</b>	see Lonwolwol	Ambrym
<b>Faraun (48)</b>		Malekula
<b>Farsava</b>	see Narango	Santo
<b>Fila</b>	see Fila-Mele	Efate
<b>Fila-Mele (106)</b>	Fila, Mele	Efate
<b>Finongi</b>	see Namakuran	Shepherd Is.
<b>Foa</b>	see Vao	Malekula
<b>Fortsenal (30)</b>		Santo
<b>Futuna-Aniwa (109)</b>		Futuna & Aniwa Is.
<b>Gaua (10)</b>	Gog	Gaua, Banks
<b>Gog</b>	see Gaua	Gaua, Banks
<b>Grass Skirt</b>	see Timbembe	Malekula
<b>Havannah Harbour</b>	see Efatese	Efate

## CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Hiw (1)		Hiw, Torres
Hog Harbour	see Sakau	Santo
Howana	see Bieria	Epi
Ifo	see Sie	Erromanga
Ikyoo	see Nvhal	Tanna
Ipayato	see Akei	Santo
Iteing	see North Tanna	Tanna
Itonga	see North Tanna	Tanna
Kassap (?)		Pentecost
Katbol	see Timbembe	Malekula
Koro (12)		Gaua, Banks
Kuliviu	see Maskelynes	Malekula
Kwamera (115)		Tanna
Laevo	see Lewo	Epi
Lagalag	see Port Stanley	Malekula
Lakon	see Lakona	Gaua, Banks
Lakona (13)	Lakon	Gaua, Banks
Lamalanga	see Raga	Pentecost
Lamangkau	see Sinesip	Malekula
Lamap	see Port Sandwich	Malekula
Lamarakai	see Akei	Santo
Lambumbu	see Vinnavis	Malekula
Lamenu	see Lewo	Epi
Lametin (33)	Nalultsileri	Santo
Laravat	see Larevat	Malekula
Larevat (70)	Laravat	Malekula
Laul	see Paamese	Epi
Laus*		Malekula
Leha	see Lehali	Ureparapara, Banks
Lehali (3)	Leha, Tekel, Norbarbar	Ureparapara, Banks



## CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Leleppa	see Efatese	Efate
Lemaroro	see Tasiko	Epi
Lenakel (112)	Naviliang, Nerokwang, Numerat, Rahna	Tanna
Leon	see Vatrata	Vanua Lava, Banks
Letemboi (46)	South Small Nambas	Malekula
Lewo (97)	Lamenu, Laevo, Maluba	Epi
Liara*	Livara	Epi
Limbol	see North Ambrym	Ambrym
Limilandr	see Axamb	Malekula
Lingarak	see Bushman's Bay	Malekula
Litaro	see Shark Bay	Santo
Litzlitz	see Port Stanley	Malekula
Livara*	see Liara	Epi
Loanatit	see North Tanna	Tanna
Loh-Toga (2)	Toga	Torres
Loliwara	see North Ambrym	Ambrym
Lolnarrong	see Port Stanley	Malekula
Lolokaro	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Lolopuepue	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Lolsiwoi	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Loltavola	see Raga	Pentecost
Loltong	see Raga	Pentecost
Lombaha	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Longana	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Lonwolwol (92)	Craig Cove, Dip Point, Fanting	Ambrym
Lopevi	see Paamese	
Lorediakarkar (16)		Santo
Lотора	see North Maewo	Maewo

## CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
<b>Mae</b> (62)	Boturuma, Maraiyek, North Small Nambas	Malekula
Mae	see <b>Emae</b>	Shepherd Is.
Mae-Morae	see <b>Maii</b>	Epi
<b>Mafea</b> (18)	Mavea	Santo
Mafun	see <b>Moruas</b>	Santo
Magam	see <b>North Ambrym</b>	Ambrym
<b>Maii</b> (100)	Mae-Morae, Mari	Epi
Makura	see <b>Namakuran</b>	Shepherd Is.
<b>Malmariv</b> (37)		Santo
<b>Malo</b> (24)	Savan	
<b>Malua Bay</b> (68)	Espiegle Bay, Middle Nambas	Malekula
Maluba	see <b>Lewo</b>	Epi
Maragus	see <b>Maragus</b>	Malekula
<b>Maragus</b> (61)	Maragus, Tobah	Malekula
Maraiyek	see <b>Mae</b>	Malekula
Mari	see <b>Maii</b>	Epi
Marina	see <b>Tolomako</b>	Santo
Marino	see <b>Akei</b>	Santo
<b>Maskelynes</b> (49)	Kuliviu	Malekula
<b>Matae</b> (34)		Santo
<b>Matanavat</b> (67)		Malekula
Mataso	see <b>Namakuran</b>	Shepherd Is.
Mavea	see <b>Mafea</b>	Santo
<b>Maxbaxo</b> (50)		Malekula
Meaun	see <b>Mewun</b>	Malekula
Mele	see <b>Fila-Mele</b>	Efate
Melsisi	see <b>Apma</b>	Pentecost
<b>Merlav</b> (14)		Merelava, Banks

## CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Mewun (73)	Meaun, Ninde	Malekula
Middle Nambas	see Malua Bay	Malekula
Milip	see Nakahai	Malekula
Mindu	see Bushman's Bay	Malekula
Moruas (32)	Mafun	Santo
Mosin	see Mosina	Vanua Lava, Banks
Mosina (9)	Mosin	Vanua Lava, Banks
Moso	see Efatese	Efate
Mota (6)		Mota, Banks
Motlav (5)	Beklag, Bun, Valuwa, Volow	Motalava, Banks
Nahapa	see Sinesip	Malekula
Nakahai (75)	Milip, Orrierh, Toman	Malekula
Nakanamanga	see Efatese	Efate
Nale	see Atchin	Malekula
Nalultsileri	see Lametin	Santo
Namakuran (103)	Buninga, Finongi, Makura, Mataso, Tongariki	Shepherd Is.
Nambakura	see Bierebo	Epl
Nambel (20)	Napil	Santo
Napil	see Nambel	Santo
Napuanmen	see Whitesands	Tanna
Narango (25)	Farsava	Santo
Narango North	see Amblong	Santo
Nasawa (80)		Maewo
Navaka	see Akei	Santo
Naviliang	see Lenakel	Tanna
Navut (35)		Santo
Nawono*		Vanua Lava, Banks
Nduindui (83)	Duindui	Aoba

## CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Nerauya	see Nvhal	Tanna
Nerokwang	see Lenakel	Tanna
Netensal	see Port Stanley	Malekula
Nevaar	see Timbembe	Malekula
Nevat	see Timbembe	Malekula
Ngala	see Paamese	Epi
Ngunese	see Efatese	Efate
Ninde	see Mewun	Malekula
Ninebulo	see Seke	Pentecost
Nokuku (40)		Santo
Nonona (36)		Santo
Norbarbar	see Lehali	Ureparapara, Banks
North Ambrym (91)	Embululi, Limbol, Loliwara, Magam, Olal, Pante	Ambrym
North-East Aoban (82)	Lolokaro, Lolopuepue, Lolsiwoi, Lombaha, Longana, Waluriki	Aoba
North Maewo (78)	Arata, Bangoro, Lotoro, Qarangave, Tanoriki, Tasmouri	Maewo
North Small Nambas	see Mae	Malekula
North Tanna (110)	Iteing, Itonga, Loanatit	Tanna
Novul-Amleg*		Erromanga
Nowai	see South-West Tanna	Tanna
Numerat	see Lenakel	Tanna
Nvhal (113)	Ikyoo, Nerauya	Tanna
Olal	see North Ambrym	Ambrym
Onua	see Unua	Malekula
Orierh	see Nakahai	Malekula
Paamese (96)	Laul, Lopevi, Ngala	Paama

## CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Pak	see Vatrata	Vanua Lava, Banks
Pangkumu (55)	Tisman	Malekula
Pango	see Efatese	Efate
Pante	see North Ambrym	Ambrym
Paunangis	see Efatese	Efate
Pele	see Efatese	Efate
Penantsiro	see Akei	Santo
Peterara (79)		Maewo
Piamatsina	see Vunapu	Santo
Pilipili	see Akei	Santo
Polonombauk	see Butmas	Santo
Ponorwol	see Sa	Pentecost
Port Olry	see Sakau	Santo
Port Sandwich (51)	Lamap	Malekula
Port Stanley (59)	Lagalag, Litzlitz, Lolnarrong, Netensal	Malekula
Port Vato (94)		Ambrym
Potnariven	see Sie	Erromanga
Qaranggave	see North Maewo	Maewo
Qatvenua	see Raga	Pentecost
Raga (84)	Lamalanga, Loltavola, Loltong, Qatvenua, Vunmarama	Pentecost
Rahna	see Lenakel	Tanna
Rano	see Wala-Rano	Malekula
Repanbitip (54)		Malekula
Roria (31)		Santo
Rowa (4)		Ureparapara, Banks
Sa (86)	Ponorwol	Pentecost
Sakau (15)	Hog Harbour, Port Olry	Santo

## CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Sangali	see South-West Tanna	Tanna
Sasar	see Vatrata	Vanua Lava, Banks
Savan	see Malo	Santo
Seke (88)	Ninebulo	Pentecost
Seniang	see Sinesip	Malekula
Sesake	see Efatese	Shepherd Is.
Sesivi	see Dakaka	Ambrym
Shark Bay (17)	Litaro	Santo
Sie (107)	Enyau, Ifo, Potnariven, Sorng, Yoku	Erromanga
Sinesip (74)	Lamangkau, Nahapa, Seniang, South-West Bay	Malekula
Siviri	see Efatese	Efate
Sorng	see Sie	Erromanga
South-East Ambrym (95)	Taveak	Ambrym
South Maewo (81)		Maewo
South Small Nambas	see Letemboi	Malekula
South-West Bay	see Sinesip	Malekula
South-West Tanna (114)	Nowai, Sangali	Tanna
Sowa (87)		Pentecost
Tambotalo (21)		Santo
Tangoa (26)		Santo
Tanoriki	see North Maewo	Maewo
Tasiko (102)	Lemaroro	Epi
Tasiriki	see Akei	Santo
Tasmate (39)		Santo
Tasmouri	see North Maewo	Maewo
Taveak	see South-East Ambrym	Ambrym
Tekel	see Lehali	Ureparapara, Banks
Telag	see Vinmavis	Malekula

## CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Teqel*	Alo Teqel	Vanua Lava, Banks
Tikipti	see Tolomako	Santo
Timbembe (57)	Bangasa, Grass Skirt, Katbol, Nevaar, Nevat	Malekula
Tisman	see Pangkumu	Malekula
Tobah	see Maragus	Malekula
Toga	see Loh-Toga	Torres
Tolomako (43)	Big Bay, Marina, Tikipi	Santo
Toman	see Nakahai	Malekula
Tongariki	see Namakuran	Shepherd Is.
Tongoan	see Efatese	Shepherd Is.
Tutuba (22)		Santo
Unua (56)	Onua	Malekula
Ura (108)		Erromanga
Uripiv (60)		Malekula
Utaha*		Erromanga
Utaone	see Efatese	Efate
Valpay	see Valpei	Santo
Valpei (41)	Valpay	Santo
Valuwa	see Motlav	Motalava, Banks
Vao (65)	Fooa	Malekula
Vartabo (52)	Banan Bay	Malekula
Vatrata (7)	Leon, Pak, Sasar	Vanua Lava, Banks
Vinmavis (71)	Banggor, Lambumbu, Telag, Winiv	Malekula
Volow	see Motlav	Motalava, Banks
Vovo	see Wowo	Malekula
Vunapu (42)	Piamatsina	Santo
Vunmarama	see Raga	Pentecost
Vuras	see Vureas	Vanua Lava, Banks

## CHECKLIST

<i>Language</i>	<i>Variant Names</i>	<i>Location</i>
Vureas (8)	Vuras	Vanua Lava, Banks
Waesisi	see Whitesands	Tanna
Wailapa	see Akei	Santo
Wala-Rano (63)	Rano	Malekula
Waluriki	see North-East Aoban	Aoba
Weasisi	see Whitesands	Tanna
Whitesands (111)	East Tanna, Napuanmen, Waesisi, Weasisi	Tanna
Wien*		Malekula
Wilemp*		Malekula
Winiv	see Vinmavis	Malekula
Wowo (66)	Vovo	Malekula
Wuli	see Bushman's Bay	Malekula
Wulua	see Wusi	Santo
Wusi (38)	Wulua	Santo
Yevali	see Bierebo	Epi
Yoku	see Sie	Erromanga

## APPENDIX

*Wordlist Used in Survey of New Hebrides Languages*

1. head 2. hair (head) 3. ear 4. nose 5. tongue 6. tooth 7. eye
8. mouth 9. beard 10. chin 11. shoulder 12. upper arm 13. hand
14. thumb 15. neck 16. breasts 17. rib 18. belly 19. guts
20. heart 21. liver 22. navel 23. kidney 24. body hair 25. penis
26. testicles 27. vulva 28. back 29. right hand 30. left hand
31. lungs 32. excrement 33. vein 34. thigh 35. knee 36. leg
37. ankle 38. heel 39. foot 40. blood 41. bone 42. skin 43. sore
44. fat(n.) 45. sweat 46. tears 47. father 48. mother 49. child
50. man 51. woman 52. husband 53. name 54. person 55. wife
56. uncle (pat.) 57. uncle (mat.) 58. singsing 59. house 60. men's



house 61. door 62. story 63. pig 64. tusk 65. centipede 66. cray-  
fish 67. dog 68. louse 69. fly(n.) 70. snake 71. egg 72. bird  
73. animal 74. mosquito 75. fish 76. octopus 77. rat 78. shark  
79. whale 80. stingray 81. butterfly 82. wing 83. ant 84. flying  
fox 85. dolphin 86. grasshopper 87. scorpion 88. sea-snake 89. star-  
fish 90. tail 91. turtle 92. spider web 93. biche de mer 94. feather  
95. meat 96. food (vegetable) 97. yam 98. taro 99. sugar cane  
100. sago 101. Canarium Almond 102. tree 103. leaf 104. arrowroot  
105. dry coconut 106. coconut palm 107. banana 108. breadfruit  
109. sago palm 110. sandalwood 111. flower 112. fruit 113. grass  
114. root 115. woods 116. sun 117. moon 118. star 119. cloud  
120. water 121. rain 122. river 123. sand 124. stone 125. salt  
126. mountain 127. fire 128. smoke 129. ashes 130. road 131. wind  
132. lightning 133. rainbow 134. earth 135. earthquake 136. hole  
137. thunder 138. fog 139. lake 140. sea 141. sky 142. seed  
143. stick 144. firewood 145. mud 146. wave 147. foam 148. canoe  
149. paddle 150. anchor 151. outrigger 152. sail 153. dust 154. rope  
155. bow 156. arrow 157. knife 158. axe 159. digging stick 160. fish  
hook 161. spear 162. oven (earth) 163. fight(n.) 164. black  
165. white 166. red 167. yellow 168. green 169. blind 170. deaf  
171. big 172. small 173. good 174. bad 175. cooked 176. dead  
177. dry 178. wet 179. lazy 180. heavy 181. light 182. sick  
183. cold 184. dirty 185. dull 186. long 187. narrow 188. new  
189. old 190. right (correct) 191. rotten 192. sharp 193. short  
194. smooth 195. straight 196. thick 197. thin 198. wide 199. one  
200. two 201. three 202. four 203. five 204. six 205. seven  
206. eight 207. nine 208. ten 209. few 210. other 211. some  
212. who 213. what 214. when 215. how many 216. many 217. where  
218. work 219. warm 220. yesterday 221. tomorrow 222. night  
223. year 224. day 225. I 226. thou 227. he 228. we pl.incl.  
229. we pl.excl. 230. you pl. 231. they 232. we dl.incl. 233. we  
dl.excl. 234. you dl. 235. they dl. 236. give 237. hit (with hand)  
238. see 239. bite 240. hear 241. cry 242. die 243. vomit 244. go  
245. come 246. swim 247. eat 248. stand 249. sit 250. call out  
251. run 252. fall (coconut) 253. sleep 254. laugh 255. blow (fire)  
256. hold 257. fly(vb.) 258. tie (rope) 259. spit 260. bark  
261. breathe 262. burn 263. count 264. cut 265. dig 266. drink  
267. fear 268. float 269. flow 270. kill 271. hunt 272. know  
273. lie 274. live 275. play 276. pull 277. push 278. rub  
279. say 280. scratch 281. sew 282. sing 283. smell 284. split  
285. squeeze 286. stab 287. suck 288. swell 289. think 290. throw

291. turn 292. walk 293. wash 294. wipe 295. all 296. and 297. at  
 298. because 299. far 300. here 301. how 302. if 303. in 304. near  
 305. not 306. that 307. there 308. this 309. with.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

CAPELL, A.

1962 *A Linguistic Survey of the South-Western Pacific*, S.P.C.  
 Technical Paper No. 136. Noumea.

CODRINGTON, R.H.

1885 *The Melanesian Languages*. Oxford.

DEMPWOLFF, O.

1938 *Vergleichende Lautlehre der Austronesischen Sprachen*, vol. 3.  
 Berlin.

GRACE, G.W.

1969 *Proto-Oceanic Finder List*. Mimeographed.

HAGEN, A. and A. PINEAU

1889 "Les Nouvelles Hebrides, etudes ethnographiques", in *Revue  
 d'Ethnographie*, 7:302-62.

McARTHUR, N. and J.F. YAXLEY

1968 *Condominium of the New Hebrides. A Report on the First  
 Census of the Population 1967*. New South Wales Government  
 Printer.

RAY, S.H.

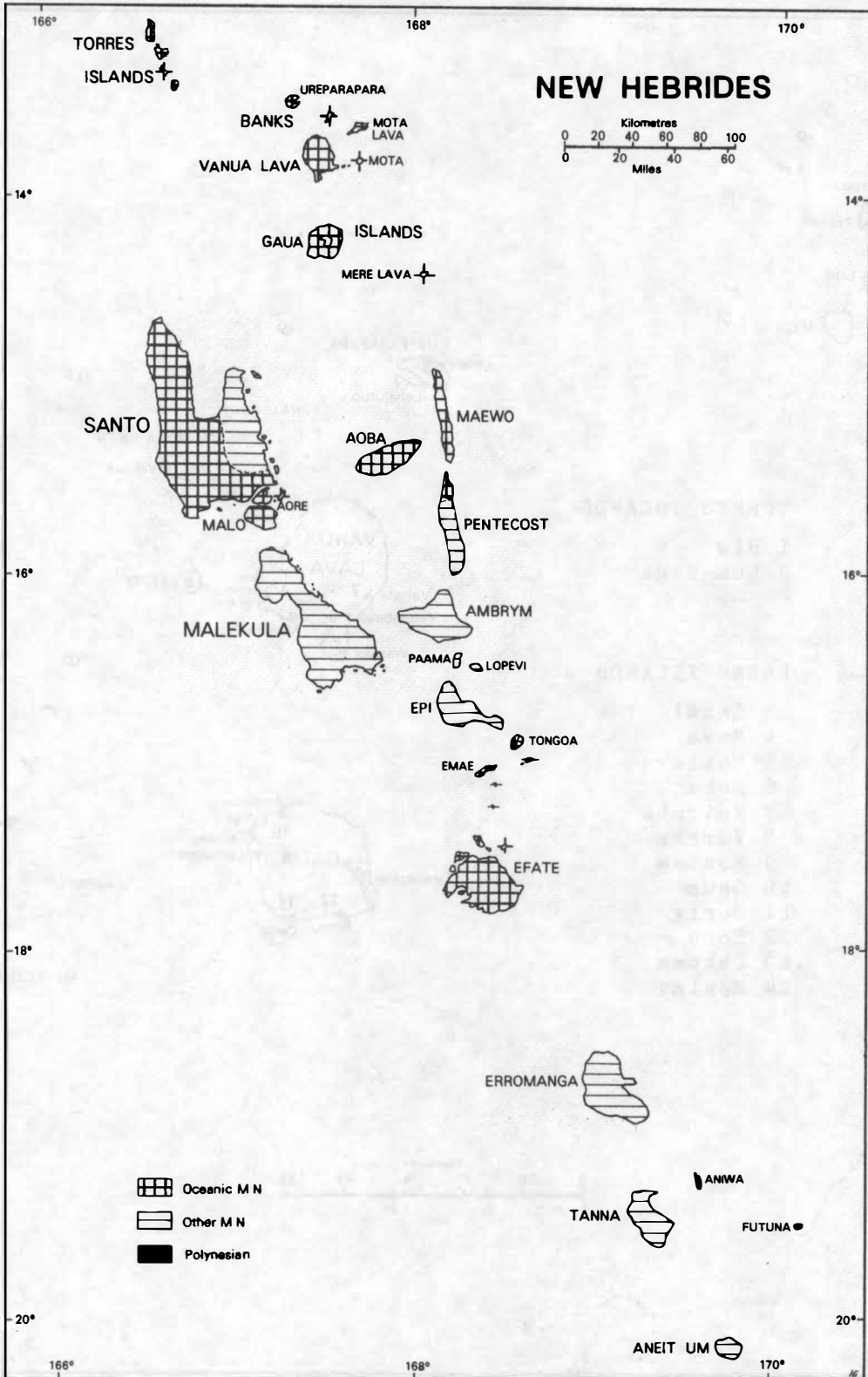
1893 "The Languages of the New Hebrides", *Journal of the Royal  
 Society of New South Wales*, 22:101-67, 469-70.

RAY, S.H.

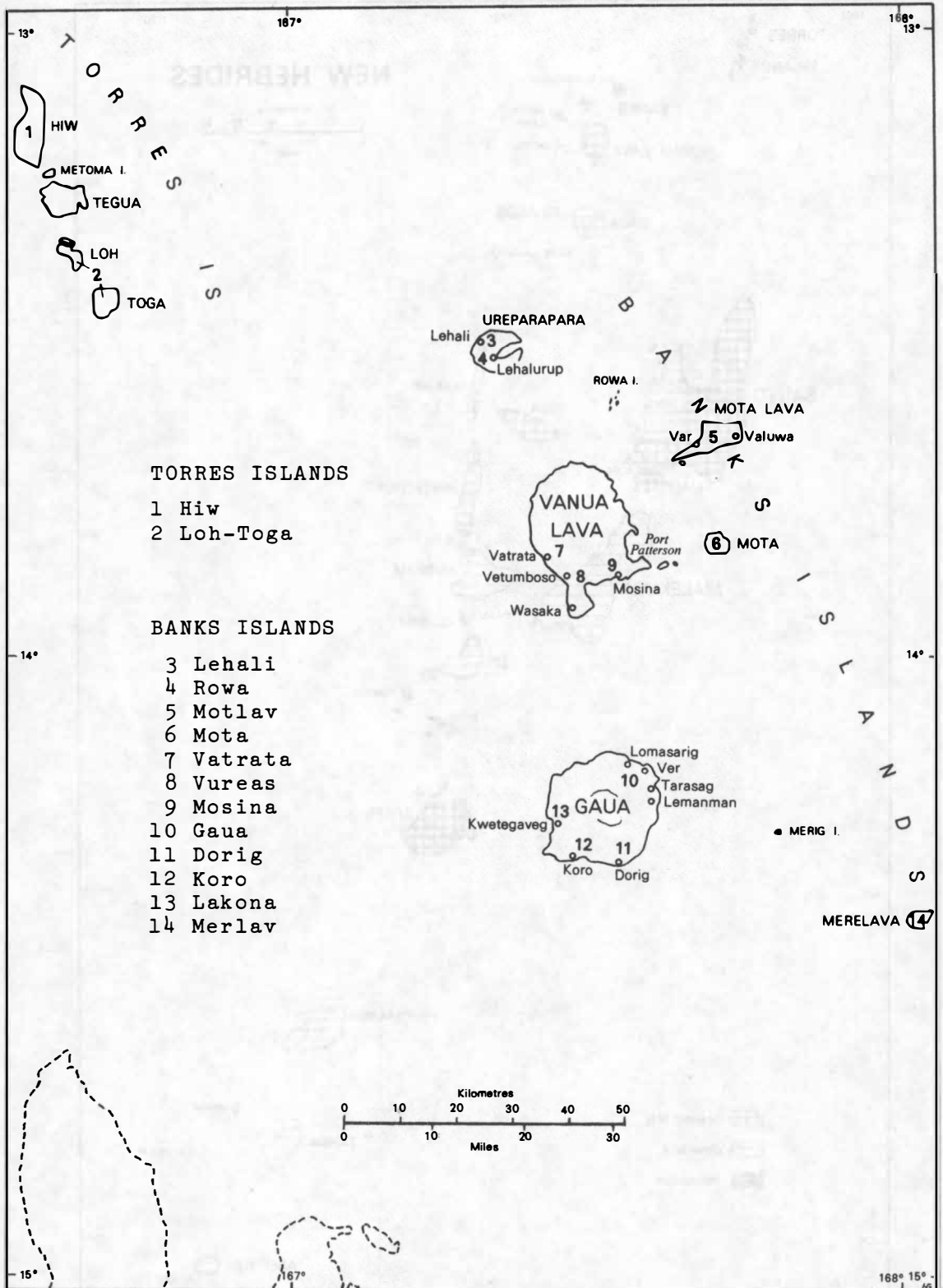
1926 *A Comparative Study of the Melanesian Island Languages*.  
 Cambridge University Press.

WURM, S.A. and D.C. LAYCOCK

1961 "The Question of Language and Dialect in New Guinea", *Oceania*,  
 32:128-43.



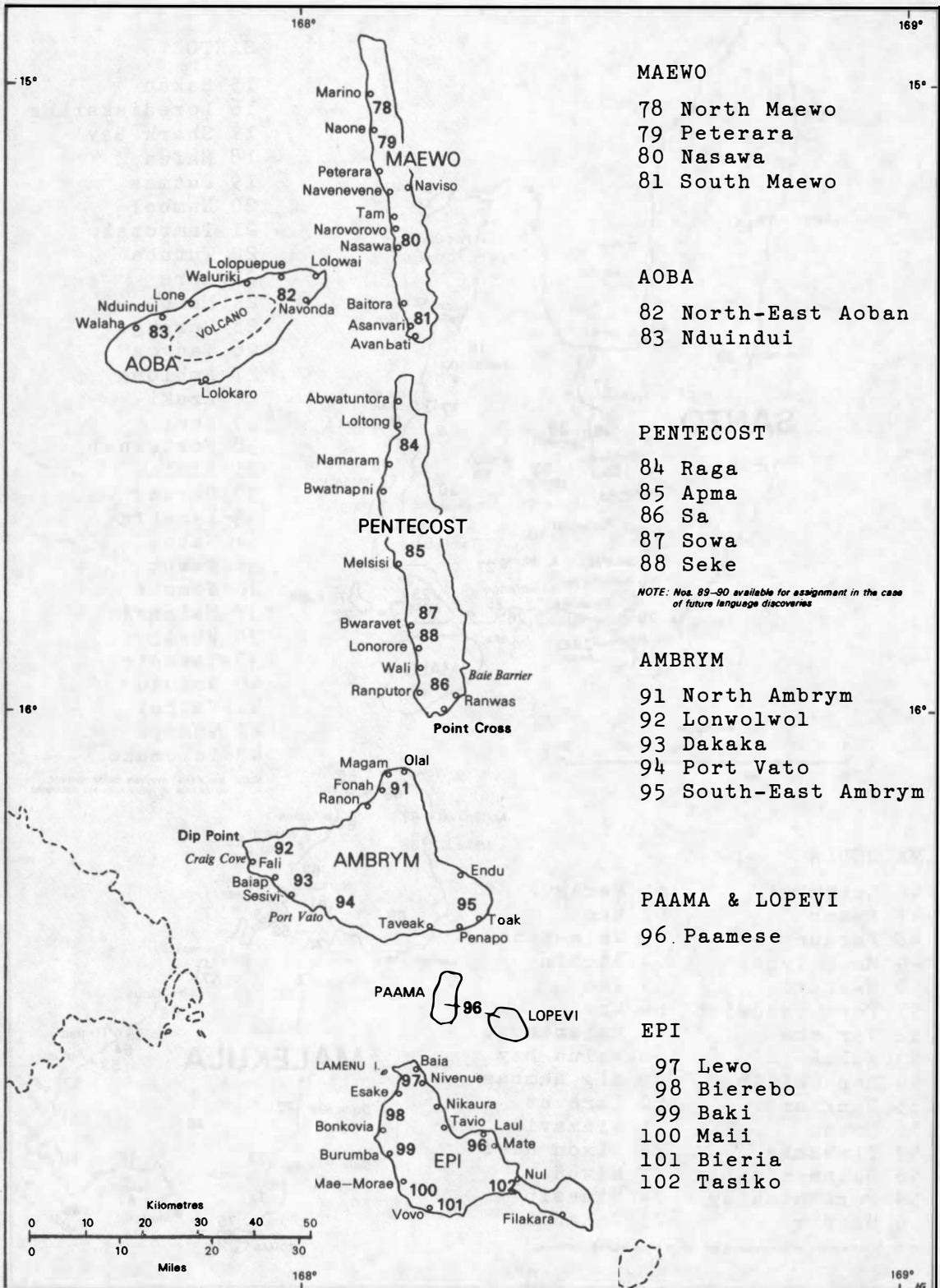
MAP I



MAP II



MAP III



**MAEWO**

- 78 North Maewo
- 79 Peterara
- 80 Nasawa
- 81 South Maewo

**AOBA**

- 82 North-East Aoban
- 83 Nduindui

**PENTECOST**

- 84 Raga
- 85 Apma
- 86 Sa
- 87 Sowa
- 88 Seke

*NOTE: Nos. 89-90 available for assignment in the case of future language discoveries*

**AMBRYM**

- 91 North Ambrym
- 92 Lonwolwol
- 93 Dakaka
- 94 Port Vato
- 95 South-East Ambrym

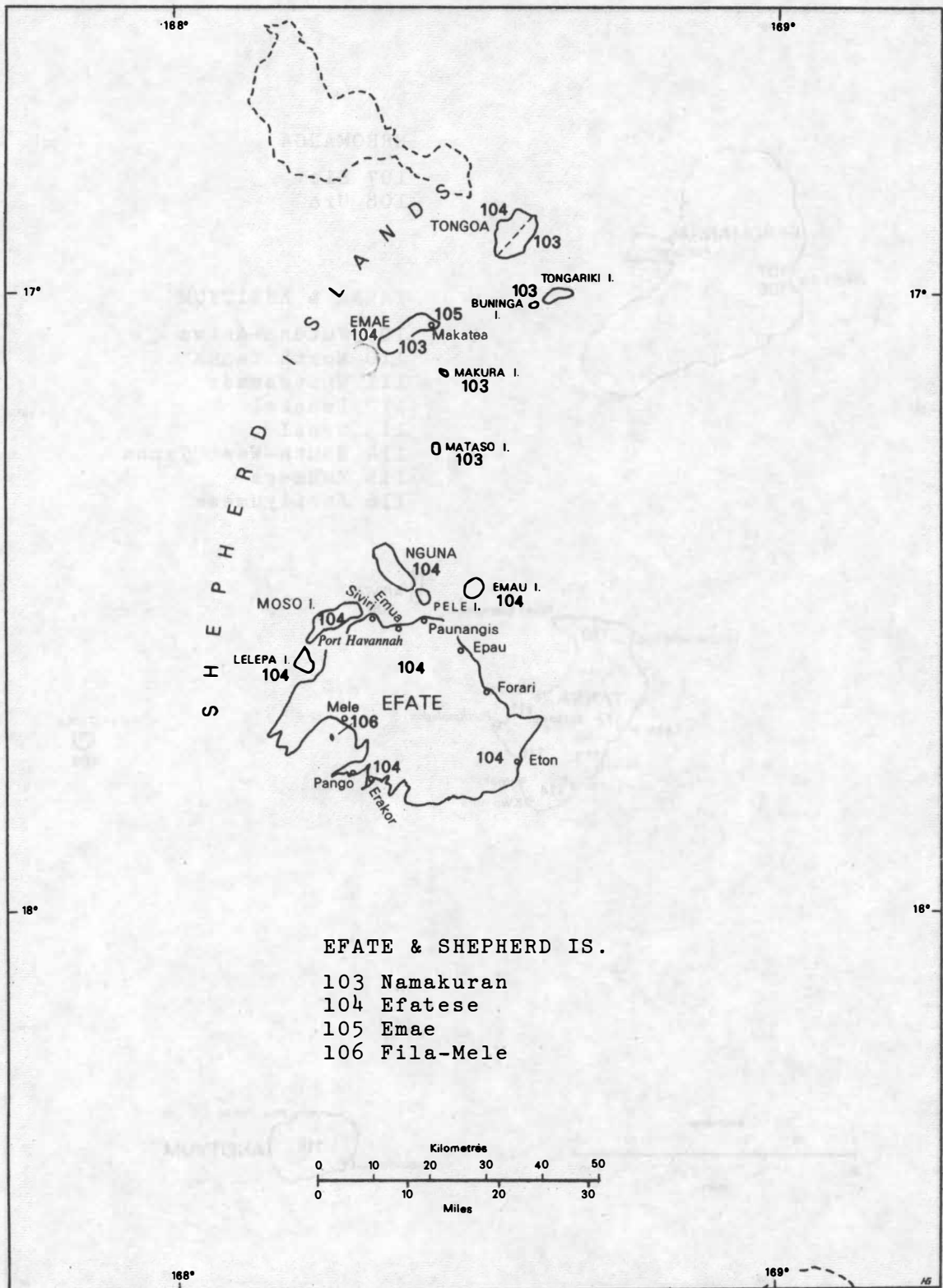
**PAAMA & LOPEVI**

- 96 Paamese

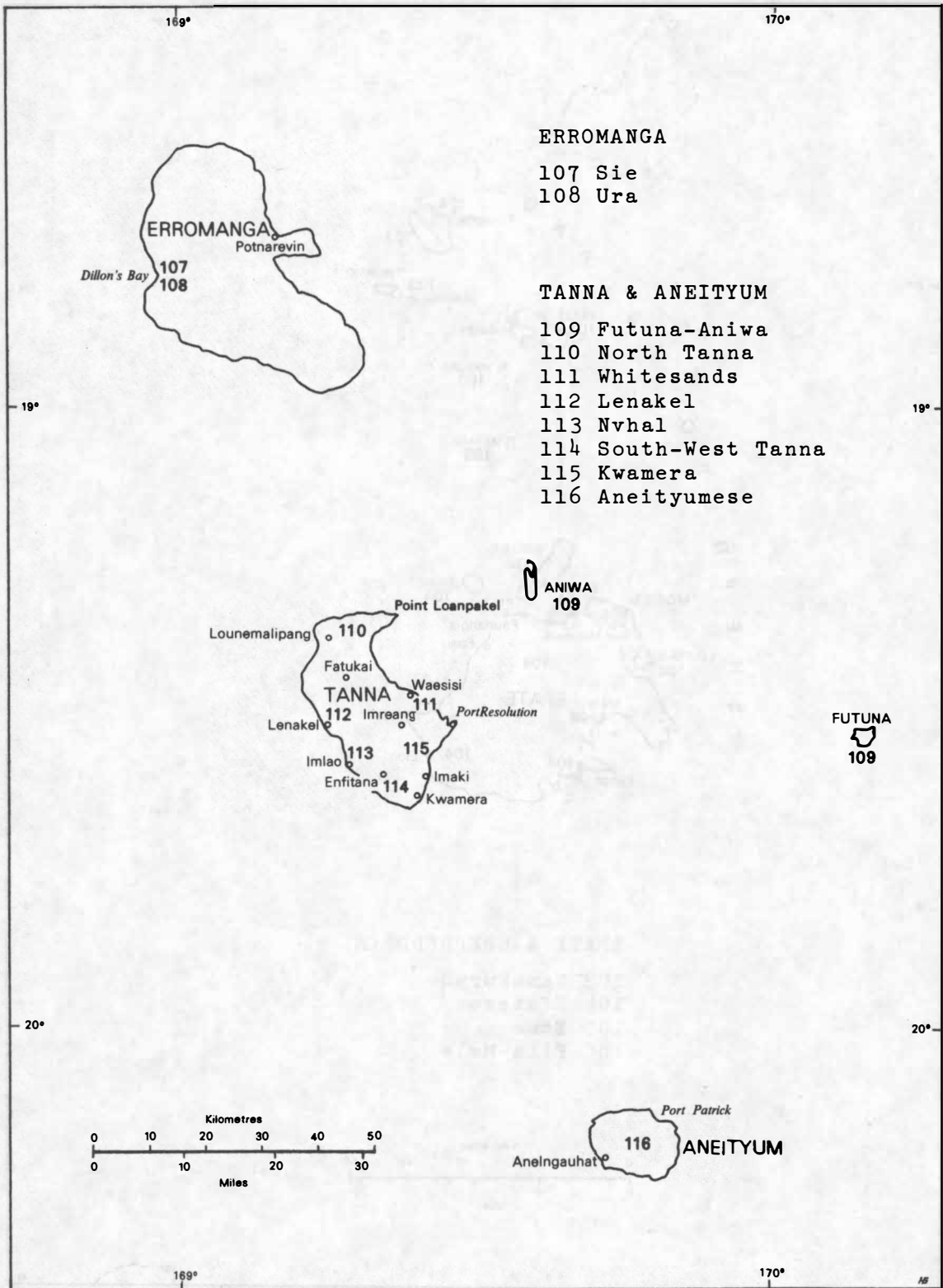
**EPI**

- 97 Lewo
- 98 Bierebo
- 99 Baki
- 100 Maii
- 101 Bieria
- 102 Tasiko

**MAP IV**



MAP V



MAP VI