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J. Donald Bowen (Ed.)

LINGUISTICS IN OCEANIA, 2

CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS

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VOLUME 8

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CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS

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VOLUME 8

Linguistics in Oceania

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PART TWO

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INTRUSIVE LANGUAGES

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ENGLISH AND OTHER GERMANIC LANGUAGES

D. C. LAYCOCK

INTRODUCTION

Linguistic history is not political history. Many of the political upheavals and jockeying for power among European nations left no trace in the languages of either the colonizers or the colonized, so that if we were, today, to attempt to reconstruct the political history from the languages alone, we would obtain only a very shadowy version of the truth. On the other hand, a politically insignificant event — the presence of a lone missionary on a Pacific island, for instance — can have far-reaching linguistic consequences.

Nevertheless, some knowledge of the history of the area covered in this article[1] is essential to the full understanding of the linguistic history, and some such knowledge on the part of the reader is assumed. Some general references of historical value for little-known areas are Russell 1852, Keesing 1950, Coulter 1957, Oliver 1961, and Robson 1963; a general bibliography for most of the area is Taylor 1965, and a linguistic bibliography is provided by Klieneberger (1957). As the whole area is undergoing extreme political, linguistic, and cultural change, works on culture change in general are relevant, and are cited for some regions, as are some books on education; to the latter should be added a general survey of education (UNESCO 1955–66; also, UNESCO 1961), and, specifically for the Pacific, Elkin 1937a and Wedgwood 1955–56 — the last two on the spread of English.

This article deals exclusively with the history of English, German, and Dutch, in the area cited; no other Germanic languages have exercised any discernible influence. The emphasis is on the influence of these languages on the orthography and lexicon of native language encountered; other types of influence, such as those on syntax, overall phonology, intonation, and the creation of new words from internal resources, are all relevant, but are barely documented.

As English covers such a wide geographical area, the account of its influence is subdivided into the traditional linguistic/cultural/racial/geographical divisions of Indonesia (including Madagascar), Micronesia, Polynesia, Melanesia, and Australia. No distinction is made between the different types of English introduced — British

[1] From Madagascar to Easter Island, including Australia, New Zealand, and all the Pacific dependencies and states, but excluding all of the mainland of Asia except for Malaysia.

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English, American English, Australian English — although this is a field that could well be explored.

The principal source for language contact in general remains Weinreich 1963; relevant also are Vildomec 1963 and the papers on multilingualism in *Anthropological Linguistics* 4/1, 1962. An extensive literature exists for languages in contact, especially for America and Africa, but, while the problems in Oceania are comparable, no examples are cited, as the relevance is indirect.

An important consequence of the introduction of English, and to a lesser extent of German, into the Pacific, has been the creation of a widespread English-based pidgin, in a number of forms; this is barely treated here, as it forms the subject of another article, by Wurm, in this volume; the best modern reference is Hall 1966. It is interesting to note, however, that in the very areas where a lingua franca or pidgin has developed the tendency has been for this to act as a kind of 'buffer' language between the introduced European language and the native languages, by reducing the amount of direct linguistic contact; the influence of the European language on the native languages has therefore usually been through the intermediary of the lingua franca or pidgin.

The English dialects that have grown up in Australia and New Zealand are briefly dealt with, as also the influence of native languages on the European languages.

Owing to the wide geographical coverage of this article, some foreign publications of apparent value could not be located; this fact is indicated in the text, and also by starring the items in the bibliography.

GERMAN

German official influence in the Pacific dates from about 1884 (annexation of northeast New Guinea and the Bismarck archipelago); acquisition of Samoa, the Carolines, the Marianas, Nauru and Bougainville followed in the next two decades (see Wegener 1903). All of these possessions were lost to Germany during the First World War, after less than thirty years of consolidated German administration; however, some Germans who remained in the islands — particularly missionaries — continued to exert a linguistic influence for many years afterward.

Also, German linguistic influence extends back an additional thirty years, to the establishment at Apia (Samoa) of a trading depot, by the firm of Godeffroy and Son in 1856; from this center, trading activities were carried on throughout much of Micronesia, and also in Fiji and Tonga. Nevertheless, the amount and type of German contact were not sufficient to make much of an impact on native languages, apart from a few loanwords scattered throughout the Pacific; thus, Samoan *penisini* 'benzine', *kamupanī* 'company'[2]; Buin (Bougainville) *amariŋ* 'arm-ring',[3] *arapaita*

[2] Possibly from English, but German is more likely.
[3] Almost certainly not from English. Buin material from fieldnotes of the author.

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'work'. In Dehu (Lifu, Loyalty Is.), not directly in the line of German influence, we find (in Tryon 1967) *beisin* 'broom', *bona* 'bean'. Solenberger (1962) records a more extensive influence of German in the Marianas:

> In the short period from 1899 to 1914 a small staff of Germans so impressed those inhabitants of the Northern Marianas who were educated within that period that they still show a marked preference for German speech, literature, music and dances. Use of German by both islanders and some of the recent American administrators carries the prestige of a somewhat authoritarian efficiency which the islanders are fond of ascribing to the Germans. In 1952 most Chamorro and Carolinian leaders were products of the German Volksschule, and the handwritten German alphabet remained in use for personal correspondence in Carolinian — which is rarely written otherwise.

Neuhauss (1911) reports a less efficient situation in northern New Guinea; he says (p. 121) that the Catholic missions gave instruction in German, but the students' knowledge is limited to rote reproduction, and they cannot understand the simplest questions in German; they speak with each other a German *Kauderwelsch* almost as bad as Pidgin. The general feeling of many Germans — and, apparently, many natives — in the German dependencies was that German was too 'complicated' to be used in education; hence the spread of Melanesian Pidgin, deplored and viciously attacked by German administrators, but nevertheless used in all daily dealings with the indigenes of Melanesia. It is, in fact, in Pidgin that the greatest German influence in the Pacific is to be perceived; about eighty words of German origin, or about 5% of the total entries, are to be found in Mihalic 1957.[4] Many of these words have entered native languages via Pidgin, as is also the case with the English content of Pidgin.

DUTCH

The history of the Dutch language in what is now Indonesia, whither it was borne by explorers, traders, a few clerics, and — much later — colonists, can be conveniently taken as beginning with the seventeenth century. The Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602, and for the next two hundred years this company exerted great political and economic influence in the whole archipelago. The linguistic influence, however, was not so great in this period. In the first place, Dutch had to compete not only with Malay, which the European powers had spread from the port of Malacca to each of the islands they contacted, but also with English, Portuguese, and, for a short time, Spanish. Throughout the seventeenth century the prevailing language in the Dutch headquarters of Batavia for dealing with the indigenous population was

[4] Count made by author. Many of these words — e.g. *esik* 'vinegar', *gewer* 'rifle', *hobel* 'plane', *maisel* 'chisel', *supkar* 'wheelbarrow' — are now being replaced by English-derived words: *piniga*, *masket* or *raipel*, *plen*, *sisel*, *wilbero*. Other words (*Gris Got*, *kaiser*) have virtually disappeared, without replacements. Still others (such as *blut* 'blood', *bros* 'chest', *gip* 'poison', *haiden* 'heathen', *kakao* 'cocoa', *meta* 'measure', *rausim* 'expel', *tabak* 'tabacco', *tais* 'swamp') are an integral part of the present Pidgin vocabulary.

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what de Klerck (1938) refers to as a 'Portuguese jargon'. De Graf (1949:174) states the case thus:

Karakteristiek voor de Nederlandse wijze van koloniseren is, dat men er nooit in geslaagd is het *Nederlands* door een belangrijk deel der bevolking te doen aannemen. Valentijn acht het zelfs onjuist, want dan zouden de Indonesiërs achter al je geheimen kunnen komen. Ook bij de burgers moest het Nederlands met Portugees en Maleis om zijn bestaan vechten. Merkwaardig is, dat terwijl van hogerhand op de bevordering van het Hollands werd aangedrongen, de Kerk haar sanctie aan de veeltaligheid gaf door de stichting van Maleise en Portugese gemeenten.[5]

Also, the administration of the indigenous people was left largely to their own princes and chiefs, with the result that there was little linguistic contact between the administrators and the administered, and such as there was depended on the use of 'Bazaar Malay' or the Portuguese lingua franca. Education of the non-European peoples was virtually non-existent, and the handful of missionaries made little impact.

The translation of the Dutch East Indies from the control of the Dutch East India Company — with a brief British interregnum — made little practical difference for another hundred years. Only at about the end of the nineteenth century was education in Dutch introduced into primary schools in Indonesia, and, in spite of the fact that applications for positions in centers of Dutch education were higher than the authorities could grant, it was some time before Indonesian children could benefit from it. By the time of Indonesian independence after the Second World War, however, most of the Indonesian leaders were fluent in Dutch, and many had received higher education in that language — notwithstanding a shortsighted, and shortlived, attempt by the Hollandsch Inlandsch Onderwijscommune to restrict the use of the Dutch language by Indonesians (Alisjahbana 1949). The developing nationalism of the last period, and the increasing interest in what was to become Bahasa Indonesia as a national language, led to a wholesale borrowing of Dutch words on the part of Dutch-educated Indonesians, and it is in this period — the first fifty years of the twentieth century — that the greatest Dutch influence on the Indonesian language took place. Not only lexicon, but also grammar, was affected, especially in the development of new passive forms. With the prohibition of the Dutch language during the Japanese occupation, the new national language developed further along these lines, and has continued to develop until the present day. Attempts at regulating neologisms and standardizing grammar are made by the Indonesian Language Committee,[6] with recommendations being published in *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia* (1948–57), *Medan Bahasa* (1951–59), and *Bahasa dan Budaja* (1952–); these periodicals are surveyed by Teeuw (1961). For accounts of the development of Bahasa Indonesia, see Drewes 1948, Alisjahbana

[5] The reference is to Valentyn (1724–26). See also de Haan (1922; chapter 20, on 'kerk, school, wetenschap, drukpers').

[6] According to Drewes (1948), it has been the policy of the language committee to prefer to borrow new lexical items from other Indonesian languages, or Arabic, and to turn to Dutch or other European languages only if no suitable word can be found elsewhere; but this policy has not prevented a large influx of Dutch-derived lexical items.

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1949, Nugroho 1957, and Janssens 1958; the vexed question of Malay versus Dutch as an official language in the 1930's is argued out by Brugmans (1931), Esser (1938) and Hooykaas (1939). Teeuw (1961) provides an extensive bibliography of studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia.

As many Indonesian dictionaries do not list common words borrowed from European sources, it is not always easy to see the extent of Dutch lexical influence. Some lists and other data are given by Donselaar (1892), Nypels (1930), Kwee Kek Beng (1936), and Wijngaards (1951). Approximately 10% of the items entered under *s*, for example, in Pino and Wittermans (1953) are Dutch borrowings, which penetrate deeply into all levels of the vocabulary. Few of these borrowings appear in peninsular Malay.

Structural changes have been caused by some of the borrowings; thus, *mensol* 'to sole' (not **menjol*), *sinjalir* 'to signal' (not **menjinjal*). On the phonological level, many new consonant clusters, such as initial /sp/, /st/, /sk/, are now permitted.

Perhaps the greatest influence of Dutch on Bahasa Indonesia, however, has been on the orthography, which differs from the English-influenced orthography of the Malay peninsula; for a full treatment of the differences, see Carr 1951; also, Fokker 1897. After independence the Indonesian authorities substituted *u* for the Dutch *oe*, and ceased to write accent marks on the three varieties[7] of *e* found in modern Indonesian; otherwise, no changes were made in the orthography, which remains adequate except for some inconsistencies in the treatment of foreign words — those from Arabic and Sanskrit no less than those from European languages.

Dutch influence on Javanese has been comparable to that on Bahasa Indonesia, but less extensive because of the lesser use of Javanese in international contexts.[8] Most of the influence has been indirect, through Bahasa Indonesia, and this is certainly the case with the other languages of Indonesia — including Irian Barat. For one account of European, mainly Dutch, influence in many parts of the archipelago, from a Protestant mission viewpoint, see Kraemer 1958, and, for the general impact of Western civilization, Schrieke 1929.

ENGLISH

Indonesia

In the extreme western half of the Indonesian area, on the island of Madagascar, the English influence was brief but far-reaching, for it was English missionaries who devised the Malagasy orthography in use today. Ferrand (1903) makes a not unjustified comment:

[7] Two phonemes.

[8] Nevertheless, the standard orthography of Javanese is of Dutch origin. Berg (1941) advocates a completely 'rational' spelling of Javanese and Madurese, by the otherwise unnecessary letters of the Roman alphabet to represent unusual values; thus *v* = /ə/, *f* = /ŋ/. Such a system appears, however, to have little chance of acceptance.

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En 1826, six ans après l'ouverture de sa première école, la *London Missionary Society* installa une imprimerie à Tananarive, et publia, l'année suivante, une traduction de la Genèse. Le Merina, dialecte parlé jusqu'alors, venait d'être doté de l'alphabet anglais. Une transformation aussi importante que l'adoption d'un systeme graphique et la fixation d'une orthographe, entreprise par des Européens non-linguistes, récemment arrivés à Madagascar, peu préparés certainement à cette tâche délicate et malaisée, ne laissait pas que d'être audacieuse....

The principal objections to the orthography are that *o* is used for /u/, *ao* for /o/, and *y* for final /i/; some writers also criticize *j* for [dz].

English influence on the lexicon has not been as great as that of Arabic, Swahili, or even French; the following is a list of typical nineteenth-century borrowings, again from Ferrand 1903: *pensily* 'pencil', *penina* 'pen', *pejy* 'page', *penefo* 'penknife', *kaoma* 'comma', *solaitra* 'slate', *bilaotra* 'blotting-paper', *baolina* 'ball', *sekoly* 'school', *matso* 'match'. The semantic concentration on education is obvious, and due to the missionary interest in schooling.

In the Malay peninsular and archipelagic area the influence of English has been more intense and of longer duration. After early conflicts with other European nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the English consolidated their control, in the nineteenth century, of the Malay peninsula, Singapore, and parts of Borneo. English became the language of government and, later, of most higher education, while Malay — often in the form of 'Bazaar Malay', with simplified morphology and syntax, and a high proportion of loanwords from English — was the language of daily commerce.[9] In this context it is not surprising that the English influence on Malay was extensive. The first major impact was the introduction of the Romanized orthography, in general use from about 1900, after some debate (see Anonymous 1878, 1882, 1904; Crawfurd 1848; Maxwell 1882; and, for some present-day criticisms, Alisjahbana 1965). The last-named writer also mentions some of the English-derived lexical innovations in Malay, such as *universiti* 'university', *steshen* 'station', *lektrik* 'electric', *polis* 'police', *talivishen* 'television'; there are many more, but modern Malay, like modern Indonesian, has nevertheless shown some resistance to the importation of words from Western languages, preferring to take them from Arabic and Sanskrit or other Indonesian languages. The greater development of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language has meant that in recent years Malays have turned to Indonesia for solutions to their lexical problems.

English has influenced Malay syntactically as well, resulting sometimes in an anglicized, unidiomatic Malay; for examples, see Brown 1956. Gullick (1953) comments:

As a general conclusion to this paper it is suggested that in its problems of translation the Malay press tends not so much towards the introduction of new foreign words as to the use of Malay words in new and extended meanings. The influence of English on the development of Malay is thus seen in the extension of the meaning and usage of Malay words.

[9] For the present overall language situation in Malaysia, see LePage 1964. For the year 1957 he cites the following literacy figures: Malays literate in Malay, 65%; in English, 8%.

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Malay words are given secondary or metaphorical meanings which are not usually the natural development of their previous usage in Malay; they acquire these new meanings because the English word which corresponds in primary meaning or usage is also used *in English* in the extended sense now borrowed.

Osman (1961), dealing with the rise of Malay literature, also comments on the English influence. The Institute of National Language (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka) has since Malaysian independence supervised the development of Malay through its periodical *Dewan Bahasa* (1957–; surveyed for the first three years by Teeuw (1961)). A somewhat popular account of its work is given by Syed Nasir bin Ismail (1966).

Nothing is available on the English influence on other Indonesian languages under British or former British control, but J. Prentice[10] says that some of these, such as Murut in Sabah, are much more able, morphologically and phonologically, to assimilate foreign words, and as a result have a high proportion of English loanwords in their lexicon.

The linguistic history of the Philippines took quite a different turn from that of the rest of Indonesia. A purely Spanish colony until 1898, these islands underwent virtually no other foreign linguistic influence — if we except a brief British occupation of Manila in 1762–63 — until they fell into American hands during the Spanish-American war. The impact of English — American English — was dramatic. Schools in English were established in 1901, and the Filipinos accepted the tuition with such enthusiasm that by 1918 the census recorded more English-speaking than Spanish-speaking Filipinos. (For beginnings of American education, see Alizona 1932; Lacuesta 1958.) In the same year, 114 periodicals being published, 28 were wholly in English, 27 wholly in Spanish, and 24 wholly in local languages (Benitez 1954:344; see also Yabes 1957).

The progress of English was so rapid that it seriously interfered with plans for the promotion of Tagalog (renamed Pilipino) as the national language; arguments on the future language of the Philippines include Lopez 1931, 1932; Panlasigui 1932; Hartendorp 1938; and Buck 1940; see also Frei 1949–50. However, the Japanese occupation during the Second World War favored, as in Indonesia, the growth of the national language, and after the establishment of the Republic of the Philippines in 1946, Tagalog was well-placed to receive complete acceptance, though English continues to be the favored second language in education.

English speakers arrived in the Philippines too late to establish the first orthography of Tagalog; but the former Spanish orthography was revised, with some English influence, towards the end of the nineteenth century (Rizal 1893; Manuel 1935). English influences on the lexicon have, however, been extensive; a long list of English borrowings,[11] in which sporting terms predominate, is given by Lopez (1944);

[10] Of the Australian National University; personal communication.

[11] These are: *basketbol, besbol, bóliból, indorbesbol, putbol, golp, tenis, boksing, tim, kapten, katser pitser, plebol, homran, ining, parbol* ('foul ball'), *ring, pait, nakaut, áperkát, paul, raket, skúl, titser*

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Jimenez 1924 was not seen. Santos (1937–38) suggests means of enriching the Tagalog lexicon from internal resources, and from dialects and related languages, in addition to borrowing from European languages. Whinnom (1956:53) suggests that the omission of the article before proper nouns in Tagalog perhaps derives from English influence.

The English spoken by Filipinos has also developed recognizable regional characteristics, apart from the lesser degrees of competence in English often termed 'Bamboo English' (see Pablo 1938; Hemphill 1962; Larson 1963; and Buenaventura 1963). The overall linguistic scene in the Philippines is summarized thus by Whinnom (1954).

> After three hundred and fifty years of Spanish occupation less than 10 per cent of the population spoke Spanish; after fifty years of American occupation less than 2 per cent speak Spanish, and 37 per cent speak English; three languages are acknowledged as official languages — English, Spanish, and Tagalog; and at least five million Filipinos do not speak any of these three tongues.

A decline in the standard of English is reported in the 1950's and 1960's, at least partly as a result of the departure of thousands of American nationals after independence.

As usual in areas where one indigenous language becomes a lingua franca or official language, the other Philippine languages — over seventy of them — have become of interest only to their speakers and a handful of linguists and missionaries. Under these conditions the impact of a foreign language such as English is much lessened; such interference as takes place is usually through the medium of the common language, Tagalog. In the same way the Spanish contact vernaculars still spoken in the Philippines have come under the influence of English (Whinnom 1956).

Two useful bibliographies on Philippine linguistic subjects are Welsh 1950 and Houston 1953.

Micronesia

The area now known as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands has been subjected throughout its history to a series of influences from Spanish, German, Japanese and English intruders — the last only since the last war. But not all the English linguistic influences on the Micronesian languages of the area date only from U.S. control; a number of early loanwords, from the usual Pacific sources of missionaries and traders, are recorded by Hall (1945), and for Marshallese by Lang (1926). The orthography of the latter language is discussed in an official pamphlet by Smith (1951). Meller (1959) gives some information on the extent of English competence amongst Marshallese legislators (23 fluent English, 10 limited English, 37 no English) and reports that 'far more than half of the Marshallese adults cannot speak English in any form'. For the

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program, risés, miting, garden, absen, balediktoryan, bódebíl ('body-building'), *diyás* ('jazz'), *hulahula, kabarét, parti, piknik, tosmaster, opis, manediyer, tsip* ('chief'), *kombensiyón, ispiker, lider.*

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Carolines, an account (Alkire 1960) of general culture contact is available, and Garvin's article (1954) on the problem of a new spelling for Ponapean typifies the difficulties of the whole area — and, in fact, of much of the Pacific:

> There was no question of the need for a major spelling reform on Ponape; for a speech community of about 5700, most of the adult and adolescent members of which are at least partially literate, I counted after my arrival at least five different spelling systems in varying degrees of use and disuse. The reasons for this proliferation of orthographies are to be found in the unusual acculturative history of the island: after the first contact with Yankee whalers in the 1820's, no fewer than four major Western or Westernized nations have at one time or another drawn Ponape into their political and cultural sphere of influence, with the attendant influx of missionaries, administrators, seafaring and armed forces personnel, and — within limits — even colonists. In the 1840's, the Boston Mission inaugurated an extensive program on the island, in the 1870's Spain acquired it as part of its Oceanic colonies and sold it to Germany after the Spanish-American War. Early in the First World War, Japan occupied the island and kept it after the Versailles Treaty as a League of Nations mandate. The end of the Second World War saw, first Military Government and Civil Administration by the U.S. Navy, and later American civilian administration as part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Protestant Missions have been active on the island since the 1840's, Catholic Missions since the Spanish rule. The population is at the present about evenly divided between Catholics and Protestants. With the changes in political administration, mission groups of different nationalities succeeded each other, although the religious affiliations of the islanders remained largely unaltered. Each of the various missions published its own literature in Ponapean and, most unfortunately, used its own orthographic inventions, creating various degrees of language loyalty to them. Hence the minor graphemic Tower of Babel which I encountered. Needless to say that none of the systems in use, either singly or — as was frequently the case — in combination, has been particularly adequate for purposes of functional literacy.

The language situation in the Marianas, including Guam, is described by Solenberger (1962). The political history of Guam, however, has been similar to that of the Philippines, with the result that the penetration of English has been deeper. The island's legislature is conducted wholly in English (Meller 1959), but no information is available on the influence of English on Chamorro. Throughout the whole Trust Territory English is rapidly becoming the lingua franca, as no uniform pidgin developed there.

A bibliography (Kunz 1959) of the languages of the Gilbert and Ellice Is., and Nauru, shows no entries directly relevant to this paper, but it does give the history of mission influence and Bible translation in the area, from which some deductions of English influence can be made. The first translation into Gilbertese was made in 1857 by an American missionary, Rev. Hiram Bingham, who was thus responsible for fixing the orthography. Bingham records (1908) that his dictionary of Gilbertese contains, out of over 12,000 entries, '500 Gilbertized foreign words which occur in Gilbertese books printed since 1857, principally in the Bible, the Geography, and the Arithmetic'.[12]

Nauru was under German influence until after 1914, but since that time education has been conducted in English, to such an extent that the Nauru *Report* for 1965–

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66 was able to state that 'English is used freely by educated, and is understood by all, Nauruans'.[13] Not seen, but almost certainly of interest, is the report (1938) of the Nauruan Language Committee on the possible introduction of a new orthography.

Polynesia

Whatever the later political affiliations of the various Polynesian islands, virtually all share one thing in common: the fact that the first European language really encountered by them was English, brought first by Captain Cook and his men, spread by whalers and traders, and consolidated by missionaries — the last being by far the most important, owing to their longer stay and greater concern with native education (see brief account by Wonderly and Nida (1963)). The main English-speaking mission in the area was the London Missionary Society (LMS; for a history of its activities see Lovett 1899), although the American-based Boston Mission (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions — ABCFM) played an important part. Missionaries[14] were largely responsible for fixing the basic orthography of Polynesian languages, although the inability of some to appreciate the non-phonemicity of voicing in stops in these languages necessitated some later corrections, chiefly French-inspired (see Gifford 1924 (Tonga); Drollet 1922 (Tahiti); Wise and Hervey 1952 (Hawaii)).[15] They were also responsible for the earliest stratum of foreign words in these languages, though not all are English; the intractability of English spelling and phonemic structure forced them to go to other languages, principally Latin, Greek, and sometimes

[12] Typical of these are the following selected almost at random: *aonti* 'ounce', *'aoki* 'hawk', *embaia* 'empire', *eriñ* 'herring', *iunaki* 'eunuch', *inti* 'inch', *ŏniki* 'onyx', *ŏriwa* 'olive', *uabu* 'wharf', *uira* 'wheel', *m'ăne* 'money', *manna* 'manna', *b'aketi* 'bucket', *kaō* 'cow', *kirete* 'glade', *ribaietăn* 'leviathan', *rute* 'duty', *taekiti* 'tax', *tābu* 'soap', *wain* 'wine', *warekēno* 'volcano'. All the names of the English months are also included.

[13] This result is probably due to the small native population (about 2500). However, the accuracy of the above report is somewhat to be doubted when it makes statements such as the following: 'There is no information available about the first inhabitants of Nauru. The Nauruan language provides no clue to the origin of the people; its structure and many of its words do not appear to have any relationship to Polynesian, and certain characteristics distinguish it from typical Melanesian tongues.'

[14] It should be noted that, until quite recently, the bearers of the English language to the Pacific have been Protestant missionaries; Catholic missions operated in French, German, or Spanish. This has often resulted in competing orthographies (as reported for Ponapean, above), and different versions of biblical names and other loanwords, being used by adherents of different faiths.

[15] The principal defects of the Polynesian orthographies in use are:

1. non-symbolization of the glottal stop (in many cases);
2. vowel length marked by a macron rather than by doubling the vowel, which more closely reproduces the Polynesian phonemic pattern;
3. the representation of [ŋ]; in Samoa this is written unambiguously but perhaps confusingly as *g*; elsewhere the digraph *ng* is used. In Fiji and the Solomons, the Samoan value of *g* has been retained, and [ŋg] represented by *q* (elsewhere by *ngg*).
4. the use of the inept digraph *wh* for the Māori [ɸ];
5. confusion as to the phonemic status of [u] and [w], variously, and often incorrectly, represented

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Hebrew, for the words necessary to convey Biblical and Western concepts; thus Samoan *agelu*, *epikopō*, *ekalesia*,[16] *satauro*, *ti'akono*, *ti'apolo* from Greek, *auro*, *filo*, *leona*, *povi* from Latin. English-derived words from the same period include names of the weekdays and months, some schoolroom terms, and trade items; for a very full list, without comment, in one Polynesian language, see Rere 1951. Two short notices, unavailable for inspection, deal with the early period of linguistic contact (Campbell 1899; Hale 1899). A few other early borrowings are given by Crawfurd (1850).

The words introduced by the English-speaking missionaries, and adopted into Polynesian languages, in the first half of the nineteenth century, are almost all that remain of English influence in the Polynesian areas that came under French control in the middle of that century (Vernier 1948). In areas that remained or came under British or American control, however, a second influx of English borrowings has begun, and is still continuing, as a result of the greater proportion of English speakers now resident in the islands, and of increasing sophistication and westernization in general.

Not all the regions of Polynesia can be dealt with separately; for some, no information is available, for others the situation is manifestly a duplicate of that existing elsewhere. Some data on culture contact in the whole area is provided by Belshaw (1957).

Tonga provides something of an exception in Polynesia, being largely independent of English control, though not of influence. The contact situation there, and the spread of English, is described by Koch (1954, 1955). Churchward's Tongan dictionary (1959) includes English borrowings:

> In spite, however, of its outstanding facilities for word-formation, the Tongan language has not been slow to borrow and assimilate words from other languages, particularly English, with which it has no vital connexion. Of the thousands of such words now in common use, I have included all that I have come across, together with a number of technical and ecclesiastical terms that I have gathered from various sources ...
>
> Here and there I have gone a step further: after consultation with my native assistant, I have invented a Tonganized form of an English word that has not yet been assimilated but whose assimilation is almost certain to be called for later. See, for example, *palafini* (paraffin) and *paikeleti* (pikelet) ....

New Zealand is also unusual, in having a much larger proportion of English-speaking inhabitants than elsewhere in Polynesia; nevertheless, the influences on Māori have followed the general Polynesian pattern: early mission-inspired borrowings, followed in the modern period by new words made necessary by the fact that the Māori people live an increasingly European way of life in a predominantly European environment. Words of the earlier period include those to be found in any school Māori

[16] 'Church', in the sense of adherents, or as administrative organization. 'The word *church* meaning the building in which the services are held is *falesa: fale* 'house', *sa* 'holy'. Church in the sense of a church service or a church sect is *lotu*' (Marsack 1962, whence also the examples quoted in the text).

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reader, such as Waititi 1962;[17] the later borrowings have not yet been documented. For culture change and Māori education in general, see Bird 1928, Jackson 1931.

The furthest development of English language influence in Polynesia, and also the best documented, is to be found in Hawaii. Great attention has been focused on Hawaiian Pidgin, which qua pidgin is outside the scope of this article (bibliography Tsuzaki and Reinecke 1966); nevertheless, many articles on Hawaiian Pidgin contain valuable information on the use of English, on various levels, in Hawaii. (For history of Hawaiian Pidgin, see Smith 1933; Voegelin and Voegelin 1964.) Thirty years ago the linguistic situation with regard to English and Pidgin could be summarized thus (Reinecke 1938):

"PIDGIN"				"GOOD ENGLISH"	
Extremely broken makeshift English	Broken but fairly adequate English with marked foreign peculiarities	Inadequate substandard dialectal English	Fluent and adequate but substandard dialectal English	Distinctly dialectal but acceptable English	Standard American English, with local peculiarities
Mostly spoken by immigrants			Mostly spoken by immigrants' descendants		

The language situation in Hawaii is not of course simply an interaction of English and Hawaiian; other languages (Japanese, Cantonese, Portuguese, Korean and Ilocano, to name only the most important) play a part (Aspinwall 1960). The problem of promoting a 'standard' English in this environment has taxed educators and sociologists (Reinecke and Tokimasa 1934; Smith 1942; Carr 1960; Hormann 1960; Kasdon and Smith 1960).

Modern loanwords in Hawaiian are discussed by Day (1951), and briefly by Pukui and Elbert (1957: introduction). Judd, Pukui and Stone (1945) also treat the subject briefly. A detailed account of the phonological adaptation of loanwords is provided by Carr (1951). Of marginal interest to the study of English in the Pacific, but symptomatic of the mobility imparted to Oceanic languages by Europeans in the nineteenth century, is a mention by Stefansson (1909) of Hawaiian words introduced by whalers into Eskimo trade jargon.

On one previously uninhabited island of Polynesia, Pitcairn Island, there developed an English dialect with an extensive Tahitian admixture, as a result of the settling there of the H.M.S. *Bounty* mutineers; this dialect has been studied by Ross (1961) and Ross and Moverley (1964). The transfer of some of the Pitcairn islanders to Norfolk Island, several times during the nineteenth century, influenced the English dialect

[17] Examples from page 15: *kāpata* 'cupboard', *karaka* 'clock', *māhita* 'master', *pahi* 'bus', *pene* 'pen', *pere* 'bell', *pikitia* 'picture', *pouaka* 'box', *pukapuka* 'book', *rūma* 'room', *rūri* 'ruler', *taraiwa* 'driver', *tioka* 'chalk'.

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spoken there; this has been studied by staff members of the University of Queensland, but no publication has been located.

Melanesia

The linguistic history of Melanesia, at least for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is much like that of Polynesia, with two important exceptions: first contact with Europeans tended to be less, owing to the uncompromising hostility of many Melanesian groups, and Polynesia escaped the devastation and social upheaval wrought by the blackbirders. These last contributed greatly to the spread in Melanesia of an English-based pidgin, not so much by their own use of it as by the uprooting and transporting of thousands of Melanesians, of whatever origin, to the fields of sugarcane in Queensland, where the consequent mixing of linguistic groups made the use of some lingua franca inevitable (for history, see Wawn 1893). In Queensland, too, these Melanesian natives were brought more into contact with Australian English than would have been the case in their homelands; but such borrowed words as entered the native languages, particularly those of the Solomon Islands, entered via Pidgin.

Otherwise, the Polynesian pattern was repeated. English-speaking missionaries — the LMS, the Melanesian mission, and some Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides — settled and evangelized where they could. The LMS station in the Loyalty Is., which took over from the Melanesian Mission (history, Fox 1958), and continued during the early years of the French regime (Macfarlane 1873), had an indirect influence on southern Papua; mission-trained Lifuans and Mareans were taken in 1871 to southern Papua and the islands of Torres Straits, to assist in Bible translation — with the result that the Miriam, Motu, and Dobuan Bibles show many Lifuan constructions and loanwords in Lifuan form.[18]

The influence of English on the French spoken in the Pacific has been thoroughly described by Hollyman (1963); a similar, but shorter, list of items introduced into French is given by O'Reilly (1953).

Little information is available on the influence of English in Fiji. An article by Beauclerc (1910) is of doubtful value, even if his central theme is ignored; of ten presumed early loanwords in Fijian given at the end of his paper, all are patently non-English. The same author deals with 'corruptions' in Fijian (1915), in a similar vein.

[18] Ray and Haddon (1893) give examples of the Lifuan influence, and also of the Samoan influence, since Samoan missionaries preceded Europeans into many of the mission fields of Melanesia.

The problem of the translation of the Bible into native languages, for which a journal (*The Bible Translator*) exists exclusively, is not one of direct concern to this paper, but it has some relevance to the matter of introduced loanwords. A typical account of the problem of translation — that is, finding native equivalents of foreign concepts — is given by Leenhardt (1951); see also King 1913. Transliteration problems in a language with a phonemic structure very different from English are discussed by Doble (1950).

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More modern information is not available, if we discount a brief article by Schütz (1963) on lexical differences between generations in Fiji, but without specifying English influence. Capell (1941) lists less than a hundred English loanwords[19] (most of them from the nineteenth century) in a dictionary of some 6500 entries. Fiji largely escaped the use of Melanesian Pidgin as a lingua franca, perhaps because of the spread of a single native language (Bauan). Schools, till 1900 largely in the hands of missions, and conducted in the vernacular, were slow in providing English instruction, but now most Fijians have had some direct contact with English in the schools (see Mann 1935).

If little data can be found for Fiji, even less can be found for the British Solomon Islands (where however the lingua franca is a form of Melanesian Pidgin, with consequent lessened impact of English), and for the New Hebrides, whose history of whalers, sandalwood traders, missionary martyrs, and, finally, the Anglo-French condominium, should make an interesting study. An English-based pidgin, with some French influence (Beach-la-Mar) is the lingua franca, though Mota (a New Hebridean language) also has some currency, as a result of its use as a lingua franca by the Melanesian Mission until 1928.

In the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, English has been the official language of administration and education for the whole period of Australian control, but the extensive use — necessary in such a multilingual area — of two lingue franche, Melanesian Pidgin and Police Motu, has meant that the use of English has until recently been confined to a small educated elite in Port Moresby and Rabaul, with little influence on the native languages, except for the usual loanwords introduced into Bible translations. New Guinea Pidgin is, however, English-based, and Police Motu contains a high proportion of English loanwords, and many native languages have taken a large number of ultimately English words from these sources. This aspect of language contact, and other facets of bilingualism, are discussed by Fischer (1962) and Laycock (1966a). Official policy on Pidgin is treated by Hall (1959), other aspects of bilingualism by Salisbury (1962) and Schlesier (1961). Relevant articles on culture change and education, all with observations on the place of English, are Groves 1936; Williams 1928, 1951; Elkin 1937b; and Pittman 1960.

From Papua comes the following extract from a letter by the Rev. H. Newton in 1914 (cited by White (1929:50)); the description is non-technical, and the language is the Melanesian Wedau in Papua, but the type of linguistic contact described is relevant throughout the Pacific:

The language is very powerful in assimilating new words. An English word is taken notice of, the pronunciation adapted, a prefix and a suffix perhaps added, a vowel thrown in here and there to separate consonants, and lo and behold! it is at home at once; and when you hear the word and, thinking that it is a new one, inquire the exact meaning of it, the natives

[19] Some examples selected at random: *afapeni* 'halfpenny', *keresi* 'water-cress', *kope* 'copy', *lokamu* 'prison' (from 'lock-up'), *ovisa* 'policeman' (from 'officer'), *same* 'psalm', *sotia* 'soldier', *tarausese* 'trousers', *vaudi* 'pound', *waini* 'wine'.

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are astonished that you do not know your own language, and laugh uproariously when at last it dawns upon you that you had better not display your new knowledge except to trap someone else with it. So 'Keep a look out' becomes 'virukautiei', 'down below' in a vessel becomes 'daumbaro', 'painted' becomes 'penitai'. A trader in a village found one little chap was always about his house, and kept on saying: 'Get out of the way, you little whipper-snapper'. The natives thought it a good name for the boy, and adopted it for him; but few, perhaps least of all he who was responsible, would recognize the name when it became current coin as 'Epatinapa'.

Australia

Australian aboriginal languages are full of early borrowings from English of a low-level technological nature (such as *bulpam* 'billycan', *waya* 'wire'), and the aboriginal jargons (composed of words from a number of languages and dialects) spoken by aboriginal fringe-dwellers in Australia have made many adaptations to English phonology (described in passing for two languages by Holmer (1966)); but no studies are devoted to any kind of systematic treatment of the question of English influence on aboriginal languages. It is doubtful, for instance, whether enough natives ever came into sufficient contact with the early Bible translations (one of the earliest by L. E. Threlkeld in 1827, in Awabakal; see Douglas 1962) for them to make any impact on the language; but this would need to be studied. Many languages are now falling into disuse, so that no further English influence is possible; and linguistic and sociological work has been directed chiefly, on the one hand, at recording relatively uninfluenced languages before they disappear, and, on the other hand, at looking at more effective ways of assimilating aborigines, whether they continue to use the aboriginal language or learn English (see Elkin 1964; Wurm 1963a, 1963b). Modern Bible translations — such as those by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics — can be perhaps expected to introduce a new crop of loanwords into such languages as are still viable.

The English spoken by aboriginals has been studied to some extent in two papers (1969, 1970) by T. Dutton (Australian National University), and forms part also of the continuing research into Australian English dialects being undertaken by the University of Queensland. It appears that this dialect retains many archaic lexical and phonological features, indicating initial contact with speakers of — usually substandard — English in the early part of the nineteenth century, and little contact since that time, as aboriginal communities drew more closely in upon themselves. It is likely that a full study of this dialect will throw light on some aspects of the development of Australian English as spoken by Australians of European ancestry, treated in the next section.

ENGLISH IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

In both Australia and New Zealand the preponderance of white settlers over the

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indigenous people resulted, as it did in the United States, in the development of a form of English differing from that in the United Kingdom. Part of this new development was due to the fact that the language had to adapt lexically to a new environment, so that Australian and New Zealand English are full of words for local flora and fauna, some of which have world-wide currency: *kangaroo*, *flying-fox*, *kiwi*, *moa*, etc. But something more is needed to account for the phonological differences. The most plausible explanation is that they arise from the shifting of one part only of the English-speaking community (in Australia, speakers of often substandard London and Irish English) into an environment where pressures from speakers of other forms of English — especially the English of the middle classes — were inoperative.

The literature on Australian English cannot be fully surveyed here. The standard, though far from adequate, account, is Baker 1966; the phonology is treated by Baker (1945), Mitchell and Delbridge (1965; with a short bibliography), and in articles such as Bernard 1963 and Laycock 1966b. A recent publication (Ramson, ed. 1970) contains a comprehensive bibliography (by Blair) on Australian English studies; other relevant contributions in the same volume are those by Mitchell, Delbridge, Ramson, Gunn, Flint, and Johnston. Other works, principally on lexicography, include Lentzner 1891, Morris 1898, and Ramson 1966. Since 1964 the Australian Language Research Centre at Sydney University has been publishing occasional papers on various aspects of Australian English; the introduction to the series by Russell (1964) contains a brief bibliography. The University of Queensland has since 1960 been carrying out a survey of Queensland speech, a long-term project involving analysis at all levels of a large sampling of the English spoken by various age, area, and occupational groups in Queensland. Results to date are to be found in published and forthcoming articles by E.H. Flint (1965, 1968, 1969a, 1969b).

Less information is available for New Zealand English, which shares many features with Australian English; some data is contained in the works on Australian English cited above. Two recent review articles (by Turner and Bennett) may be found in Ramson, ed. 1970; otherwise the standard account is Turner 1966, supplemented by scattered lexical studies such as those by Smithyman (1963, 1966). A popular book by 'Arch Acker' (1966) provides some clues for the discerning linguist, but it is of course mainly an attempt at phonetic distortion for the sake of amusement, inspired by the Australian vogue for 'Strine' ('Afferbeck Lauder' 1965, 1966), a similar phonetically distorted representation of 'Broad' Australian English.

INFLUENCE OF OCEANIC LANGUAGES ON GERMANIC LANGUAGES

In all areas settled by Europeans, there has been an influence on the language of the intruder as well as on that of the indigene; resident Europeans unselfconsciously tended, and tend, to lard their speech with words and phrases from the local language or lingua franca. However, this type of native language influence must be distinguished

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from influence on the speech of the 'home community' where not one-tenth of the foreign words used by the expatriate are known.

Both aspects have been barely studied. A general account for all major European languages is given by Lokotsch (1927), but, of the various oriental languages discussed by him, only Malay comes within the scope of this survey. This is virtually the only source, other than standard dictionaries and *Fremdwörterbücher*, for Oceanic loanwords in German.

Three publications, by Prick van Wely (1903, 1906) and Piepers (1875) deal with the Malay-influenced Dutch formerly spoken in Indonesia, as does one anonymous account (1892) of the Dutch spoken by Indonesians and people of mixed race. Malay words in standard Dutch are treated by Veth (1867, 1869), van Ronkel (1933), Nypels (1930), and, indirectly, by de Vries (1950), who opposes the introduction into the Dutch spelling of Malay loanwords the new *u* graph (for the former *oe*).

Malay words in English are dealt with at length by Scott (1896–97), with extensive comments; the list only, about 120 items, is reprinted anonymously in *De Indische Gids* (1897). Of these words, less than thirty[20] would be known to ordinary speakers of English. The list by Marre (1866) was unobtainable. Many words of Malay origin can also be found in Yule and Burnell 1903. Crawfurd (1850) gives an early list of words from Malay; the 'Polynesian' part of his paper's title is a misnomer, as *taboo* is the only undisputed example.

Māori words in English are to be found listed by Andersen (1946); however, some are not specifically Māori, but other Polynesian. Of about 240 entries, 50 are listed in the body of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and 26 in the 1933 Supplement; but of the total list, only a handful — perhaps only *haka*, *kanaka*, *kiwi*, *mana* and *tiki* — would be commonly known outside of Polynesia.

Hawaiian loanwords in use in Hawaii are briefly mentioned by Day (1951). An article by Cohen (1928) is not relevant, as the Oceanic words supposedly incorporated into Mediterranean languages are assumed to date from classical times. A full list of Australian aboriginal words in English is provided by Ramson (1964); again, as the author points out, few have wide currency in English as a whole. Finally, an article by Lodewyckx (1923) must be mentioned; the author points to the possible future dialectalization of English in the Pacific, as a result of native language influence.

CONCLUSION

If this article has done nothing else, it has pointed up the many gaps in our knowledge. In an area of perhaps a thousand indigenous languages, where a score of Asian

[20] These are (in modern spelling): *amok*, *kampong*, *cassowary*, *casuarina*, *cockatoo*, *dugong*, *gecko*, *gingham*, *agar-agar*, *atap*, *bantam*, *batik*, *cuscus*, *guttapercha*, *junk*, *ketchup*, *kris*, *lorikeet*, *paddy*, *prau*, *rattan*, *sago*, *trepang*.

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mainland languages, half-a-dozen European languages, and a couple of pidgins, are commonly spoken, the opportunities for studying language contact and bilingualism at all levels and in all historical stages are unexcelled. It is to be hoped that linguists will grasp at the opportunities.

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FRENCH IN THE PACIFIC

K. J. HOLLYMAN

France was a relative latecomer in Pacific discovery. Although French ships had crossed the Pacific before him, Bougainville was the first Frenchman to discover new islands in the area, and some thirty other European explorers had experienced this excitement before him (see Buck 1953:49–59; Sharp 1960; Faivre 1953:45–74; Jore 1959a:37–52). Discoveries attributable to the French in the Pacific are therefore not numerous. The later pattern of protectorates and colonies did not however bear a close relation to the network of discovery claims. European knowledge of the Marquesas, for example, began with Mendaña in 1595, and continued with Cook in 1774, and Ingraham and Marchand in 1791: it was France which annexed the group in 1842 (for the discoveries see Sharp 1960).

Between discovery and the institution of European control of one kind or another, the island groups were visited by men in a wide variety of callings: sealers and whalers, pork buyers, sandal-wooders, bêche-de-mer fishermen, traders in tortoise shell, coconut oil, pearls, and nacre, deserters from ships, wrecked sailors, beachcombers, and blackbirders (see Doumenge 1966; Dunbabin 1935; Hainsworth 1965; Maude 1959, 1964; Maude and Crocombe 1962; Shineberg 1967). The heterogeneous activities of these men were matched only by the overwhelming dominance among them of one language, for English easily outweighed in importance French, German, etc. In any case French traders appear to have operated mainly on the eastern fringes of the Pacific basin, especially along the South American coast (Faivre 1953:363–5; Jore 1959a:82–6, 99–101); and French whalers, while they were to be found in the Pacific generally, had the American coasts up to Hawaii, and New Zealand on the southwestern fringe, as the centers of their greatest activity (Faivre 1953:362, 404–7, 445; Jore 1959a:111–24; Lacroix 1947). The two sources for the mainstream of European operations, Hawaii and Sydney, differed considerably in their ethnic composition, but for the traders working from them pidgin English was the essential means of communication. Effective knowledge of the medium was no doubt considerably helped by the fact that many objects of Pacific trade were intended for the Chinese market, and were often carried there by the same vessels which had acquired them: pidgin English was already the established trading language of the China coast.

Missionary activity followed in considerable measure a similar chronological pattern of European influence: in very many areas English-speaking Protestant missionaries

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preceded French-speaking Catholic ones (Jore 1959a:53–72). A number of missionaries, however, both Protestant and Catholic, learnt a Polynesian language and used it as a means of contact with local populations, even in parts of Melanesia.

Once a French declaration of annexation or protectorate occurred, the status of English and pidgin English in relation to French underwent a radical change. Unless other factors were to come into play, French was in future to be dominant. The same declaration established a situation which could lead to a confrontation of French and the local language or languages. The local linguistic situation was an important factor in the eventual nature of this confrontation, and the results were very different in monolingual Polynesian areas from those in multilingual Melanesian areas. Other factors too were to be significant: the demography of European settlement, the pattern of missionary endeavor and the relationship between State and missions, and the official attitude towards the local language in relation to administration, law, religion, education, publication, and more recently radio and television.

Later, groups from east and southeast Asia came at various times into a number of the island groups, either as settlers or for stays which in some cases were quite prolonged. In this way Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian and Vietnamese languages and dialects have to be considered, especially in relation to the effects on French of its expansion into the Pacific.

This brief introductory survey of general factors shows that the classificatory framework established by Haugen (1956:10–11; cf. Hollyman 1962a:31) in discussing American bilingualism is generally valid also for the Pacific. English and French are here the main colonial languages, with the former becoming, after the establishment of French colonial status for a given territory, a submerged colonial language. The native languages are the various Polynesian and Melanesian languages and dialects. The creolized group is represented, rather differently from the American situation, by pidgin English, and pidgin and creolized French where it arose. Finally, the immigrant languages of interest in French territories are Hakka Chinese, Indonesian, and North Vietnamese languages.

How these general factors have affected the situation can be judged only by considering each territory separately. Before discussing the French island groups, however, we may briefly survey those areas where French settlement proved abortive or where French influence was limited, areas where France did not become the colonial power and where French therefore could have become a submerged colonial language.

Although French was almost exclusively the language spoken by Catholic missionaries working in the Pacific, this appears to have had a negligible influence on the local languages with which the missionaries came into contact. Differences in borrowings resulting from Protestant or Catholic evangelization reflect little in the way of French etymons (Hollyman 1962b:317).

In the only thorough study of European borrowings in a Pacific language spoken outside French territories, Milner (1957:58, 61, 62) notes only three French borrowings in Samoan: *simā* 'ciment', *felela* 'frère (mariste)', and *violē* 'de couleur violette',

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but is not really satisfied that any but *felela* is certainly from French (Milner 1966).

Outside island groups which became French territories, Frenchmen made only two attempts at settlement, in Hawaii and in New Zealand.

The Hawaiian attempt (Faivre 1953:288–90; Jore 1959a:125–52, 1959b:11–23), inspired by J.B. Rives and organized by Catineau-Laroche in 1826–27, involved a certain number of tradesmen and a group of Catholic missionaries. It was completely abortive and of no linguistic consequence whatsoever.

In New Zealand the fruitless adventure of Baron de Thierry[1] (Faivre 1953:260–1, 445–6, 448, 455; Jore 1959a:152–4) left no mark, but the attempted settlement at Akaroa by the Société Nanto-Bordelaise (Buick 1928; Faivre 1953:447–58; Jore 1959b:81–106) was a different matter. Although the declaration of British sovereignty in 1840 cut the foundations from under the newly-established small French colony, a number of the colonists stayed. Their status as a minority and economic pressures made English a necessity, but a correspondent of the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1892 records meeting two of the original French settlers who still preferred to speak their native tongue (Buick 1928:406–7). But forty years later, Buick noted that the only vestiges of French settlement were some street and place names, and the names of those families of French origin which still survived. Even within the families themselves, it had not been possible to keep French alive.

We now consider the French territories themselves.

FRENCH POLYNESIA

The administrative name Polynésie Française, which replaced the earlier Etablissements Français d'Oceanie in 1957, covers the following groups of islands: Society Islands, comprising the Windward and Leeward groups; the Tuamotu Archipelago; the Gambier Islands; the Austral or Tubuai Islands; and the Marquesas group.

The Windward group (Jore 1959a:54–6, 1959b:181–353; Doumenge 1966), which includes Tahiti and Moorea, had English Protestant missionaries from 1797, and French Catholic missionaries from 1836. A French protectorate was declared in 1842, and France annexed the group in 1880. French Protestant missionaries took over from the English from 1863. The 1962 census gave a total population for the group of 52,068, of whom 2594 only were native Frenchmen of European stock, compared with 34,120 of Polynesian origin. There were 14,884 Catholics and 28,553 Protestants.

The Leeward group (Jore 1959a:305–11, 1959b:337–8; Doumenge 1966), which includes Huahine, Ra'iatea and Borabora, was annexed in 1880, but it took some time to exercise any effective authority. Of a total population in 1962 of 16,177, 13,082 were Polynesians and 109 native Frenchmen of European stock. Catholics totalled 930 and Protestants 12,847.

[1] There is as yet only a fictional biography of de Thierry (Hyde 1936).

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The Tuamotu Archipelago (Jore 1959a:168, 291–3, 1959b:108–23) was annexed with Tahiti in 1880. The Gambier Islands, although discovered in 1797 by the *Duff*, with Protestant missionaries aboard, experienced no real missionary activity before French Catholic missionaries came in 1834. This group became a French protectorate in 1844, and was annexed in 1881. The total population of both groups in 1962 was 6609, including 6223 Polynesians and eight native Frenchmen of European stock. There were 4950 Catholics and 390 Protestants.

The Austral Islands (Doumenge 1966), annexed in 1881, had a total population in 1962 of 4371, of whom sixteen were native Frenchmen of European stock. There were 175 Catholics and 3535 Protestants.

The Marquesas Islands (Jore 1959b:123–40; Doumenge 1966; O'Reilly 1961), proved extremely difficult to evangelize. Various Protestant groups, both English and American, tried a number of times from 1797 on. Catholic missionaries, who began work in 1838, met the same problems, but these became less serious after annexation in 1842. Of the 1962 total population of 4837, Polynesians made up 4650, and European French 54. The 4288 Catholics outnumbered the 507 Protestants.

It is clear that no area of French Polynesia has ever been a colonie de peuplement. Demographically, all these island groups are overwhelmingly Polynesian. Immigrant groups from Asia form a substantial minority only in the Windward Islands, where there is a total Chinese population of 7613, including 2090 born with French nationality and 832 naturalized. But in the same islands, 6819 Demis or French nationals of mixed stock also form a sizeable minority group.

In all these islands, education, law, administration, radio and (where applicable) television, use French (Platten 1953:24). The overwhelming majority of the population is bilingual or multilingual, speaking at least one Polynesian language or dialect and French. In groups other than the Windward Islands, however, the everyday language used outside official and religious functions is Polynesian, not French, and the difference in the Windward group is one only of degree:

> La quasi-totalité de la population continue de parler tahitien. Même dans les milieux cultivés de Papeete, où l'on parle français couramment, la plupart des Tahitiens reviennent à l'usage de leur langue ancestrale dès qu'ils sont en famille. Les efforts accomplis depuis un siècle pour généraliser l'adoption de la langue française ont été cependant considérables et le taux de scolarisation des enfants est actuellement l'un des plus élevés du monde. Pour de multiples raisons, dont certaines sont politiques, les habitants de Polynésie ont toujours trouvé plus commode de garder leur langue et de ne communiquer avec l'Administration française que par le détour d'un interprète. Sans doute aussi ont-ils pensé que c'était là le meilleur moyen de maintenir quelque chose de leur ancienne civilisation. Cela ne veut d'ailleurs pas dire qu'ils ne comprennent pas, au moins approximativement, leur interlocuteur qui s'adresse à eux en français. Il suffit d'avoir gagné réellement leur confiance pour qu'ils veuillent vous faire plaisir en s'efforçant spontanément de formuler quelques phrases en français. (*Bulletin D.A.M.* Mai-Juin 1966:33–4).

Urbanization is of course a European importation, and Papeete as a city is born with the French protectorate (Dauvergne 1959; Doumenge 1966:272–74). Capitalizing on

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the choice of the traders and missionaries, endorsed by the European-sponsored Tahitian royal family, the French constructed military and administrative buildings, and by 1847 the town had a population of over 2000. In 1962 the city of Papeete numbered 19,903 inhabitants (11,522 Polynesians), and the metropolitan area 35,514 (21,545 Polynesians). Here the economic pressures favoring French are strong, but English is nevertheless very commonly understood. A study of European influence on Tahitian (Vernier 1948) shows almost twice as many borrowings from English as from French. The reasons for this are essentially historical.

During the period of activity in Tahiti before 1842, the Protestant missionaries from the London Missionary Society not only learnt Tahitian, but gave it an orthography (summary and references in Hollyman 1962b:315–16). From 1818 on they printed Biblical translations in Tahitian, and in 1851 a Tahitian-English dictionary (Vernier 1948:65–6). It has been cogently argued (Parsonson 1967) that the major reason for the evangelical success of missionaries in the Pacific was the opportunity they offered of literacy: 'the key to the new world with all its evident power was the written word'. The case is certainly strong for Tahiti, and the missionaries labored hard at the task (Vernier 1948:63–8; Hollyman 1962b:315–16). When in Tahiti the Catholic missionaries began their work, and later French Protestant missionaries theirs, they thus found Tahitian endowed with a reasonably efficient orthography whose two essential weaknesses, the lack of a notation for the phonemic length of vowels and for the glottal stop, have still not been remedied. This literacy was the work of the English Protestants, and although subsequent disillusion with the religion whose adoption had occurred along with the acquisition of literacy began during their period of influence, there is little doubt that their influence remained. It has been continued by the trade relations still maintained with Papeete and many parts of French Polynesia by English-speaking countries. In 1962, France provided 63.5% of the imports of French Polynesia, but 26.2% came from the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Britain; while exports went 45% to France, and 28.8% to New Zealand, the United States and Australia (Doumenge 1966:542).

The French spoken in Tahiti may therefore be expected to show influences from both Tahitian and English. Its history, however, has yet to be written. Until annexation, education was in the hands of missionary schools. The curriculum of the Catholic Ecole des Frères de Ploërmel, for example, followed the metropolitan pattern of emphasis on French and Latin (Rulon 1960, 1962, and 1964), which presumably continued when the Ecole Primaire Supérieure under Juventin took over in 1881. French has been and is the sole official language of instruction, but there has been a certain flexibility (Platten 1953:25) in that mission schools in particular have been able to concentrate more on actually teaching French than simply using it as a medium.

The pressures favoring French bear differently on the various groupings within the population. In Papeete, for example, the mastery of French is of much greater import to the 4836 Demis than to the 21,545 Polynesians (Doumenge 1966:188–9). But whatever the motives affecting this, the varving levels of education are clearly a major

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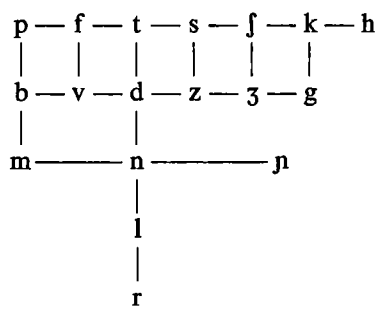
factor, and they vary also with the age of the speaker, since facilities have improved greatly since 1945.

In a situation as complex as this, a proper study of French in Tahiti must bear these factors in mind. Research along these lines has been undertaken by J.C. Corne (University of Auckland), whose doctoral dissertation, based on fieldwork in 1967, is now being revised for publication. Other observations of varying scope and quality have been made: two in Papeete itself (O'Reilly 1958a, 1962; White 1958:10–12), and two with Tahitians living in or passing through Auckland (Hollyman 1964a:16–22. A further study, carried out in 1964, remains unpublished, but has been taken into account in what follows). The results of these studies may be summed up in the following comments, but these are only provisional and are to be considered more as an outline based on inadequate data than anything approaching a definitive description.

PHONEMIC STRUCTURE.[2]

Consonant System



Superficially, this system appears little different from that of standard French: /r/ is included in the system, unlike /R/; and /h/ is present. But it differs considerably in terms of the stability of certain oppositions, and in terms of its allophones. The following comments relate to the French of Polynesians.

/f/ has the allophones [f] and [φ], the latter occurring in intervocalic position. /v/ has the allophones [v] and [β], the latter occurring in intervocalic position and, sporadically, in initial prevocalic position: [suβã] *souvent*; [βaʃ] *vache*.

The distinctions within and between the pairs /s/ : /z/ and /ʃ/ : /ʒ/ are unstable: both voiced and unvoiced members of each pair are lax, and the voiced members tend to provide the dominant intervocalic allophone although complete neutralization does not occur; sporadic replacement of [s] by [ʃ] occurs most commonly, but not exclusively, in initial prevocalic position: [ʃurʃ] *source*.

/r/ is usually either flapped or trilled, but in final postvocalic position it is often [ɹ],

[2] I thank J.C. Corne for checking what follows; it does not reflect the detail of his own findings but is reasonably in agreement with them. See now Corne 1970.

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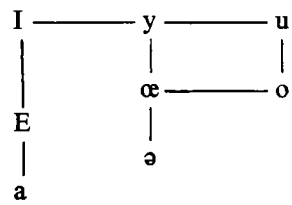
and in preconsonantal position it may be [ɹ] or may be replaced by a slight schwa: [tyɹk] → [tyᵊk] *Turc.*

There is sporadic confusion of /l/ and /r/, especially in initial position and when the morpheme includes the other phoneme of the two: [lɛgləmã] *règlement,* [rɛzar] *lézard.*

A paragogic schwa is frequently inserted in final C_1C_2 clusters when C_2 is /l/ or /m/: [tabəl] *table,* [sivisəm] *civisme.*

/h/ occurs only in borrowings from Tahitian.

Oral Vowel System



/I/ represents the opposition /i/ : /j/, valid only in final position after a vowel: /abei/ *abbaye* : /abej/ *abeille*; but /j/ is unstable and may fall: /abej/ = [abe:j] ~ [abe:]. Elsewhere the opposition is neutralized as follows: in final postconsonantal position, and in interconsonantal position, only [i] occurs: [si] *si, scie*; [vit] *vite*; [pike] *piqué*; in initial prevocalic position only [j] occurs: [jɛr] *hier*; in morphemes having the forms /CV_1V_2/, /$C_1V_1V_2C_2$/, /I/ as V_1 is [i], sometimes very short, and usually followed by a glide [j]: [lijõ] ~ [lⁱjõ] *lion*; in any non-initial CV_1V_2 combination, /I/ as V_1 is [i] ~ [j], sometimes with a glide [j] following [i]: [sulije] ~ [sulie] ~ [sulje] *soulier*; in $C_1C_2V_1V_2$ combinations, /I/ as V_1 is [i], usually followed by a glide [j], whenever C_2 is /l/ or /r/; but when C_2 is a stop, /I/ is usually [j]: [ʃartje] *charretier.* In /VIIV/ sequences, /II/ is usually either [ij] or [jj], but some speakers do not distinguish it from intervocalic /I/ = [j]: [travaijõ] ~ [travajjõ] ~ [travajõ] *travaillions*; [travajõ] *travaillons.*

/E/ represents the opposition /e/ : /ɛ/, valid only in final position: /pike/ *piqué* : /pikɛ/ *piquait*; /lie/ *lié* : /liɛ/ *liait.* Elsewhere, the opposition is neutralized: before final C or CC, the usual allophone is [ɛ], but [e] has also been noted: [pɛr] ~ [per] *père*; in other positions [e], [ɛ], and [E] occur, the choice being free unless /-Ce/ or /-Cɛ/ follows, when the final vowel determines the allophone chosen: [gete] *guetté,* [gɛtɛ] *guettait.*

/a/ has three allophones: [ɑ] occurs in open syllables; [a] in closed syllables, but [A] after /u/: /muan/ *moine* = [muwAn].

/o/ has two allophones: [o] in open syllables: /so/ *saut, seau, sot* = [so], /sote/ *sauter* = [sote]; [ɔ] in closed syllables: /sot/ *saute, sotte* = [sɔt], /porte/ *porter* = [pɔrte].

/u/ has two allophones, [u] and [w]: in final position and in interconsonantal position, only [u] occurs: [ku] *cou, coup,* [gut] *goute, goutte*; in initial prevocalic position,

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/u/ = [w], or [u] followed by a glide [w]: /uest/ = [wɛst] ~ [u^{w}ɛst]; in the sequence /CuV/, the same allophones are found but with reverse order of frequency: /muan/ *moine* = [mu^{w}ʌn] ~ [mwʌn], but after non-continuant consonants [u] may be very short: /bruet/ *brouette* = [br^{u}wɛt].

/y/ has three allophones: [y], [ɥ], and [w]: in final and in interconsonantal positions, only [y] is used: [py] *pue*, [ʒyp] *jupe*; in initial prevocalic position, [ɥ] ~ [w]: /yil/ *huile* = [ɥil] ~ [wil]; in the sequences /CyV/ and /CCyV/, [y] is used, usually followed by a glide [ɥ]: /lyœr/ *lueur* = [ly^{ɥ}œr], /bryi/ *bruit* = [bry^{ɥ}i].

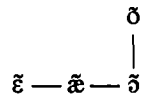
/œ/ has two allophones, [ø] in open syllables, [œ] in closed syllables: /pœ/ *peu* = [pø], /pœr/ *peur* = [pœr].

/ə/ is limited to interconsonantal position: /aməne/ *amener*, /dəvã/ *devant*; and final position: /lə/ *le*; stressed /ə/ = [ø], unstressed /ə/ = [ə].

Any /VV/ sequences other than /IV/, /uV/, /yV/ usually = [VʔV]: /pei/ *pays* = [peʔi], /mais/ *maïs* = [maʔis].

Any initial V is usually [ʔV], even in a chain of morphemes when /-C/ precedes /V-/: /il ariv/ = [il ʔariv].

Nasal Vowel Phonemes



/ɛ̃/ has allophones ranging from [ã] up to [ẽ], the higher occurring after /i/: /biɛ̃/ *bien* = [b^{i}jẽ] ~ [b^{i}jẽ]; /bɛ̃/ *bain* = [bæ̃] ~ [bã] ~ [bẽ]; but sporadic denasalization also occurs, with the addition of [n] or [ŋ]: /viɛ̃/ *vient* = [v^{i}jẽ] ~ [vi^{j}ɛn], /vɛ̃/ *vingt* = [væ̃] ~ [vɛŋ].

/ɔ̃/ and /õ/ are consistently distinguished only in final position: /bɔ̃/ *banc* = [bɔ̃], /bõ/ *bon* = [bõ]; before a final consonant, they are not regularly distinguished, and both are subject to partial or total denasalization with insertion of the homorganic nasal consonant before stops: /põp/ *pompe* = [pɔ̃mp] ~ [pɔmp] ~ [põp]; /bɔ̃d/ *bande* = [bɔ̃nd] ~ [bɔnd] ~ [bɔ̃d]; in non-final position other than before /-C/, the opposition is neutralized in favor of /ɔ̃/: [bɔŋk^{i}je] *banquier*, [pɔmp^{i}je] *pompier*, [brɔ̃ʃe] ~ [brɔʃe] *broncher*.

/œ̃/ is stable when stressed, though varying between open and close allophones: [œ̃] ~ [œ̞̃]; but when unstressed, it shows considerable variation: [æ̃] ~ [ə̃] ~ [ʌ̃] ~ [œ̃] ~ [œ̞̃].

SYNTAX. From the many examples of Tahitian French expressions quoted by O'Reilly (1962:75–6), it is clear that in whatever level and category are being illustrated, there is noticeable inteference from the syntactical patterns of Tahitian. *A côté la maison*, for example, follows the relations of *i taha te fare* rather than of *à côté de la maison*. Similarly, *un pied arbre* is patterned on *e tumu ra'au*. This type of interference, how-

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ever, is likely to be in close relation with the degree of proficiency in handling French (Weinreich 1953:75). To date only episodic observations have been made, and no firm findings can be reported, and findings related to sociocultural variables are even more distant.

VOCABULARY. Lexical interference is the most readily observable aspect of a bilingual situation. Tahitian French includes borrowings from pidgin English such as *canaque* (Lesson 1861); from English, such as *tabou*,[3] *boat*, *shop*, *truck* 'bus'; from Tahitian, such as *tamanou* 'tree, *Calophyllum inophyllum* L.', *bourao* 'sea-coast mallow, *Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.' (Tah. *purau*), *faïl faïl* 'tree, *Serianthes calycina* Benth.' (Tah. *fa'ifa'i*), *fiu*, *paréu*. No attempt at any exhaustive study of borrowings has yet been made.

But borrowings alone do not fully characterize the lexical diversity of Tahitian French. In the transfer of the metropolitan stock to Tahiti, some sectors and individual items have disappeared; others have a different frequency of use: higher, for example, in the case of *bringue* (cf. O'Reilly 1962:74); others correspond to a different social level of usage, more acceptable, for example, in the case of *chier* (cf. O'Reilly 1962:74); others undergo referential readjustment: French *pistache* in the standard language designates *Pistacia vera* L.; in various regional varieties of French *Arachis hypogaea* L.; but in Tahitian French *Syzygium cumini* (L.) Skeels; others undergo loan extension of meaning, as in the case of *long*:

Tah. *roa* 'long' ↔ Fr. *long* 'long'
'tall' ————→ 'tall'

Certain sectors of specialized vocabulary figure more prominently and have replaced sectors of standard vocabulary. This is particularly the case with nautical vocabulary: *renverser* 'to upset' has been replaced by *chavirer*, originally 'to capsize'; *attacher* has similarly been replaced by *amarrer*; and there are others, but the choices made within nautical vocabulary appear to be chance ones, even though, as we shall see, they tend to be repeated in a number of regional varieties of French. A further source of lexical innovation is the intercolonial borrowing (Hollyman 1962a:31–2): among plant names, for example, *barbadine* (*Passiflora quadrangularis* L.) from Antillean French and *papengaye* (*Luffa acutangula* Roxb.) from Réunionnais French (Maclet 1958:9, 12; Hollyman 1962a:38, 39).

The results of an enquiry into the phonemic structure of the French spoken by a young man of mixed Chinese and Tahitian parentage, carried out by two Auckland students, were published in 1963 (Hollyman 1964a:20–2). No new information is yet to hand, but recent statistics indicate that the linguistic situation among the Chinese of Tahiti is likely to evolve fairly rapidly towards assimilation, particularly now that the Chinese schools which taught three hours daily in French and four in Chinese are losing ground. The 7613 Chinese in the Windward Islands in 1963 were divided as

[3] The term is first recorded in French in 1785, in a translation of Cook.

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follows: 4691 of Chinese nationality; 832 naturalized French; 2090 Chinese or Demi-Chinois born French. Only 2953 of the total 7613 were over 15, and of them 1350 spoke and wrote only Chinese, 367 both Tahitian and Chinese, 627 French and Chinese, and 609 Tahitian, French and Chinese (Doumenge 1966:212–13). French has already with the older group, then, an advantage over Tahitian, and this is likely to be accentuated by the greater attendance at schools using French as the sole medium of instruction.

WALLIS AND FUTUNA

Futuna was discovered by Lemaire and Schouten in 1616, and Wallis (Uvea) by Wallis in 1767. Occasional contact with European ships, including traders, occurred before Protestant missionaries came from Tonga in 1836 for a short and tragic stay (O'Reilly 1963a:14–15; Jore 1959b:154–8). French Catholic missionaries established themselves in 1837 on both Wallis and Futuna and began a successful conversion campaign. In late 1842 both islands requested a French protectorate which was accepted by the naval captain on the spot but not ratified by France. The Mission press began publishing in 1845 (O'Reilly 1963b), with an alphabet and religious works in EUV, EFU, and TON. The first mission school opened on Wallis in 1847. So was founded what many writers have considered the theocracy par excellence of the Pacific. A French protectorate was finally declared for Wallis in 1887 and for Futuna in 1888, and Wallis was administratively linked with New Caledonia. In 1910 a new agreement excluded the missionaries from the temporal administration. A parliamentary bill attaching Wallis to France was passed by the Chambre des Députés in France in 1920, but was not ratified by the Senate. A decree establishing a state school on Wallis in 1933 was opposed by the Mission. During the Second World War, up to 6000 American troops served as a garrison on Wallis, which had recognized Free France in 1942, whereas the Mission had declared for Vichy albeit without hostility to the Free French Forces. In 1946 a group on Wallis tried to have the island declared a United States protectorate, but the request was rejected by the United States Government. Finally, in 1959, a referendum voted both islands into the French Union as a Territoire d'Outre-mer.

Missionaries produced dictionaries of both EUV and EFU.[4] The usual pattern of borrowings from classical languages, made for the purposes of biblical translation, is present. So too are the occasional words of other PN origin, such as EUV *pule* 'prayer' from HAW, or from pidgin English, such as EUV, EFU *pusi* 'cat'. There is however no study of the effects of French on either language other than mention of a few borrowings of recent date (Villaret 1963:202): EUV *toketa* 'docteur', *patolo* 'patron', *pilo* 'bureau'.

No study whatsoever has been done of the French spoken on Wallis and Futuna. My own fieldwork in 1966 with Wallis Islanders and Futunans in Noumea, which was

[4] Those of Bataillon and Grézel.

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not directed at French, indicated that the older generations had a limited mastery only of French: the younger generations, and above all those who had had seminary training, however, were very competent.

LOYALTY ISLANDS

This group, comprising the main islands of Mare, Lifu and Uvea, was probably discovered by Raven in the *Britannia* in 1793 (Sharp 1960:176; Shineberg 1967:47–8). English Protestant missionaries began evangelization in 1841 when they placed Samoan catechists on Mare. The first sandalwooders came in 1842. In 1853, France annexed New Caledonia and its dependencies, but apart from New Caledonia hoisted the flag only at the Isle of Pines. This encouraged the London Missionary Society to establish two English missionaries on Mare in 1854, and Protestant evangelization continued unhampered on each island of the Loyalty group until Governor Guillain in 1864 established French authority there, not without some difficulties. Despite poor relations with the French administration, the last English missionary left only in 1922, although French Protestant missionaries had in the meantime generally replaced them. Catholic missionaries had begun activities in 1857, on Uvea. The English Protestant schools taught in English until stopped by Guillain, and were either allowed to reopen provided French was used as the medium of instruction, or replaced by French schools. Protestant-Catholic opposition among the tribes led to considerable trouble during the nineteenth century.

All three islands are reserves in which Europeans cannot acquire land. The European population is therefore small, and consists mainly of officials, missionaries and tradespeople. The native population of the three islands totals about 11,000, but as a result of overpopulation and emigration remains static (Doumenge 1966:159). Lifu is the most populous, with nearly 7000, then Mare with nearly 4000, and Uvea with less than 3000. The dominant languages spoken are Melanesian: Dehu on Lifu, with two dialects; Nengone on Mare; and Yai on Uvea. But in the northern and southern parts of Uvea, a Polynesian language (WUV) is also spoken.

From their presses in Rarotonga, Auckland, and (later) the Loyalties themselves and London, the English missionaries began producing ABCs and biblical material very early: from 1842 for Nengone, from 1853 for Dehu, from 1860 for WUV, and from 1865 for Yai. The complete Bible in Dehu appeared in 1890, in Yai in 1901, and in Nengone in 1903 (O'Reilly 1955:151–66). The arguments advanced by Parsonson (1967) in favor of the literate revolution in Polynesia apply equally well in the Loyalty Islands, and the role played by the English missionaries lasted longer than in Tahiti. English borrowings, including ones from pidgin English, are not rare in the Loyalties languages, and outnumber French (cf. Hollyman 1962b:318). Fieldwork on WUV in 1966, for example, produced from English: *bolok*, *burum*, *bag*, *boil*, *baket*, *buutr* (*boot*), *gol* ('ear-ring'), *hoos*, *kalebus*, *kip* ('key'), *nani*, *oil*, *salem* ('sell'), *trausi*; and from

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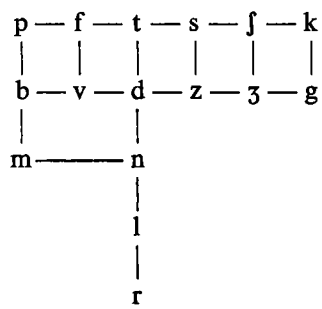
French: *bride* ('taro des Hébrides, *Xanthosoma* sp.'), *kanggerela* ('cancrelat, Blattidae'). Many Loyalty Islanders know some English, and more still know pidgin English. This knowledge has no doubt been maintained in part by frequent employment in ships' crews, particularly in trade with the New Hebrides.

Until recent years, Loyalty Islanders began learning French only at the age of ten, but this now begins at nine. Among themselves, they speak their own languages, and not French (Tryon 1963:6). Only those who go to Noumea gain any real mastery of the official language. Loyalties French is therefore strongly influenced by the local languages, as has been demonstrated by an unpublished phonemic study by D.T. Tryon (1963). The results of this enquiry, in summary form, are as follows:

Consonant System



/p/ and /b/ are both stable except for some [p] ~ [b] variation for /p/ in Lifu and Yai French, and for free [b] ~ [mb] variation in Lifu and Yai French (Nengone does not have a prenasalized series).

/f/ is stable; but /v/ less so, since in Lifu French there is free variation [v] ~ [f] in intervocalic position, and /vw-/ in Lifu and Mare French usually = [w].

/t/ is stable except for sporadic replacement of [t] by [ṭ] in Lifu French, and of /tr/ by [ṭ] in Yai French. In Lifu French /d/ shows free variation [d] ~ [t] in initial position, and [d] ~ [nd] ~ [t] in intervocalic position; it is stable in Mare French, and in Yai French except that /dr/ = [dʀ] ~ [ḍ].

/s/ has free variation of [s] ~ [z] in intervocalic position, and /z/ of [z] ~ [s] in the same position, on all three islands.

/ʃ/ is stable except for free variation of [ʃ] ~ [s] in Lifu French. /ʒ/ shows [ʒ] ~ [z] variation in Mare French, and [z] ~ [ʒ] in Lifu, but with [ð] as an occasional further variant in initial position in Lifu French.

/k/ is generally stable. /g/ is stable everywhere except in Yai French where in initial position there are the variants [k] ~ [g].

All these pairs marked by voice tend to show neutralization in favor of the unvoiced member in final position, i.e. /C̥/ → [C̥]. In the same position, /C̥/ → Ø.

/m/ and /n/ are stable, except that in Mare French /m/ shows occasional [m] ~ [n] variation in intervocalic position.

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/r/ is [ɹ] in Lifu and Mare French, but [ʀ] in Yai French; for /tr/ and /dr/, see above.

/l/ is stable except for free variation [l] ~ Ø in final position in Mare and Yai French.

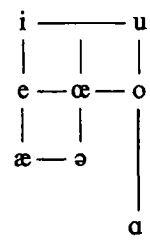
Apart from sporadic uncertainty with some consonants in initial position, this system corresponds in its general principles to that of most Melanesian languages in the New Caledonia-Loyalties area in having a well-distinguished set of consonant phonemes in initial position. These undergo progressive neutralizations through intervocalic to final position, in which the set is very reduced. Final consonants are also subject to unvoiced and very muted articulation.

Epenthetic vowels are commonly inserted in all consonant clusters, and prothetic vowels before /sC-/, but less so by the younger generations than by the older. This conforms to the regular CV, -CVC syllable forms of the Melanesian languages in the area.

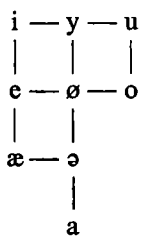
The only consistent loss is that of /ɲ/, replaced by /ni/.

Vowel System

Lifu and Mare French



Yai French



All vowels are subject to lengthening under conditions which have not been determined, but length is not phonemic. There are no nasal vowels, except among a small minority with more education behind them.

/i/ is everywhere [i], except in initial prevocalic position when it is replaced by [j].

/e/ is rarely other than [e] in final position; in closed syllables it is usually [ɛ], and elsewhere [e] ~ [ɛ].

/æ/ is [æ] in all positions.

The opposition /o/ : /ɔ/ is valid only in final position: /bo/ *beau* : /bɔ/ *bon*; in final closed syllables only [ɔ] is used, except for [-o:z] as in [ɹo:z] *rose*; elsewhere the usual allophone is [ɔ].

/u/ is always [u] except for the following: /uV-/ = [wV-]; /muV/ = [mwV]; /nuV/ = [nwV]; and /suV = [swV].

/œ/ is usually [œ], but in final position [œ] ~ [ø]; it is very unstable in Mare French, and varies with [ɛ] and [ɔ]; in Yai French it is more usually [ø].

/ɑ/ is a back vowel in Lifu French, but tends to be fronted in closed syllables; in Mare and Yai French there is free variation of front and back allophones, the back variant being more common in Mare.

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/y/ = [y] is found only in Yai French; before a vowel, the /u/ : /y/ opposition is neutralized in favor of /u/.

VOCABULARY. No information is available on the syntax of French in the Loyalties, and no proper study of the vocabulary has been made. In general, the vocabulary appears not to differ from that of New Caledonian French. There are, however, lexical items which indicate some differentiation, not only from NC French, but also within the Loyalties themselves. *Perroquet*[5] is now generally used in NC French as a name for certain kinds of fish (Labridae and Scaridae): as a name for parrots it has been replaced by *perruche*. But in Lifu French *perroquet* continues to be used of birds. The parrot *Trichoglossus haematodes deplanchei* Verreaux & des Murs is called *perruche* in New Caledonia, and *perroquet écossais* on Lifu. *Eunymphicus cornutus cornutus* Gm. is the New Caledonian *perruche huppée*: a subspecies, *E. c. uveaensis* Layard is found on Uvea and there called *cocotte* (WUV *kokot*). It was unsuccessfully introduced on Lifu about 1925, and called there at the time *perroquet huppé*, whereas in New Caledonia it is referred to as the *perruche d'Ouvéa*. The epiphyte *Asplenium nidus* L. is called *langue de bœuf* in NC French, but *langue de vache* in Lifu French. But the extent of such differentiation is not known.

Loyalties French has contributed lexical items of both Melanesian and English origin to NC French. These include *nata* 'pasteur indigène' (from Nengone *nata* 'd'âge mûr, formé'); *teacher* 'catéchiste indigène'; *toutou* 'conque, *Tritonalia tritonis* (L.)' (from Dehu and Yai *ṭuṭu* 'idem'); *azou* 'tree, *Planchonella* spp. & *Chrysophyllum* spp. (Sapotaceae)' (from Dehu *aju*); and *bougna*, *bunia* 'food cooked in earth oven' (from Nengone *bunya*). No complete listing of such items has yet been attempted.

NEW CALEDONIA

Discovered by Cook in 1774, New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines were annexed by France in 1853. The history of French there[6] may be conveniently discussed in four periods: I, from discovery to annexation; II, from annexation to the beginning of the Feillet administration in 1894; III, from 1894 to 1940; and IV, since 1940.

Period I. (O'Reilly 1955; Person 1954; Cordier-Rossiaud 1957; Jore 1959b:165–72; Shineberg 1967.) European explorers after Cook gave New Caledonia such a bad reputation that contact was slight until the London Missionary Society began a short-lived and unsuccessful attempt at evangelization in 1841, using Polynesian catechists. The visit their ship made to the Isle of Pines led to the beginning of the sandalwood

[5] *Perroquet* is used to designate certain Labridae in metropolitan French, but the New Caledonian use is earlier, and is a loan translation from Australian English *parrot fish*.

[6] This historical sketch is expanded from a paper given at a meeting of the Société des Océanistes in Paris in March 1966, cf. *JSOc* 22:97–8.

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trade (Shineberg 1967:29–46, 55–8), and other traders followed the sandalwooders (full details are given in Cordier-Rossiaud 1957, and Shineberg 1967). Beach-la-mar, the South West Pacific variety of pidgin English, became the contact language of the area (Hollyman 1963:214–15, 1964b:57). Trade relations were essentially concentrated on the East Coast of New Caledonia and at the Isle of Pines, and the Melanesian languages of this area have many English borrowings (Hollyman 1962b:321).

The L.M.S. press at Rarotonga produced a catechism in Kapone, the language of Tuauru and the Isle of Pines, in 1847, but there seems little likelihood that it ever circulated there, as the catechists were withdrawn in 1845, and English Protestant efforts were thereafter concentrated in the Loyalties.

French Catholic missionaries began working at Balad in the northeast of New Caledonia in 1843, but difficulties with the local people forced them to leave in 1847. They spent part of their time away on Futuna, learning the language of Balad (Nyalazyu) from catechists taken with them (Rougeyron n.d.:59). They opened a mission station on the Isle of Pines in 1848, and there also one of the primary objects became learning the language of those to be evangelized (Person 1954:124–5, 138, 140). It took some time to regain the lost ground in New Caledonia itself, but the Balad Mission was finally re-established in 1851, and the Pwebo Mission in 1852. One of the early tasks at Pwebo was learning the language (Caaqac) (Rougeyron n.d.:76, 85, 87).

This first period is therefore one of failure from the point of view of the establishment of French: the general contact language is beach-la-mar, and the French missionaries with good reason devote much time and effort to learning the local languages in the areas where they are working. Their journals reflect this, including occasional pidgin terms and frequent Melanesian ones: among them are some which became permanent borrowings in the French of the future colony:[7] in 1849 *ouaré* 'yam, *Dioscorea esculenta* (Lour.) Burk.' and *mékoua* 'milkfish, *Chanos chanos* Forsk.'; in 1851 *kohu* 'timber tree, *Intsia bijuga* O. Kuntze'; and in 1853 *bugny* 'timber tree, *Manilkara pancheri* Pierre'. The adaptation of French vocabulary to the new environment is also discernible in these journals with the referential readjustment of names such as *bécassine* 'plover, *Pluvialis dominica fulva* Gm.'. But this latter process is one the missionaries share with the explorers (and, when they were English, their translators) and the naval officers, who contributed a considerable number of terms of this type,[8] as well as a few items from pidgin English,[9] and some seafaring terms which were adapted to general usage.[10] But these are all used only by the tiny groups of European missionaries to whom the use of French was limited: they were, however, to be valuable in the years to come.

Period II. (O'Reilly 1955; Person 1954; Shineberg 1967.) The French flag was raised

[7] From the missionary side, all the examples quoted are from Goujon, n.d.

[8] *Tourterelle* is used by Cook's translator (1778) and Leconte (1851). For the history of *niaouli* 'paperbark tree, *Melaleuca leucadendron* L.', see Hollyman and Chevalier 1963–65.

[9] In particular *canaque*, in Laferrière 1845.

[10] The earliest of these is *amarrer*.

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in New Caledonia at Balad, and on the Isle of Pines at Vao. On the mainland (la Grande Terre), apart from the Catholic Missions at Balad and Pwebo in the northeast, there were English trading posts at Yegen (Hienghène) on the east coast (established by Towns in 1847) and now (1854) on the Ile Nou in the southwest. French naval personnel began hydrographic surveys and some prospection of the coasts, in particular for timber. James Paddon, who set up the trading post on the Ile Nou, gained the contract to provide provisions and supplies for the new colony, and the new capital was established on the main coast opposite his station. Administratively, the new possession was attached to Tahiti until 1860, when it was given a separate Governor.

There was no rush of colonists. No direct commercial shipping service from France existed until 1882: settlers came out to Sydney, where they often had to wait, as there was only a monthly service to the new capital, Noumea. In Sydney there was some intermarriage with Australians, particularly Irish Australians. By 1858 there were only about a hundred European colonists, established at Tiwaka and Canala on the east coast, at Noumea and on the Ile of Pines. The first immigrant labor was introduced in the form of New Hebrideans, apparently mainly from Efate since they were called Sandwich Islanders. The settler population grew more rapidly with the arrival of colonists from Réunion, accompanied by Malabar labor, during the 60s and early 70s. Among the French who stayed, this group is the only one to have left a definable mark on the French of the area: the others came from all over France. In 1866, the settler population totalled 1060, including 770 French, 202 Australians, and nine other nationalities. Between 1861 and 1865, the difference between arrivals and departures from Noumea was +117 for foreigners and −50 for French. The distribution of the settlers in 1866 was: Noumea-St. Vincent area 843; on the east coast, 22 at Yate, 41 at Canala, 30 at Wagap, 71 at Pwebo; 4 in the northwest; 11 on the Isle of Pines and 38 in the Loyalties.

But these figures only cover the free population. The first convoy of convicts had arrived at Noumea in 1864. The overall figures for 1866 were: free settlers 1060; troops 706; Asian, African and Pacific Island labor 335; convicts 239: total 2340. By 1887, the European population comprised 4165 civilians, 3015 military, and 11,358 convicts. Between 1879 and 1883, there were still more English speakers than French among the newly arriving settlers. Among the convicts were Arabs, following troubles in Algeria, and deportees from the Paris Commune. Those convicts who finished their time were allowed to settle in the country, many during their term of punishment were used as labor in all forms of European activity.

These activities were: cattle and sheep grazing in which English-speaking settlers and Australian methods predominated; crop-growing (sugar-cane, rubber, cotton, coffee, cereals and vegetables), with the Réunionnais dominant in the production of sugar; timber production, dominated by the activities of the penitentiary; and mining, initially of gold, dominated by Australians, and then of nickel. Trading activities with Sydney continued to be considerable, but commercial houses with their headquarters

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in Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Le Havre, also opened establishments in Noumea.

The Melanesian native population, which totalled some 27,000 about 1860, fell to less than 19,000 by 1887. They resisted the encroachment of settlers on their land by sporadic revolts, but were unable to overcome the traditional divisions among themselves and the revolts were all successfully crushed, and their leaders deported or executed. The speakers of some of their languages were decimated (Leenhardt 1946: xviii; Hollyman 1962b:313). Some began to participate in European activities, but the closest regular contact was with the Catholic missions. The deterioration of relations between Mission and Governor under Guillain led to a decree in 1864 which, while it recognized both state and private schools, strictly forbade the use in them of any native language.[11] French was compulsory and English optional. The missionaries had in many cases compiled dictionaries for their own use, but none was published and not all have survived.[12] They published religious material in Nyalazyu (Balad) in 1855, but nothing more until 1888 (O'Reilly 1955:147–66).

Relations with the Melanesians continued to be in beach-la-mar, but it became progressively more French in its vocabulary.[13] The fragmentary evidence which exists indicates that this French pidgin spread from Noumea, and this is not surprizing since the numerical dominance of Noumea in the distribution of the settler population began early, and by 1884 was of the order of ten to one. But even in 1885, Cordeil was still able of say of Noumea: 'On y parle français, anglais, tous les patois et surtout le *biche-la-mar*, espèce de sabir ou l'anglais domine, émaillé de locutions empruntées à la langue verte.'[14] The persistence of beach-la-mar, while resulting principally from the low educational levels, was no doubt assisted by the continued use of New Hebrides labor: there were still some 2000 in 1882, when the ravages of blackbirding finally led to a ban on the use of labor from the Pacific Islands.

The adaptation of French to the new environment continued during this period, which is in many ways the most important from this point of view. Readjustment of French vocabulary, formation of new compounds, and borrowing were used extensively, and many new lexical items did not survive. The following examples cover only items which are still in use, and illustrate the various sources (only the contemporary meaning is given):

Beach-la-mar: *nani* 'chèvre'; *poca* 'wild pig'.[15]

[11] The arrêté concerned was printed in the *Moniteur de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, no. 212, of 18 October 1864.

[12] The Caaqac (Pwebo) and Nyalazyu (Balad) dictionaries of Gagnière and Rougeyron have survived, but not those of Goujon (Person 1954:140) for Kapone (Isle of Pines) or Gilibert for the Arama dialect of Nyalazyu unless this latter was simply a copy of the one by Gagnière.

[13] On the pidgin French which developed, see Baker 1943 and Hollyman 1964b.

[14] It seems likely that in remoter areas, where there is no nearby school and little outside contact, or a very poorly staffed school only, the old French pidgin is still in existence. A.G. Haudricourt sent me a short tape illustrating this, recorded in the Tuauru area in 1963. The resemblances to creole French were very marked, but the tape is unfortunately of too poor quality to warrant detailed analysis.

[15] For more information on *poca*, see Hollyman 1959:382–3.

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Melanesian: *houp* 'tree, *Montrouziera cauliflora* Panch. & Triana'; *cagou* 'flightless bird, *Rhynochetos jubatus* Verr. & des M.'; *notou* 'large pigeon, *Ducula goliath* Gray'; *pilou, pilou-pilou* 'native dance'; *popinée* 'native woman'.[16]

Tahitian French: *bourao, faïlfaïl*;[17] *féhi* 'banana, cultivars of *Australimusa*'; *tamanou* 'tree, *Calophyllum inophyllum* L.'.

Algerian French: *gourbi* 'untidy or tumbledown place'.[18]

Réunion French: *aloës* 'plant, *Agave sisalana* Perrine'; *ambrevade* 'pigeon-pea, *Cajanus pseudo-cajan* (Jacq.) Schinz & Guillaumin';[19] *bois noir* 'tree, *Albizzia lebbek* (L.) Benth.'; *brède* 'plant with edible leaves, *Amaranthus interruptus* R.Br.';[18] *chouchoute* 'choko, *Sechium edule* Sw.';[18] *pipengaye* 'plant, *Luffa cylindrica* Roem.'.[19]

West Indian French (these may in some cases have come via Tahiti): *barbardine* 'vine, *Passiflora quadrangularis* L.'; *pomme-liane* 'vine, *Passiflora laurifolia* L.'; *bécune* 'fish, *Sphyraena* sp.'.

Austral English:[20] *brousse* 'bush, country (as opposed to town)';[21] *creek* 'stream'; *run, paddock* and *station*;[22] *pin de Norfolk* 'Norfolk pine, *Araucaria excelsa* R.Br.'; *lantana* 'plant, *Lantana camara* L.'; *perroquet* 'parrot fish, Labridae'; *prospecteur* 'mineral prospector'.

Referential readjustment of French items. This is a very extensive group, and certainly the largest. Examples from the fields of fauna and flora include: *acajou* 'tree, *Semecarpus atra* (Forst.) Vieill.'; *chêne* 'tree with sinuous branches and medium heavy timber';[23] *frêne* 'tree used for tool handles, *Storckiella pancheri* Baill.'; *gaïac* 'tree, *Acacia spirorbis* Labill.'; *bossu* 'fish, *Lethrinus* spp.'; *chouette* 'screechowl, *Tyto alba lifuensis* Brasil'; *clovisse* 'edible shellfish, *Donax* spp.'; *goëland* 'tern, *Sterna* spp.'; *roussette* 'fruit bat, *Pteropus ornatus* Gray'.

French provincialisms: *pistache* 'peanut, *Arachis hypogaea* L.'; *criquet* 'locust, *Locusta migratoria* L.'; *touque* 'container (usually for petrol/gas)'.[18]

Neologisms. These too are a large group, in which compounds are far more common than other derived forms.[24] In flora and fauna names they include: *bois barre à mine* 'tree with timber difficult to bend, *Syzygium wagapense* Brongn. & Gris'; *herbe à piquants* 'spear grass, *Heteropogon contortus* (L.) Beauv.'; *collier blanc* 'large white-throated pigeon, *Columba vitiensis hypoenochroa* Gould;' *long cou* 'heron, *Demigretta sacra albolineata* Gray'; *tonkin* 'breed of pig'.

[16] *Popinée*, from WUV *fafine* through Melanesian, is discussed in more detail in Hollyman 1959:375.
[17] See the Tahitian section above and Hollyman 1962a:35.
[18] *Gourbi, brède, chouchoute*, and *tonque* are now discussed in Hollyman 1970a.
[19] Detail on *ambrevade* and *pipengaye*, originally Malagasy terms, in Hollyman 1962a:39, 40.
[20] The term is that used by Morris 1898, and is a conveniently short one covering Australia, New Zealand, and Norfolk Island (New Caledonia had frequent shipping and trade contact with this last).
[21] The history of this term is discussed in Hollyman 1962a:33–4, but the earliest date of occurrence in New Caledonia is now 1867, not 1871.
[22] The meanings are not always the same as in Australian English, see Glasgow 1968.
[23] *Chêne* figures in 22 compound names designating trees of various families, cf. Hollyman 1961:53.
[24] Relative proportions for the various types, as known at that date, are given in Hollyman 1966.

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Among plant names there is a surprising number borrowed from the botanical name. Some are used elsewhere also, such as *agave*, *coléus*, *croton*, but others are innovations: *cycas*, *kentia*, *milnéa*.[25]

Period III. (Bibliography in O'Reilly 1955.) It is only in this period that New Caledonia becomes a colonie de peuplement, the only French one in the Pacific. The settler population doubled between 1891 (6440) and 1921 (12,420), and again between 1921 and 1958. The initial impetus came under the Feillet administration (1894–1903), with the founding of new centers (Ponérihouen, Négropo, Sarraméa, Témala) and the extension of others (Koné, Moindou); and the rapid growth of mining (cobalt, nickel, chrome), grazing, and coffee growing. But this influx of immigrants was stopped by an economic crisis in 1903, and in 1905 there was an excess of departures over arrivals. Since then, apart from a group of 236 'Nordistes' (from Northern France) in 1926, the European population has grown essentially by natural increase.

The ban on Pacific Islands labor in 1882, and the suspension of convict transportation in 1897, caused a labor shortage which was solved by the introduction of Japanese, Tonkinese, and Javanese. The Japanese, recruited initially for the mines, were free workers and totalled 2500 in 1900; they came without women and mixed freely with the Melanesians. On the eve of the 2nd World War, there were some 1500 of them. The Tonkinese and Javanese came as indentured labor, with a fixed sex ratio of one female to 4 or 5 males. Free settlement after five years was allowable under strict conditions. The Tonkinese were employed mainly in the mines, public works, and industry, the Javanese in agriculture. By 1941 there were nearly 4500 Tonkinese and over 8000 Javanese.

Important measures favoring internal economic development, in particular improved and more extensive roading, and better port facilities at Noumea, were undertaken during the Guyon administration (1925–32).

The development of mineral production made the New Caledonian economy one sided: it represented in value 90% of exports over the period 1900–13, and 80% in 1938–44. Conversely, imports centered on foods and industrial goods. Apart from France, trade relations were strong with Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

With the outbreak of the 2nd World War, the New Caledonian population declared for Free France, and threw out the pro-Vichy Governor in 1940.

Educational facilties underwent no radical improvement during this period, and knowledge of French among the Melanesians, and among the members of the immigrant work forces, was still limited enough for their mastery of it to be at best inadequate and at worst not above the pidgin level. Le Goupils (1910:127) quotes a Tonkinese as saying: 'moi look une fois, moi savoir'; and Noroit (1932:81–3) quotes several conversations in which a Javanese woman answers in pidgin: 'Marie, quel âge

[25] *Milnéa* is borrowed from an earlier binomial, *Milnea austrocaledonica*, now replaced by *Carapa obovata*.

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as-tu? — Sais pas, Mosié. — Tu sais bien un petit peu près? — Pét'ét seize, pét'ét dix-huit'.

The sources of lexical change and expansion change in some measure as compared with the preceding period.

Melanesian borrowings decrease in number, but continue: *daoua* 'fish, *Naso unicornis* (Forsk.)'; *ouapipi* 'honey-eater, *Myzomela* spp.'; *toghi* 'evil spirit, devil'.

Algerian French, and West Indian French, provide now very few items, and usually with referential readjustment when they occur: Algerian *dis* 'tall grass, *Ampelodesmos tenax* Link.' gives NC French *dis*, later *disque*, *dixe* 'tall grass, *Imperata cylindrica* Beauv.'; and West Indian *crocro* 'fish, *Haemulon plumieri*' gives NC *crocro* 'fish, *Pomadasys hasta* (Bloch)'.

Austral English borrowings continue, but now mainly in the field of grazing terminology, particularly pasture grasses (listed in Hollyman 1963:222–4), and terms such as *pollé* 'poley, polled' and *piebald*.

Referential readjustments of French items also continue, but they are fewer in number: *fromager* 'dye-producing tree, *Morinda citrifolia* L.'; *gouttes de sang* 'ornamental plant, *Russelia equisetiformis* Schlecht & Cham.'; *mimosa* 'plant, *Leucaena glauca* (Willd.) Benth.'; *scille* 'plant, *Dianella* sp.'

The effects on the vocabulary of the penitentiary years have not been investigated, and the subject is a difficult one in that many terms which might be classified as originating in that period and having undergone upgrading in their social level of use have also undergone this upgrading in France. The following are probably to be definitely classified as resulting from former convict usage after 'upgrading': *mec* 'bloke, joker'; *faire* 'denounce, tell on'. And *rélégué* 'striped fish, *Therapon jarbua* Forsk.' (also called *tricot rayé* and *bariolé*) is an obvious transfer from penitentiary terminology.

Neologisms continue their flow: *groseiller canaque* 'shrub, *Physalis peruviana* L.'; *pois collant* 'sticky-seeded plant, *Desmodium heterocarpum*'; *loche saumonnée* 'fish most favored for table, *Paracanthistius maculatus* Bloch'; *long bec* 'small honey-eater, *Lichmera incana incana* Latham'; *lunette* 'white-eye, *Zosterops* spp.'.

Borrowings from the immigrant languages are rare. The Indochinese labor gave *congaï* 'Indochinoise', and the rare *liem* 'plant, *Peltophorum ferrugineum* Benth.'. The Indonesian labor gave *bayou* 'Javanaise, Indonésienne'; *kakane* 'Javanais, Indonésien'; and clearly influenced the use of *marabout* and *rabbin* for 'Muslim priest'.

Period IV. (Doumenge 1966, supplemented by personal observation.) During the 2nd World War, New Caledonian relations with France were suspended. Thousands of Australian, then American and New Zealand troops garrisoned the island for several years. After the war, New Caledonia became a territoire d'outremer, with some political life of its own in which the Melanesians have taken an increasing share (cf. Lenormand 1954). Relations with France are closer than ever before. Exports in 1964 went 44.7% to France, 43% to Japan, and 2.1% to Australia; and imports came 57.5% from France, 17% from Australia, 6.9% from the United States and 1% from

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Japan. Educational and cultural facilities have improved considerably, but the majority of secondary teachers and administrators still come out from France on a limited tour of duty. New Caledonians who continue their education at establishments of higher learning in France rarely return. Despite the activities of local learned societies, such as the Société d'Etudes Mélanésiennes, there is little intellectual life in Noumea and none elsewhere. There is as a result no local élite which might set social, intellectual or linguistic norms, and the metropolitan group on its tour of duty has not won the kind of recognition which might let it serve as such an élite.

Noumea, with a population of 37,000 in 1965, had half the total population of the island. The breakdown of its 1963 population of 34,900 was 61% European, 15% Melanesian, 5.8% Indonesian, 5.7% Tahitian, 5.5% 'Wallisiens', and 7% Vietnamese. But the departure of most of the Vietnamese back home has led Doumenge (1966:287) to estimate that by 1965 Europeans would total 63%, Melanesians 17%, Polynesians 12%, and Indonesians and Vietnamese only 8%.

Noumea attracts ever increasing numbers not only from French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna, but also from the rest of New Caledonia. In 1963, 64% of the European population lived there, and the proportion of other elements was growing, although it still had only 12.5% of the total Melanesian population (including the Loyalties). Within Noumea, the Tahitians are the only group mixing readily with others (Doumenge 1966:288–92; McTaggart 1961; for the history of Noumea, see McTaggart 1966a, 1966b, and Chevalier 1966).

Outside Noumea, except in the few areas (Bourail and, most recently, Plum) where troops are quartered, the settlements are small. The Melanesian population lives mainly on its own lands, 'en tribu'. In many cases it is served only by mission schools, and very many schools, whether mission or state, are often staffed only by moniteurs, usually from another language group than that which the school serves. Within their villages, and also in such Melanesian suburbs of Noumea as Montravel, the languages of family and suburb tend to be predominantly Melanesian rather than French, although mastery of French has grown considerably since the war years. Hand in hand with the better knowledge of French among the younger generations has gone a corresponding loss of mastery of their own languages.[26]

Although communications of all kinds have been greatly improved, the tempo of life in the European country settlements bears little relation to the city rush of Noumea, with its cinemas, nightclubs, and television. Socially and culturally, these settlements are relatively isolated and in considerable measure turned inwards on themselves almost as much as the families living on cattle stations.

Lexical expansion has continued as before, with innovations now playing the major role.

[26] It is an instructive experience to work on a Melanesian language in remoter areas with representatives of both the older and the younger generations. The young people constantly mistranslate French terms through inadequate knowledge of their mother tongue, which they nonetheless use most of the time. Even the older folk cannot always effectively differentiate terms belonging to particular semantic fields which were once highly developed.

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Melanesian borrowings include not only the traditional types such as *couyouc* 'honey-eater, *Guadalcanaria undulata* Sparrman'; *tourou* 'black honey-eater, *Gymnomyza aubryana* Verr. & des M.'; *yayouc* 'tree, *Planchonella endlicheri* Guillaumin'; but also commercial terms used in the markets and on the radio: *makoué* 'taro des Hébrides, *Xanthosoma* sp.'; *pouengo* 'variety of banana'.

Borrowings from other varieties of overseas regional French now tend to provide not new but additional names: Tahitian French has added *liane du* 14 *juillet* for the *liane-aurore* 'ornamental vine, *Pyrostegia ignea* (Vell.) Presl.'; West Indian French *queue de rat* for the *herbe bleue* 'weed, *Stachytarpheta jamaïcensis* Vahl'; and North African French *cramcram* (originally West African) for the *pou canaque* 'grass, *Cenchrus echinatus* L.'.

English borrowings become more varied in source, not only as a result of wartime association, but also new postwar relations: from Australian English, *centro* 'leguminous plant, *Centrosema pubescens* Benth.'; *australop* 'Australorp, breed of domestic fowl'; *bucker* 'horse which bucks', *paniken* 'pannikin'; from New Zealand English, *montgoméry* 'Montgomery red clover'; from American English, *jeep*; *lanterne japonaise* 'ornamental shrub, *Abutilon* sp.'; *la lune et le soleil* 'sun and moon shell, *Amusium japonicum*'; from Fijian English, *fleur chandelle* 'golden candlestick, *Cassia alata* L.'

Referential readjustments of metropolitan French terms continue in reduced numbers: *cantharide* 'wasp, *Ampulex compressa* F.'; *lochon* 'river fish, *Eleotris fusca* (Schneid.)'; *marronnier* 'tree, *Ochrothallus balansae* Pierre'; *noyer* 'tree, *Neoguillauminia cleopatra* Croiz.'.

Neologisms continue unabated: *amande amère* 'tree with edible fruit, *Ximenia elliptica* Forst.'; *bois bouchon* 'lakeside tree, *Podocarpus palustris* Buchh.'; *bois d'ail* 'tree whose wood smells of garlic, *Dysoxylum macranthum* C.DC.'; *fleur casse-tête* 'plant, *Amomum hemisphaericum* L.'; *jupons courts* 'plant, *Clerodendron thomsonae* Balf.f.'; *bénitier baladeur* 'shellfish, *Hippopus hippopus* L.'; *loche Indépendance* 'fish, variety of *Paracanthistius maculatus* Bloch with black and yellow stripes'.[27]

French provincialisms are now rare, and the few noted for this period may in fact be of earlier date in the oral tradition, e.g. *trèfle* 'weed, *Oxalis* spp.'.

Among the various forms of regional French in the Pacific, New Caledonian French has been the most extensively studied,[28] and the one on which most research is still being done.

PHONEMIC STRUCTURE. The general approach so far used in studying the phonemics of regional varieties of French in the Pacific has been along the lines of that used by Martinet (1945) in working out a diaphonemic system valid for the whole of metro-

[27] These are the colors of the Indépendance Sports Club of Noumea.

[28] To the items listed in Hollyman 1965:125, add Hollyman 1964b, 1964c, 1966, 1969, 1970a, 1970b; Hollyman and Chevalier 1963–65; and Glasgow 1968.

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politan France. This method sets up regional systems and from them an overall supersystem which, by the very nature of the method, is composed of archphonemes. The only refinement used in Hollyman 1964a is to present the phonemic opposition underlying the supersystem, and the allophones of the phonemes, in descending order of frequency. The other obvious method of approach is that based on the principle of interference, as discussed by Weinreich (1953:14–28) and Hollyman 1964c: Martinet 1954–55 and Ferguson 1959 are also relevant to what follows. In this method, two systems in contact are compared and the interferences systematically discussed. A situation such as the New Caledonian one, however, does not particularly suit either of these methods. The interference approach is clearly valid for a discussion of the French spoken by Melanesians, or Indonesian, Vietnamese or Polynesian immigrants. But it is valid only if the French system with which the interference has occurred is known, and herein lies the problem. The French which came to New Caledonia was not uniform, and the French now spoken there is not uniform.

Here a new approach is used, based essentially on the interference method, but extending it. On the one hand, a system is set up which embodies the local peculiarities: it is not a subjective construct, in the sense that no one would use it, on the contrary it is a system used by most native-born New Caledonians until their secondary school years, and by many — possibly most — after it. On the other hand, the standard metropolitan system used by most — but not all — of the metropolitan secondary teachers and administrators and by the radio and television, is set up as the other element in the interference situation. In principle, one would expect to find a gradation of systems between the two extremes, but this is not all one finds. There are speakers who normally use the local system but who on occasion (and usually when acting as informants) change over to the metropolitan system, but in so doing exaggerate it in such a way that it is no longer one extreme of a graded series of systems but beyond that extreme. There are also speakers who because of their family tradition, isolation in a small settlement or on a station, are subject to interference from another system, usually a metropolitan regional one; and this last situation is the most valid one for describing what happens with Melanesians, and immigrant groups, in New Caledonia. Within this kind of complexity, it may well be, as White (1958: 10–12) suggests, that speakers set up a system which covers both or all of the systems they use. In this case, the kind of approach used by Martinet again becomes useful.

The New Caledonian local system, as used by locally-born Europeans, is as follows, with the standard metropolitan system alongside for purposes of comparison.

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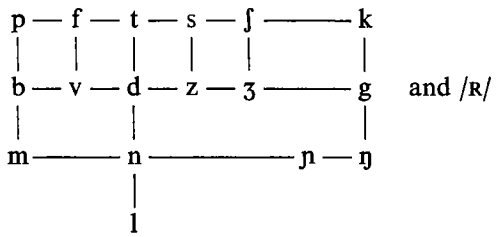
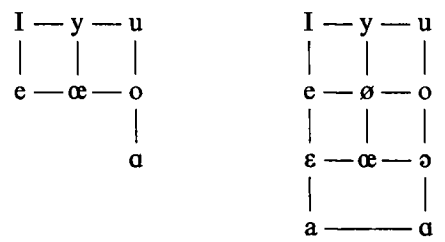
Consonant System

Local and Metropolitan



Oral Vowel Systems[29]

Local *Metropolitan*



Nasal Vowel Systems

Local *Metropolitan*

The consonant system requires little comment. Local /ɲ/ is more unstable than metropolitan /ɲ/, and it might well be more accurate to consider [ɲ] as an allophone of /ni/ occurring in all positions: [ɲɑuli] *niaouli*; [ɑnjo] ~ [ɑɲʲo] *agneau*; [Rõsɛɲmõ] *renseignement*; [siɲ] *signe*. Local /ŋ/, as a result of more extensive borrowing from English, is more integrated than metropolitan /ŋ/ ,and occurs in preconsonantal position as well as final postvocalic: /diŋgo/ *dingo*; /Risiviŋ stɑsiõ/ *Receiving Station* (suburb of Noumea).

In the oral vowel systems, the differences between the two in the allophones of the high vowels are of little consequence (those for the local systems are given in Hollyman 1964a:23–5), but this is not the case with the middle and low vowels. They may be summed up as follows:

[29] Except for /I/, neutralizations are not taken into account in these diagrams, as they obscure the comparisons. The metropolitan vowel systems given are, as one might expect, conservative in their maintenance of certain oppositions which are now doubtful in educated Parisian speech.

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Mid-Front		
piquait	metr. /pikɛ/	local /pike/
piqué	/pike/	
belle	[bɛl]	[bɛl]
père	[pɛ:R]	[pɛ:R]
régler	[REgle]	[Regle]
perdre	[pɛRdR]	[pɛRdR]
Mid-Central		
jeu	[ʒø]	[ʒø]
jeune	[ʒœn]	[ʒœn] ~ [ʒøn]
jeûne	[ʒøn]	[ʒœn] ~ [ʒøn]
déjeuner	[deʒœne]	[deʒøne]
heurter	[œRte]	[œRte]
Mid-Back		
beau	[bo]	[bo]
saute	[sot]	[sɔt]
sotte	[sɔt]	
sorte	[sɔRt]	[sɔRt]
beauté	[bote]	[bote]
sottise	[sɔtiz]	[sotiz]
sortir	[sɔRtiR]	[sɔRtiR]
rose	[Ro:z]	[RɔZ] → [RoZ]
Low		
rat	[Ra]	[Rɑ]
ras	[Rɑ]	
tache	[taʃ]	[tɑʃ]
tâche	[tɑʃ]	
tacher	[taʃe]	[tɑʃe]
tâcher	[tɑʃe]	

Interferences between the two systems occur frequently. The type of hypercorrection which can arise from a local speaker attempting the metropolitan pattern of /taʃe/ : /tɑʃe/ is [tɑʃe] *tacher*, [tɔʃe] *tâcher*. A New Caledonian imitating a metropolitan pronunciation of /pat/ *patte* = [pat] will say [pɛt] or [pæt].

Most noticeable of the other systems which can further complicate the patterns is that of Northern metropolitan French in which /e/ in final closed syllables is always close, so that [pɛ:R] is replaced by [peR], and the [ɛ] allophone tends to disappear altogether. Less noticeable, and mainly among older people, is the use of length distinction for vowels.

In the nasal vowel system, the effects of interference are quite startling. There is little to say about the /ɑ̃/ : /œ̃/ distinction, which is a conservative one in metropolitan

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French and not observed by all metropolitans in Noumea, but the loss of the /õ/ : /ã/ distinction is important. Even when one makes allowance for distinctions of verb forms: *-ons* : *-ant*, failure to observe which is unlikely to have serious consequences in view of the very different contexts in which they occur, the yield of this distinction in French is high. The New Caledonian, therefore, does not distinguish, for example, /bã/ *banc* and /bõ/ *bond*, and school essays will contain phrases such as *un bond de poissons* 'a shoal of fish'. When schoolchildren are confronted with the necessity of observing the distinction in class, they will often not increase the number of their nasal vowel phonemes, but change from the local /æ̃/ : /õ/ system to a /æ̃/ : /ã/ system. This leads metropolitan teachers to argue that this latter pattern is the local one. Most local speakers are aware of the two patterns, and in talking with anyone using the metropolitan system, they will go over to the /æ̃/ : /ã/ pattern, saying [ptiʒã] instead of their normal [ptiʒõ] *petit jonc* (cf. Hollyman 1964a:25n). Until one is aware of the interferences, all kinds of misinterpretation are possible, as when I understood some years ago [pwɑkolõ] *pois collant* as being *pois-colon* (which does not exist).

The most noticeable of the other systems which interfere is that of Southern metropolitan French, particularly with [ẽ] for /æ̃/, and [õ] for /õ/, and occasionally, in final position, partial denasalization with a slight [ŋ] as an off-glide.

Having established a gradation of systems, it is then of course quite possible to proceed to establish the type of supersystem given in Hollyman 1964a, and indeed this is essential if one wishes to compare New Caledonian French with any other regional French. It should not, however, obscure the fact that there is no regional norm.

Whether the type of approach suggested here is necessary in other Pacific areas is a moot question. No other French area in the Pacific has been a colonie de peuplement like New Caledonia, and the problems discussed are likely to be in part the result of this factor, though not exclusively so. Other factors are clearly the lack of an élite which might set a norm, the unbalanced distribution of the population, and the isolation of many small units within it. Whether the level of education among those who stay in the country is a factor is not yet known. An unpublished class exercise by Miss B. Nicholas, done at the University of Auckland in 1962 on taped material recorded by Hollyman in Noumea in 1961, showed that among secondary school girls the most persistent feature of the local phonemic system was the pattern of allophones of /o/. Teaching gradually eliminated other features, reestablishing for example the /ã/ : /õ/ pattern of the metropolitan system; but the local distribution of [o] and [ɔ] remained largely untouched. Whether the acquired metropolitan patterns survive long after the completion of secondary education is clearly a problem which would repay investigation. General observation of the community, however, suggests that unless the speaker becomes a teacher or works in close contact with metropolitans, there is a gradual reversion to the local system.

It is not possible to retrace in any factual way the chronology of the formation of the local phonemic system. Because the indications are scattered and often doubtful, no mention of them was made in the historical sketch presented earlier. What can be

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taken as fairly certain is that the realization of pretonic /o/ as [o], and never as [ɔ], was rather early (*aulothurie* 1846 for *holothurie*, *taraudière* 1876 for *tarodière*); that /ɲ/ was also unstable early (*magniagna* 1862, *magnagna* 1866, *magnana* 1875–1912, *magnania* 1875–1935, *maniania* 1876–92, *magnania* 1892); and that the elimination of /ɑ̃/ was completed shortly after the turn of the century, and at the latest by 1920 (e.g. *desmontus* for *desmanthus*).

In so far as the reasons for the changes are concerned, we may note that the patterns with /o/ and /e/ are not uncommon in overseas regional French, and that the pattern with /o/ is very close to that current in Southern metropolitan French. The reasons for the disappearance of /ɑ̃/, however, have no relation to those which have caused its disappearance in Belgian French, or its instability in certain parts of France,[30] but arise from contact with the local Melanesian languages, most of which have a series of nasal vowel phonemes (the case is presented in Hollyman 1964c:42).

Contact between the gradation of systems discussed for European speakers, and the various systems of the Melanesian languages, can produce a pattern one could call Melanesian French only in so far as the Melanesian languages themselves have a common phonemic system. This is not the case. But all have a series of voiced prenasalized consonants, so that the most noticeable characteristic of the French spoken by Melanesians, except for the younger generations, is the sporadic prenasalization of /b/, /d/, /g/: [sɑkupm͡bjẽ] *ça coupe bien*; [selam͡bɑ] *c'est là-bas*. Generally speaking there is a series of three or four nasal vowel phonemes: /ẽ/ = [ẽ], /ɑ̃/ = [ɑ̃] ~ [æ̃], /õ/ = [õ], and usually also /œ̃/ = [œ̃]. To date no detailed study has been made.

The same is true for the French of the immigrant groups. Those who have settled permanently have, at least among the younger generations, lost the characteristics of the speech of the temporary inhabitants and older folk, such as [i] for /y/, e.g. [biro] *bureau*. There would perhaps also be considerable interest in studying the French of the descendants of the Indian laborers (*Malbars*) who came a hundred years ago with the Réunionnais settlers.

SYNTAX. No specific study has been undertaken in this field, but observation indicates that there are no radical differences. Patterns of metropolitan popular usage are however more frequent.

VOCABULARY. A number of lexical studies have been published or are in progress. They range from random observations (Oriol 1947; O'Reilly 1953a, 1953b, 1953c) to studies of borrowings,[31] and, more importantly, to both descriptive and historical analyses of special vocabularies: animal-raising, especially cattle-grazing (Glasgow

[30] It would be tedious to list the bibliography of these facts, but one little-known early mention is in Issatschenko 1937:375, with reference to Paris.

[31] Hollyman 1960 deals with borrowings from Melanesian but is now outdated by subsequent research; Hollyman 1963 discusses borrowings from English, but for grazing terms is now outdated by Glasgow 1968.

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1968); mining;[32] slang and popular vocabulary;[33] and flora and fauna.[34] Other studies are likely.[35] The general principle on which all these studies are based is that the whole of the vocabulary concerned must be studied, not just that sector which is peculiar to New Caledonian French as compared with other varieties of French.[36] This is not merely a matter of the paucity of information on other varieties of French both metropolitan and overseas, but a question of principle, since any dialect resulting from expansion of the speakers of a language must be characterized as much by what it discards of its potential inheritance as by what it keeps and by what it adds. The relative proportions of metropolitan vocabulary retained without change, with minimal change, with major change of meaning, are just as important as the relative proportions of borrowing and innovation. Such figures are not yet available, and working them out is no easy task, for several reasons.

The essential reason is similar to the reason for the gradation of phonemic systems: there is no norm. Outside a certain basic vocabulary necessary for daily life, there is no authority of any kind, whether a social or intellectual élite or a dictionary, which can serve as a reference point. No taxonomic survey of New Caledonian molluscs or fish has ever been undertaken: there are only partial studies, mostly very old, and buried in learned journals. So the shell-collector adapts, invents and borrows; and so does the fisherman. This is a fascinating process which reveals the fertile imaginations and striking inventiveness of many speakers,[37] but it leads to a considerable polymorphism of designations. The fish *Therapon jarbua* Forsk., for example, is currently called the *bariolé*, *tricot rayé*, *rélégué*, *gendarme*, *police*, and *bouffe-merde*. Any given fisherman is likely to know some or all of these names; only the non-fishermen are likely to know only one, or none. The situation is no different with vocabularies where there have been scientific surveys. The botanical taxonomy of New Caledonia, at least where endemic, indigenous, and some naturalized plants are concerned, is reasonably complete, and some botanists and forestry experts have published lists of common names. But the existence of these lists is not known, and the same polymorphism is apparent. Knowledge of the bush and forest is very restricted: the station worker knows his pasture plants, and the trees useful for fence posts: the timber workers know the trees they are concerned with exploiting; the city or village dweller knows some ornamentals and some weeds; everyone knows most vegetables. Outside the narrow general field, and outside the narrow specific fields, there is general ignorance. As a result, checking on the currency of recorded common names

[32] Research in progress by A.H. West (University of Auckland).

[33] Research in progress by A.S.G. Butler and K.J. Hollyman (Auckland).

[34] Research nearing completion by K.J. Hollyman. Certain aspects have already been given published comment in Hollyman 1961, 1966, and 1970a.

[35] An Auckland student undertook in 1969 a study of the vocabulary of chrome mining, which ceased recently. Unlike the nickel mining, which is opencast, chrome was extracted from tunnelled mines. Another study, on the vocabulary of school children, was also begun.

[36] This has unfortunately so far been the case with studies of Australian and New Zealand English.

[37] This is particularly true of the fisherman, for example: *une 2 CV* for the sucker fish, *Echeneis naucrates* Licht.

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for plants of all kinds is an almost hopeless task, and anyone who publishes a list, if it is widely circulated, will automatically incur the responsibility of becoming the authority. This lack of a norm results not only in polymorphism in any given area, but also to considerable regionalism, and to a fairly high frequency of deformation of names. A weed, *Kyllinga* sp., is called *papyrus* in the south and on the east coast, *petit jonc* at Koné on the west coast, and *poil de chien* at Pwebo in the far north-east and at Canala on the central east coast; elsewhere *papyrus* designates a larger *Cyperus* sp. Deformations may be unmotivated:[38] *bitec* (Koné area) for *vitex*; directly motivated: *pomme à punaises* for *pomme épineuse* (*Datura stramonium* L.);[39] or indirectly motivated: *boute-capote* (Koné area) for *brûle-capote* (*Vitex trifolia* L.). In the face of all this variation, and the difficulty of ascertaining the currency of lexical items, the solution adopted for flora and fauna vocabulary has been to indicate terminal dates for written usage, and regional indications for spoken usage.

The difficulties just discussed also hamper structural analysis of these vocabularies, whether from the point of view of their semantic organization, their status as folk taxonomies,[40] or their formal procedures (derivation, composition, etc.). An analysis of the formal procedures used, as deduced from all the material gathered on flora and fauna terminology to the end of 1965, was presented in Hollyman 1966, but restricted to the various forms of composition. Additional information is added here. Of 1812 plant names, 979 or 54% were compound, 96 or 5.3% were derivatives by suffixation (in *-ier*), and an estimated 20 or at most 0.2% were derivatives by abbreviation (for example: *ralia* from *aralia*, *callo* from *calopo*). Within the group of compounds, the most frequently used types were:

subst.-prep.-subst. (type *bois de fer*)	405
subst.-adj. (type *hêtre noir*)	278
subst.-subst. (type *bois bouchon*)	115
adj.-subst. (type *faux tamanou*)	88

The eclipse of derivation as a method of lexical innovation is shown not only by these figures, but also by two other facts: firstly, the rareness of the *fruit* : *fruitier* relationship in the vocabulary structure — it is generally more common to refer to a tree by the name of the fruit than by the name of the tree, and if the tree name in *-ier* is used it is usually because the fruit is not commonly eaten; and secondly, the relationship

[38] I use the term motivated in the Saussurean sense (Saussure 1959:131–4).

[39] *Pomme épineuse* is a metropolitan name. The New Caledonian term corresponding to *épine* is *piquant*. The replacement of *pomme épineuse* by *pomme à punaises*, rather than by *pomme à piquants* (*herbe à piquants* and *arbre à piquants* both are in use to designate other plants), is clearly related to the wordplay involved in maintaining the consonant sequence but varying the vowels. At the same time, the new name retains the general sense of the old.

[40] A vocabulary as little used as that of the flora, for example, is unlikely to reveal anything but a very loose structure at the semantic level, although historically its formal structure is clear. The approach used in Hollyman 1970a is to classify by the semantic criteria operating at the time of first use: there is a surprising amount of contemporary information available which makes this a less arbitrary procedure than it might seem.

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between a base and a derived *-ier* form does not always imply the *fruit* : *fruitier* relationship, e.g. *baume* '*Ageratum conyzoides* L.', *baumier* '*Ocimum* spp.'. It is also true, of course, that all tree names in *-ier* do not necessarily imply that the base form designates a fruit, and *palétuvier* would be an obvious example of this — its fruit (in the case of Rhizophoraceae) is a *cigare*. Of the 96 names in *-ier* which have been used in New Caledonian French, only three might in fact be peculiar to it: the obsolete *houppier* for the *houp* '*Montrouziera cauliflora* Panch. & Triana', the rare *haricotier* for *Sesbania grandiflora* (L.) Pers., and *pillulier* for *Cyathopsis floribundus* Brongn. & Gris.

The study of lexical borrowings in New Caledonian French not only illustrates the interference categories discussed by Weinreich (1953:47–53) but has introduced others. The first involves creation in the opposite direction from that which is usual in the given circumstances. For example, the Melanesian languages of New Caledonia have one lexeme for the two French meanings 'blue' and 'green', and this is reflected in polymorphism of names in French, e.g. *mouche bleue* and *mouche verte* for *Lucilia cuprina* Wiedem., as compared with one name in a Melanesian language, e.g. *nan puuny* in Caaqac (*puuny* 'blue/green'). This type of situation might well have led to French influence on Melanesian and the borrowing or creation of a lexeme meaning 'blue' or 'green', whichever did not remain attached to *puuny*, for example. Instead, what has happened is that the New Caledonian French equivalent for 'It's the same thing but different' is 'C'est la même couleur mais bleu'. This is neither transfer nor translation nor rendition nor creation, but it does result from contact, and would not have existed but for contact.

The other is not in fact an interference category, but a non-interference category, the parastratum. This happens when two colonial languages in contact possess similar or parallel innovations which there is no compelling reason to consider have arisen because of the influence of one on the other, but which are adequately explained on the basis of similar metropolitan backgrounds and similar new circumstances eliciting a name: the French *carpe* and the English *carp* in the *two* metropolitan countries designate *Cyprinus carpio* L.; the Australian *carp* designates in Sydney *Chilodactylus* spp., and the New Caledonian *carpe* names *Kuhlia* spp. The Australian and New Caledonian terms result from a parastratum, not from contact.[41]

NEW HEBRIDES

This group (O'Reilly 1958b; Doumenge 1966; Shineberg 1967), first touched by Quiros in 1606, was largely left alone by Europeans (other than subsequent explorers of the Pacific) until Dillon discovered sandalwood on Eromanga in 1825. Then the

[41] See further Hollyman 1963:214, 216–17. A European example of a parastratum might well be English *socialism*/French *socialisme*. No good reason has yet been advanced to prove borrowing either way, and conditions in the two countries were similar enough to justify independent formation in each language.

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tandalwooders and traders moved in, followed in 1839 by English Protestant missionaries: no one found his activities easy to carry on. Later, the blackbirders began sheir operations. It has been estimated that some 12,000–14,000 New Hebrideans (not all shanghaied) were working in Queensland, Fiji, and New Caledonia in 1882. The labor traffic and European diseases made serious inroads on the native population. The English traders made Sandalwood English, or beach-la-mar, the contact vernacular of the area which had the typically Melanesian multiplicity of languages and dialects. The French Catholic missionaries, who came about fifty years after the English Protestants, were never able to make up the lost ground. Protestant publishing activities began with a Kwamera (Tanna) catechism in 1845, and included ABCs as well as religious texts and occasional schoolbooks. French and English planters gradually settled, but in small numbers: in 1902, there were 237 French and 132 English, but these figures included missionaries as well as settlers. International problems arose, for which an attempted solution was finally provided in the Anglo-French Condominium, set up in 1907. By 1927, the European settler and missionary population totalled 777 French and 452 English. By 1925, the native population was down to 40,000. Indentured Tonkinese labor was introduced from 1920: there were 3200 Tonkinese in 1939. After the repatriation of large numbers of Vietnamese in 1963–64, Gilbertese began immigrating to replace them, joining the Wallisians, Futunans, and Tahitians already there.

In 1964, 90% of the Europeans and 95% of the indigenous population lived in urban areas (Vila and Santo). The 1966 total population was 60,800, and even by 1971 non-autochthonous elements are expected to form only slightly over 7% of the whole.

Exports in 1964 went 49.5% to France, 24.5% to Japan, 6.4% to the USA, and 3% to Australia; imports came 49% from Australia, 16.5% from France, 15% from the United Kingdom, 7% from Japan, 4% from the USA, and 2% from New Zealand. Observers seem agreed the French influence is generally dominant. The French settlers and companies have from the beginnings had close relations with New Caledonia, and the English settlers and companies with Australia.

Despite the strong French influence, beach-la-mar remains the dominant vernacular. French elements in it are slight, but may be increasing (Tailleur 1954:294).

Only one invesitgation of New Hebrides French has been undertaken: a phonemic study based on the speech of one informant (Hollyman 1964a:27–8). It is not known to what extent the sample is representative.

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HISPANIC LANGUAGES AND INFLUENCE IN OCEANIA

J. DONALD BOWEN

The Hispanic languages had their origin on the Iberian peninsula at the extreme of southwestern Europe. They are Latin-derived, with important influences from the substrata Iberians and Celts, traces of the visiting Phoenicians, Carthaginians, and Greeks, and from the later contributions of the invading Germanic tribes and the Arabic-speaking Moors from North Africa. There are at least five surviving Hispanic tongues: Castilian, Portuguese, Catalonian, Aragonese, and Leonese, and many recognizable dialects of these. Only two of these languages have left the peninsula, the two national languages of the two nations there: Castilian and Portuguese.

These two countries, never rich in natural resources and with more than their share of weak rulers, nevertheless produced men of talent, dedication, and vitality. They assembled the first two modern empires, the envy of other kingdoms of sixteenth century Europe. It has been suggested that the energy for this enterprise was built up by the long struggle for the reconquest of their countries from the Arab Moorish invaders, that when this job was completed, attention was turned to exploration and conquest abroad.

The Moors conquered almost the entire peninsula in seven years, from 711 to 718. It took over five centuries for the Portuguese (until 1249), and nearly eight for the Spaniards (until 1492), to expel the invaders and regain full control of their territories. Perhaps this gave the Portuguese an advantage in time; in any event their serious explorations beyond the seas began earlier than those of the Spaniards. Most of the early voyages were oriented toward the south and the east, and it was Portuguese sailors who found and developed a trade route with the 'orient' around the southern tip of Africa. The way was opened in 1487, when Bartholomew Diaz sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, and between 1497 and 1499 when Vasco da Gama made the first round trip by sea between Portugal and India.

The Spaniards looked west, and in that miracle year of Spanish history, 1492, the reconquest of the peninsula was completed at Granada and Columbus reached the western hemisphere, thinking he had found India. Since the Portuguese and the Spanish were really looking for the same territory, the spice islands, it was inevitable that questions concerning rights of exploration should arise. When this happened, an appeal for settlement was made to the highest political authority of the time, the Pope. In his role as arbiter, the recently elected pontiff, Alexander VI, issued two

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famous bulls Inter caetera, the first in April 1493, granting to Spain exclusive right and possession of all lands and islands in the West, and confirmed to Portugal the rights to Cape Bojador, southeast to Guinea, and beyond, granted in an earlier bull in 1479. But before the bull arrived, the Spanish monarchs had discussed the situation with Columbus, recently returned from his trip to America, who urged the advisability of a demarcation line. In response to a Spanish request a second bull was issued in June of the same year, specifying a line running north and south one hundred leagues westward of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, beyond which the area was reserved for Spanish exploration and control.

This arrangement was not satisfactory to the Portuguese, and in June 1494 the Treaty of Tordesillas was signed by the two countries, which moved the line of demarcation to 370 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. This line crossed the South American continent just east of the mouth of the Amazon, and it eventually served to secure Portuguese title to Brazil. When the line of demarcation was extended around the other side of the globe, it passed just west of New Guinea, which placed the Philippines in the Portuguese area, though this fact was not appreciated at the time, since the precise location of the line could not be determined. The treaties and bulls specified that Portuguese ships should sail east and Spanish ships should sail west, and thus it was in the Pacific Ocean that the ambitions of the two came into conflict.

Early in the 16th century a Portuguese navigator, sailing under the flag of Spain, made a substantial contribution to the knowledge of world geography. This was Ferdinand Magellan. A native of northern Portugal, probably Oporto, he was familiar with Portuguese trade routes. In 1505, at the age of 25, he traveled to India. In 1509 he visited Malacca, near Singapore, and in 1510 he helped conquer Goa, returning in 1511 to participate in the conquest of Malacca. Magellan thought he could reach the Moluccas, the original spice islands, by sailing west. He did not realize how large the Pacific Ocean was, and therefore thought the Moluccas were on the Spanish side of the line of demarcation (though actually they were well within the Portuguese area). He failed to interest the Portuguese monarch, King Manuel I, in a journey which would prove the Moluccas were in the Spanish sphere of influence, so he went to Spain, where he gained the support of Charles V.

Magellan did not intend to go around the world. He wanted to find the spice islands, get a cargo, and return the way he came. He discovered the straits near the southern tip of South America that bear his name and started across the Pacific Ocean. He would have perished, but he stumbled on to the Ladrones Islands (later called the Marianas), where he was able to secure water and provisions, and in 1521 reached the Philippines. There he was killed, and command of his two remaining ships passed to Juan Sebastian del Cano. Del Cano found the Moluccas, loaded up with cloves, nutmeg, and food, and decided to return home the shortest way, around Africa. Late in 1522, one ship and 18 of the original crew of 240 returned to Spain, the first men to circumnavigate the globe. The stage was set for conflict between Spain and Portugal,

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as each developed and expanded a worldwide empire.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, the East Indies, and the Western Pacific. They carried features of European culture, not the least of which was the Portuguese language, which had an influence on the entire South and West Pacific area by spawning the pidgin that served as a lingua franca for a long period of time, surviving Portuguese military and political influence. The Dutch, two centuries later, when they had taken most of the Portuguese empire, were still using Portuguese pidgin to communicate their commercial needs.

The exploration and colonization carried out by Spain and Portugal are tremendous accomplishments. Between them, they covered large areas of the world. Spain had the greatest empire the world has ever known. The Spanish explorers covered most of South and Central America and a considerable portion of the south and southwest of the United States in approximately the same time the English colonists in North America were advancing inland to the fall line. The Hispanic colonists were men of high motivation and strong convictions. To understand these peoples who brought the Hispanic languages to Oceania, we must know something of the conditions in the mother countries.

The beginning of the Spanish colonial era coincides with the period of the European Reformation and the beginning of the Protestant movement. The early attempts of John Wycliffe, John Huss, and others met resistance from within the Catholic church, and they were burned as heretics. Martin Luther nailed his theses to a church door in Wittenberg in 1517, and was excommunicated in 1520. This signalled the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. The winds of change had also been blowing through the Iberian peninsula, but before any substantial changes could be effected, there arose a countermovement, the chief institution of which was the Inquisition. The Inquisition has roots back in the 12th and 13th centuries, but came to Spain in a new form in 1481. It combined the mysterious authority of the church with the secular power of the crown, with the purpose of preserving the religious unity of the realm, encouraged by the undoubtedly justified belief that many of the recently converted Moslems and Jews were false Christians who secretly continued to practice the religion of their fathers. The significance of this situation for the colonial policy was that only candidates who met the religious requirements of the times, the acceptable orthodox Catholics, could serve abroad. This excluded all non-Christians and all recent Christians, persons who could not prove that their grandparents were Catholics in good standing. Those with an interest in the conversion of the peoples of the new world were particularly welcome.

Spain at this time observed the law of primogeniture: the entire estate of a deceased parent went intact to the oldest son. Younger sons could not easily become landholders; open to them were careers in the army, the church, or the government. The lesser nobility and the aristocracy were in general proud families whose members disdained manual labor and sought positions where it would not be necessary. The motives for service in the colonies were fortune and conversion, and both attracted

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considerable numbers of candidates. A sharp distinction was made between heathen and heretic; the former were potential converts, while the latter were treacherous renegades. One particular feature of Spanish colonial administrative policy exercised a conservative influence in the colonies, both politically and linguistically: only peninsulars were allowed to hold positions. Even full-blooded Spaniards, born in the colonies, were ineligible, so that peninsular outlook and ideas were perpetuated.

For 377 years the Spaniards had colonies in Oceania, and after 460 years, Portugal still has a couple of remnants of her once extensive empire in the area: Macao and Timor. A list of the islands Portugal and Spain discovered and once ruled reads almost like an atlas of the Western Pacific. Da Gama reached Calicut in 1498. By 1509 the Portuguese were in Sumatra, in 1511 New Guinea and Malacca, in 1512 the Celebes and the Moluccas, sometime after in Java and Timor, in Borneo in 1521, in Macao in 1557, and in Formosa and the Pescadores about fifty years later, in the early 17th century. The Spanish, during the voyage of Magellan in 1521, discovered Guam and the Ladrones (renamed the Marianas by the Jesuits in 1668) and the Philippines. Other expeditions went to the Carolines and the Marshalls in 1526, the Solomons in 1567, the Marquesas in 1595, and the New Hebrides and the Tuamoto in 1606. The Philippines and the Marianas were occupied, colonized, and held until 1898, when Guam and the Philippines were taken by the United States. One year later, the Marianas and the Carolines were sold to Germany. That marked the end of the Spanish colonies in the Pacific area.

The early conflict between the Portuguese (and the Spanish) and the Dutch for control of the spice islands of the East Indies was settled by the Dutch early in the 17th century, when they moved in and seized control. By then the Spanish and Portuguese empires had begun to decline.

There is probably little European-type Portuguese spoken in the Pacific area today. The bulk of the population in Macao is Chinese, augmented by the arrival of refugees, who undoubtedly continue to use their own language. Among the old-time Macaoists, a Portuguese patois is spoken in three recognizable varieties, all very much unlike European Portuguese. The lower class cosmopolitan and Chinese influenced varieties are examples of Portuguese creoles, similar to creoles elsewhere (Handbook No. 81,1920:4). Timor is isolated, and has a relatively small European population. Among the native Belonese, there is a great diversity of languages, but Tetum is generally used for official purposes (Handbook No. 80, 1920:3).

A lasting influence of Portuguese is apparent in the pidgins of Oceania, still found today in places the Portuguese left long ago. Malacca fell to the Dutch in 1641 and in 1824 was ceded to England, but an active Eurasian community continues to speak Papiá Kristang, a Portuguese creole, reported as similar to the Portuguese of Macao (Knowlton 1964a:239). Also, it is interesting to note that Portuguese (probably through Papiá Kristang) is the source of more than 400 words in modern Malay. Features of Papiá Kristang include reinterpretation of *ão* as *ang*, aspiration of syllable final *s*, dropping final *r*, changing [ž, š, ł, v] to [ǰ, s, l, b], simplification of verb

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morphology and use of particles as aspect markers, using a linking *sa* between modifiers and head words, absence of copula, of plurals of nouns, of gender agreement, and changing *tu* to *bo(s)* (ibid.). Many of these features appear in other creoles elsewhere.

Hall reports on the extent of Portuguese influence:

> In the course of their imperial expansion, the Portuguese spread pidginized versions of their language far and wide; Reinecke reports that there has been a Pidgin Portuguese in virtually every Portuguese colony. Even in what is now Dutch Guiana and in Canton, where the Portuguese were formerly located, a Pidgin Portuguese existed, and left many traces in the pidgin or creole English that took its place. (Hall 1966:5—6)

Even American English has felt this influence; the word *savvy* came into English through Chinese Pidgin English, where it had been borrowed from Chinese Pidgin Portuguese.

The influence of the Portuguese language, then, has been mostly indirect. This influence has been of enormous importance, if a speculation by Hall is valid. He suggests that all modern creole languages have a common origin in the fifteenth-century Portuguese Pidgin of West Africa (Hall 1966:120–1). The suggestion is based on the presence of common features of pidgins and creoles, wherever their speakers are located and whatever their presumed provenience, such features as preverbal particles to express aspect and tense formations, the use of reduplication in derivations and phrase structure, omission of the copula, etc. Differences are accountable by the process of 'relexification' or lexical replacement, which seems to be consistent with the observation of Chabacano, for example, which has a Tagalog-oriented grammatical structure with heavy introductions of Spanish lexical items (Whinnom 1956:98). It has even been suggested, and the evidence is very convincing, that modern Afrikaans was strongly influenced by, if indeed not derived from, Malay and Portuguese Creole, brought to the Cape Province by the Malayan slaves who spawned the present coloured population, though the 'albocentrism' of official South Africa would like to prove otherwise (Valkhoff 1966:10–24 et passim).

It is interesting to speculate on the origin of pidgin languages, and the theory of a common source is attractive. It is possible that this common source is explainable as the retention of patterns expressed in a set of linguistic universals, the minimum structure left when all that is redundant or decorative is stripped away by the urgent requirements of simple, basic communication, particularly when limited to the expression of that which is concrete, visible, and urgent. Even if this is the case, it is quite possible that a widely spoken language, which Portuguese was, should be the carrier of the minimum core of basic communication. It seems reasonable that, even though obscured by lexical replacements, the influence of Portuguese on the pidgins and creoles of the Pacific areas has been an important and lasting one.

After Magellan's visit to the Philippines, which he claimed in the name of Spain, there were other brief visits, but forty-four years passed before a colonial settlement was attempted. Legaspi arrived in 1565, in Cebu. He took Manila in 1571, after

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which others fanned out to complete the conquest of Luzon. The original purpose for coming to the area was not forgotten: control of the spice islands. There was considerable conflict between the Spanish and Portuguese over the Moluccas, complicated by revolts of the native Moslems. Finally, the thrones of Spain and Portugal were united in 1580, and the problem became academic, but in 1605 the spice islands were seized by the Dutch. In 1606, however, Spanish supremacy was reestablished, when a fleet from the Philippines destroyed the Sultanate of Ternate and occupied Tidor. The Dutch attempted to retake the islands several times and in 1655 destroyed the clove trees on Ternate. By 1658 or 1659 the Spaniards lost interest in the now barren island and withdrew their garrison, evacuating 200 families to Manila.

This small group of families brought with them a contact vernacular that is called by Whinnon (1956:4) Ternateño, probably a mixture of Portuguese, Spanish, and Malay pidgin, which spawned four vernaculars in the next three centuries in the Philippines: Ermitaño, Caviteño, Zamboangueño, and Davaueño. The second and third are still spoken today, referred to in the Philippines as Chabacano. The present form of the language has a modified Malayan grammatical structure, with recognizable elements of Tagalog and Cebuano, combined with a substantial lexical contribution from Spanish.

When the Spanish gave up any further claim to the Moluccas, the Philippines were less important in the eyes of Spain. America ceased to be considered just a way station on the route to the East Indies. For two centuries after the conquest of the Philippines, there was no direct contact with Spain, and contact with Mexico was limited to one galleon per year between Acapulco and Manila. Thus, much of the Spanish spoken in the Philippines, and particularly in the case of the contact vernaculars, was primarily Mexican Spanish. Some Spaniards did come to Manila, mainly government officials, priests, and adventurers, but not in great numbers.

For some combination of reasons, the Spanish language never got established in the Philippines in the same way it did in the American colonies, perhaps because a smaller proportion of the population came from Spain. The missionary priests learned and taught in the local languages, and only infrequently bothered to teach any of the local inhabitants Spanish: an occasional bright young boy who was destined to become educated to join their ranks. In fact, one of the complaints of the Filipino revolutionaries of the 1890's was the limited opportunity to learn Castilian. According to Whinnom, after 350 years of Spanish occupation, less than ten per cent of the population spoke Spanish (Whinnom 1954:131).

After fifty years of American administration, in 1948, only 1.8 per cent could speak and understand Spanish, and few of them were first-language speakers. The 1960 census of the Philippines (Bureau of Census and Statistics, n.d.) lists 2.1 per cent, a gain of three-tenths of one per cent after twelve years of vigorous support for a program of wider dissemination of the language promoted and supported by the Philippine congress. The fact that Spanish is not a common language in the Philippines comes as a surprise to many people; even *The Columbia Encyclopedia* (p. 1092)

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lists Philippine Spanish as one of three derivative dialects, along with American and Judeo Spanish.

The rather small number of Spanish speakers is misleading, however, because they are an influential and politically powerful group, representing some of the most wealthy families of the nation. The fact that Spanish has been designated one of the official languages of the Philippines (in 1935, along with English and, at the time, an undesignated native language) reflects this influence. Another evidence is the series of attempts to preserve Spanish in the national inheritance by legislative action. The first was Republic Act 343 in 1949, which specified that Spanish should be included in the curriculum of the high schools of the public and private schools of the Philippines. The act was interpreted to be advisory in intent, and it had little effect on high school course programs. In 1952 Republic Act 709 was passed, which specified that the teaching of twelve units of Spanish (two years) was obligatory in all public and private universities and colleges in the Philippines. This law was amended by Republic Act 1881 in 1957 to increase the requirement to 24 units, four full years of study, for students in law, commerce, liberal arts, foreign service, and education, and the inclusion in the curriculum of the works of a list of nine or so Philippine writers of the time of the revolution was specified. Even after this massive effort, two out of three students could understand very little or nothing at all of what they read (Aguilar 1967:35), which invalidated the reason for which the laws were promoted: to enable Filipino students to read the works of their revolutionary heroes in the language of their original composition.

This ill-advised attempt at language engineering through legislative fiat was partially abandoned in 1967, when Republic Act 5182 was passed, restoring the twelve-unit requirement. This last act was in response to strong public pressure, after years of opposition and yearly demonstrations outside the doors of the National Congress by college and university students, who did not want to devote one-fifth of their college education to the study of a language for which they saw little use and no justification. The laws requiring the study of Spanish have probably had an effect opposite to what the promoters hoped: students have hated and repudiated Spanish, rather than valuing and helping to preserve it. It is probably only a matter of time until the present twelve-unit requirement is removed, and Spanish will probably continue its decline as an important language in the Philippines.

This is not to say Spanish has not had an important influence in the Philippines; it has. The influence has been enormous, but it has been indirect, on the native languages of the Philippines. It is estimated that there are anywhere from 75 to 150 languages spoken in the archipelago, depending on how finely one classifies and discriminates dialects and languages. Some of these are at least partially mutually comprehensible, but many are not. In many cases, the most striking similarity two languages may exhibit is the loan vocabulary they have received from Spanish. Spanish is then in a very real sense the source of a 'national' (i.e. nation-wide) vocabulary, and for this reason the efforts by a self-styled group of nationalists to remove as many

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as possible of the Spanish loans seems self-defeating. The obscure resurrections and new coinages they offer cannot compare in national currency to the items they wish to replace. A truly national language ought to capitalize on this segment of common and widespread vocabulary.

The influence of Spanish on Tagalog can be seen extensively in the lexicon, considerably in the phonology, and to some extent in the grammar. Jose Villa Panganiban, the present Director of the Institute of National Language in Manila, estimates that there are 30,000 root words in Tagalog and about 700 affixes, which appear with loans almost as readily as with native words. Panganiban (1961) has published a collection of Spanish loanwords in Tagalog, which lists about 5,000, and in private conversation he has suggested that there may be as many as 2,000 more. These figures indicate a Spanish component of between 16 and 23 per cent of the total Tagalog lexicon, which represents a massive infusion.

The Spanish loanwords in Tagalog are not the rare and unusual words, used only by educated speakers. This is shown very clearly by a translation of the Ogden basic word list for English into Tagalog by Mrs. Paraluman Aspillera (Whinnom 1954:176). Of the resulting 750 words, 22 per cent are of Spanish origin. This is an impressive statistic. Loanwords are found in many categories, especially those representing cultural importations such as religion, law, and architecture. The Spanish number system, formulas for telling time, the names of the months and the days of the week all found their way into Tagalog. Also, there are long lists of abstract nouns, kinds of food, and numerous place names. One can hardly fail to notice the large number of person names, both given and surnames, of Spanish origin: Reyes, Ramos, Fernandez, Lopez, Gomez, and many others. This was a result of an edict in 1844, when the Spanish governor, Narciso Clavería, decided it was administratively intolerable to try to deal with people who had only one name. Governor Clavería sent to officials in the provinces a long list of Spanish surnames (and some old Filipino surnames, because the governor respected traditions), which families would inherit from their father (Alip 1951:76). The Filipinos were told to choose a family name, any name, but to choose one and keep it. Many chose the Spanish names they were familiar with through acquaintance with Spaniards, and these names are still used today — even though the bearers may have no Spanish blood and in many cases don't speak a word of Spanish. It is interesting to note in passing that in the Ilocos region, towns picked an initial letter and selected only names beginning with that letter, and that even today an Ilocano's home town is indicated by the letter his surname begins with.

There are Spanish loanwords in Tagalog that represent areas most resistant to lexical borrowing: the preposition *para*, the interjections *sigi*, *siguro*, *buweno*. Even today, seventy years after the end of the Spanish rule, new words entering Tagalog from English sources are often likely to appear in Spanish form, as in the case of *ponema*, rather than *ponim*, for the English word 'phoneme'. Perhaps this is because the Tagalog phonological system is more compatible with Spanish than English, but in any case the Spanish forms of words still pass freely into Tagalog.

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One reason why the Tagalog and Spanish phonological systems are compatible is that Spanish had an important influence on Tagalog. Tagalog originally had a three-vowel system (Lopez 1965:469), but Spanish has added two more, so that both languages now have five-vowel systems. Contrasts can be demonstrated most clearly in borrowed words, since much of the former allophonic distribution remains in native words, but the remodeled system is clearly necessary to describe the distribution of stressed vowels in the language in its present state. One other allophonic distribution has been largely reconstructed as a phonemic contrast. In the native Tagalog pattern *d*-appeared initially and *-r-* medially, so that when a root like *dating* was reduplicated, the resulting form was *darating*. Some loanwords (the earliest borrowings?) make this adjustment; thus Spanish *arado, pedazo* is the source of Tagalog *araro, piraso,* but a great many other Spanish words enter Tagalog without changing the medial *d*: *dedal* (or *didal*), *kodigo, kadena, duda, idea, lado, modo, modista, regadero, todo, bida,* etc. Also, Tagalog has accepted Spanish words beginning with *r*, without changing the *r* to *d*: *rasyon, radyo, raya, real, regla, renta, rosa, ruweda,* and many others.

Another influence on Tagalog that can be attributed in large part to Spanish is the introduction of consonant clusters. Even today, one can find Tagalog scholars who may say with Lopez (1965:470) that 'there are no C-clusters in initial position in Tagalog', but in this case a lot of easily accessible evidence must be ignored. Panganiban (1961:vii) mentions doublets, with the more Tagalized forms associated with less educated speakers: Spanish *brazo* to Tagalog *braso* or *baraso, tren* to *tren* or *teren, frito* to *prito* or *pirito, cruz* to *krus* or *kurus, pobre* to *pobre* or *pulubi,* etc. There's no question about the occurrence of consonant clusters in contemporary Tagalog, and the clusters that occur are precisely those that were introduced by Spanish: those whose second number is *l, r, y,* or *w*, plus the combination *ts* from the Spanish *ch.*

The resistance against clusters with *y* and *w* can be seen in the spelling of loan forms that contain them: *Diyos, biyenes, plahiyo, nerbiyos, guwardiya, duwende, kuwota,* etc. But there is little doubt that the extra syllable is absent in the normal pronunciation of these words in a communication context. Furthermore, the interpretation is not consistent, as can be seen in forms like *tenyente, akasya, rasyon, peryante,* and in any case usage among writers varies.

One additional influence on the phonology of Tagalog is the introduction of new consonant sounds into the language. Most of these come from Spanish proper nouns, and usage varies, usually along educational lines. The name of the country, Philippines, or *Filipinas* in the Spanish form, brought the sound *f* to the archipelago, though at the present time the form *Pilipinas* has become accepted. Some Spanish names are very widespread, such as *Felicidad* and *Fe,* and although the derived nicknames have a *p*, as in *Peli, Piling, Pilising,* one rarely hears *Pelisidad* and never **Pe.* Other sounds that have made inroads are those spelled with *ch, v,* and *z.*

There has been less influence from Spanish on Tagalog grammar, but even here there are some changes that can be tentatively ascribed to the contact between the languages. A measure of gender contrast has come into Tagalog, with pairs of words

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like *Pilipino–Pilpina*, *Amerikano—Amerikana*, *doktor–doktora* though, as Lopez: (1965:503) points out, 'Morphological constructions have introduced a distinction of gender, masculine and feminine, based on sex of animate beings, which was not recognized before in Tagalog'.

It is perhaps possible that Spanish has had some effect on the consciousness of number distinctions as a possible category. There has clearly been an influence on the way grammarians conceive of Tagalog structure. Lopez (1965:478) says: 'The opposition singular-plural is distinguished in Tagalog by the singular marker *ang* and the plural marker *ang manga*.' This statement certainly does not agree with the observed pattern, that the marker *ang* has no function in identifying a number reference, and that while *manga* (or *mga* as it is usually abbreviated) does indeed mark plural, its appearance is optional, not at all necessary to indicate plurality.

It is possible that Spanish has had another effect on the expression of plurality in Tagalog, the reduced importance of the pronoun dual forms *kata*, *nata*, and *kanita*, meaning you (one person) and I. These pronouns, which are necessary to fill out a logical pronoun paradigm, are rarely used by contemporary speakers, perhaps because the distinction 'dual' had no support in Spanish.

Spanish has had one very strong influence on the grammar of Tagalog, though it is an indirect one, and that is the 'traditional' conception of Tagalog grammar. The Institute of National Language was charged with the responsibility of producing a grammar of Tagalog, in Commonwealth Act 184, which provided that

> not later than two years after proclamation of the national language, the Institute of National Language shall publish the dictionary and grammar of the national language ... and the President of the Philippines shall issue orders to the Department of Public Instruction to the effect that, beginning with a day to be fixed by the President of the Philippines, said national language shall be used and taught in all public and private schools in accordance with the dictionary and grammar prepared and published by the Institute of National Language. [As quoted in Sibayan 1967:134.]

The Institute did prepare the dictionary and grammar, under the direction of Lope K. Santos, the Director at that time. The grammar was titled *Ang Balarilà Ng Wikang Pambansá* (Institute of National Language 1940), and it has become the standard school grammar of the Philippines. The *Balarilà* is conceived and written on the model of the grammar of Spanish. The following Tagalog sentences illustrate how this happened: *Guwapo ang doktor.* (Literally 'Good looking the doctor', the normal sentence pattern for equational sentences.) *Ang doktor ay guwapo.* (A relatively infrequent, literary-type sentence pattern, with *ay* serving as an inversion marker, appearing before the predicate.)

The *Balarilà* selects the second pattern as basic, in spite of its infrequency, and lists *ay* as a linking verb, an inconsistent solution since it can mark the inversion of any sentence, not just an equational one. Furthermore, if *ay* is a verb, it is the only one in the language that does not inflect for aspect. Thus, though a description is forced on Tagalog that closely reflects the grammatical patterns of Spanish, the *Balarilà*

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continues to be widely used and quoted in the Philippines even after more self-consistent descriptions of the language are available. This is one influence of Spanish that should probably be eliminated.

One final and extremely important contribution of Spanish to Tagalog is the Spanish alphabet, which was introduced by royal decree in the late 17th century. There was a pre-Hispanic writing system, a syllabary with three vowels and fourteen consonant-plus-vowel characters which were modified to vary the vowel component. With changes that Tagalog has undergone, the old syllabary would be difficult to use today. The Spanish alphabet has been modified to fit the needs of Tagalog, and by and large the adjustments have been sensible ones. It was difficult at first to decide on a representation for /ŋ/. Several possibilities were tried: *ñg*, *nǧ*, *ñǧ*, and the eventual solution, *ng*. Father Lisboa in the Bicol suggested *gn*, and Rizal is said to have suggested *ǧ*, a solution that was rejected because the word for nation, *bayaǧ*, looked too much like the word for testicles, *bayag*. The other problem has never really been solved satisfactorily: the representation of the glottal stop. A complex set of diacritics is used to indicate word stress and the occurrence of final glottal, but they are ignored by most publishers. Other adaptations are a consistent representation of the sounds /k/, /s/, and /g/, the elimination of silent *h*, and the use of *y* and *w* for semivowels.

This rather lengthy discussion has outlined the considerable influence of Spanish on Tagalog, but what about the other languages of the Philippines? It is not always easy to specify what and how much effect there has been, but almost all Philippine languages show the results of the many years of contact. Panganiban (1961:iii) says that the majority of the loanwords he has listed can also be found in Cebuano, Ilokano, Bikol, Hiligaynon, Waray, Pampango, and Pangasinan, the other principal languages of the Philippines. In general one would expect the amount of borrowing to reflect the extent and intimacy of contact between Spanish and the various other languages of the archipelago, in proportion to the cultural penetration of Spanish.

To make an extreme comparison, I have made a count of the Spanish loanwords in Maranao, from the dictionary recently published by McKaughan and Macaraya (1967). I selected Maranao because it provides the sharpest contrast available with Tagalog. It is spoken in Mindanao, the part of the Philippines most distant from the Tagalog-speaking area. It is different in culture and religion and has a long history of contact with other Moslem areas of Southeast Asia. The Moslem area of the Philippines was least influenced by Spain: the Spaniards never really conquered these peoples, and they have always been primarily under local rule, a generalization true even today.

The dictionary lists 18,000 Maranao items, and the number of Spanish loans is between 956 and 1068, considering that some may be questionable. It is quite possible that the total number is still higher, because some items have changed so extensively that they could have been overlooked in a visual examination (e.g. Tagalog *namumulubi* from Spanish *pobre*, preserving only the *b* of the source). But the count establishes a loan vocabulary of between 5.3 and 5.9 per cent, which is still a considerable number of borrowings, though as might be expected less than the Tagalog 16 to 23 per cent.

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Chabacano has been mentioned earlier as a contact vernacular used in various parts of the Philippines, especially Cavite and Zamboanga. It has an extensive Spanish lexicon, and a greatly simplified grammar, with no gender classes, invariable adjectives, and no gender or number agreement, verb forms for three aspect distinctions marked by preposed particles, reduplication (for emphasis) only in full forms, no distinction between adjective and adverb, Spanish-oriented personal pronoun forms and possessives, invariant verb forms equivalent to Spanish infinitive without the final *-r*, no copula, only two prepositions (*de* and *na*), a sound system of consonants common to both Mexican Spanish and Tagalog (with occasional additions) and the Spanish vowel system. The vocabulary is primarily Spanish, but with considerable semantic change, and with Tagalog words for native objects.

A word should be added concerning the dialect of Spanish (as distinguished from Chabacano) spoken in the Philippines, by those speakers (native or second-language) born in the archipelago. Two features mark it as distinct from any other dialect of Spanish: the loss of the voiced fricative variants of the voiced stop-fricative series, and the conspicuously large number of glottal stops that occur before initial vowels. These characteristics make it relatively easy to identify a Filipino speaking Spanish.

At least one other Pacific area language has been considerably influenced by contact with Spanish: Chamorro, the language spoken in Guam. The Marianas and Guam were occupied by the Spaniards from 1668 (claimed from 1565) to 1898 (for Guam), and 1899 (for the Marianas), roughly the same period the Spaniards were in the Philippines. The influence of Spanish on Chamorro was very similar to that on the Philippine languages (Topping 1963). Again a three-vowel language was stretched to five vowels, consonant clusters with a second-member liquid or semivowel were added, the sound *r* was added (or greatly extended — a count of all words containing *r* in one sample showed 16 per cent native and 84 per cent Spanish). Many person names were adopted, and a large loan vocabulary acquired, estimated by some to be as high as forty per cent of the entire Chamorro lexicon. The Spanish number system, names of the days of the week, the months of the year, and the years have come from Spanish.

Chamorro loans from Spanish include examples of function words that are usually expected to be basic to the structure of any language, and very unlikely to be borrowed. Examples are the demonstrative *esti* and the article *un*, as well as the connector *pwes*, and the futurity markers *para*, *syimpri*. Chamorro had four prepositions: *gi gíza*, *ginin*, and *sæn*, to which Spanish has added *disdi*, *kontra*, *para*, *esti* (< *hasta*), *kon*, *di*, *pot*, *antis*, *sin*; furthermore, *disdi* and *esti* frequently replace *ginin* and *gíza*.

In 1920 Spanish was widely spoken in the Marianas (Handbook No. 146, 1920:10) and some of the very old inhabitants of Guam still speak the language today, but their number is decreasing, and they will soon disappear entirely.

Most of this account of the influence of the Hispanic languages in Oceania has dealt with the Western Pacific, but the Eastern Pacific has not been without some share of the presence of Portuguese and Spanish. The Eastern Pacific does not have the

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multitude of islands so characteristic of the Western regions of this great ocean, but there are some: Easter Island, 2000 miles off the Chilean coast, where a Polynesian tongue, Rapanui, is still spoken; the Juan Fernandez group, 400 miles west of Valparaiso; the Galapagos archipelago, 650 miles west of Ecuador; Malpelo and Cocos, 300 miles off the Colombian and Costa Rican coasts respectively; and others. Not many of these islands have extensive populations — some have been used effectively as prisons — but the official language used on each is Spanish (Handbooks No. 140–3, 1920).

One additional Portuguese community should be mentioned: the late 19th, early 20th century immigrants to Hawaii. Between 1878 and 1913, some sixteen or seventeen thousand came, mostly from the Portuguese Atlantic Islands — the Azores and the Madeiras — to fish and work on the sugar and pineapple plantations, welcomed as a counterbalance to the growing numbers of orientals (Knowlton 1964b). In 1906 they had their own schools, newspapers, and welfare societies, and by 1940 they accounted for almost one per cent of the population of the territory of Hawaii. While Portuguese continues as a family language and is spoken by the elderly, the process of Americanization is well advanced, and the dwindling number of Portuguese speakers will undoubtedly decrease to a point of disappearance.

The influence of Portuguese and Spanish in Oceania has been great, in spite of the fact that the languages themselves are not widely spoken, and the number of speakers in almost all parts of the area is decreasing. The lasting influence has been on other languages, for the most part the language indigenous to the area. This influence can be seen somewhat in the structure, more so in the phonology, but mostly in the lexicon of Oceanic languages, standard languages as well as pidgins and creoles. The result has been a significant contribution to the pool of shared items and elements that can be found in the languages of all five continents as well as in the islands of the seas, distributed over a large area of the earth, that may serve to lighten in some small degree the burden of international communication.

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THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES

J. GONDA

The Indian sources of information for what is usually, with some exaggeration, called the ancient Hindu colonization of India are rather scanty.[1] Even when the data they furnish are amplified by Chinese and Western authors (Ptolemy), our knowledge of this important cultural expansion remains very insufficient. It is clear, however, that about 100 A.D. a remarkable growth took place in the maritime and commercial activity of the Indians in Further India (Coedès 1948:ch. II) and that the second and third centuries witnessed a vivid expansion of the Indian mainland in Southeast Asia, including the Archipelago. The first Sanskrit inscriptions in Indonesia (Borneo, now called Kalimantan, and Java) known to us were composed in the first half of the fifth century (Krom 1931:57f.). Even then Hindu or Hinduized kingdoms appear to have existed in some parts of these islands, ruled by 'kings' who, in any case, bore Sanskrit names. These small Hindu communities or centers of Hindu influence — which probably did not affect those strata of society which had no access to court and clerical circles or were not engaged in overseas trade — owed their existence, according to a generally adopted hypothesis, to an on the whole peaceful mercantile penetration (Majumdar 1927, 1937; Nilakanta Sastri 1949), followed by a numerically unimpressive, but continual influx of brahmans, Buddhist monks, and other cultured men (Gonda 1970). These Indians not only introduced Hindu law and customs, Hindu art and religion (Stöhr-Zoetmulder 1965), and Sanskrit as the language of learning (Gonda 1952), but no doubt also married indigenous women and so, by the prestige of their higher education, contributed considerably to establishing, especially on the islands of Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo, centers of Indo-Indonesian culture. By embracing Hinduism or Buddhism, indigenous chiefs must have likewise promoted this development, which in Java and elsewhere was interrupted by the advent of Islam by the end of our Middle Ages, but continued, in the isle of Bali, in the modified form of a Hindu-Javanese-Balinese culture, up to the present day (Swellengrebel et al. 1960).

The question as to which parts of India were leading in these important historical

[1] For the sake of uniformity and in order to avoid misunderstanding on the part of those readers who are not familiar with the different orthographies of Indonesian languages, the usual modern spelling of Behasa Indonesia etc. has been modified here, so as to replace *ng* by *ṅ*, *tj* by *c*, *dj* by *j*, *j* by *y*, *é* by *e*, *e* by *ĕ*.

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processes has been much debated. From various sources it is apparent that ports situated on the east as well as the west coast of the subcontinent maintained manifold connections with the coasts on the other side of the Bay of Bengal. Although arguments based on the occurrence of Indian geographical names (Gonda 1952:216ff.)[2] in Indonesian documents raise almost as many problems as they seem to solve, it is clear that the south and southeast of India had, for many centuries, an important share in these events.[3] In later times Gujarat (West Coast, to the north of Bombay) must have come to the fore, among other reasons because Muslim Indians from that region, which in 1297 passed into the hands of the Sultan of Delhi, contributed most to the introduction of Islam in Indonesia.

Linguistic evidence does not give us a decisive answer to this problem, because matters are complicated by the universal character of the language of religion and learning, Sanskrit, which could, by literary ways and in the form of technical terms, — in a larger sense of the word — reach the Archipelago from any point of the Indian subcontinent. Then there is the mutual similarity of a large number of younger Indo-Aryan words belonging to different dialects and different periods. Old Javanese, the oldest literary witnesses of which date back to the ninth century, adopted in the course of time a number of Indian words which in all probability derived from a language, or from languages, which can be put on a par with ancient Hindī — e.g. *joli* 'litter', identical with Hindī *ḍolī* 'litter'.[4] The intermediaries through which they arrived in the distant island are however unknown to us. Medieval Javanese texts exhibit some Tamil elements, e.g. *panay* 'a kind of earthenware jar' which is Tamil *pānai* 'a big jar'; were they borrowed directly from the south of India or from south-Indians, or had they arrived through the intermediary of the Malays of Malacca and Sumatra? These latter peoples welcomed — but when and since which century? — numerous Tamil words,[5] among which were also some literary expressions, e.g. *sĕmbĕrani*, an epithet for a sandy-haired horse, explained as representing Tamil *cĕm* 'reddish' and *puraṇi* 'outward appearance, skin'. Dravidian idioms were also an important intermedium in the transference of Indo-Aryan words, for the greater part belonging to the commercial sphere, to the Archipelago, e.g. Tamil *śammaṭṭi*

[2] Names which are attested to only by later sources of information may however have been introduced at a comparatively recent date. Geographical nomenclature of Indian origin does not, moreover, necessarily point to the presence of immigrants from a particular Indian region; these names were often known from books or religious traditions.

[3] The widespread Indonesian name *Kĕliṅ*, *Kliṅ* — which is the Indian *Kaliṅga* 'the Coromandel coast and its inhabitants' — for Indians in general or even for resident foreigners may lead us to the inference that, at least in the beginning, merchants, etc., from that quarter took a leading part in these oversea relations. It does not however prove the existence of a continuous dominant influence of that region. The ancient Indonesian inscriptions were written in the South-Indian Pallava script which was widely spread over the whole of Southeast Asia.

[4] The well-known Malay etc. *pasar* 'bazaar, market, fair', already occurring in later Old Javanese, is commonly regarded as the Persian *bāzār* 'market etc.', which must have reached Indonesia by way of Hindī *bāzār*.

[5] The Malays must for centuries have maintained commercial relations with the Tamils; in the beginning of the last century financial records still utilized Tamil technical terms.

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(< a Pkt. form of Skt. *carmayaṣṭi-*) 'whip' > Mal. *cĕmĕti* 'whip'; Tamil *pattiram* (< Skt. etc. *pattra-* 'blade of a sword, dagger, knife') > Jav. *patrĕm* and other words which acquired their final *-m* in a Dravidian language. There are also doublets or even triplets; thus Skt. *rāga-* 'color, beauty, feeling, melody' survives, through a Javanese medium ('beautiful outward appearance, body'), in Malay as *rāga* 'the human body' and through Dravidian, as *ragam* 'manner, disposition', and (from Tamil) as *iragam* 'tune'. Some Dravidian elements or terms imported through Dravidian intermediation gained a footing in Indonesian communities with a typically Muslim secondary meaning. Thus *labbai*, which, whatever its origin may be, is the name of a class of Muslim traders in the South Coromandel coast, has come to denote, in Sumatra and Java, a Muslim religious 'lawyer' and spiritual adviser. Others are interesting for etymological reasons: whatever the relation between Skt. *mālā* 'garland' and Tamil *malai* 'garland', for instance, it is the latter which is used in Malay to denote 'a pendent flower ornament'.

Some traces of Singhalese influence are not wanting. The Malay[6] *bĕlanja* 'outlay, expenditure', in polite speech 'salary (regarded as a reimbursement)' and, euphemistically 'gift', in modern times besides 'housekeeping money' also '(public) expenditure', seems to have been a commercial loan rather than a direct borrowing from Pāli texts. Other words which at first sight recall Pāli forms are better described as Middle Indo-Aryan, e.g. Jav. *wiku*, i.e. MIA *bhikku* 'monk, religious mendicant'.

A study of the influence exerted by Indian languages on the idioms of Indonesia is further complicated because there has been much indirect borrowing in the Archipelago. Those areas which maintained some form of direct contact with India — Malacca, parts of Sumatra, several coastal and other districts of Java, Bali, a small part of Borneo and perhaps some other regions — passed much that they had borrowed to each other or to other islands. Many details bearing upon these interrelations will remain unknown because of the lack of reliable historical and linguistic information. For an appreciation of many interesting phenomena — for instance, the occurrence of doublets in an Indonesian language — we depend almost entirely upon conjecture. Javanese influence on Malay however, has flowed largely through literary channels. Other Javanized Indian terms were diffused as a result of the impressive standard of culture of the Javanese political centers, e.g. *paseban* (i.e. *pa-seba-an*, containing Skt. *sevā-* 'attendance, visit'), for 'place to which the public is admitted when a prince holds court'. Other words crept in by way of colloquial or Djacarta Malay which contains many Javanese elements. In particular cases the form or meaning of an originally Indian word may reveal part of its wanderings. Malay itself has played a very important role in this process owing to the commercial and colonial expansion of its speakers to coastal regions of Borneo, Celebes, numerous islands of the Moluc-

[6] The term Malay is, in this paper, used in a general sense for those Indonesian dialects which were, and are, spoken in the eastern regions of Sumatra, on the Malay peninsula and neighboring islands from their earliest occurrences in inscriptions and literature down to the modern stage called Behasa Indonesia.

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cas, etc. An interesting vocabulary composed in 1521 by Antonio Pigafetta[7] shows that this language had then already transferred many borrowed Indian words — e.g. Skt. *vāṇija-*, Pkt. *vāṇia-* 'merchant' in the Malay form *bĕ(r)niaga-* to the northern part of the Moluccas.

As a result of these interrelations, third or fourth hand borrowing of Indian elements is in various parts of the Archipelago no rare occurrence. The sailor Buginese, for instance, adopted no small number of Malay terms, part of which passed on, together with their foreign elements, to other peoples in their neighborhood, who, though living in remote parts of the Archipelago, got acquainted with words of Indian origin. A considerable number of these elements belong to the sphere of such utensils, commodities or processes as are usually introduced by peoples of higher civilization: Skt. *kāca-*, Pkt. *kacca-* 'glass, crystal' > Mal. *kaca* > languages of Celebes etc. *kaca-*; Skt. Pkt. *kaṃsa-*, Hindī *kāmsā* 'brass, bell-metal' > Mal. *gaṅsa* > languages of Celebes etc. *gassa*; Skt. etc. *rūpya-* 'silver coin, rupee' > Mal., Celebes etc. *rupiya*. In many cases it cannot be said from which of the later Middle or ancient New Indo-Aryan languages this form or the other has been borrowed. The tacit assumption that all words which are also Sanskrit have sprung directly from that language is, at least as far as words of the above semantic classes and cultural sphere are concerned, open to serious controversy. That is not to say that literates and their writings never spread Indian terms belonging to the provinces of religion, law, customs, social life and administration to distant places. Some of these must however have formed part of the vocabulary of the general public. Words such as the Skt. *guru-* 'teacher'; *pati-* 'lord' (> Jav. *patih* 'a (high) official'); *upavāsa-* 'fast' > *pu(v)asa* 'the (Muslim) fast'; Skt. *vaṃśa-*, Hindī *bans(a)* 'a (noble) race' > *baṅsa* 'race, origin, nation, people' and many others are widely known. Not a few other loans, part of which confront us with various difficulties, belong neither to those semantic classes nor to that cultural group exclusively, e.g. *basa, bĕhasa* 'speech, language' > Skt. etc. *bhāṣā-*, Pkt. *bhāsā-* 'speech'; *bĕrita, birita* etc. 'news, tidings' > Skt. *vṛtta-* 'what happened', *vārttā-* 'news'; and compare also words such as MIA *jagga-*, Beng. Hindī *jāgā* 'wakeful' > Mal. *jaga* 'being awake or vigilant' > Celebes *jaga* 'to be wakeful, to watch, to feast'.

Thus Indian, and especially Sanskrit, elements not only penetrated into almost all parts of Indonesia, but also came to practically all circles and all classes of society. Yet it goes without saying that those loanwords which are really common and used by the largest number of speakers are comparatively few and bear upon such objects as are common property of the masses. The opposite case is represented by the older Javanese literary idiom which incorporated also numerous rare and learned expressions. Whereas the Javanese, in daily usage, abandoned — or always rejected — many of these expressions, they retained a considerable number of other words,

[7] Pigafetta was an Italian who participated in the first tour round the world; see *Magellan's voyage* by A. Pigafetta, edited, translated by J. A. Robertson (1906). For information on an older glossary see E. D. Edwards and C. O. Blagden in *BSOAS* (1930–32) 6:715ff.

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part of which, being most usual in Sanskrit, indicate the commonest ideas. A good many survive as polite synonyms for native terms, e.g. *griya* 'house' < Skt. *gṛha-*. Others even succeeded in expelling the old indigenous terms: the Indonesian **apuy* 'fire', which was still common in Old Javanese, is replaced by *gĕni* < Skt. *agni-* 'fire', etc. Is it more than a curious coincidence that in the same language both 'friend' and '(personal) enemy' are expressed by Sanskrit words only: *mitra* and *satru* (Skt. *mitra-*; *śatru-*)? Some Indonesian languages, especially literary Javanese and Balinese, admitted, indeed, some thousands of Indian words into their vocabulary. In reality still more Sanskrit was known and used as appears from inscriptions and literary texts written in these languages. The incomplete glossary of Indonesian Sanskrit compiled by Van Buitenen and Ensink[8] contains about 6,500 entries. In other parts of the Archipelago things are, however, different. The number of Indian words in the main languages of the Philippine Islands is for instance much larger than that current in near-by North Celebes, no doubt because the ancient navigators of Cambodian and Peninsular origin preferred the Philippine route. Further to the East the Indian influence decreases; the islands situated to that side of the Philippines and the Moluccas were, as far as we are able to know, almost always on, or even outside, the periphery of the Indian and Indo-Indonesian spheres of influence.[9] Mention may however be made of a number (about thirty-five) of predominantly commercial loanwords from Indian languages in the Indonesian language of Madagascar, including, inter alia, terms for commodities, names of months and some other words (Dahl 1951:96ff., 368; Bernhard-Thierry 1959:311ff.).

It is worth while to insert here a brief survey of the principal semantic groups which in registering the hundreds of Indian loanwords may be roughly distinguished. The spread of Sanskrit in many provinces of spiritual, social, and intellectual life has, in Java, Bali, and other regions, been considerable, in some respects even enormous, and perhaps here and there even more intensive than we are able to discern now, because the absence of Indian terminology in a particular province of cultural achievements does not necessarily prove the absence of Indian influence in former times. Numerous words are related to the spread of Hindu cults, social institutions, religious doctrines and practices, which in many cases were, at a comparatively early date, to blend with indigenous concepts and customs, so that, for instance, terms of Indian

[8] J.A.B. van Buitenen and J. Ensink, "Glossary of Sanskrit from Indonesia" (1964) was compiled from inscriptions, those extant Sanskrit texts which may have, at least in part, been composed in Indonesia, and the Sanskrit materials that were incorporated in the Old Javanese adaptations of original Sanskrit works.

[9] Attempts have often been made to connect the Austronesian word *mana* with Skt. *manas* 'mind, will, conscience, intelligence' etc. and to consider Fiji etc. *tabu* 'taboo' a loanword from Vedic (*tābuvam* in the Śaunakīya recension of the Atharvaveda): see e.g. Hocart 1922:140; Thurnwald 1929:93. The comparative early date of the Polynesian migrations, the absence of these words in Indonesia etc., the lack of direct contact between India and Polynesia and of indirect contact worth mentioning, as well as the semantic differences between the Indian and the Polynesian words are cogent reasons to reject any hypothesis proposed with regard to their identity.

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origin were applied to non-Indian ideas or institutions; or, in other words, Indian flags came to cover more or less Indonesian cargos; super-human beings were invented and given Indian names, names for the same Indian divinity developed into separate beings, other vocables assumed new meanings. The Indian word *deva-*, for instance, denotes in modern Malay 'a demi-god' or 'fairy', in West Sumba something like 'a soul', in parts of Flores the Supreme Being. The hosts of Sanskrit proper names belonging to the religious, mythological and legendary spheres and occurring in Indonesian literature must be passed by here without comment. Indian names of persons survive up to the present day. In particular cases a mythological being saw his name transferred to an animal (Bal. *hanoman* 'baboon' < Skt. *hanumat-* 'the famous semi-divine monkey of the Rāmāyaṇa'). Although the Indonesian ideas of the hereafter, as compared with those of Indian literature, are rather simple, they are — as appears also from the relative vocabulary — decidedly and thoroughly influenced by India. In short the terminology used in all branches of doctrinal and practical religion, social life, law and ceremonies, in medicine, botany, architecture and other sciences, arts and crafts, are largely Indian. In the Behasa Indonesia *budi* 'insight, character, effort, trick' etc. is the Skt. *buddhi-* 'intellect'; *cita* 'feeling, mental power, thought-concentration' the Skt. *citta-* 'thought'; *cĕrita* 'tale, story' the Skt. *carita-* 'deeds, adventures'; *pĕrkara* 'affair, question, case, cause, lawsuit' the Skt. *prakāra-* 'class, species, mode'; *dĕnda* 'fine' the Skt. *daṇḍa-* 'punishment'; *dĕrma* 'alms, present, donation' the Skt. *dharma-*, a word according to the context translatable by 'law, usage, religious merit, good works' etc.; *cĕrna* 'digested' the Skt. *jīrṇa* 'digested', etc., etc.

As can be seen from some of the above instances, many loanwords are of special interest because often under the influence of historical evolution (in a large sense of the term), they changed their meaning and adopted special Indonesian connotations. This is especially clear and interesting when they refer to religious, social and political concepts. The Indian term *paṇḍita-* 'learned man' is now used for a '(Protestant) missionary or clergyman'; the words *bhojana-* 'meal' and *śuci-* 'pure, holy' nowadays combine to render 'Holy Supper': *bujana suci.* An important group of Sanskrit words belonging to this category has a bearing on mysticism. Adapting themselves to the specific requirements of Muslim-Javanese mystic thought, they developed special Javanese connotations. Skt. *sūkṣma-* 'subtle, inconceivable' applied, in Hindu circles, to 'the subtle and all-pervading' spirit or nature of God, came to mean 'spiritual, divine or immaterial principle'; in Muslim usage it denotes the Absolute Being; Skt. *adhyātmika-* 'referring to the soul' developed into a term for 'unpretentious, modest'. Other loanwords adopted a more specialized meaning dependent upon the cultural and political vicissitudes of the borrowing milieu. Skt. *maharddhika-* 'very prosperous or powerful' came, in Old Javanese, to develop meanings such as 'wise, learned, reverend, priest', hence, 'not subjected to the authority of a chief, excepting God and the king', and, intelligibly enough, 'free, independent', to be applied, in modern times, to 'political freedom or independence'. The Skt. *vaṃśa-* 'race' (> Jav. *baṅsa*) is

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nowadays also used as an equivalent of English *nation*, Latin *genus*; *rasa-* 'taste, feeling', of English *sentiment* and *sensation*; *nagara-* 'town', of English *state*; Beh. Ind. *per-usaha-an* (Skt. *utsāha-* 'continuous exertion'), of '(manufacturing) industry'. The devaluation of ancient high titles did not make a halt on the Indonesian frontier: *mantri, mĕntĕri*, a general indication for all minor officials vested with some authority, is the Indian *mantrin-* 'counsellor of a ruler'. This last has however found rehabilitation: in the Indonesian Republic *pĕrdana mĕntĕri*, the well known title in ancient Malay literature, now denotes the prime minister (Skt. *pradhāna-* 'principal'). That the meaning of many borrowed terms was in the course of time narrowed, widened or specialized may be passed over as self-evident. Yet one must be well up in Indian languages to see that Jav. *suda* 'subtracting' (in the arithmetical sense) is Skt. *śuddha-* 'pure', but also 'subtracted'; that Toba-Batak *bhakta* 'the lapse of time granted to man to live in the world' (in connection with the 'victuals allotted to him') is Skt. *bhakta-* 'allotted; food'; that the two Javanese vocables *suba*, viz. 'beauty' and 'treating with distinction', represent the same Skt. *śubha-* 'beautiful; benefit'. It is indeed at first sight not easy to see that the Javanese verb *sĕtrakake* (suffix *-ake*) 'to leave a corpse untended in a waste place' contains Skt. *kṣetra-* 'plot of ground' or that the diversity of meanings expressed in various Indonesian languages by *guna* ('power; skill; favour, benefit; spell, magic, philtre; use; versed in music; industrial or applied art') have all developed from the Indian *guṇa-* '(good) quality, virtue, capacity to effect a specific result'.

Proceeding now to discuss some phenomena connected with the outward appearance of Indian loanwords it may, to begin with, be observed that whereas in Old Javanese texts the correct form and spelling is often preserved, manuscripts of Balinese origin being on the whole more faithful to the original than those written in Java, those distinctions which are foreign to the Indonesian idioms — e.g. those between aspirates and non-aspirates, phonological quantities — were in the course of time lost. Quite naturally, those foreign elements, which were really adopted, and especially those which belonged to the vocabulary of the masses, tended to naturalize. Deviations from Austronesian patterns were eliminated, for instance by simplification of consonant clusters: Mal. *sĕtĕria* 'knight(ly)' < Skt. *kṣatriya-* 'nobleman' or by anaptyxis: Skt. *glāna-* 'exhausted' > OJav. *glāna, gĕlana* > Mal. *gĕlana, gulana* 'despondent'; Skt. *agni-* 'fire, the god of fire presiding over the southeast' > Toba-Batak *agoni* 'the southeast'. Adaptation to the indigenous tendency of the vowel of the antepenult to be neutral or undetermined (in Javanese and Malay *ĕ*) became normal: Skt. *nagara-* 'town' > Jav. *nĕgara* 'residence of a prince'; Pkt. *pattharaṇa-* 'couch, seat' > Mal. *pĕtĕrana* '(bridal) dais, mat of honor'; the marked predominance of a dissyllabic form of underived words affected many loanwords, resulting in shortening or reinterpretation of quadri-syllables as combinations of words of the usual type: Balinese *taka* 'death' < Skt. *antaka-*; Balinese *alpa yusa* 'short-lived' < Skt. *alpāyuṣa-*. In particular cases this development is thwarted by other tendencies, for instance the appearance of prothetic vowels which may be due

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to a variety of causes: Skt. *yoga-* 'yoke' > Karo-Batak *iyoga*,[10] 'syncope': literary Jav. *traṅgana* 'star(s)' < Skt. *tāraṅgana-* and, sporadically, other change sometimes defying explanation. We should however remember that a word form which is foreign to Sanskrit may have developed in India: thus Old Javanese *murawa* 'tambourine' (Skt. *muraja-*) (Pischel 1900:177). Incidental cases of dissimilation, metathesis, so-called spontaneous nasalization etc., which are not rare, must be left unmentioned.

In all Indonesian languages Indian words could naturalize to such a degree as to become a base for derivatives: Old Javanese *ka-saṃsāra-an* 'misfortune' from Skt. *saṃsāra-* '(the circuit of) mundane existence'; Jav. *mbĕgawan* 'retiring from political life and worldly affairs' < Skt. *bhagavān* (*bhagavant-*) 'holy or reverend man'; Balinese *masan* 'period, season' < Skt. *māsa-* 'month' (but > Old Javanese *māsa* 'time') and the suffix *-an*; Toba-Batak *hula-hula* (*h* < *k*) 'the relatives of one's wife', Dayak *ka-kula* 'a remote kinsman' from Skt. *kula-* 'race, family, community'; Tag. *ma-bisa* 'venomous' from Skt. *viṣa-* 'venom'.

It is in itself not surprising that morphological forms of Indo-Aryan languages have only sporadically been preserved in the Austronesian idioms. Whereas the terminations of Greek nouns borrowed by the ancient Romans could be assimilated to the Latin case-system, a flectionless language, as a rule, incorporates foreign elements in one form, which, in becoming naturalized, tends to fit in with its new surroundings. Thus the Austronesian languages, like English, generally adopted stems: *nirvana*, *maharaja*, the easier so as Middle Indo-Aryan languages often lost final consonants and the stem forms were always present to the mind of those who knew also some compounds. However, nouns formed with the *-nt-* suffix were, in literary Javanese, mostly naturalized in the form of the singular nominative: *buddhiman* 'wise', while the neuter *-n-* stems came to constitute a homogeneous class of words ending in *-a* (the Skt. nominative-accusative): *prema* 'love', *nama* 'name'. Stems in *-as-* often dropped their final consonant: Jav. *teja* 'glimmer (rainbow, etc.), the "aura" or emanation of a person, his energy, prestige' < Skt. *tejas-*. Some post-Old-Indo-Aryan speech habits have on the other hand led to the introduction of enlarged forms: Old Javanese *puṇyamanta* 'virtuous': cf. Pāli *sīlavanta-* 'virtuous' etc. as against Skt. forms in *-ant-*.

The alternation of *-a* and *-i* at the end of many couples of Indian words has been a starting-point for analogic innovations: beside the borrowed *deva* 'god': *devi* 'goddess' we find Old Javanese *sumanasa-* 'god': *sumanasi-* 'goddess' (Skt. *sumanas-* 'well-disposed, god'). This device — no doubt also under the influence of the more important part played by women in modern society — has become productive in modern Malay and Behasa Indonesia so as to create — hitherto unknown — forms

[10] Mention may be made here of one instance of an interesting complicated puzzle: Skt. *strī-* 'woman' > Old Javanese *strī*, but regional Jav. *istri*, Mal. *istĕri* etc.; but the very declination of the Skt. noun shows that this word formerly was dissyllabic and Pkt. forms such as *itthī-* point to a first syllable *i* and to a common original **istrī*. The longer Indonesian forms may therefore have sprung directly from an Indian source.

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distinguishing the feminine sex: thus, from an Indonesian word base: *pĕmudi* 'girl' beside *pĕmuda* 'young man' (*muda* 'young'), and, from a borrowed base (*baca* 'recitation': cf. Skt. *vācana-* 'reciting' etc.), *pĕmbaci* 'she-reader': *pĕmbaca* 'reader'. The originally Skt. *saudara-* 'brother', which in classical Malay means 'brother' and 'sister', has now regained its female counterpart (*saudari*) which existed in the language of its origin. As gender distinction is foreign to the borrowing idioms and the exact formal distinction between substantives and adjectives, made in Sanskrit, was not upheld, a considerable number of pairs such as the Indian *yoga-* 'yoga': *yogin-* 'a yogi'; *prāpta-* 'reached': *prāpti-* 'reaching' were naturalized as variants, welcomed and imitated by poets in need of rhyming words: in many languages *puji* is a secondary by-form of *puja* (Skt. *pūjā-* 'honor, worship'), and even *utawi* occurs beside *utawa* 'or' < Skt. *atha vā* 'or'. The device was transferred to indigenous words, the *-i* form being in Javanese often regarded as more polite (*krama*): *tampa* 'receive': *tampi*, and, as an effective factor even in modern times, also applied to loanwords of European origin: in Javanese, *(w)landi* is a ceremonious variant of *(w)landa* 'Dutch' < Portugese *Hollanda* 'Holland'. However, this type of sound variation is in principle Indonesian.

Although affixes are not, of course, borrowed as such, they may, also in Austronesian languages, become productive, especially when loanwords form, through a definite affix, a distinct group. Thus the Indian *nirguṇa-* 'devoid of qualities' and *durgama-* 'unattainable' type of composition has given rise to Old Javanese hybrid words such as *nirdon* 'useless' and *durlaga* 'difficult to be fought against', the second components of which are indigenous. The Mal. *tĕmpawan* 'hammered' (of gold, etc.) may in a similar way — as a more distinguished recast of *tĕmpaan* (with the Indonesian suffix *-an*) — have been modelled upon Indian adjectives in *-vant-*, nom. *-vān* (Mal. *tĕmpa* 'working metal with a hammer'). Similar observations may be made with regard to frequent first members of compounds such as *ādi-* 'first' which — known from *adiraja* 'very royal' < Skt. *ādirāja-* 'first king' etc. — has spread in honorifics such as Mal. *adimuda* (Mal. *muda* 'young'); *mahā-* (Skt. *mahārāja-* etc.) which had a great future in hybrid augmentatives: Mal. *maha-baik* 'excellent', Jav. *maha-biskop* 'archbishop' and even in loan-translating from Dutch terms of the type *maha-guru* 'professor' (Dutch *hoogleraar*), both members of which were originally Indian. Some of these elements have given rise to complicated etymological problems. Scholars have for instance long been at variance with regard to the initial element *pra-*, *pĕr-* in Javanese (Gonda 1952:296ff.), some of them distinguishing the well-known Sanskrit prefixed 'particle' and a homonymous Indonesian prefix, others prefering to regard all words with *pra-* as containing the Indian element. Although in several cases we must, perhaps forever, avow our ignorance of the relevant historical facts, an examination of all words concerned seems to warrant the conclusion that Indian influences have, at all events, played an important role in forming Javanese words beginning with *pra-* or *pĕr-*.

The highly frequent use of compounds and especially the use of long and compli-

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cated compounds which is one of the main characteristics of Sanskrit has no Austronesian counterpart. It is true that some binomial Indian compounds of the dvandva, tatpuruṣa or bahuvrīhi classes may be translated into an Austronesian idiom by compound-like phrases — e.g. Skt. *yuvarāja-* 'heir-apparent associated with the sovereign in the government', Mal. *raja muda* — any term composed of more than two Indo-Aryan words found in an Indonesian text must be regarded as essentially un-Indonesian and as evidence of, or as an addition to, the literary or artificial character of the passage in which it occurs, and so must any compound-like expression consisting of indigenous elements but modelled upon the Indian examples. The Old Javanese high literary style indulges much in this type of borrowing. The very presence of innumerable Sanskrit compounds in the medieval texts — used also, and not infrequently, when the original text expresses itself in another way (e.g. *devāsura-yuddha-carita* 'the story of the deeds done in the fight between the gods and the demons', the Sanskrit text reading *devāsure yuddhe*) — indicates the ability of the authors and their readers to analyse and understand the literary language of India. The official and sometimes pompous style of the ancient royal edicts even indulged in constructing highfalutin expressions such as *gati-gati-śata-ananta-duḥkha-abhibhūta-* (with correct sandhi) 'overcome by the endless sorrow of hundreds of various incarnations'. In the less artificial and more popular styles of writing Sanskrit compounds are far from wanting, but the more elaborate types recede into the background. Many comparatively simple expressions were, however, preserved to occur nowadays, even in common usage. Interestingly enough, some of them do not, as far as I know, appear in our Sanskrit dictionaries, for instance the classical Malay *bala-tĕntĕra* 'army' (Skt. *bala-* 'army' and *tantra-* which is sometimes found to convey the same sense); when and where were these words combined for the first time? Derivatives formed in the native way from Indian compounds are, especially in literary style, far from rare: Old Javanese *ka-waiṣṇava-śarīra-an* 'the quality of being Viṣṇu in the flesh' (Skt. *vaiṣṇava-* 'belonging to Viṣṇu' and *śarīra-* 'body'), and in modern Malay *kĕ-aneka-warna-an* 'variety' (Skt. *anekavarṇa-* 'not uniform'). On the other hand it is a small wonder that the meanings of a borrowed compound, for instance because of its being associated with partly identical expressions, sometimes underwent a curious change. Thus *vanavāsa-* 'dwelling in the forest, the life of a hermit', *vanāntara-* 'woodland' and *vanādri-* 'forest(s) and rock(s)' came, in Javanese literature, to denote 'a forest or wilderness'.

On occasion the order of the component members reveals the Indonesian origin of such combinations: literary Jav. *yuda-smara* in the sense of 'love-war' (Skt. *yuddha-* 'battle' and *smara-* 'love'); whereas in Indian compounds *dharma-* to express ideas such as 'true, honest, lawful' precedes, the modern Indonesian expression for 'practising philanthropy' (Skt. *buddhi-* 'intellect, mind') is *budi-darma*. In other cases it is a typically Indonesian change of meaning which indicates the secondary character of a combination. The tendency to replace the components of an expression, or one of them, with synonyms resulted, moreover, in quasi-Sanskrit names such as *Wilwa-tikta*

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instead of the native *Maja-Pahit* which literally means 'the bitter maja-fruit' (Skt. *bilva-* 'the (fruit of the) wood-apple'; *tikta-* 'bitter'). Space forbids an enlargement upon curious binomials recalling the French *casse-noix* 'nut-crackers' type: the regional Javanese *jaga-baya* meaning 'village policeman' consists of NIA *jāga* 'wakeful' and Skt. etc. *bhaya-* 'danger'. But attention should be drawn to the numerous hybrid phrases — which are often very unsatisfactorily handled in grammars and dictionaries — such as, for instance, Jav. *amběk sura* 'heroic' (Jav. *amběk* 'character' and Skt. *śūra-* 'hero'); *ayam vana* 'wood-cock' (Skt. *vana-* 'forest') beside *ayam alas* which is completely Javanese; the interesting half-translation Old Javanese *nusantara* 'the Archipelago outside Java' instead of Skt. *dvīpāntara-* 'the (Indonesian) Archipelago (and the regions near by)'; Sasak *undaṅ-dewa* 'incense' (Sasak *undaṅ* 'inviting' and Skt. *deva-* 'god'); Tag. *ola-bisa* 'venomous serpent' (*ula* 'serpent' and Skt. *viṣa-* 'venom'). Loanwords have also entered into the composition of part of the favorite, often alliterative, hybrid twin formulas expressing intensity, variety or repetition: Mal. *gondah-gulana* 'melancholy' (Mal. *gondah* 'sorrowing regret' and Skt. *glāna-* 'exhausted, feeling aversion').

This leads me to observe that real and complete loan-translations may, at intervals, occur in literary works: an Old Javanese poet forged together the native words *tiga* 'three' and *mata* 'eye' in order to form a quasi-bahuvrīhi equivalent to the well-known Sanskrit epithet *triṇetra-* 'three-eyed'.

The reception of so many foreign words led to various interesting phenomena, such as for instance the development of homonyms or that of doublets arriving through different channels. Thus both Javanese words *beda*, viz. that for 'different' and that for 'vexing, teasing' trace their origin to Skt. *bheda-* which means 'distinction' as well as 'disturbance, violation'. Sometimes two homonyms originally were different words: although Malay dictionaries distinguish two meanings of one word *pěstaka*, viz. 'diviner's manual' and, in *mala pě(s)taka*, 'evil, disaster', and the ignorant reader might try to build a semantic bridge, the former use represents Skt. *pustaka-* 'book', the latter Skt. *pātaka-* 'causing to fall'.

That the confrontation of Sanskrit, which itself had adopted a considerable amount of Austric words, with various Indonesian languages poses many difficult etymological questions may be illustrated by the following examples. Mal. *kapas* 'cotton, cotton-wool' has been taken for a Hindī loan, and it must be admitted that *kapās* in that language denotes the cotton plant. The existence of the same word in the languages of Java is not decisive, because it may be a loanword there also. The spread of clearly cognate words in other Indonesian and also in Austro-Asiatic languages in forms which are in accordance with the phonetic rules of the relative languages — e.g. Roti *abas* < *kapas* — leads us on the other hand to suppose that the word is Indonesian in origin. A word which has, in all probability wrongly, been considered a Sanskrit loan is Mal. etc. *kuda* 'horse'. Since there exist Dravidian words for this animal which bear a striking resemblance to *kuda* — cf. Tamil *kóḍaga* — and the similarity of the latter with Old Indo-Aryan *ghoṭa-* 'horse' has long been recognized, there is chance

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of its originating in Dravidian or in none of these languages (Mayrhofer 1956:361f.).

I finally turn to an examination of the question as to how the Indonesian languages reacted to the influx of Indian elements in their syntactic structure. There exists an interesting group of loans which, apart from other functions, came to be used as so-called grammatical words, that is as conjunctions, prepositions and the like. It may safely be assumed that at the beginning of the period of Indian penetration Javanese and Malay were characterized by that syntactic structure which has up to modern times been characteristic of those related idioms which have long been backward in literary culture. One of the peculiarities of this syntactic system is a predominance of comparatively short units[11] which follow each other asyndetically. In many cases however, this simple 'juxtaposition' was not appropriate; as a rule the semantically highly polyvalent 'conjunctive particle' was used to mark the connection. The number of native elements used to express relations between syntactic units was however, rather limited. The history of the Malay *karĕna, karna* which is translatable as 'because of, for, since', may be briefly recalled in illustration. It is the Skt. *kāraṇa-* 'cause, reason, motive, agency'. In classical Malay texts it could serve as a noun in the same sense. But when used in this way it could introduce an explicative clause, irrespective of whether this in itself constituted a nominal or a verbal group, and so develop into what in traditional grammatical terminology is called a preposition or a conjunction: *karĕna*[1] *tuaṅku*[2] *patik*[3] *digusari*[4] 'on account of[1] you[2] they are angry[4] with me[3]'; ('they did not know the king') *karĕna*[1] *raja*[2] *lagi*[3] *buďak*[4] 'because[1] the king[2] was still[3] a boy[4]'. In studying the history of these constructions it should of course be borne in mind that a close structural analysis of the first Indonesian sentences in which at the time Sanskrit words of this description were introduced does not tally with an analysis of a modern text in which they are used traditionally. There has been a shift, a more or less important change in function, which is not always easy for modern scholars to ascertain. Moreover, no structural or descriptive analysis can be a substitute for the complete inventory of historical evidence of this process of naturalization which has vanished forever. Another example is the Skt. *sopāya-* 'with an expedient, accompanied by' (*sa-* and *upāya-* 'approach, means (of) success, expedient, artifice') which, being influenced by (blended with) *sopādhi-* 'having some aim, restricted by some condition' (*sa-* and *upādhi-* 'aim, point of view'), is at the root of *sopaya, supaja, supados,* equivalent in several languages to our 'in order that'. The Old Javanese line *suka*[1] *amatya*[2] *apraṅ*[3] *sopadi*[4] *n*[5] *ucapĕn*[6] *atyanta*[7] *kujana*[8], though rendered by 'I would prefer[1] to be slain[2] in battle[3] rather than[4,5] be called[6] an extraordinarily[7] contemptible man[8]', properly consisted of two clauses: 'I would like[1] to be killed[2] in battle[3]' and 'restricted by the condition[4] (that)[5]: they should call me[6] a ...' and Malay *katakanlah*[1] *supaya*[2] *kita*[3] *dĕṅar*[4] may be translated 'speak[1] that[2] we[3] may hear[4]'. In studying these words one may be confronted also with interesting complications,

[11] In deference to any possible aversion to anything classic on the part of my readers I avoid using the more adequate Greek term *cola*.

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which may on the one hand arise from the syntactic structure of the Indonesian idioms and, on the other, from definite developments on the Indian side. Dictionaries of classical Malay and Behasa Indonesia translate *sĕrta* by '(together) with; along with, besides; as soon as; while', besides, *sĕrta*[1] *malan*[2] answers to our 'by[1] night[2]'. One might be tempted to derive the word from Skt. *sārtha-* '(travelling) company', the more so as this meaning was not entirely unknown in the Archipelago. However, the change of meaning assumed in defending this etymology has, perhaps in the main, or at least to a certain extent, occurred in India: in Hindī the 'post-position' and 'adverb' *sāth(a)* < Skt. *sārtha-*, Pkt. *sattha-* expresses ideas such as 'in the company of, in company with, along (with), besides, etc.', other New Indo-Aryan languages exhibiting similar uses (Gonda 1952:394).

As far as Old Javanese is concerned the question as to whether there are real conjunctions among the Sanskrit loans should be answered in the affirmative. Skt. *yadi* 'if, in case that', *yady api* 'even if, although' are — also when followed by the native ligative element *an, n* — often used to express similar meanings. In contradistinction to Sanskrit 'particles' such as *api* 'also, though', *iva* (expressive of comparison) — with the exception of the monosyllables *ca, vā, tu, hi* — other conjunctions were often refused reception.

Indonesian nouns, being indifferent as to number, often assume elements indicating plurality. Among them is the originally Indian *sĕgala* (Skt. *sakala-* 'whole, entire') which in the Sumatran Gayo (*sigölö*) can mean 'of all sorts, all possible' and in Malay is used as an index of plurality. The widespread *sama* is no doubt Skt. *sama-* 'same, equal, like, constant, complete, whole': in Toba-Batak it may mean 'among (them, between (them)' and serve as a pluralizator, in Malay it helps to form expressions for 'acting jointly' or 'all and sundry', in Javanese it can also stand for 'equal, of the same size, value' etc. and the question arises as to whether Sundanese *sasama jalma* 'fellow-man' (*jalma* < Skt. *janman-* 'birth' etc.) was modeled upon Indian compounds like *samakanyā-* 'a girl of the same rank'.

The influence of Sanskrit versification and literary devices, of Indian stylistics etc. on the mode of expression of Indonesian authors must be left undiscussed here.

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JAPANESE IN TAIWAN

T. SUGIMOTO

In considering the influence of the Japanese language in Taiwan, we must first discuss the problem of Japanese education in relation to its purpose, methods of spreading Japanese, and effects. Needless to say, education is not isolated from areas such as politics, economics and culture, but is deeply related to them. In Taiwan the policy of spreading Japanese was related to colonization and the imposition of sovereign rule on another race; moreover this policy was not only one of administration and economics but of total assimilation of the Taiwanese. In order to assimilate, education and the spreading of Japanese were indispensable. It is not so important to ask whether the Japanese education system succeeded or not, but it can be noted with regard to school attendance that in 1903 it was 3.7%, in 1938 about 50%, and in 1942 it was 65.8%. By the end of World War II it reached about 80% or more. Also the percentage of people who could understand Japanese was 21.6% in 1938, but from that year until the end of the War it increased 50% or more.

One Japanese who visited a primary school in Taiwan in 1942 described it as follows: 'Entering the classroom I was surprised to observe that the teaching of Japanese was very very smooth.'

While visiting Taiwan in 1964 I had the same experience, because I could hear accurate Japanese everywhere — at the airport, at souvenir shops and from taxi-drivers. I was shocked. I could also recognize the spread of Japanese to Taiwan from my own experiences. One need not go there to hear Japanese spoken, since we now have a lot of Taiwanese students in our universities. One of them lived in my home for a year and although his Japanese was not perfect, his father's and grandfather's letters were grammatically correct. Previously having heard that the teaching of Japanese in Taiwan had succeeded I felt I had been given true information about it from my experience with the young student.

Before describing the method and diffusion of Japanese in Taiwan, we must present the history of the Taiwan people who accepted Japanese as a second mother tongue. In investigating the real nature of the diffusion of Japanese we must take into account the failure of Korea, and generally discuss the problems of language education in the Japanese colonies. These problems are deeply related to the nation which accepted the language. We must remember that there is a relationship between the history and conditions of Taiwan and the diffusion of Japanese there.

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I. TAIWAN AND ITS PEOPLE

1. *Taiwan before Japan's Occupation*

It is said that during the 400 years of the existence of the Taiwanese, they had their own particular history, but for the subject of this paper the discussion must begin with the Ching Period.

The Ching Dynasty ruled over Taiwan for about 230 years. A missionary had described Taiwan as a sick country which belongs to the Ching empire. He criticized further that of the people who came to Taiwan 80% or 90% committed one crime or another. His observations therefore convey one picture of Taiwan and its people.

Taiwan seems to have been a territory which, isolated from the mainland of China, was nonetheless regarded as a burden by the Ching Government. It is perhaps from this point of view that we can begin to investigate the history of the Taiwanese.

The majority of the population of Taiwan hailed from the southern part of China, especially Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces. Most of these people came to Taiwan around the year 18 A.D. for a variety of personal reasons unconnected with any specific national program. The rule of the Ching Dynasty over Taiwan proved ineffective. Government officials often regarded the Taiwanese as lower class people or even as an entirely alien race. Accordingly they ruled the Taiwanese with a heavy hand. There are historical records of about twenty-two major revolts during this Ching Dynasty of domination.

There are in Taiwan a group of aborigines called Fantsu (蕃族) with a totally different racial background from those who immigrated from China. These aborigines are part of the mainly Indonesian race and consist broadly of two tribes; the Kaoshan tribe and Pingpu tribe. Around the time Japan gained control of Taiwan, the population there consisted of Chinese, of some aborigines and a few Europeans.

In 1887 when Taiwan became independent from Fukien Province, a survey was conducted revealing that 2,550,000 of its population were Chinese. By 1943 the number of Chinese had increased to 6 million or more. Under the fifty years of Japanese domination, the population of Taiwan is said to have doubled.

As mentioned previously, part of the population of Taiwan was not from the mainland of China. They retained a sense of their own identity calling themselves 'Pen tao jen (本島人)' and calling the people of Chinese ancestry 'Tang shan jen (唐山人)'. At the present time these people call those from the China mainland 'Waishong jen (外省人)' and so they distinguish between themselves and the others.

The revolts which occurred under the leadership of Ch I Kuei (朱一貫) in the southern portion of Taiwan in 1721, as well as the ones instigated by Lin Shuang Wen (林爽文) through all of Taiwan in 1786 seem to have originated from Taiwan nationalistic feeling rather than for personal causes. Their purpose in stirring up the revolts was to stimulate a greater conciousness of themselves as distinguished from the Chinese inhabitants. Hence the rebellions rose from a purpose; they were not rebellions for the sake of rebellions.

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In 1895, as the result of Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan became part of Japan's territory. The Japanese government at that time made the following regulations regarding the nationality of the people of Taiwan:

(1) The people can choose their own nationality within two years.

(2) After two years, the Japanese government will decide their nationality if they haven't decided themselves.

Seven years after Taiwan became part of Japan, frequent revolts broke out throughout the country. One in particular, a revolt for the so-called Taiwan Republic Nation under Chiu Feng Chia (丘逢甲) and others deserve attention. They claimed that 'Taiwan was originally an independent country. Even though the Ching Dynasty handed this over to Japan we ask why we have to give ourselves up to the Japanese'. So saying they fought with the Japanese through a number of rebellions. They were subsequently defeated but the very fact of their revolt indicates the formation of 'Consciousness of the Island', even if this conciousness lasted for only an instant.

The phrase 'Taiwan for the Taiwanese' indicates that a spiritual sense of togetherness had formed among the Taiwanese. This common sense of ethnic identity is not merely a thing of the past. It continues today in the form of uneasiness between the indigenists, the Taiwanese and the aliens from the mainland of China, an uneasiness which emerged immediately after the surrender of Japan in World War II.

In an article on 'the racial movement of Taiwan', Chai Pou Hui (蔡培火) says that the Taiwan dōkakai (台湾同化会) took shape through the advocacy of Itagaki Taisuke (板垣退助) and Lin Hsien Tang (林献堂) who lived in the middle of Taiwan and were famous there. The establishment of the Taiwan dōkakai is said to have been the beginning of the racial movement in Taiwan. If so, it was an important cultural and spiritual movement as well, carried not only by the force of arms but also by the spirit. This movement is a stirring testimony in the history of the Taiwanese.

2. *Taiwan under the Japanese Occupation*

In April 1895, when Japan replaced the Ching Dynasty as the dominate power of Taiwan, the island became isolated both politically and economically from the mainland of China. At the Japan and China conference the Ching Dynasty Representative, Li Hung Chang (李鴻章), commented that 'Japan realizes that its domination of Taiwan would be a disadvantage'. Similarly the advanced nations of Europe felt some apprehensions about Japan's rule over Taiwan. However during this time a man named Father Camber, who resided in Taiwan for 30 years, conveyed approval of Japan's control of Taiwan. He felt that Japan's domination should proceed without being influenced by outsiders. Father Camber thought that Japan's domination would bring progress.

The transfer of control from the Ching to the Japanese government represented in a sense the change over from feudalism to modernization. Under Japan's rule the

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living standards and cultural standards of Taiwan saw rapid progress and Taiwan became, outside of Japan, the most progressive area in Asia. During the 50 years of Japanese rule, Taiwan became increasingly separated from the China mainland until it had hardly any relations with it at all. Japan and Taiwan were wholly fused. Throughout its history Chinese characteristics had been gradually fading in Taiwan. Under the Japanese, this tendency increased, and consciousness of Taiwanese identity grew during this period. In reaction to the Japanese, a community of interest had been formed among the natives. The natives were of course different from the Japanese in physical, linguistic and ethnic ways. It is usually impossible for two different cultures to be fused into one; even if two cultures have the same blood and language in common.

The two countries Taiwan and China have insuperable differences and for the past hundred or so years the Taiwanese have been forming a common bond in building a modern nation for themselves and their island. I feel certain that Taiwan has the potentiality to be an independent modern nation.

Unless we understand the concept 'Taiwan for the Taiwanese' we cannot understand the rule of the Japanese in Taiwan nor can we comprehend the antagonism which the Taiwanese felt against the Chinese from the mainland. The Kuomintang government sharply accuses the educational policies of the Japanese government as increasing the native people's hostility for the Chinese. During Japan's occupation, education stressed that Taiwan did not belong historically or geographically to the Chinese mainland and if this point of view gained a currency it was due as much to the reality of the situation as to the effectiveness of the Japanese teachings.

II. JAPANESE EDUCATION IN TAIWAN

1. *Izawa Shuji* (伊沢修二) *and Japanese Education*

Education under the Japanese in Taiwan was conducted in the Japanese language. This fact represents an important link between Japanese policies and the Taiwanese. Through the use of Japanese language the goal of 'japanizing' Taiwan could be realized.

In June 1895, the Taiwan General Government (T.G.G.) established a Bureau of Educational Affairs to which Izawa Shuji was appointed head. Japanese education began at Chih Shan Yen Hsueh Tang (芝山巖学堂) in Pa Chih Lan (八芝蘭) about 10 miles from Taipei (台北).

It is not possible to judge quickly the effects of the policy of Japanese education in Taiwan; however it is possible to say that instruction in the Japanese language was intended not just as means of communication between peoples but also as means of assimilation. In short, Japanese education in Taiwan was intended to instill obedience and loyalty to the Japanese emperor according to the Imperial Rescript on Education.

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The appointment of Izawa Shuji at the start of the period of Japanese education is significant. In 1871, Mr. Izawa went to the United States to do research at Massachussets State Normal College and Harvard University. He returned to Japan and was among the first to introduce modern methods of education in Japan. He was among the elite in the educational circles of Japan. Among his publications are the *Pedagogy*, the first book on the subject in Japan. It was a most influential book among those connected with education.

In the United States, Mr. Izawa studied under Professor A. Graham Bell (1847–1924) and learned from him the visual speech method of teaching languages which he introduced to the academic circles of Japan. The visual speech method of learning the sounds of a foreign language was useful for the teaching of Japanese in Taiwan. It was thus fitting for a person with Mr. Izawa's background and qualifications to become the head man of Japanese education in Taiwan.

Izawa put the Imperial Rescript on Education into practice. In 1890 when the Imperial Rescript was first issued, Izawa established the society of Kokkakyoikusha (国家教育社), and in 1893 he published the *Seiyutaizen* that commented on the Imperial Rescript. He strongly promoted nationalistic education — not only language education but also the encouragement of loyal Japanese subjects and patriots. In short, Izawa's doctrine in the society of Kokkakyoikusha aimed to make Japanese people loyal subjects of the nation. Izawa and his followers sought to train promising young men in loyalty to Japan. When Izawa became head of the Educational Bureau in Taiwan he came into an ideal situation to realize his plans.

On January 4, 1919, the Taiwan Education on Ordience was issued as imperial ordinance number 1. It consisted of 6 chapters with 32 articles. In the second paragraph of the first chapter it states the following about education policy directed at the Taiwanese: 'According to the purpose of the Imperial Rescript on Education the main purpose of education is to cultivate loyal subjects.'

This principle was followed consistently even going into World War II. Izawa's principles for Japanese education in Taiwan worked until World War II. Before going to Taiwan, Izawa met the high officials and talked with them about the plans of Japanese education in Taiwan. He had written a draft for Japanese education in Taiwan which was as follows: We must divide the principle of Japanese education into two divisions.

A) An urgent plan for Japanese education; this is divided into four parts. The 1st is to devise means of communication. The 2nd is to make people understand the significance of education. The 3rd is to set importance on the relationship of education and religion. The 4th is to observe the customs and natures of people.

B) A permanent plan for Japanese education.

As the passage above indicates, Izawa's draft is necessary and sufficient for Japanese education. Even if it is partially nationalistic we can understand the new concept of education that Mr. Izawa learned while studying in the United States. He stressed that the most pressing urgency was to learn a common language for people to com-

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municate. In 1895 the government issued to the local governments one thousand copies of a booklet describing the way to teach Japanese. In October of the same year they held the first ceremony for students who had learned Japanese. In 1896 language schools and elementary schools attached to them began, and included the following plans and courses of study.

'One of the main purposes is that an elementary school should be a model one for Japanese education in Taiwan. The other is that through the course of morals we must make people understand their duty to a nation, a society and a family with the purpose of the Imperial Rescript'.

Schools were established to educate both Japanese and Taiwanese in the same way, to spread the nationalistic spirit advocated by Izawa and to train men of ability for it. I am certain that Izawa and others were determined to accomplish their aims in Japanese education so as to assimilate the Taiwanese into the Japanese. This method was rooted in Taiwan as time passed. It is my opinion that the success of Japanese education would depend upon tireless purpose and determination to educate the Taiwanese. But to begin with, much depended upon the labours and personality of Izawa. Izawa established three methods in the plan for enlightment of people in new territories.

(1) The first method is to enlighten the people of Taiwan in the Japanese language and Japanese manners.

(2) To use their language in carrying through this plan.

(3) To mix and melt together in order to become one nation.

Izawa often said 'We teach them our language and we learn their language in return'. This is the first step of a man of peace. Izawa, who had already studied methods of teaching before going to Taiwan, wrote the *Nisshinjionkan* (日清字音鑑), which was published in 1895. This book compares the pronunciation of Japanese and Chinese and tries to provide a method for students who tried to learn Asian languages.

The introduction of the book says: 'We will translate Chinese sounds into Japanese "kana" or the Latin alphabet. Chinese has unique sounds different from those used in Japanese. I propose to study physiologically and philologically the sounds of the two languages using the visual speech method. I have used signs and new letters and marks to indicate the 4 tones of Chinese and I shall employ the new method of pronunciation with this and Japanese "kana"'.

The above statement suggests that Izawa was prepared to provide language training for the people of Taiwan. Izawa was an active participant in Japanese education in Taiwan and had a position of highest responsibility.

Japanese education was therefore strong in conception and technique in teaching Japanese. It is clear now that Izawa's method of visual speech was very effective as an examination of textbooks and the dictionary later published show. A dictionary of Japanese-Taiwanese published in 1907 indicates that the signs and kana used there

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were adopted from those of Izawa. Izawa's distinguished service in study and spread of Japanese in Taiwan cannot be ignored. In examining textbooks and materials we can now summarize the second step of Japanese education in Taiwan.

This step established an educational organization. Izawa arrived in Taiwan in 1895 and in March of the next year Japanese elementary schools for the Taiwanese were established in 14 places around Taiwan. The purpose of the schools was to teach Japanese to the Taiwanese and to cultivate the spirit of Japan in their everyday lives. The Taiwanese would be expected to respect the 'Imperial household, to love Japan, to respect other human beings, to demonstrate Japanese spirit.'

In 1898 these schools were converted to primary schools for Taiwanese. The purpose of the schools was the same as for elementary schools. The school age, however, changed from 8 years to 10 years with the course of study covering 6 years. Thus primary education in Taiwan was established. Through these schools the aim of cultivating the spirit of Japanese as well as knowledge of the Japanese language were greatly advanced. Some elementary schools for the aborigines also existed.

In 1896 Japanese Language Schools were established for the sort of assimilation that Izawa advocated. Teachers were trained to spread Japanese and also to learn Chinese and the aboriginal languages. These schools later were converted into normal schools and used by special teacher training organizations. Japanese Language Schools became centers for the Taiwanese, and the Taiwanese became assimilated into Japanese culture. At this point we want to show the number of schools and school hours.

Japanese Language School	... 84 hours a week,
	10–12 hours for instruction in Japanese
Primary school	... 28 or 30 hours a week,
	17–21 hours for instruction in Japanese
	5 hours for Kanbun
Elementary school	... 34 hours a week,
	18 hours for instruction in Japanese
	16 hours for Japanese composition

In 1898 there were 7,838 pupils at the primary schools for Taiwanese. Ten years later the number increased threefold. The number of girl students grew 10 times. The expansion of the education establishment and the progress of Japanese education were substantial. Twenty years later the numbers were up 10 times — and even 100 times in a period of 30 years. The percentage of school-age attendance among the population reached 90% by 1927.

At this point we should discuss some episodes in Taiwan during these pioneer years of education. By doing so we can understand the success achieved by Izawa and others. One such episode concerns a primary school for natives and aborigines

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(*A*) *Number of Teachers and Pupils in* (*a*) *Elementary School,* (*b*) *Primary School, and* (c) *Japanese Language School.*

(*J = Japanese, T = Taiwanese*)

(a) *Elementary School*

date	teachers		pupils	
	J	T	boys	girls
1898	19	—	385	5
1899	14	7	391	—
1900	13	3	451	17
1901	25	—	694	35
1902	31	—	673	30
1903	24	7	757	32
1904	22	12	759	44

(b) *Primary School*

date	schools	teachers		pupils	
		J	T	boys	girls
1898	74	127	120	7,548	290
1899	96	169	168	9,457	382
1900	117	231	222	11,388	998
1901	121	246	255	14,806	1,509
1902	139	241	312	16,987	1,923
1903	146	267	385	19,169	2,317
1904	153	242	378	20,612	2,934

(c) *Japanese Language School*

date	schools	teachers		pupils	
		J	T	J	T
1898	37	37	—	—	—
1899	45	36	9	465	394
1900	52	49	11	485	470
1901	56	49	7	510	525
1902	49	41	8	145	662
1903	56	43	13	169	743
1904	64	51	13	216	839

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(B) *Number of Pupils and the percentage of school attendance in* (a) *Primary School and* (b) *Elementary School* (1905–27).

(a) *Primary School*

date	number	%
1905	23,178	60.66
1906	27,464	61.82
1907	34,382	69.45
1908	35,898	75.96
1909	38,974	78.99
1910	41,400	83.55
1911	44,670	84.80
1912	49,554	87.35
1913	54,712	89.34
1914	60,404	90.06
1915	66,078	90.88
1916	75,545	92.65
1917	88,099	93.69
1918	107,659	91.99
1919	125,135	92.48
1920	151,093	94.23
1921	173,795	94.23
1922	195,783	94.84
1923	209,946	92.89
1924	214,737	91.20
1925	213,948	89.68
1926	210,047	91.87
1927	211,679	90.87

(b) *Elementary School*

date	number
1905	966
1906	1,088
1907	1,201
1908	1,660
1909	1,676
1910	1,732
1911	1,770
1912	1,986
1913	2,196
1914	2,557
1915	2,889
1916	3,236
1917	3,693
1918	4,155
1919	4,445
1920	4,709
1921	4,700
1922	4,800
1923	5,124
1924	5,764
1925	6,017
1926	6,220
1927	6,031

called 'Miaoli (苗栗) Primary School'. Wu Chas Tsung (吳朝宗), a famous learned and wealthy man, was recommended to the school by the villagers. He was an excellent student and came to represent everyone who had completed their courses. He said in regard to application for admission that students were uneasy about the fact that they cannot understand Japanese as well as the Japanese themselves.

At the opening of the schools the Imperial Rescript was read with all due ceremony and then chemical experiments were conducted. The students were most impressed. Later, slides were shown about Japan and Japanese people, allowing the Taiwanese to know something about modern Japan. Perhaps the combination of the Imperial Rescript and the experiment in science seems unusual, but these characterized educa-

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tion in Japan as much as in Taiwan. Taiwan was to be a microcosm of Japan. The scientific experiment gave the Taiwanese a feeling of coming into a new age. The slides of Japan showed the great progress which Japan had made. Though it may seem somewhat elementary, the slides were useful in demonstrating the national power of Japan. And I am sure that they also caused the Taiwanese to look up to Japan. These incidents, though simple, symbolize the fundamental effectiveness of Japanese education in Taiwan. The early Japanese education there was not completely smooth and was fraught with complications and difficulties. The Taiwanese General Government circulated copies of the Imperial Rescript with their own commentary written in Kanbun. This Rescript was an important document and no doubt condoned the spirit in which the Japanese Government forced this education upon the Taiwanese as it did upon the Koreans. But we must not forget that Japanese education in Korea was a failure.

2. *The State of Japanese Education*

When Izawa was asked about the state of the Japanese language by a missionary he replied that 'When Taiwan became Japanese territory we taught Japanese to the Taiwanese'. Japanese, however, was not taught to the Taiwanese at first since the Japanese did not know Formosa, and correspondence was carried on indirectly or translated. Under the T.G.G. law in 1896 the Taiwanese were expected to understand Japanese in relation to the native languages, necessitating the introduction of Japanese education. The teacher would pronounce a sentence 'kore wa nan desu ka' and the pupil would repeat it. Next the teacher would say the sentence in Chinese (此個是甚麼), then the pupil would be able to understand that the Japanese sentence and the Chinese sentence were the same. Next the teacher would ask 'kore wa nan de arimasu ka?' and the pupil would answer in Chinese. The teacher would explain the Chinese sentence in Japanese and in so doing the pupil would learn Japanese while thinking in Chinese. This method was called the translation method. It was not always the most effective method, but at least it made history. Izawa's method was completely different from those that the missionary used. The missionary taught the Gospel in Latin letters while Izawa used the Japanese graphs. In this method the same kanjis as in Taiwanese were used in order to teach Japanese (with the visual speech method new signs could be used to overcome differences in pronunciation between Japanese and Chinese). The Taiwanese who wanted to learn Japanese were the intelligentia and already literate. Thus it was wise to use kanjis.

In 1897 primary schools opened and accepted 190 applicants. Most all schools used the 4 books and 5 classics of Confucianism. In 1895 T.G.G. edited and published *Nihongokyojusho* and *Shin Nippongogensyu*. The first consisted of 50 pages, and one thousand copies were made and delivered to provincial governments. We must now turn to study them as a step of Japanese education in Taiwan.

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In the introduction of *Nihongokyojusho* (日本語教授書) it is explained how to teach Japanese and there are a great number of examples of Japanese sentences. But in the actual practise these examples had to be expanded. The book was intended for young men who had had education and who understood kanbun. For younger people, simple phrase by phrase and simpler methods were necessary. Because the purpose of this book was to teach grammatical Japanese to Taiwanese, the Chinese was often artificial, funny, or hard to understand. Those who had a background in Chinese characters had fundamental material, however, and we can quote some examples here.

教ヨトヤクヲオシヘマス
昔タヤマノ大ノ典ヲ之ヲ
日本文ノテンヲ
自カラニホンブンニ
日ニチ
今コンニチ

名メイ詞シ是ハ物モノ之ノ名ナマエ表ヲアラハス語コトバ

A kanji and kanbun served an important function in teaching Japanese.

Let us now look at *Shin Nippongogensyu* (新日本語言集). This book was bound temporarily with 86 pages by T.G.G. In the textbook in 1887 there is such an example as:

イ子稲 一チウア) 稲仔 ／ イモ芋 オ| オ|ア) 芋仔
イノシ、猪 ソア6 一チイ 山猪
イノシ、ノニク 猪肉 ンア6一チイバ・ア山猪肉
イカ烏賊 バク・ 一サツ・ ヒイ< 墨賊魚
イナゴ 蝗蟲 ホク< タ・ク< 蝗蟲
× ×
急イツグ 趕緊6コアキン) ／ 急モツトイツグ 再コオカアコアキン加趕緊6)
勢一杯急セイイツパイイソグ 尽力趕緊チンラツコアキン6 ／ 否イーエ 不ム6 (又ハ) 無ボク<
否何致イーエドーイタシマシテ 豈敢キ・イカム (謙遜)

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In *The big Japanese-Formosan dictionary* (1907) and *The collections of Chinese with spoken Japanese* (1916), we have more examples.

Japanese education in Taiwan had been established with the interlinear method. But in 1899 a book called *The education of languages* and its method of study by François Gouin was introduced. With this there was a general re-evaluation of the interlinear method resulting in its gradual abolition near the end of the Meiji period.

As time passed the Taiwanese were no longer educated in the Chinese classics. They had come to learn Japanese and it was now necessary therefore to develop a new teaching and learning method. François Gouin's method was to teach a foreign language as a native language: the 'direct method'. It made its appearance in educational circles of the time. T.G.G. published François Gouin's program for teaching foreign languages and with it the purpose of Japanese education in primary schools for natives. Gouin's method for teaching Japanese was based upon the naturalness with which babies learn their language, i.e. when Japanese was taught, the native languages were used as little as possible. It was put into practice in primary schools at Taihoku and it proved to be effective. Without using the native language it became necessary to think in Japanese. T.G.G. edited a book called *The reading textbook for Japanese* in twelve volumes, with teaching materials as the supplement in three volumes. In these books Gouin's method was used. It is impossible to know the effectiveness of Gouin's method — however we do know that the interlinear method of language teaching was fading and Gouin's method was gaining considerable ground. Also, for a while, Gouin's method and the interlinear method were used concurrently resulting in yet another, improved, method. In 1913 when T.G.G. rivised its textbook for Japanese, they ordered that Chinese be banned and that the direct method be used.

The spread of the Japanese language depended not only on the technique and method but also in the organization of Japanese teachers. In 1900 the first regular meeting of the Society for Japanese Instruction was held and in May of the same year the first report of this society was published. The following year the name of the society was changed to the Society for Japanese Education in Taiwan, which had its own magazine. *The big Japanese-Formosan dictionary* (日台大辞典) was published in 1907 as a result of this society's work. Having discussed the circumstances of Japanese education and its nature, it is necessary to point out again the importance of Japanese language for Taiwanese in making the Taiwanese feel like Japanese. This method continued to cultivate the national spirit among the Taiwanese and in 1942 the circumstances of Japanese education in Taiwan were described by Shunjō Kato as follows:

> When new pupils attended school the instructor would take them to the classroom and give them their seats with a name plate. When the pupil sat down the teacher would say 'stand up, bow, sit down' in Japanese and the pupils would have to respond. At first, the pupils could not respond, but then the pupils would understand the teacher's orders. The teacher would call the role and they would reply 'hai' in Japanese, then the teacher would point to himself

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and say 'sensei'. After that the teacher would take the pupils to the hall for the entrance ceremony. After the ceremony, the teacher would take the pupils to the school gate to send them off with their parents. When they left, he would say 'sayonara'. Those who could would also repeat 'sayonara'. On the second day, he would take the pupils to a shrine and on a third day he would use Japanese to the pupils such as 'massugu mae ni susume', 'kochira e oidenasai', 'okaerinasai', 'kochira o gorannasai' and so forth. The pupils would learn the names of things such as 'bôshi', 'kutsu', 'kaban', 'hankachi' and so forth. The teacher would take the pupils to the toilets and grounds and tell the names, show them how to use them and play on the grounds like Japanese. For about a week, the teacher would show the pupils essential Japanese. After two weeks, the teacher gradually got into various courses and made preparations to teach subjects in the Japanese language. He would use such fundamental expressions such as 'kore wa ... desu ka', 'Are wa ... desu ka' 'Are wa ... desu'. Pointing to objects and pictures he would make the students expand their vocabulary. Step by step the teacher would expand a more complex expression. 'Koko ni ... ga arimasu', 'Soko ni ... ga imasu' and '... ga ... shite imasu'. He would teach them Japanese with a textbook using pictures and leading the pupils to express their own thoughts for themselves, and mechanical memory of vocabulary was avoided. He would use the language as a natural means to communicate and would use the language mechanically only for teaching. For four weeks he would teach this way and after five weeks the pupils would learn 'kana', but he would not teach kana by itself; he would teach how to use kana to communicate. The teacher would, to a certain extent, treat the textbooks as materials for Japanese education but he would try to avoid them whenever possible.

This method was a model method (it was not used everywhere in Taiwan because there were many techniques). By the third term of the first year the good students would be able to communicate about everyday matters in Japanese. Since the success or failure of Japanese education depends so much on the first year it was an important year of emphasis.

The above description of education was by Kato. Kato also mentioned that it was very difficult to pronounce, entonate and use correct grammar of Japanese or to correct mistakes brought about by the influence of Chinese. He mentions some other grammatical problems like the confusion of 'arimasu' and 'imasu' and the misuse of verbs or particles like 'Fude ga oto shimashita' or 'Atama ga itame masu' and also the difficulty of honorific expressions — but at any rate Kato insisted upon the effort to continue using Japanese.

One of the most remarkable effects on Japanese education in Taiwan was that of the Education Law of 1922. In 1919 there had been enacted a law concerning co-operative education of Japanese and Taiwanese people. In 1922 the educational system was almost the same except for the elementary education. Those pupils who could use Japanese in everyday life were as a rule put into primary schools, the others were placed in primary schools for natives. In 1922 the Japanese and Taiwanese systems became unified. The education law for the aboriginal people from 1905, 1917 and 1922 was amended three times. At first they were educated separately with Chinese, but in the long run they were educated together.

In 1943 a compulsory educational system for natives went into effect as the result

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of the war. The following chart shows the percentage of school attendance from 1926 to 1932.

The Percentage of School Attendance

date \ sex	men %	women %	average %
1926	43.0	12.3	28.4
1927	51.0	19.7	35.9
1928	56.8	25.1	41.5
1929	59.1	27.4	43.8
1930	62.0	30.3	46.7
1931	64.5	34.1	49.8
1932	67.2	38.1	53.2

3. *Social Education and Language Policy*

The basis of primary education was established by the 'Law of Public Schools' promulgated in 1898, and the Japanese Government determined the goal of elementary education as a social education. By the end of the Meiji Period an organization for the promotion of the Japanese language had been established. In 1915 institutes such as the Association for the Popularization of the Japanese Language, etc. were built, but later on their names were changed to Language Training Centers. The movement became more organized and active. From this time on Men's, Women's and Youths' Associations were set up to enforce the spread of the Japanese language using the motto 'Daily use of the Japanese language'.

At this time, Japan's position in the international sphere had improved remarkably and the language movement went hand in hand with an uplift in the national spirit.

Depending on the year there might be slight differences, but a well regulated language training system was divided into:

(a) Language Training Schools. Mainly catering to students between 12 and 25 (older than 12 and less than 25) with no knowledge of Japanese. The course was designed so that great emphasis was placed on the teaching of Japanese for at least 100 days in the year.

(b) Special Language Training Schools. For children between 6 and 12 who weren't accepted in schools of type (a). It was a 3 year course.

(c) Simplified Language Training Schools. For those around 26 or more. For example, farm workers could learn the Japanese language during their leisure time.

(d) Children's Language Training Schools. For pre-school children of age 5 or 6.

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From 'statistics of the time', i.e. 1940, there were 11,206 Language Training Schools, and 4,627 Simplified Language Training Schools, with a total of 763,263 trainees. There were 1,583 Children's Language Training Schools, with a total of 64,223 child trainees.

In 1931 the T.G.G. planned a language training program to cover the next 10 years and the great movement of popularization of Japanese. The slogans of 'Let's use Japanese at home' or 'Let's use Japanese every time' had made great progress and as a result 'The popularization of the language' was even a slogan at home.

We can see the following plans in relation to language training school establishment by looking at the magazine *Situation in Taiwan* in 1940.

At that time everyone (of both sexes) up to the age of 70 could go to a public school where the Japanese language was taught. The ideal was to establish a Language Training School in every town. This was the incentive for the future.

The number of Language Training Schools and persons who could understand Japanese from 1932 to 1940 are given below and on the following page.

Number of Language Training Schools and Students

date	T.S.		S.T.S.		total	
	schools	students	schools	students	schools	students
1932	185	4,835	702	27,675	887	32,510
1933	361	13,183	827	32,847	1,188	46,030
1934	960	28,265	882	30,712	1,842	58,977
1935	1,629	63,023	754	31,370	2,383	94,393
1936	2,197	131,799	1,735	73,415	3,932	205,214
1937	2,812	185,590	1,555	77,782	4,367	263,372
1938	3,454	214,865	3,852	257,277	7,360	472,142
1939	6,388	387,348	8,738	536,856	15,126	924,240
1940	11,206	547,469	4,627	215,794	15,833	763,263

* T.S. = Training School, S.T.S. = Simplified Training School

The actual results of the Language Training Schools as seen from the table are surprising.

It takes many years for an education system to be altered. At least a generation is necessary for results to be obtained. Changes can only be made gradually.

Language Training offers many opportunities for both children and adults even for those children who haven't mastered their own native tongue. The enforcement to learn the language was the result of the Supreme order and was one aspect of the Japanization of Taiwan.

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Persons understanding Japanese

date	student		total	population	%
	E.S.	T.S.			
1932	655,353	366,918	1,022,371	4,496,870	22.7
1933	721,995	415,514	1,127,509	4,612,274	24.5
1934	788,285	498,889	1,287,174	4,759,197	27.0
1935	856,733	594,607	1,451,340	4,882,288	29 7
1936	926,053	714,950	1,641,003	4,990,138	32.9
1937	1,009,168	924,832	1,934,000	5,108,914	37.8
1938	1,101,368	1,082,913	2,204,281	5,263,389	41.9
1939	1,149,790	1,308,670	2,458,460	5,392,806	45.59
1940	1,296,479	1,588,894	2,885,373	5,524,990	51.00

* E.S. = Elementary School, T.S. = Training School

III. POPULARIZATION OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE

1. *Japanese language education and its popularization*

As mentioned before, both school education and social education were based on the popularization of Japanese, and positive results were surely obtained. However in *The popularization of language training — a 10 year project* (issued by the T.G.G. in 1931), criticisms were made by Mr. Chai Pou Hui (蔡培火) concerning the Japanese language training policy.

After Meiji 34-5, (1901, 1902), the educated elite of the Island of Taiwan went abroad to make further specialized studies to Japan and European countries. However when they returned to Taiwan professional people such as doctors and lawyers could open offices, but the others would be at home with no work. I think this is very significant.

The administrators were indifferent to the highly specialized education of the islanders. In short I think that the reader will understand this from the two following examples.

1. The coercion to learn Japanese and the subsequent repression of private schools. The Taiwan language that more than 90% of the islanders used was ignored in education.

2. The repression of education in the private schools by Taiwanese. They didn't teach 'kanbun', which was necessary for daily use. They taught 6 and 7 year old children by the direct method (that is, only Japanese was used).

The islanders wanted to build private schools using their own funds or applying for grants but it was not easy for them. Finally, they thought they would like to use roman letters in order to facilitate reading and writing Taiwanese and they made many applications but were not granted permission to do this.

The policy of popularizing Japanese did not work smoothly and the enforcement of the policy was altered in several respects. It can be said that this last statement was the frank opinion of the Taiwanese.

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In 1941 Mr. Kato Syunzyō (加藤春城) described the difficulties of the Educational Language Policy as follows:

Among Japanese travelers there are many people who believe 'the Taiwan language' to be a savage language. In 47 years after Japanese was introduced, the majority of people still speak Taiwanese. In the trains there was a resentment in hearing Taiwanese spoken. Some Japanese visit Japanese classes and when they see that pupils are taught only in Japanese, they believe that it is not an easy thing to train them and they feel sympathetic. It is obvious we must teach the Japanese language — I just want to mention the difficulties of popularizing the teaching of the language.

Now a free choice system is in operation and it is a shame to see the situation when the aims of the compulsory system were about to be fulfilled. However the very fact that it took such a long time to develop should mean that the new project will make greater advances.

With the collaboration of schools, homes and society it will without any doubt progress much more successfully in the next 20 or 30 years.

As mentioned above, the situation in 1941 was that 50% of the population could understand the Japanese language although 'the majority of the people speak the Taiwan language' as Kato mentioned.

As we know already, the translation or indirect method was used to teach Japanese in the early years of occupation. However the direct method of Dr. F. Gouin was soon introduced and it gradually came to replace the translation method. When the T.G.G. amended the textbooks in 1913 an opportunity arose for a campaign to prohibit the widespread use of the Taiwan language. At the same time the school system and teaching materials were improved and new methods such as free conversation or grammatical composition were introduced. The lamentation of Chai Pou Hui and the sufferings of Kato resulted from the enforcement of the government policy to popularize the Japanese Language.

Again I mention the fact that Kato found that pre-school children had difficulty in learning Japanese when using the direct method (i.e. no use made of Taiwanese to explain Japanese).

In relation to the enrollment of those children he says, 'Even those who live in big cities such as Taipei, Tainan, Kirun and Takao — when we stand alongside them in the shopping district we can find some who know the few odd words or the easy, everyday Japanese but generally speaking they know very few Japanese words and so we can assume that we are teaching mere beginners who know nothing.' This is only natural and one can accept it. Fifty percent of the population understand Japanese and though it is supposedly the general language it is impossible to prohibit use of the native tongue. But if it were possible to have everyone speaking Japanese, it would be like the Copernican revolution. This problem is more clearly and better understood by the instructors themselves. Yamazaki Matsuo — a Director of a public school of the time — explained the situation in his paper "A general concept of the Japanese Language — a research study into the association of ideas" (1936, Showa 11.11.15).

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His study was carried out on a sample of 6th grade girl students from a public school. Sixty-six girls wrote essays on the concept of 'Kimono'. Forty-five minutes were allowed to complete the text. Total number of their answers: 417.

Category:	1. Related to the native costume	123
	2. Related to the western costume	292
	2. Related to the Japanese costume	2

The association of ideas in relation to the word 'house' produced the following results (1937, Showa 12.1.27):

Sample: Public girls' school — supplementary course. 41 girls. 5 minutes. Total number: 168.

Category:	1. Related to people	49
	2. Related to domestic animals in general	68
	3. Related to culture	35
	4. Related to Japanese language	16

These are only two examples, but as can be seen from the common word 'kimono' only two cases out of 417 were correct. What does this mean? The author insisted that 'the psychological reconstruction is closely related to the linguistic life since experiences should be provided in relation to one specific culture and its way of thinking', or, 'we who are the vanguard of the Japanese language movement have to eliminate completely the discrepancies which existed previously. We must emphasize the realization of the spirit of the Japanese language. We believe that only in this way can Taiwan people make their mode of living become a cultural part of the whole Japanese nation'. We can appreciate the trials and tribulations of the instructors at that time and in actual fact all their efforts were in vain. During the war brutal acts contrary to human nature, for example vivisection, and researches on the human body, were practised. 'The Japanization of the spiritual side of a person' by the popularization of the Japanese language would be a kind of radical transformation, equivalent to research on the physical body.

I have presented a part of Kato's anguish above, but in truth those people working then as the vanguard could not but believe in the popularization of Japanese, since it was government policy. In spite of the many difficulties we must consider it a meritorious deed that Japanese was popularized in Taiwan to the extent it became almost as widespread as the native tongue. We must admire the strong will of the instructors and their enthusiasm in perfecting their methodology. The concern for the 'cultivation of the moral character of the nation' was so strong that the teaching of Japanese in Taiwan lacked a rational and critical ideology and objective as were present in other countries. We should take note of the article by Ōoka Yasuzō "The teaching of Japanese language in foreign countries". The teaching of Japanese abroad must have a methodology and technique suitable to a foreign language. Therefore the main ideal should be the development of their mentality and the cultivation

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of the spiritual side of their natures. In fact the teaching of Japanese was not thought of in this light, that is, the teaching of a foreign language — but as if it were the native tongue. This was the crux of the problem.

Japanese education abroad cannot be considered in the same terms as the idealism of teaching in our own country. There were many people who thought that to perfect the teaching of Japanese abroad they should destroy the native language. However, as has been often stated by linguists, and linguistic history shows, prohibition by the foreign government and use of brutal force won't ever make a native language disappear. The simultaneous usage of two languages should be accepted abroad.

In the above theory presented by Ōoka there are some special considerations which show the discrepancy between linguistics and the character of a nation. For example, 'both languages can be used jointly' reflects the situation which allows the usage of both languages at the same time. However, this situation is different from that where there is only one official and national language. The usage of two languages simultaneously should be accepted not only as a methodology but also as an ideology, and the teaching of the native language should be based on this principle. Wouldn't the teaching of the language have had better results if the Japanese had respected the Chinese language? Language is the spiritual core of a nation, and is a legacy of that nation's traditions. I am sure that the Chinese intellectuals of the time thought that there was something lacking in the Japanese methods of education, and the tragedy was that these criticisms were ignored.

2. *Popularization of the Japanese language and its influence on the people*

In III. 1. I offered the results of my research on the educational system and government policy as well as the criticisms of the local Japanese teachers and the native people. In this section I want to present the results of my research on the influence on the people after Japan's main concern was shifted from Taiwan in 1942. However, it is hard to explain this influence objectively by quotations from articles and specific data. The only means is rather the indirect one of evaluating the good and bad as already presented in sections I and II.

It is not even necessary to say that 70 years ago when Taiwan was a Japanese possession, the national language was a southern dialect of Chinese. Ten years after Taiwan became a Japanese possession (in 1907), *The big Japanese-Formosan dictionary* had already been compiled and this was probably the first real dictionary ever published in Taiwan. An explanation of the Taiwan language of that period is given in the introduction to the dictionary. It is as follows: 'The Language in Taiwan: At the present time the language in Taiwan can be classified into the 4 following types:

The first three types belong to the Chinese language complex. The fourth one has its origin in the South Seas (i.e. Malaysia, Polynesia language complex). Other Chinese dialects and Japanese are also to be found. The following is a summary of data based on a demographic distribution.

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1. Japanese	50,000
2. Chinese	
(1) Southern Fukien Province dialects	
a) Chang Chou dialect	1,200,000
b) Chiian Chou dialect	1,100,000
(2) Kojeu Province dialect or Kuang tung Province dialect	500,000
(3) Other Chinese dialects	40,000
3. Bango (an aboriginal language)	
(1) Jukubango (semicivilized aboriginal language)	10,000
(2) Seibango (uncivilized)	100,000
Total	3,000,000

We can verify this data by considering the regional distribution. The Japanese language was only used by 1/60 of the population, i.e. mainly by Japanese nationals and in the case of Taiwanese only used on formal occasions, etc. Japanese never became totally assimilated by the Taiwanese. If that was the situation at that time, the subsequent spread of Japanese may be regarded as surprising. A new system of symbols invented by Izawa Shuji was incorporated in that *Dictionary* ("The new type of writing, 'kana'") (サ チ ツ セ ソ etc.). We should consider that these new symbols were used subsequently in textbooks.

In 1902, the 34th year of the Meiji Period, some years after *The Big Japanese-Formosan dictionary* (日台大辞典) was published, Mr. K. Yamaguchi made public in the 'Taiwan Kyoiku Zasshi No. 1' the result of Mr. F. Gouin's new system of language teaching. He said that Japanese words remembered by pupils after two and a half years at school, amounted to about 200 words (verbs and nouns) as follows:

Verbs remembered by Mr. Kuo Chia Fa (廓加発, 14 of age) naru, narabu, aruku, hairu, tomaru, dasu, huku, kaku, simau, tatu, deru, wakareru, asobu, keru, tataku, naku, yuku, sikaru, ayamaru, warau, hipparu, okkotiru, yoru, akeru, kikoeru, okiru, kiku, haku, tottekuru, suteru, hirou, nobiru, kowagaru, odoroku, aokunaru, mitukeru, miru, nomu, odosu, saku, kakaru, yaru, ageru, nigeru, toziru, hasiru, tukamu, muku, sasu, taberu, tukeru, haku, nuru, toru, nagaru, kosiraeru, kuraberu, sinu, korosu, hosu, nuritukeru, ireru, huku, turu, wakeru, ryoorisuru, atumeru, horu, sukikaesu, hakaru, tobituku, siru, wakaru, yorokobu, yobu, yasumu, hareru, hikaru, simpaisuru, homeru, simeru, au, yoru, tobu, sakeru, haku, katugu, suru, azukeru, toridasu, hanasu, motaseru, yatou, kiru, yawarakakunaru, moosu, siboru, miseru, motiiru, kuituku, okosu, hirogaru, huzakeru, makerukatu, aru, noru, tutumu, tatakareru, koosansuru, umu, suwaru, kakeru, wasureru, oboeru, nureru, kakusu, ireru, iu, kakaru, siraseru, tateru, taoreru, toru, nakusu, kamituku, gozaru, tukiataru, nokoru, utau, tasu, komaru, tuburu, yowaru, sorou, kuwareru, yobareru, isogu, yameru, bikkurisuru, nareru, suru, tooru, ataru, keburu, dearoo, tamaru, hoeru, mawaru, sibaru, ugoku, oyogu, kiry, utu, hareru, nzomu, kagu, kukuru, nagareru,

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sarau, miru, mairu, kagamu, atatameru, utusu, kuikorosu, kau, ugokasu, hiku, kanzyoosuru, hukureru, mookeru, hanzyoosuru, soodansuru, orareru, ukeru, siawasesuru, yasinau, kaeru, yooisuru.

Nouns remembered by Mr. Yang Mei Sheng (楊梅盛)

(1) Bodies; atama, doo, asi, nodo, mune, hara, kuti, mimi, sinzoo, hai, i, tyoo, titi, hana, kubi, kata, karada, ke, kao, me, sita, tubaki, namida, tume, kagato, tumasaki, ti, syooben, ase, kuso, iki, siri.

(2) Families; otoosan, okkasan, anisan, otooto, anesan, imooto, ozisan, obasan, ziisan, mamako, otona, kodomo, akanbo, tosiyori, gezyo, genan, kariudo, heitai, zinsa, sasimonosi, syoonin, hyakusyo, doroboo, detti, tomodati, okyaku, syuzin, tensisama, koogoosama, kootaisisama

(3) Tools; tukue, isu, hootyo, hasi, wan, mizugame, yakan, hibati, todana, tokei, yagu, hataki, sitirin, sazi, tarai, tenbinbo, maki, sekitan, sumi, makura, hisyaku, baketu koorogi, kaya, rampu, senko, tyabun, garasu, mado, nabe, kandankei, roosoku, tyootin, oke, soroban, hakari

(4) Cloths; asa, donsu

(5) Clothes; kimono, nemaki, tebukuro, boosi, syatu, gaitō, hakama, kutu, geta, zubon, tyantyan, mino

(6) Women's tools; kusi, monosasi, hasami, hari, ito, kagami, tanmono

(7) Children's tools; kami, ningyo, hude, hudeire, sumi, suzuri, hurosiki, zakkityo, syuzityo, tokuhon, mari, tako, koma, sekiban

(8) Tools for carpenter and farmer; nomi, kanna, nokogiri, zaimoku, toisi, wanisu, yoki, enpitu, hake, mino, kasa, kuwa, tiritori, warazi, suigyu, natane

(9) Vegetables and animals; soosigyu, gyokuran, kusa, ki, sendan, toonasu, rentyoohoe, niwatoko, ahiru, suzume, tubame, karasu, tora, sisi, sika, inu, uma, usi, buta, hati, mitubati, tyootyo, mimizu, isi, renga, kawara, kin, gin, doo, tetu

(10) Times and seasons; asa, hiru, yoru, yonaka, akegata, haru, natu, aki, fuyu

(11) Climate; ame, kumo, sora, kaminari, inazuma, kaze

(12) Foods; kome, butanoniku, daikon, negi, imo, toonasu, koi, usinoniku, unagi, tamago, momo, kasi, uo, sake, tya, satoo

(13) Things; kago, kuruma, neko, kiyoko, matti, take, kisya, tenugui, miti, mikan, hataki, ta, kusuri, tegami, kane, kogatana, tetuboo, pisutoru, hi, hune, usagi, kai, saru, kani, taihoo, basya, kona, musi, wani, turibari, uki, omori, hanketi, umi, kane

For fifty years the Japanese government wanted to change completely the above mentioned state which might be a plan called magnificent or thoughtless or even tragic.

One sixth of the population in Taiwan could originally speak Japanese, but we tried to expand this percentage to 50, and at length, to 100.

This was the great national enterprise of Japanese education in Taiwan; the spreading of Japanese.

Hitherto as we had described, the spread of Japanese had resulted due to the effort and cooperation between the Japanese government and the Taiwanese. The degree

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of understanding of Japanese by the Taiwanese will show this. This spread of Japanese among the people of Taiwan can be further illustrated by the following example.

In 1947, Japan was beaten. The National Government of China expanded from the Chinese Continent to Taiwan, and took over control. As I have already explained in I.1,2, I believe that Taiwan should not have been left in the hands of the Chinese people from the continent. Of course the termination of the long rule of Taiwan by Japan resulted in an awakening for independence by the Chinese and Taiwanese on Taiwan. But each had a separate loyalty. The Taiwanese to Taiwan and the Chinese to China.

Now it is impossible that China and Taiwan become one body as its long history tells us. Conversely in respect to politics, economics and culture, Taiwan had the possibility of supporting herself and I am sure it was not necessary for Taiwan to return again to her mother China. However, the defeat of Japan made Taiwan automatically a part of China, and Taiwan furthermore became the place of refuge for the Nationalist Chinese Government which was later removed from the continent.

The new master was of the same race as the Taiwanese, but the Nationalists were Chinese; not Taiwanese. The people of Taiwan experienced much more hardship under this new ruler than they had under the Japanese, and at least one revolt occurred as a result of a Chinese solider's molesting a Taiwan woman. With a nucleus of young men, an enraged crowd violently demonstrated against the 'Wan shong jen (外省人)' (The outsider). They used Japanese in order to draw a clear line between themselves and the Chinese. They asked passing people, 'Can you speak Japanese?' at street corners, and if there were people who could not answer in Japanese, they beat them as their enemy. At the Taipei Station, they asked people getting off trains: 'Can you speak Japanese?'; and in this way they distinguished the kindred spirits from the 'Wan shong jen'.

In that revolt Japanese was the means the Taiwanese used to communicate their feelings and thoughts, to assert their rights and interests, and to accomplish them.

In that case of emergency, it is indeed symbolic that the Japanese language played such an important role; a sign which directed the common consciousness and led the movement.

Recently, a journalist who visited the Takasago tribe in Taiwan wrote an article about "The living Japanese language" which he had found while travelling. He wrote that when he stayed at the house of the village chief of the Bunum tribe at a place deep in the central mountain range, the master's wife said to him when he went to bed: 'Sentaku mono ga arudesyo odasinasai, tuideni aratte okimasu kara' (you will have dusty clothes to wash, please give them to me) in clear Japanese. He had the same experience at the village master's house of the Gaisetto tribe in the mountains in the northwest part of Taiwan. That chief's wife said to him 'osyokuzji no mae ni hitohuro abite kudasai. Uti wa kakeyu desu keredo' (before dinner, please take a bath, although our bath is very crude).

Both wives were about 40 years of age.

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In another case, when he passed the village of the Tuo tribe at Tanho in the Ari mountains, he heard a mother's voice scolding her son from inside a house 'Boya'. damejanai no, son'na tokoro ni poi sitya' (Naughty boy! Don't throw it into such a place). He reported that her pronunciation of Japanese was very clear and that her intonation was the same as that of Japanese people. This mother was about 30 years old or a little older, and perhaps she was a first grader at the time of Japan's defeat.

In the report, he stated that the Japanese language was alive and being perpetuated and that more and more young aborigines are now learning Japanese even though it has been more than 20 years since the Japanese language disappeared officially in Taiwan.

Now I want to describe the economic state of Taiwan in about 1945, when Japan left Taiwan.

(1) 60% of the population was in agriculture.

(2) Industrial production occupied a primary position.

(3) The combined output of industry and agriculture amounted to about $40 per person — second only to the per capita output of Japan, which was first in Asia.

(4) In trade, there was an excess of exports over imports.

(5) The spread of medical treatment and hygienic knowledge rooted out the currents of cholera, pest-bacilli and smallpox with the result that the level of culture and living were raised much higher than that of the other nations in Asia.

(6) The spread of elementary education had made remarkable progress. The attendance percentage of pupils at the primary level amounted to 95%.

The relationship between the Japanese language and the Taiwanese stopped at the above mentioned point. Pupils who were then from 10 to 20 years old perhaps belong to the class which is most able to understand Japanese today.

As I have previously stated, in addition to Japanese education at school, the Japanese government made a strong effort to spread Japanese to everyone as a national policy so that perhaps the ability to understand Japanese extends to people who are now as much as 60 years of age.

Now by using the 1956 research of Mr. Wong Yu De (王育德), I want to show the current trend of the learning of Japanese by the Taiwanese.

In the diagram, showing conditions up to 1956, boys and girls under 10 years of age at the time of Japan's defeat had learned Pekinese, the official language of the Chinese Government, at school, and spoke Taiwanese at home. They sometimes perhaps had the chance to hear Japanese but they could not speak it. I am sure the more they grow up, the less they will hear Japanese, and in the long run, Japanese will completely disappear from the mouth of the people of Taiwan.

Now let us direct our attention to the D row of the diagram following, which concerns the 30 to 40 year old group. They form the backbone of Taiwan, and they can speak Japanese, Taiwanese and Chinese equally well. However, although they can speak three languages, they have no mother tongue.

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age	Taiwanese			Japanese			Chinese			
1–10		○						○		A
11–20		○					○			B
21–30		○			○			○		C
31–40		○		○				○		D
41–50	○				○				○	E
51–60	○					○			○	F
61–70	○					○				G
mark	E	F	P	E	F	P	E	F	P	

* E = excellent, F = fair, P = poor

Needless to say, these would depend on differences in age, education and living standard, but the diagram tells us a lot about the situation today in Taiwan and of the Taiwan people.

It is said that at the present time they use a mixture of Japanese, Taiwanese and Chinese in their daily conversation. When I visited Taiwan five years ago, I also had the experience of hearing this mixture of the three languages.

Generally speaking, Taiwanese has certainly been changing in quality over a long period. The Fukien dialect of South China used to be the common language in Taiwan. However, before the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, the situation was different, and there were various Chinese dialects which were spoken all over Taiwan, that is, there was more or less language co-existence. After the Japanese occupation the Fukien dialect became the only Chinese in Taiwan and it was thought of as being Taiwanese or 'Fukien dialect' equals 'Taiwanese', and Fukien dialect became the representative language, or the common language, in Taiwan. Of course the Fukien dialect in Taiwan differs from the one on the continent. The Fukien dialect in Taiwan altered over a period of time in the different districts. The Fukien dialect has naturally become very different from that spoken on the continent; in a word, a unique Taiwanese has been formed. This Taiwanese is not a kind of Chinese dialect but is the common language developed by the Taiwan people. After Japanese had been introduced

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into Taiwan, Taiwanese was also improved and polished because of the language policy of the Japanese government.

When Japanese was introduced into Taiwan, the Japanese government had to pick one dialect or one representative language as a translation medium. The Fukien dialect was selected as being representative of Taiwanese. The Japanese government had made a great effort to spread Japanese in Taiwan, and consequently the Taiwan people made a similar effort to promote their own language.

In a sense we can say the formation of Taiwanese was the precious by-product of Japanese education and the spread of Japanese, and the common consciousness of the Taiwan people has grown much more in the process of forming Taiwanese.

Needless to say, Japanese and Taiwanese have have the same kanji letters and they have a common vocabulary written with kanji letters and words introduced through the Japanese language seem to have been transferred easily into Taiwanese during the Japanese possession of Taiwan. For example, as follows: 自動車, 切手, 打合, 乗合バス, 貸切 (Haiyā), 手形, 組合, 月給, 貸座敷 (遊女), 寿司, 上等, ～様, Razio, Ragio Hāmonika, pompu, 會社, 注文, 水道, 足袋. But since the National Government arrived, the Chinese official language has become the common language; now, for example the word 切手 from Japanese by the word 郵票 from the Chinese official language, the word 打合 by the word 商量, the word 自動車 by 汽車, etc., and some of them are being used concurrently.

During the Japanese possession of Taiwan, a lot of Japanese words became loans in Taiwanese, but before long they will also be gradually assimilated into the Chinese official language.

In the recent report about the aboriginal languages, especially the Bunun tribe dialect, we can find a lot of Japanese words which are used in daily life such as *Nabe* and *Kama*, etc., and in their conversation there appears the conjunction '*sunawatchi*, cor., namely'.

Another example is the case of the young man belonging to the Nunun tribe. He had respectively learnt Japanese, Taiwanese and the Chinese official language for two years. As a result, he confessed to the reporter: 'Japanese is the easiest one to learn among them'. The same result was found in the other tribe — the Ami tribe.

Perhaps in the future some Japanese will survive, for example idiomatic expressions, names for special tools used in daily life, and formal greetings like 'Good-bye'. The decline of Japanese and the spread of Chinese will be the natural trend, but some Japanese words that may be written in kanji and which have been fully assimilated into Taiwanese will probably remain, as this has no bearing on the Japan-Taiwan relationship. Japan has been greatly influenced by European culture and science and she has created lots of Japanese equivalents for European words — for example 接吻 (to kiss), 哲学 (philosophy), and many of these words have been assimilated into Chinese too via the medium of Japanese. The history of language negotiation between modern Japan and modern China is long and complicated. If we examine the

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王雲五大辞典(1930), we can find the 100 Japanese words. Now I show you 35 of these below.

相手, 印紙, 遠足, 會社, 看板, 切手, 切符, 下女, 小供, 芝居, 心配, 出張所, 晴雨計, 調印, 漬物, 手紙, 取消, 取締, 場合, 馬鹿, 控所, 獨語, 燐寸, 郵便, 申込, 手形, 劇合, 株主, 配當金, 相場, 組合, 企業, 檢事, 弁護士, 仮出獄, 後見人, 登錄

In the above, I described the historical view of Taiwan, the actual conditions of Japanese education and the spread of Japanese and its influence. I found that the success or failure of the spread of Japanese in Taiwan depended upon the 'Taiwan people' themselves.

Without an understanding of the 'Taiwan people', we cannot consider the problem of the spread of Japanese. The outbreak of the Second World War, and the subsequent participation of Japan in the War caused the Taiwan people to suffer racially and spiritually. We must engrave on our mind what part the Japanese played in the above mentioned situation in Taiwan.

On the other hand, we must consider the spiritual problems of the Taiwan people themselves. The Taiwanese have always been in the position of those who are oppressed by a foreign power and consequently there has been resistance, and furthermore they have been dependent on their oppressors, and so they can not exist without leaning on someone — they have been brought up with an 'inferiority complex'.

Since the National Government fled from the continent to Taiwan in 1945, a lot of 'Wan shong jen' (outsiders not native to Taiwan) have gone there as soldiers, professional politicians, officers and refugees. They represent 200 million people and represent 18% of the total population of Taiwan. The National Government ordered that the use of Japanese be suspended, and it has made every effort to spread the Chinese official language.

At present the number of pupils in middle and high schools is twice as many as before, but it is said that they use old buildings and equipment left over from the Japanese occupation, and they treat teachers badly and so the teachers themselves are very busy earning money elsewhere.

However, economic cooperation between Japan and Taiwan is being strongly promoted.

Driving around the suburbs of Taipei city we can see factories run by Morinaga Confectionary Ltd. Co., Fujisawa Pharmaceutical Company, etc., and many sign boards advertising their wares. I often saw advertisements for Japanese goods or medicines on T.V. If a young man wants to get a position in a Japanese factory, he must have the ability to speak Japanese. It is as if a new Japanese wave is rising in Taiwan. In Taiwan city Japanese schools are being built one after another. Among them there are private schools for teaching practical Japanese.

Formerly Japanese was the second language used by the people of Taiwan. Now

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we can say Japanese fever is spreading in present Taiwan, and the Japanese language is an important tool in promoting culture and supporting the economy of the island. In Taiwan it is very necessary and useful to speak Japanese; it can be a means of living.

What is the future of Japanese in Taiwan?

The Japanese language in Taiwan is now completely different from the old one that survives among elder people — as was pointed out above. Very few Japanese words will survive in Taiwanese and they will be just like fossils. We can take the place name 高雄 as a monument to old Japanese. This came from 打狗 (Dàhgàu) in Takasago tribe language. Instead of 打狗, we Japanese people put 高雄 (Takao) and now the Chinese also write 高雄 and it is pronounced (Gẹxiǒng).

Up to now I have been studying the history of Japanese education in Taiwan for 50 years and I think more and more about the influence that Japanese has had on the Taiwan people and Taiwanese language.

At any rate, I must conclude that the language policy carried out by Japan in Taiwan was the worst policy and a kind of blasphemy to God. It took the spiritual product of Chinese race and the Taiwan people and tried to graft it onto a completely strange tree.

Such a great and wicked enterprise has come into being in the name of 'Nationalism'.

We must reflect on the facts discussed here, and about the Japanese language in the past in Taiwan.

I am sure it is of vital importance today to study the problem of Japanese education in Taiwan, especially in the field of 'teaching foreign languages'.

Now once again the Japanese language is prospering among the people of Taiwan and it is being learned voluntarily there. At the conclusion of my study, I am sure the Japanese language mentioned here is the reciprocal sign in the passage so called 'In the Beginning, there was the Word'.

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LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

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PIDGINS, CREOLES, AND LINGUE FRANCHE

S. A. WURM

1. PIDGINS AND CREOLES

1.1 *General Remarks*

1.1.1 As in most other parts of the world, a considerable number of pidgin languages came into being in Oceania as a result of the contacts between speakers of different languages meeting under sociolinguistic conditions which were conducive to the creation of pidgins.

1.1.2 A number of theories have been put forward to explain the circumstances under which pidgins are created, and to highlight the processes involved or assumed to be involved in the development of pidgin languages. A brief discussion of these theories may be of value for this chapter.

1.1.3 By definition, a pidgin language is a language which is not native to any of the people using it to intercommunicate with each other, and which is greatly reduced in grammar and vocabulary when compared with the language or languages from which it has been derived (Wurm 1966). Such pidgins are normally used in situations in which groups speaking two or several different languages have regular contact with each other which is limited to a few facets of behavior requiring communication, such as trading contacts or master-servant relations, but their use can extend to much wider fields of application.

A creole language is a pidgin language which has become the native language of a speech community.

1.1.4 In the theories concerned with the development of pidgins, the term 'substrate' is used to denote the native or local language spoken by what is usually the socially inferior group, and 'superstrate' to refer to the foreign target language spoken by the socially superior foreign and intrusive group. In this it is not essential, though usually the case, that the substrate and superstrate speakers are culturally quite different. For instance, Police Motu is a pidgin language originally developed in a trading situation involving different New Guinea tribes (1.2.7.2). The important factor is the social superiority and intrusive nature of the superstrate speakers in the given contact situation, e.g. their being visiting traders.

For 'superstrate language', the term 'lexical source language' is more appropriate

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in some instances in which the social situation is different from those described above. This is for instance the case when a native-based pidgin is used for communication between Europeans and a native population. In such a situation, the substrate, and not the superstrate, language is underlying the pidgin.

1.1.5 Apart from the old notion that pidgins are simply native languages spoken with European vocabulary, the usually accepted theory of the origin of pidgin languages is the proposition that the substrate speakers imitate the superstrate speakers' imitation of the substrate speakers' imitation of the superstrate language (Whinnom 1967) or, that a pidgin language comes into being as a result of the interaction of a foreign speaker's version of a language and a native speaker's version of the foreign speaker's version (Bloomfield 1933). In other words, it is assumed that the substrate speakers try to pick up a few words and sentences from the superstrate speakers which are of relevance and importance in the contact situation, mispronouncing them in accordance with the phonological structure of the substrate language, and often putting the words together into short utterances in the light of the grammatical principles of the substrate language.

The superstrate speakers hear this rudimentary idiom which is marginally intelligible to them, realise its value for better communication in the contact situation in which they have a vested interest, or believe that the substrate speakers are incapable of learning the superstrate language correctly (Hall 1966), and make some effort to imitate the substrate speakers' way of using the idiom. However, they do not abandon the basic syntactic and structural principles of the superstrate language in doing so.

The substrate speakers, under continued stimulus of the now modified superstrate language, make further attempts at approximating it.

Out of this interplay of imitations in the continued use of the forming idiom in contact situations involving the superstrate and substrate speakers, a more or less standardised from of the idiom develops which in essence reflects the superstrate language in much of its deep grammar and most of its vocabulary, in a greatly simplified form, but which shows the influence of the substrate language in its phonological characteristics, some of its vocabulary elements and often also some of its features of surface and even deep grammar. Usually some features in a given pidgin language appear to be unique, i.e. are not immediately assignable to the substrate or superstrate language.

This theory assumes a largely separate origin of various pidgins as a result of the same basic stimulus, in other words, their individual invention by stimulus diffusion.

1.1.6 This theory of the origin of pidgin languages has recently come under criticism. It is held that attempts at the simplification of the superstrate language on the part of its speakers would vary considerably with the individuals, and that nobody can 'pidginise' his own language without very considerable linguistic awareness, or even perhaps without some experience of pidgins (Whinnom 1967). Also, attention is drawn to the stabilisation of pidgins at a usually very low level of intelligibility to the superstrate speaker, and to the structures and particles common to neither of the

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two languages which are quite commonly found in pidgins (Whinnom 1967).

In view of these factors, it is suggested that pidgins are not likely ever to have arisen out of a simple bilingual situation, but owe their origin to what Whinnom (1967) describes as 'tertiary hybridisation', i.e. the use of a 'secondary hybrid' language as a medium of intercommunication between people neither of whom is a native speaker of the language underlying the 'secondary hybrid'. By 'secondary hybrid', Whinnom refers to a language which shows the mixing of features of two distinct languages which readily occurs when a foreign language is learned by a speaker of a given language. Such a situation would prevail if for instance a foreign trader and members of a native population try to communicate in a language which is not native to either party, and which none of them know well.

At the same time, it has been argued that the origin of at least the 'European-based' pidgins is not attributable to a clear-cut tertiary hybridisation situation in each instance, but that these pidgins constitute 'relexifications' of an early Afro-Portuguese pidgin and have been patterned either directly or indirectly after it (Thompson 1961; Stewart 1962), or that the medieval Sabir (the Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean) may stand at the origin of them all (Whinnom 1965). This theory, therefore, more or less ascribes a single origin to all European-based pidgins, and tries to explain their peculiarities which are not directly attributable to either the substrate or superstrate language in a given pidginisation situation, as reflecting the origin of such a pidgin through the relexification of another pidgin which developed on the basis of different substrate and superstrate languages.

In a similar fashion, Cassidy (1964) puts forward the hypothesis that all English-based pidgins and creoles stem from a common source. Tsuzaki himself argues (1968) that the similarities between Hawaiian English and other English-based pidgins are not likely to be explainable in terms of chance especially since the features involved seem to be part of the basic core of the languages concerned and suggests that they may constitute features attributable to intralingual diffusion.

A modification of the tertiary hybridisation theory in the light of the statements made in the above paragraphs, allows for the development of a pidgin from a first-degree secondary hybridisation situation provided that the target language offered persistently by the superstrate speakers is not a full language spoken natively, but a stabilised pidgin (deriving ultimately from a pidgin created by 'tertiary hybridisation') (Whinnom 1967). A situation like this can be conceived in the relations between traders and members of a native population with whom the traders attempt to communicate in a pidgin which they have used previously in their dealing with another native population which speaks a different language.

1.1.7 A different view which is in essence more similar to the traditional theory of the origin of pidgins (1.1.5) is held by Ferguson (1968). He believes that the initial source of the grammatical structure of a pidgin language is the more or less systematic simplification of the superstrate language which occurs in the foreigner talk register of its speakers, rather than the grammatical structure of the language or languages of

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the other users of the pidgin. Ferguson does not deny the grammatical influence of the other language or languages, but feels that his assumption would help to explain some of the otherwise surprising similarities among distant pidgins and creoles by setting the starting point in a universal simplification process. In this, he wishes to emphasise the conventional, culturally given aspect of the linguistic simplification, as opposed to the traditional view that the Europeans deliberately and systematically simplified and distorted their language to facilitate communication with the non-Europeans (Goodman 1964). Ferguson recognises that the responses of the person addressed in foreigner talk affect the speaker, and assumes that this verbal interaction may produce some modifications of the register on both sides. In appropriate situations, this foreigner talk may serve as an incipient pidgin and become more generally used.

In support of this view, Ferguson makes the assertion that many, or all, languages have this foreigner talk, i.e. a register of simplified speech which is used by the speakers of a given language in addressing outsiders who are believed to have only very limited command of the language, or none at all. This register comprises particular features of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary which are characteristically used in such a situation and are felt by the speakers to be simpler than the forms used in ordinary speech. Ferguson lists a few specific instances of the simplification process in given languages and language types.

1.1.8 It may be mentioned that in some instances, the preservation or even the nature of a pidgin language is attributable to the attitude of the socially superior group in a contact situation.

Either, the superior group denies the socially inferior group access to its language as a target language, be it for a full learning process or as the substrate language for the formation of a pidgin, or it decides to adopt as a means of intercommunication with the inferior group a native-based pidgin language already in existence. Examples in Oceania are: Bazaar Malay in the Dutch East Indies for the former, and Police Motu in the Territory of Papua (New Guinea) for the latter.

1.2. *Pidgin and Creoles in Oceania in general*

1.2.1 Pidgin languages have been extant in Oceania since the early days of European contact. Some of the early pidgins are historically documented or at least reliably reported, others presumably existed without definite information about their existence being available.

1.2.2 According to the lexical source languages or, in general, the languages underlying the Oceanic pidgins and creoles, the following types can be distinguished:

European-based pidgins (and creoles):

Portuguese-based:

Common Portuguese Pidgin of the Eastern Seas

Moluccas pidgin

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Tugu (Java)
Timor pidgin
Spanish-based:
Ternateño
Caviteño
Ermitaño
Zamboangueño (or Chabacano)
Davaueño
Bamboo Spanish
French-based:
New Caledonia pidgin
New Hebrides French pidgin
English-based:
Beach-la-Mar
New Guinea pidgin (or Melanesian Pidgin English, or Neo-Melanesian)
Solomon Islands pidgin (or Neo-Solomonic)
Micronesian pidgin
Hawaiian pidgin (or Hawaiian English)
New Zealand pidgin (or Maori pidgin)
Australian pidgin
Native-based pidgins (and creoles):
Bazaar Malay
Police Motu
Native Davaueño

Some of the languages listed will now be discussed in some detail.

A. European-based Pidgins (and Creoles)

1.2.3 *Portuguese-based pidgins and creoles.*

The earliest pidgins in the Oceanic area were Portuguese-based. They are believed to have come into being as a result of the diffusion of an Afro-Portuguese pidgin-creole with Portuguese territorial expansion towards the east, as colonists from Portuguese territories of Africa remigrated to places like Java and the Moluccas in the 1500's.

Most of these Portuguese-based pidgins in Oceania are now extinct, except for a pidgin still used today in Portuguese Timor. Whinnom assumes that the common Portuguese pidgin of the Eastern Seas, perhaps in a special Moluccas variety, gave rise to Ternateño, the ancestor of the Spanish-based Philippine contact vernaculars (Whinnom 1956, 1965) (see 1.2.4).

1.2.4 *Spanish-based pidgins and creoles.*

1.2.4.1 A thorough study of these languages has been carried out by Whinnom (1956). His work has the special merit of showing, with the help of historical documentation, the development of the various types of Spanish-based pidgins and creoles from

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a common source and ultimately from a Portuguese-based pidgin, thus throwing light upon the lines of development and diffusion presumably followed by other pidgins for which historical documentation is lacking (Whinnom 1965). Amongst the work done by others in Spanish-based pidgins and creoles in the Philippines that by McKaughan (1954) in Chabacano may be mentioned here.

Whinnom's important findings may be reviewed here in brief:

1.2.4.2 *Ternateño*

When in 1606, the Spaniards occupied Ternate, a small island on the western side of Halmahera Island in the Moluccas, a Portuguese-based pidgin was already well established on the island as a result of the earlier Portuguese rule over it and the currency of Portuguese pidgin as a lingua franca in the general area.

Out of the contacts of the members of the Spanish garrison with the local population, a Spanish and Portuguese-native contact vernacular, Ternateño, arose which was subject to strong Spanish relexification and underwent rapid creolisation in view of the special social conditions prevailing in the area. These conditions were essentially the fact that the small Christian local community which was becoming more and more dependent on the garrison, was cut off from their Mohammedan fellow-natives because of their Christianity, and their own local language constituted a barrier between them and the soldiers.

In 1658 or 1659, shortly before the abandonment of Ternate by the Spaniards in 1663, two hundred Ternateño-speaking families were evacuated from Ternate to Manila in the Philippines where they were first settled in the town itself, in the modern municipal district of Ermita, just south of the walled city of Intramuros, and north of the Tagalog villages of Ermita and Malate.

1.2.4.3 *Caviteño*

Because of quarrels arising between the newcomers and the Tagalogs, the former were evacuated again in 1660, this time to the Province of Cavite, south-west of Manila, and housed in new settlements at Tanza, San Roque, and New Ternate.

The creole language which developed there, Caviteño, is the modern descendant of Ternateño, and is still extant, though in very rapid decline. In 1942, it was estimated that there were 18,000 speakers of it, but it may well be extinct another generation from now.

1.2.4.4 *Ermitaño*

In the district of Ermita, where the Ternate newcomers had first settled, another dialect descended from Ternateño, called Ermitaño, generalized itself in subsequent years, and was adopted by Tagalogs who came into contact with the community since it was largely comprehensible to the Spanish-speaking community of Manila, though it had none of the grammatical complexities of Spanish.

According to Whinnom (1956) who quotes from an unpublished manuscript by de Veyra, J. C., entitled *Historia regional de las literaturas hispánicas*, Ermitaño differs from Caviteño by its greater 'correctness' in the sound system, i.e. its greater approximation to standard Spanish in this respect. However, Whinnom states that in its

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grammar, Ermitaño is simpler than Caviteño. It has only three simple tenses, whereas in Caviteño a more complex system of particles, with reduplication, allows an adequate expression of almost all the Spanish modes, aspects and tenses. Whinnom therefore believes that Ermitaño has preserved the Ternateño dialect in its archaic form, whereas Caviteño shows a number of innovations.

In 1942, Ermitaño was still spoken by about 12,000 people, but the language has gone into rapid decline and is now nearing extinction.

1.2.4.5 *Zamboangueño (or Chabacano)*

Another descendant of Ternateño, called Zamboangueño or Chabacano, came into being in the present province of Zamboanga, in western Mindanao. The Spaniards first built a fort in the area in 1631, were forced to abandon it in 1662 because of persistent attacks by the Moro pirates, and reoccupied it in 1719.

The garrison of the fort consisted of Mexicans, Tagalogs from Manila, and some Visayans. It appears that many of the Tagalog troops spoke Ermitaño or Caviteño which, as a result of the contact of these soldiers with the local native population, gave rise to the semi-independent contact vernacular Zamboangueño (or Chabacano). According to Whinnom (1956), the basic languages of the contact as reflected in its composition are clearly Tagalog, Cebuano, and Spanish. In its verbal system it clearly reflects Ermitaño and Caviteño.

In 1942, the estimated number of Zamboangueño speakers was 1,300. It is still in common use in Zamboanga City and the surrounding villages, though in Whinnom's opinion, it is probably also doomed to extinction in the space of another generation.

1.2.4.6 *Davaueño*

A fourth dialect derived indirectly from Ternateño is Davaueño, also referred to as Abakay Spanish, in the modern Davao Province in southeastern Mindanao. It came into being when, in 1900, a considerable number of settlers arrived there from Zamboanga. The dialect differs in a few features from Zamboangueño, and though in 1942 there were 3,500 estimated speakers of it, it is now slowly dying out under the impact of other languages.

1.2.4.7 Some of the features of the modern descendants of Ternateño are as follows:

Sole use of the masculine singular form of the Spanish definite and indefinite articles for all occurrences of the article irrespective of the number or the Spanish gender of the noun to which they are added.

No gender, only number, distinction is present in nouns, and adjectives are invariable.

The personal and possessive pronominal systems are greatly simplified when compared with Spanish.

The verb consists of a base derived from the Spanish infinitive, and none of the Spanish inflectional features are present. The only modification is by three particles which indicate three aspects (or tenses) and which reflect the characteristics of the Tagalog verb system on the typological level.

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1.2.4.8 *Bamboo Spanish*

Up to 1945, another Spanish-based pidgin known as Bamboo Spanish was in use in Davao. This language was employed by the local Japanese as a medium of communication with the Filipinos, and was a Spanish of greatly simplified grammatical structure, though quite distinct from Chabacano. Whinnom (1956) says that its most striking characteristic seems to have been the use of periphrases and paraphrases which had achieved a certain degree of standardisation.

In 1945, this Bamboo Spanish ceased to be used when the Japanese were expelled from the Philippines after the War of Liberation, though Whinnom reports that according to unchecked information received by him, the same dialect is still spoken by the older generation of Chinese shopkeepers in Davao.

1.2.5 *French-based pidgins.*

1.2.5.1 *New Caledonia pidgin*

One of the two known French-based pidgins in Oceania is a pidgin which developed in New Caledonia some time after the establishment of French rule in the area in 1853 (Hollyman 1964).

Before that time, the English-based pidgin Beach-la-Mar was the lingua franca and contact vernacular in New Caledonia, as in other parts of the south-west Pacific (see 1.2.6.1). After the French take-over, a pidgin French developed side-by-side with Beach-la-Mar, first in the surroundings of Noumea. This pidgin French had its origin in the gradual French relexification of Beach-la-Mar, and for a long time, appears to have displayed in its vocabulary a mixture of English, French and native words. The name Beach-la-Mar in the French form bichelamar, continued to be used in reference to this idiom.

With the progress of colonisation, this pidgin French spread out from Noumea, and its use was reinforced through the convict system, and also as a result of the immigration of Indo-Chinese and Javanese labour into the island. However, it is now virtually extinct.

Some of the characteristics of this pidgin French are: a simple system of personal pronouns in which only singular and plural are distinguished and which lacks an inclusive-exclusive distinction; the placement of the determining noun after the determined noun in noun phrases consisting of two nouns; indication by free morpheme markers, of the varied degree of the intensity of the quality denoted by a qualitative adjunct; an aspect system of the verb, with the aspects denoted by free morphemes functioning as clitics.

In all these features, except for the first, this French pidgin agrees with Beach-la-Mar and its descendants (see 1.2.6.2).

1.2.5.2 *New Hebrides French pidgin*

A second French-based pidgin referred to here as New Hebrides French pidgin is in use in the New Hebrides at present. It constitutes a simple relexification of the English Beach-la-Mar current there (1.2.6.1), but its use is not widespread.

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1.2.6 *English-based pidgins and creoles*

1.2.6.1 *Beach-la-Mar*

It seems that most of the quite numerous past and present English-based pidgins of Oceania have their origin in Beach-la-Mar, an English-based pidgin which came into use in the South-western Pacific in he first half of the nineteenth century in the contacts between English-speaking sailors, traders, whalers, sandalwood collectors, and recruiters of indentured labor ('blackbirders') on the one hand, and the native populations of the area from the New Hebrides to the Carolines on the other (Hall 1966).

This language which shows a greatly simplified English grammar in which English morphemes are used to reflect some features of the surface grammar of south-western Pacific Austronesian languages like the formal indication of transitiveness with verbs, has a predominantly English vocabulary, with a number of French words and items from several native languages including Polynesian, added to it, and varying to some extent in different areas. In addition, a number of words of Portuguese origin are contained in its vocabulary which supports Whinnom's (1965, 1967) theory that this pidgin, like other European-based pidgins, constitutes a relexification of a Portuguese pidgin. It has to be kept in mind that the traders and sailors who first introduced Beach-la-Mar into the South-western Pacific, visited the South Seas to obtain a species of sea-cucumber, called bêche-de-mer in French, which they sold in China where it was a favorite ingredient of soup. Even the pidgin language used in these trade relations was named after the object of their extensive trade. It appears plausible to assume that Beach-la-Mar came into being through traders who were used to employing Chinese pidgin and were speaking it in contact situations involving South Sea natives. Out of this situation which fits in well with Whinnom's modified tertiary hybridisation theory allowing for the development of a pidgin from a first-degree secondary hybridisation situation (1.1.6), Beach-la-Mar can be assumed to have arisen if it is accepted that the interaction of the language versions used by the two sides in a communication situation have a shaping influence upon a language which is in a formative stage (1.1.5, 1.1.7). At the same time, it may be kept in mind that the English-based Chinese pidgin is believed by Whinnom (1967) to have resulted from the relexification of an earlier Portuguese pidgin which is known to have been used as a means of communication between English and Chinese (Hamilton 1727). He reports that, according to Noble (1762), a Portuguese-English 'jargon' was intermediate between the utilization of Portuguese pidgin, and the rise of the English-based Chinese pidgin. This is, at the same time, at variance with Hall who believes in an independent origin of English-based Chinese pidgin and attributes its creation to the establishment of the first English trading-post in Canton in 1664 (Hall 1966).

The currency of Beach-la-Mar extended into Polynesia, perhaps playing a part in the creation of Hawaiian pidgin (or Hawaiian English) as well (see 1.2.6.5), and it was holding sway in the New Caledonia area where its position was reinforced by the presence of Beach-la-Mar speaking Mission teachers from Samoa and Rarotonga, and the subsequent arrival of English missionaries, and also by Australian settlers and

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miners who came to New Caledonia during the first decades of French rule (Hollyman 1964). As has been pointed out in 1.2.5, the relexification of Beach-la-Mar gave rise to the Pidgin French of New Caledonia.

Beach-la-Mar is, more or less in its original form, still used as a lingua franca and contact vernacular in the New Hebrides, and is still known in Fiji. The number of its speakers is impossible to estimate even approximately, but it may be approaching or even exceeding 50,000. Some of its descendants, like New Guinea pidgin (or Neo-Melanesian), Solomon Islands pidgin (or Neo-Solomonic) have by now achieved far greater importance.

The best-known publication on Beach-la-Mar is that by Churchill (1911), but it is very unsatisfactory because of the indiscriminate and uncritical mixture of materials and statements relating to various dialects of the language and to other English-based Oceanic pidgins, most of which may be descended from it. A relatively recent short discussion of Beach-la-Mar has been given by H. Schmidt (1956–57).

In the present writer's relatively brief personal experience with present-day Beach-la-Mar as spoken in the central New Hebrides, it displays much the same structural and typological characteristics as those mentioned in 1.2.6.2 with reference to New Guinea pidgin, though on a much lower level of elaboration and complexity. In its phonology, it is somewhat different from New Guinea pidgin. Its greatest differences from it are in vocabulary and in the individual free morphemes used as clitics.

1.2.6.2 *New Guinea pidgin (or Melanesian Pidgin English, or Neo-Melanesian)*

The numerically and otherwise most important pidgin language of Oceania is New Guinea pidgin (called Neo-Melanesian by R. Hall in his numerous more recent publications). This pidgin is a descendant of Beach-la-Mar, and is now used as the major lingua franca and contact language in the Territory of New Guinea of Australian New Guinea, and is making rapid inroads into the Territory of Papua as well. It is a language vigorously alive, and the number of its speakers which is approaching half a million, is rapidly increasing. The development of New Guinea pidgin in its present form has quite a complex history:

It has been assumed that it owes its origin to the use of indentured labour on the sugar-cane plantations of North Queensland (Wurm 1966). The introduction of this labour began in 1847, and it lasted until 1902 when it was outlawed. Labour was recruited from many western Pacific areas, in particular from the Solomon Islands.

While it may be correct to assume that the development of some of the special characteristics of New Guinea pidgin are attributable to the use of indentured labour in North Queensland, it has to be kept in mind that the recruiting 'blackbirders' used Beach-la-Mar in their activities, and that a few of the natives brought to Queensland had some knowledge of it. It is quite probable that not too many of the white overseers on the sugar plantations were conversant with Beach-la-Mar — they may, at best, have had some experience with Australian pidgin (1.2.6.7) — and that this factor may have led to some modification of the Beach-la-Mar spoken by some of the natives.

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It may however be pointed out that in the modern-time descendants of this pidgin, i.e. New Guinea pidgin and Solomon Islands pidgin, none of the characteristic features of Australian pidgin (1.2.6.7) are present.

A special factor prevailing in the labour situation in North Queensland was the extensive use of the pidgin language as an inter-native, rather than a European-to-native, lingua franca because of the language barrier existing between the members of the different tribes who were forced to live in close contact with each other in large numbers. This led to the rapid spread of the knowledge of pidgin among the labourers, and at the same time, to an enrichment of the language which stemmed from its general use as a means of expression and intercommunication in situations and matters pertaining exclusively to the native cultural sphere.

When indentured labourers returned to Melanesia, they brought this pidgin back with them, and their high social standing as returned 'boys' helped enhance and consolidate its prestige among the island populations. This laid the basis for the subsequent rapid spread of the language as a predominantly inter-native lingua franca.

This language, or perhaps in part also the original form of Beach-la-Mar (1.2.6.1), began spreading into parts of British New Guinea (later the Territory of Papua) in the last decades of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries. However, Sir Hubert Murray, Lieut.-Governor of Papua, had a violent antipathy to it, and succeeded in suppressing it through strongly encouraging the use of another pidgin, the native-based Police Motu (1.2.8), in the Territory.

When the Germans took over northeast New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago and the northern Solomons in the eighteen-eighties, they first attempted to discourage the use of pidgin, but soon realised its value for administrative purposes, and made its use semi-official. The form adopted by them was the dialect of Rabaul, the German administrative center, which contained a considerable number of lexical elements from the local language, Tolai (formerly known as Kuanua) and also some structural characteristics reflecting features of that language. A number of German words had also become part of its vocabulary.

This special form of pidgin to which the name New Guinea pidgin could now be applied, spread rapidly through those parts of German New Guinea which were under administrative control. When the Australian administration took over the German possessions after the first World War, it adopted New Guinea pidgin — which is commonly referred to simply as 'Pidgin' in Australia and Australian New Guinea — as the albeit unofficial, administrative language in the Territory of New Guinea for matters concerning the native population.

With the spread of administrative control, the currency of Pidgin has been spreading as well without much effort or extensive teaching on the part of the administration or the European population in general. The language has always been, to a considerable extent, an inter-native lingua franca, and its function on this level of application is increasing. In view of this, it is spread by the natives themselves without the European population necessarily playing any part.

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In 1953, the United Nations Organisation called upon Australia to discontinue the use of Pidgin in the Trust Territory of New Guinea. This demand did not take into account that the Australian administration had no control over the use of Pidgin by the native population, and no reasonable means at its disposal to stop its spread even if it had accepted as sensible an attempt to deprive a rapidly developing population speaking hundreds of different languages of its only means of effective intercommunication on the inter-tribal and inter-community levels, and thus bringing development to a sudden halt. There have, however, been changes in the language policy of the Australian administration in matters of education (see the chapter on Language Policy in New Guinea and Australia in this volume).

Since the UNO decree, the spread of Pidgin in Australian New Guinea has in fact greatly accelerated, and it is well on its way to becoming the universal lingua franca there, probably ultimately superseding and ousting Police Motu (see 1.2.8) in the Territory of Papua. On the political level, there is a possibility that Pidgin may be a serious candidate for becoming the national language of a future independent Papua-New Guinea, though English may be expected to continue as the official language in matters like higher education, top level administration, and relations with the outside world, for a long time to come (Wurm 1967).

There has been only little creolization of Pidgin to date. Only around 10,000 natives are estimated to have Pidgin as their mother-tongue — they are predominantly in the Rabaul and Port Moresby areas, and on the Admiralty Islands. With the increasing mobility of the population leading to an increasing number of marriages between men and women who have Pidgin as the only language in common, the number of speakers of creolized Pidgin in New Guinea can be expected to rise rapidly in the near future.

It may be noted that New Guinea pidgin differs in one important respect from other pidgin languages, apart from being perhaps more elaborately developed than other non-creolized pidgin languages in Oceania: only around 75%–80% of its vocabulary is derived from the superstrate language, English. Around 15%–20% is native, largely Tolai, and 5% is from German, Portuguese, Malay and other sources.

Some of the characteristic structural features of New Guinea pidgin are:

A special predicate marker is present. Several morphologically distinct classes of verbs and adjuncts exist, with formal distinction between transitive and intransitive forms in most of the former, and formal distinction of noun and verb adjuncts in most of the latter. The various adjunct classes function syntactically in diverse ways. The varied degree of the intensity of the quality denoted by a qualitative adjunct is indicated by a fairly complex system of free morpheme markers.

The personal pronominal system is patterned on that characteristic of South-western Pacific Austronesian languages, with singular, dual, trial and plural distinctions and an inclusive-exclusive contrast in the non-singular forms.

The verb shows quite an elaborate aspect system, with the aspects indicated by free morphemes functioning as clitics.

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In noun phrases consisting of two nouns, the determining noun follows the determined noun, be it in juxtaposition, or with a ligative clitic appearing between them.

One interesting point about New Guinea pidgin is the fact that it is the only pidgin language in Oceania for which a consistent orthography reflecting the phonology of one of its major dialects fairly accurately, has been worked out (Hall 1955a; Mihalic 1957).

A modern linguistic study of Pidgin has been written by Hall (1943a), a good dictionary with grammatical appendix by Mihalic (1957), and a textbook for the practical study of it has been compiled by the present writer (Wurm 1972).

1.2.6.3 *Solomon Islands pidgin (or Neo-Solomonic)*

This pidgin is also a descendant of Beach-la-Mar which has developed locally from the dialect spoken by the indentured labourers returning to the central and eastern Solomon Islands from the sugar-cane areas of North Queensland (see 1.2.6.2). Seeing that these parts of the Solomon Islands were never under German rule, Solomon Islands pidgin remained free from German influence and the influence of the Tolai language of the Rabaul area. The vocabulary items which in New Guinea pidgin are derived from these two languages, are usually of English origin in Solomon Islands pidgin (Hall 1966).

In its structure, Solomon Islands pidgin is very similar to New Guinea pidgin, though it has a few characteristics of its own (Hall 1945a, 1955b). Solomon Islands pidgin is not quite so vigorously alive as New Guinea pidgin, largely because it has, in contrast to the latter, at all times been frowned upon by the British administration and most members of the European population. The statement made for New Guinea pidgin that it is primarily an inter-native lingua franca, holds true for Solomon Islands pidgin as well.

The number of its speakers is difficult to estimate, but it may be approaching 50,000.

1.2.6.4 *Micronesian pidgin*

Beach-la-Mar, when spreading to the Micronesian Islands as far as the Carolines (see 1.2.6.1), gave rise to a local dialect variant of it which was quite widely used in Micronesia until the early part of this century.

When the Germans took over Micronesia in the eighties of the last century, they attempted to root out the pidgin language there, and were largely successful, especially in the Carolines (Hall 1966).

At present, Micronesian pidgin is practically extinct, except that it has left a considerable number of loanwords in various Micronesian languages, especially in those of the Carolines (Hall 1945b).

1.2.6.5 *Hawaiian pidgin (or Hawaiian English)*

Around 1875, an English-based pidgin developed in Hawaii, probably under the influence of the use of Chinese pidgin by Europeans in addressing non-Europeans (Hawaiian, Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Spanish, Korean, and Ilocano speakers) in Hawaii (Voegelins 1964), and in the light of Whinnom's modified theory of the development of a pidgin from a first-degree secondary hybridisation situation (1.1.6).

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This language became the lingua franca of the Hawaiian Islands for about fifty years, and in the course of approximately one generation after that period was heading towards creolisation. Without fully reaching that stage, it was, at the same time, expanding in the direction of English until it developed into a substandard dialect of English spoken today by about one-third of the population of the Hawaiian Islands. The Voegelins (1964) refuse to regard this as a creole, because they argue that its speakers can understand much of what speakers of English say, and vice versa. At the same time, they point out that it ceased being a pidgin in the period when it was moving towards creolisation, without attaining that stage.

Hall (1966), on the other hand, regards Hawaiian English as a creolised variety of English.

This argument is taken up by Tsuzaki (1968) who feels that Hawaiian English covers a whole spectrum from a strongly differentiated type all the way to semi-standard English. He makes a clear distinction between the nature of Hawaiian English from a synchronic point of view, and what he calls its drift, from a diachronic one. Synchronically, he regards the nature of Hawaiian English as a problem of variation (Tsuzaki 1966), and argues that the language is best considered a group of co-existent systems consisting of an English-based pidgin, an English-based creole, and a dialect of English. He associates the pidgin roughly with the immigrant classes, the creole with the lower and lower middle classes, and the dialect with the upper middle class.

Diachronically, he regards the drift in Hawaiian English as a problem of change (Tsuzaki 1967) and argues that viewed historically, Hawaiian English had been changing increasingly in the direction of standard (American) English, and that the rate of this change has been comparatively rapid.

At the same time, he studies the problem of the origin and development of Hawaiian English, and refutes the theory of the sole origin of Hawaiian English from a rudimentary language created essentially by innovation as proposed by Reinecke (1935), and Reinecke and Tokimasa (1934).

He feels that importance is to be attached to the process of diffusion in Hawaiian English, and recognises intralingual diffusion of items into Hawaiian English from other English-based pidgin sources, and interlingual diffusion of items into it from non-English sources. With a view to the former, he feels that the similarities between Hawaiian English and other English-based pidgins and creoles within the Pacific basin and elsewhere make an explanation of characteristics of the former as intralingually diffused features plausible, because the similarities are too great to be regarded as the products of chance, especially since the features involved appear to be part of the basic core of the languages concerned. He regards this as supporting the theory of a common origin of all English-based pidgins and creoles, and ultimately of all European-based pidgins and creoles (see 1.1.6).

Tsuzaki (1968) quotes Knowlton (1967) as listing the following main features shared by Hawaiian English and Chinese pidgin (the glosses are added by Tsuzaki, and references to the discussion of the Chinese pidgin features in Hall 1944 are provided by him):

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(a) The *-ing* form of verbs used without an accompanying form of the copula *to be*. *I working down town* 'I am working (or work) downtown.'

(b) Subjectless predications indicating indefinite actor: *No can get more* 'One can't get (any) more; is isn't possible to get (any) more.'

(c) Interrogative clauses with the same word order (but different intonation pattern) as in declarative clauses: *You like*? 'Do you want some (it or them)?'

Tsuzaki also gives examples from Jamaican creole (quoted from Bailey 1966) which reveal some striking parallels with Hawaiian English:

(a) *Never* used as past negator: *I never go* 'I didn't go.'

(b) The inverted sentence type as a device for giving prominence to constituents which are shifted to clause-initial position: *Bill, we talking about* 'It's Bill we are talking about.'

(c) A predilection for '*for*-phrases': *He been come for help you* 'He came to help you.'

Tsuzaki adds that most of the principal differences between Jamaican creole and English syntax, as summarized by Bailey (1966), also seem to obtain in a comparison of Hawaiian English and English syntax.

1.2.6.6 *New Zealand (or Maori) pidgin*

A pidgin language, apparently also a variety or descendant of Beach-la-Mar, was used in New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century, but has wholly died out in recent years (Hall 1966). Only little work has been done in it (Baker n.d.).

1.2.6.7 *Australian pidgin*

From the early days of European settlement in Australia, a pidgin language was used in the contacts of the settlers with the Australian Aborigines. In its early form, this pidgin antedates the development of Beach-la-Mar (1.2.6.1), and can therefore not be regarded as a descendant of it, though it seems likely, if Whinnom's theory of the common origin of the European-based pidgins is accepted (Whinnom 1965, 1967), that both Australian pidgin and Beach-la-Mar have more or less the same immediate origin (see 1.2.6.1).

The interaction of the language version used by the natives and the Europeans was different in the case of the South-western Pacific and Australia which gave rise to formal and typological differences between the pidgins developing in these two areas, though a later influence of Beach-la-Mar and its descendant used in the sugar-cane area of North Queensland (see 1.2.6.2) upon Australian pidgin is likely. In spite of this, the latter still displays a number of features which separate it clearly from Beach-la-Mar and its descendants (see below).

In the last few decades, the use of Australian pidgin has declined rapidly with the spread of the knowledge of English among the Aborigines. It is still used to a limited extent in the far north of Australia and in isolated areas elsewhere, but is headed for extinction.

The characteristics of this Australian pidgin (Hall 1943b) are as follows:

The determining noun precedes (not follows, as in New Guinea pidgin) the deter-

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mined noun in noun phrases consisting of two nouns, and a ligative particle never appears between the two nouns.

Formal distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is present, but formal distinction between noun and verb adjuncts is restricted to a few instances only.

With personal pronouns, only singular and plural numbers are distinguished, and an inclusive-exclusive contrast is absent. A masculine-feminine distinction is optionally made in the third person singular, and an oblique versus non-oblique distinction is optionally present in the first person singular.

A predicate marker, formally identical with the New Guinea pidgin marker, is sometimes found. It is probably attributable to New Guinea pidgin influence exerted by Europeans proficient in it, and using it in communicating with Australian Aborigines.

B. Native-based Pidgins (and Creoles)

1.2.7 *Bazaar Malay.*

In the Dutch East Indies, a pidginised version of the Malay language known as Bazaar Malay or Pasar Malay became established as the contact language between Europeans and the native population. The development and use of this language rather than that of a Dutch pidgin which might have been expected to arise in the area was attributable to Dutch colonial policy according to which the Dutch insisted on its use, and for a long time refused to allow members of the local population to learn Dutch so as to enforce caste separation (Hall 1966).

However, in the end it was Bazaar Malay which became the vehicle for Indonesian nationalism which led to the cessation of Dutch rule in the area after the Second World War. The language became the basis from which the present-day Indonesian language developed.

Bazaar Malay is Malay with a greatly simplified grammar. In its vocabulary it is Malay with a number of loanwords from Dutch, and a few from other Indonesian languages. Some of its structural and typological features are as follows:

Almost complete absence of the complex productive prefix and suffix systems of Malay. Only a few petrified affixes appear with some words.

The elaborate pronominal system of Malay, with its gradations denoting hierarchical levels, is almost completely replaced by a simple pronominal system. However, the inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person plural which is characteristic of Malay, is preserved.

In noun phrases consisting of two nouns, the determining noun usually follows the determined noun in Malay. However, in Bazaar Malay, the order is often reversed, and a ligative clitic appears between the two nouns.

The possessive suffix system of Malay is almost completely absent.

With the verb, only a few clitics are used to denote aspects or tenses, and what has traditionally been regarded as a passive construction in Malay is largely absent.

1.2.8 *Police Motu.*

In the Territory of Papua of Australian New Guinea, a pidginized version of the

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Austronesian Motu language of the Port Moresby area has been the established contact language and inter-native lingua franca for over sixty years. It is at present spoken and understood by 65,000–70,000 natives.

It came into being as a result of the former annual trading expeditions of the Motus to the Papuan Gulf area (the present-day Gulf District) for the purpose of exchanging earthenware products for garden produce. During these activities, a simplified Motu was employed, with essentially Motu vocabulary, but greatly reduced grammar which to some extent also reflected basic typological features of the Papuan languages of the Gulf natives who were the trading partners of the Motus.

Early in the present century, this trade language was adopted as the unofficial administrative language of Papua and as the language of the Papuan police force, mainly as a result of the encouragement by Sir Hubert Murray, Lieut.-Governor of Papua, who, as had been pointed out in 1.2.6.1, had a strong emotional antipathy to the use of English-based pidgins and did his best to discourage their use in Papua (Hall 1966). The use of this trade language by the police gave rise to its present name 'Police Motu'. With the extension of control and government within Papua, the language started spreading rapidly, and at the same time it underwent some modifications and considerable enrichment in vocabulary. It is still spreading in several areas of Papua with the extension of governmental control and increasing contact, but Pidgin is making rapid inroads into areas in which until recently Police Motu has been the sole lingua franca, and it seems probable that Police Motu will eventually give way to Pidgin in many or probably all parts of Papua (see 1.2.6.2).

In its present-day form, Police Motu is spoken in two dialects, one of them the Central Dialect, used by speakers of Motu proper when speaking Police Motu, and by many of the Central District natives living in the neighborhood of the Motu area itself whose local languages are Austronesian. The other dialect, the non-Central Dialect, is found in all other areas where Police Motu is spoken, and the form used in the Western District is regarded as the standard.

Speakers of Police Motu are very unevenly distributed over Papua. The highest percentage is found in the Central District, followed by coastal and heavily contacted inland areas in the Gulf and Milne Bay Districts. The situation in the Northern and Western Districts is comparable, whereas the Southern Highlands District, and little contacted inland areas in the Gulf, Milne Bay, Northern and Western Districts have few to very few speakers of Police Motu. The percentage of the total population of Papua who have a knowledge of Police Motu is 13%.

A survey of the use of Police Motu in Papua and a dictionary of it have been published by Brett, Browns and Foreman (1962a, 1962b), a practical introduction to it by the present writer and J. Harris (Wurm and Harris 1963), and a comprehensive handbook of it (Dutton, Voorhoeve and Wurm 1969) is just off the press.

Police Motu differs from Motu proper in vocabulary, phonology and especially in grammar, as well as in some features of its general typology (Wurm 1964). Mutual intelligibility between Motu proper and Police Motu, especially the non-Central

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Dialect, is of a low order in spite of the fact that Motu proper and Police Motu share over 90% of the items of their basic vocabularies. Speakers of Motu proper find it easier to understand Police Motu than vice versa.

The main structural and typological differences between Motu proper and Police Motu are the following:

Motu is a morphologically complex language using a large number of suffixes and prefixes, whereas Police Motu has only very few affixes, and the grammatical features expressed in Motu by affixes are indicated with the help of auxiliary words and clitics which gives the language a different typological appearance.

One of the most striking grammatical differences between Motu proper and the non-Central Dialect of Police Motu lies in the manner in which possession is expressed, and the person of the object is denoted with verbs. In Motu, possession with body parts and personal relationships is indicated by suffixes, whereas with other nouns, it is denoted by a possession word to which the suffixes are added, with the whole complex placed before the noun which refers to the object possessed. In Police Motu, only the latter type is used for all nouns, and the preposing of the personal pronouns before the complex is obligatory (in Motu it is optional). In Motu, the person of the object with verbs is indicated by suffixes, in Police Motu, however, by the personal pronouns placed before the subject pronouns which in turn precede the verb.

The Central Dialect of Police Motu, however, follows the Motu usage in the indication of possession and of the person of the object with verbs, whereas in other grammatical features it is identical with the non-Central Dialect.

Motu has numerous tenses, modes and aspects which are indicated by complex affix systems. Such categories are fewer in Police Motu and are expressed by auxiliary words placed before or after the verbs.

1.2.9 *Native Davaueño.*

According to Whinnom (1956), another pidginized language is spoken in Davao Province in Mindanao in addition to the Spanish-based pidgin language Davaueño (1.2.4.6). This language which is locally known as 'Davaueño' — called here Native Davaueño to distinguish it from the Spanish-based pidgin — is the result of a synthesis of Tagalog with Cebuano and other Visayan dialects. Its vocabulary contains a number of Spanish words, and a few from the dialects and languages spoken by the local non-Christian tribes of Mindanao. The language has several dialects, and one of them, spoken on the coast, contains a good deal of English.

2. LINGUE FRANCHE

2.1

By definition, a lingua franca is any language that is used as a medium of communication among people who have no other language in common. In this chapter, the term

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is used to denote those languages used for such purposes which are not the result of a pidginization process as described in 1.1, but are full languages whose currency has extended beyond the area in which they are the native languages of the majority of the local populations.

The reason for a language achieving such a status is usually the fact that it carries some prestige which is recognized by people whose native language or languages are different from it (Wurm 1966–67). Such prestige may be based on economic or cultural factors. For instance, the language may be that of an economically or politically powerful group which uses it in its dealing with other groups speaking different languages, or the language may have its prestige for religious reasons.

2.2 *Lingue Franche in Oceania*

2.2.1 In the light of what has been said in 2.1, the official administrative and national languages which are used in various parts of Oceania in multi-lingual areas and are usually native to only a minority, or even only to a very small percentage of the total population of those areas, are by definition lingue franche if they have at least some currency amongst the members of the population who do not speak them as their native languages. Examples are: English in Australian New Guinea, the British Solomon Islands, Micronesia, the New Hebrides, Fiji, and parts of Polynesia, French in the New Hebrides, New Caledonia and Central Polynesia, Indonesian in Indonesia, Malay in Malaysia, Tagalog in the Philippines and Portuguese in Portuguese Timor. Formerly also Dutch in the Dutch East Indies, Japanese in parts of Micronesia, and to a small extent, German in the German possessions in the South-western Pacific and in Samoa.

2.2.2 Another situation exists if the language of a group resident in a prestige area or endowed with certain privileges like sole ownership of the land, or with any of a considerable range of other prestige factors to its credit, is used by others in their dealings with this group or even in dealings with each other, be it to overcome language barriers or for reasons of prestige. Quite a few examples of mostly quite restricted lingue franche could be given from various parts of Oceania, especially the New Guinea area and Aboriginal Australia, but two important examples from outside these two regions may suffice:

Fijian is a lingua franca of Fiji which is used by some of the non-Fijian groups there, like the Indians, in their dealing with the Fijians.

Tahitian is used more and more in Central Polynesia by other Polynesians, and has completely superseded Tuamotuan in the northwestern part of the Tuamotu Archipelago.

2.2.3 Languages which have become lingue franche for religious reasons, i.e. for being the church languages of various Christian Missionary Societies active in Oceania, constitute a special category. Again, there is, and was at various times in

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the past, a considerable number of such languages in Oceania, and only a few important ones will be mentioned here.

In Island Melanesia, the Mota language originally spoken on a small island in the Banks Islands north of the Northern New Hebrides, had been extensively used by the Melanesian Mission as a missionary and church language in the last century, and its knowledge was formerly widespread in the Banks Islands and the Northern New Hebrides. Its use has however been discontinued for many years, and knowledge of it, outside its immediate area, is now limited to some members of the older generation.

Nggela, an Austronesian language spoken on Florida Island in the south-eastern Solomons, has also been used as a missionary and church language by the Melanesian Mission and, as a result, it has had some currency in the southeastern Solomons to the present day.

Roviana, the principal dialect in the New Georgia Archipelago in the Central Solomon Islands, which is in part understood along the south coast of Ysabel Island and at some places in Choiseul Island (Ray 1926), has been adopted as the missionary and church language by the Methodist Mission in the area, and its knowledge is now fairly widespread in the area.

In the New Guinea area, the numerically large (close to 30,000 speakers) Austronesian Tolai of northern New Britain has been adopted as the mission language by the Methodist Mission throughout the New Britain-New Ireland region, and it is also used by the Catholic Mission, but only for the Tolai area itself. The language is now a quite widespread lingua franca in these areas.

A striking example of the development of a missionary lingua franca is provided by Kâte, a Papuan language in the Huon Peninsula area of the New Guinea mainland. This language, which was originally spoken by only a few hundred natives, was adopted by the Lutheran Mission as one of their mission languages towards the end of the last century, and is now believed to be spoken and understood by around 60,000 natives throughout a large portion of north-east New Guinea, including parts of the Highlands Districts. Yabêm, an Austronesian language of the Huon Peninsula area, has also been adopted by the Lutheran Mission and developed into a widespread lingua franca.

Several more church languages in the New Guinea area have become important regional lingue franche, like Wedau and Dobu (both Austronesian) in the Milne Bay District, Motu (Austronesian) in the Central District in the Port Moresby area, Toaripi and Orokolo (both Papuan) in the Gulf District, Graged (Austronesian) in the Madang District, Kiwai (Papuan) in the Western District, and Biak-Numfor (Austronesian) in the Geelvink Bay area of West Irian. Several other local languages in the New Guinea area used as church languages by various Missions have become lingue franche to a limited extent.

In Australia, languages like Gubabuyngu (or Gobabwingu) in northeastern Arnhem Land, Gunwinggu in Northern Arnhem Land, and Pitjantjatjara in central and western

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inland areas of the continent have become lingue franche through their adoption as church languages by various Missions.

This list could be continued, but suffice it to say that the use of local languages as church languages is one of the most powerful reasons for such languages to become at least limited lingue franche, though other sociolinguistic factors can have similar effects.

With the spread of the knowledge of lingue franche of great cultural and political importance, like the large European languages, new national languages and some of the pidgin languages in various parts of Oceania, the importance and currency of the comparatively insignificant regional and local lingue franche in Oceania is rapidly decreasing, and it is to be expected that most of them will perhaps soon join the great majority of the pidgin and creole languages of Oceania on the road to oblivion.

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SOCIO-LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS

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LANGUAGE POLICY, LANGUAGE ENGINEERING AND LITERACY

NEW GUINEA AND AUSTRALIA

S. A. WURM

NEW GUINEA

The large island of New Guinea and the islands adjacent to it are occupied by a multiplicity of languages, most of which are spoken by small speech communities composed of only a few hundred or a few thousand speakers each. Comparatively few languages have over ten thousand speakers, and the numerically largest local language in the New Guinea area, Enga, in the Western Highlands District of Australian New Guinea, has only approximately 120,000 speakers. Against this, it has to be kept in mind that the indigenous population of Australian New Guinea totals (1966) 2,170,201 and the population of the entire New Guinea area is approximately 2,970,800.

Though it is now possible, as a result of intensive linguistic research work carried out in recent years, to assign the majority of the New Guinea languages to a comparatively small number of families and other linguistic groups, they are nevertheless highly diverse, and most of them are characterised by great complexity.

These facts have constituted formidable obstacles in matters pertaining to administration, education and literacy in New Guinea, and have been conducive to the early introduction and use of lingue franche or trade languages.

Australian New Guinea

Administration Policy

The southern half of present Australian New Guinea which had been under British rule until 1906 under the name of British New Guinea, and which came under Australian control in that year as the Territory of Papua, had English as its official language of administration from the start in the 1880's. However, for all practical purposes, the Administration adopted Police Motu (a pidginised form of the Motu language of the Port Moresby area) which was already in existence as a native trade language at the time of the annexation in 1884.

With the spread of administrative control, the use and currency of Police Motu spread throughout the Territory, with the native police force using it as their standard language — hence its name. Since 1946 when the Territory of Papua and the Territory

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of New Guinea came under joint Australian administration, the currency of Police Motu with the police force has gradually diminished in favor of Pidgin, and the use of Pidgin in its role as the unofficial administrative language for practical purposes has been steadily increasing. At present, Police Motu is still in wide use in Papua, but its importance is decreasing under the impact of Pidgin, and more recently, of English, which, as a result of the gradual spread of the knowledge of English amongst sections of the local population, is beginning to be used in some aspects of administration in which Police Motu, or Pidgin, had to be resorted to exclusively until recently if administration was to function at all.

The official policy has at all times aimed for the goal that English should be used for administrative purposes, but this ideal has not been pursued strongly until today because of its obvious impracticability.

The Territory of New Guinea which had been under German rule till World War I, had German as its official language until that time, but as its practical administrative language the German Administration adopted Pidgin English as used in the Rabaul area on New Britain, which was the German administrative centre. At the time of the Australian take-over in 1914, the use of this language for administrative purposes was well established, and the Australian Administration adopted it as its unofficial administrative language. Pidgin has been in use ever since, with its currency extending more and more into the Territory of Papua in recent years (see above, pp. 999–1021).

In 1953, the United Nations adopted a resolution calling on Australia to discontinue the use of Pidgin in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea immediately. This resolution was unrealistic and quite obviously the outcome of misinformed opinion, and completely ignored the fact that Pidgin was primarily an internative lingua franca and only to a much lesser extent a European-to-native lingua franca (Wurm 1966–67). Though the Australian Government had to accept this decision, it was not in its power and means to implement it, because this would have meant the cessation of effective administration overnight, seeing that no other language could take the place of Pidgin, at least not in the Territory of New Guinea. Neither could the indigenous population of New Guinea be reasonably expected to drop its only means of inter-communication as a result of a Government decree.

Only in very recent years has English begun to be used in some areas in certain aspects of practical administration as a result of the spreading of the knowledge of English amongst the indigenous population.

In the early sixties, the Australian Administration in New Guinea recognised the importance of having administrative officers with some knowledge of local languages and the Summer Institute of Linguistics was called upon to arrange for brief intensive training courses in anthropological linguistics and field methods for officers. The first of these courses was held in 1960. It was well attended and highly successful, giving the officers taking it enough linguistic knowledge to make good progress in learning the local languages of the areas where they were stationed. Subsequently, a second course was held which was equally successful. Unfortunately, the entire purpose of

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these courses was defeated by the Administration's posting policy according to which administrative officers were normally sent to a given area and then posted elsewhere at the end of two year's residence there. Officers who had taken the training course and, after two years of study of a given local language were beginning to become proficient in it, found themselves suddenly posted to a different linguistic area where they had to start all over again learning a new language, only to be posted again when they had made some headway. This quickly discouraged officers from taking further interest in linguistic training, and the whole scheme was abandoned.

In recent years, new administrative bodies have come into being which are independent from, or only in part linked with, the Australian Administration. One of these is represented by the Local Government Councils which have been increasing very rapidly in number and scope, and their development may well be expected to become even more rapid. Seeing that many of these Councils serve areas in which several languages are spoken, their business languages are mostly one of the two great lingue franche, Pidgin or Police Motu — more commonly the former. Even in cases in which a given Local Government Council is responsible for an area occupied by a single large language, the records of the meetings are almost always kept in a lingua franca, usually Pidgin, even if the discussions and debates may be held in the local language.

Another important new body is the House of Assembly which contains a majority of indigenous members. The languages used in the House are English, Pidgin and Police Motu, with English constituting the central and official language of the House. There have been moves on the part of a section of the indigenous members to have English replaced by Pidgin as the central language. This attitude may be expected to gather strength though it is being opposed by other sections, including some from Papua who are interested in the continuation of Police Motu and tend to regard Pidgin as an unwelcome intruder.

In this connection, it is of interest to note that there are indications that Pidgin may eventually be given the status of the national language of a future independent Papua-New Guinea. The active support by members of one of the indigenous political parties in Papua-New Guinea of such a development, the extremely rapid spread of Pidgin in recent years — in many cases at the expense of Police Motu — its widening use as a means of expression in writing (see below), the emergence of something akin to nationalistic pride in Pidgin as 'their language' on the part of many members of the indigenous population — these are all pointers in this direction. There is of course no possible doubt that even if Pidgin is adopted as the national language of Papua-New Guinea at some future date, English will for a long time afterwards, if not for ever, persist as the official language for matters pertaining to higher education, communications with the outside world, and the like.

Missionary Societies

In contrast to administration policy, Missionary Societies active in New Guinea have approached their task either through local languages, sometimes adopting them

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as regional church languages and lingue franche, or through one of the two great lingue franche of New Guinea: Pidgin or Police Motu — more commonly the former.

The adoption of certain local languages as church languages by various Missions has, with the spread of the activities of these Missions over wider areas, lead to the development of a number of church-oriented regional lingue franche in Australian New Guinea. A few of the more important ones may be mentioned here. The Lutherans adopted three languages: Kâte, a Papuan language of the Finschhafen area on the Huon Peninsula, for use in Papuan-speaking areas, Yabêm, an Austronesian language of the same area which was originally intended for use in Austronesian-speaking areas only but was later introduced into some Papuan-speaking areas as well, and Gedaged, an Austronesian language near Madang on the northeast coast for more regional use in parts of the multilingual Madang District. In the New Britain-New Ireland area, both the Catholics and Methodists adopted the Austronesian Tolai of the Rabaul area, though with differing orthographies. The Austronesian Wedau language of the north coast of the eastern extremity of New Guinea, east of Goodenough Bay, was adopted by the Anglicans, and the Austronesian Dobu, on the south coast in the same area, by the Methodists. Motu proper, the Austronesian language of the Port Moresby area, has been used as a regional lingua franca by the London Missionary Society, and Toaripi, a coastal Papuan language in the eastern part of the Gulf District, together with the closely related Orokolo language located further west, by the London Missionary Society, and to a lesser extent, by the Catholics.

Some of these lingue franche are, or used to be, the native languages of very small populations only, so, for instance, both Kâte and Yabêm have had only a few hundred native speakers each. However, in some instances they have gained considerable currency: for instance, it is claimed by the Lutheran Mission authorities that Kâte is understood by at least 60,000 natives in the Lutheran Mission areas, and it is today the first language of around 4000 natives. Other lingue franche are the mother-tongues of very sizeable speech-communities: Tolai has close to 30,000 native speakers, and Toaripi and Orokolo well over 10,000 each.

In addition to the church languages listed above, a considerable number of other local languages have been used by various Missions in their work — with some of these languages developing into limited regional lingue franche. The Unevangelised Field Mission has made it its policy to approach its work through the local languages wherever possible, and has a number of well-trained linguists on its staff. At the opposite end are the Seventh Day Adventists and, to a lesser extent, the Catholics who concentrate on the use of Pidgin or Police Motu in most areas.

A new factor was introduced into missionary and semi-missionary language policy in 1955 through the establishment of the New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics whose headquarters are in the Eastern Highlands District. This Branch has developed into a very large body of several hundred members who have been carrying out thorough linguistic, translation and literacy work in over seventy languages in the last twelve years. The great majority of these languages are located in

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the Highlands, Sepik and Morobe Districts. Partly under the stimulating influence of the activities of this Branch and in part as a result of a heightening awareness of the importance of linguistic orientation by Missionary bodies active in New Guinea, work in the local languages has been stepped up by Missions in recent years. This has led to increased translation activity, with a simultaneous improvement of the linguistic quality of translations. This in turn has had a beneficial influence upon the spread of native literacy in local languages.

Education

While there has been a trend in Mission language policies to move away from the use of regional lingue franche and of Pidgin and Police Motu, and to take a greater interest in local languages in their religious activities, the development in matters pertaining to education has taken a different direction. Until comparatively recently, most native education was carried out by the various Missions, and their respective language policies had a decisive influence upon it.

Until fifteen or so years ago, native education in Mission schools followed the pattern laid down by the respective Missions' language policies. In other words, elementary education was primarily through the lingua franca or local language utilised by a given Mission in its work, thus ensuring at the same time that the pupils attending its schools became proficient in reading the translations and religious materials put out by that Mission. In many cases, facilities were available at Missions for instruction in, or the teaching of, Pidgin or Police Motu, even if the church language of such Missions was a regional lingua franca, or a local language. English was taught only in rare instances.

When, in the early fifties, the education policy of the Administration took a decided step towards concentrating on the teaching of, and in, English to the exclusion of all other languages, missionary language policies in educational matters began to change in favour of an increasing utilisation of English, both as a teaching subject and as a medium of instruction. This is understandable considering that Mission schools were in receipt of Administration subsidies which were only given subject to the maintenance of minimum standards. The change in missionary language policies was intensified through the Administration's official adoption in 1956–58 of a subsidisation policy strongly favouring schools teaching through English.

In a way, this situation created a dilemma for the Missions. Their primary purpose is evangelistic, and they are endeavouring to reach the indigenous population through media best suited for their purpose, and most likely to be successful, i.e. their local languages, or, as second best choice, a lingua franca with which the indigenes are either familiar, or which they will find relatively easy to learn. The efforts of the Missions are directed towards the production of translations of the Scriptures and of other religious materials in an increasing number of local languages, but for these materials to serve their purpose, it is necessary for the people for whom they were produced to be literate in these languages. However, the Administration's policy

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which requires teaching to be carried out through English as a medium, defeats this purpose.

Many Missions have found ways out of this problem, for instance through arranging for parallel classes, one of prescribed minimum standard, with English as the medium of instruction, and one of a standard too low to qualify for Administration subsidy, with a lingua franca and/or a local language as the medium of instruction. Also, pupils attending English schools are sometimes given literacy training in the local language used in the religious materials, or in a lingua franca with which they are already familiar.

Until the early fifties, the Department of Education of the Administration was favourably disposed towards vernacular education on the elementary level, though less in favour of the use of regional lingue franche, and of Pidgin or Police Motu. In the early fifties, this policy changed radically to concentrating on English as the sole medium of instruction as has been pointed out above, and this policy has been strictly adhered to in all Administration schools which have been established in considerable numbers since that time. The wisdom of this policy with regard to elementary education has been questioned (Wurm 1966) seeing that it had been demonstrated that natives who were made literate in their own language first, received their elementary education in it, and then gradually switched to English for the purpose of more advanced education, by far outstripped other natives of similar age and background who received their entire education in English from the start (Unesco 1953:123–31). Nevertheless, the policy continues in the Administration schools which in 1963 for instance were attended by 19 per cent of the pupils in Papua-New Guinea at all levels (Spate 1966:119). The remaining 81 per cent attended Mission schools, and in over half of these the same language policy had been implemented to a considerable extent.

In secondary education, the use of English as a medium of instruction is naturally the only possible course, and this has been fully adhered to. In this field, Administration schools have taken the lead. In 1963, 1,640 out of 2,732 secondary pupils were enrolled in them.

At present, the forebodings of a possible new development are making themselves felt: administration policy in educational matters has had mass primary education and mass literacy in English as its prime target during the last decade. However, the wisdom of overconcentrating on these at the expense of more advanced education aimed towards the creation of an educated elite is being seriously questioned by an impressive body of opinion. With resources as scarce as they are in New Guinea, there is comparatively little to spare for higher education if a program of mass education on the primary level is pursued too vigorously (Spate 1966:125): this can all too easily lead to a situation in which the whole purpose of education is defeated. It seems quite possible that a realisation on the part of the authorities of the dangers of a lop-sided educational development may lead to a greater concentration on advanced education, with a slowing down of the mass education program on the primary level resulting from the limited nature of funds available. If such a situation arises, it is

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quite conceivable that the notion of approaching elementary education through local languages and lingue franche, prior to switching to English, will become more popular again and may lead to a modification of Administration policy on this level.

Literacy

The situation concerning literacy amongst the indigenous population of Papua-New Guinea stands in direct relation to the educational and schooling situation discussed above. Until the introduction of the extensive use of English as a medium of instruction in the early fifties, pupils attending Mission schools received literacy training in the church language — be it a local language or lingua franca — of the respective Mission, and usually also in either Pidgin or Police Motu. With the swing to teaching through English, literacy in English has become quite widespread, though most of the pupils at Mission schools are also literate in a church language, and in Pidgin or Police Motu if one of these two is not the church language of their Mission. Pupils in Administration schools are usually not able to write or read in their own languages, but most of them are literate in Pidgin or Police Motu. Pidgin — and to a much lesser extent also Police Motu — are in fact rapidly becoming written lingue franche: they are commonly used by natives writing to each other, even if they happen to speak the same local language or have both had elementary schooling in English. They are the languages in which the records of Local Government Councils are kept, they are the languages in which notes are taken by many of the indigenous members of the House of Assembly, and they are used in the increasing number of pamphlets, proclamations, information sheets and the like issued and distributed by Administration offices and other official agencies.

It seems possible that the extensive, and quite successful, efforts of members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics directed towards the spreading of native literacy in local languages, especially amongst adults, may slow down the progress of Pidgin as a written lingua franca somewhat, and may encourage natives to make greater use of their local languages in writing. However, it is very easy for natives literate in their local languages to become literate in Pidgin and Police Motu too without much effort because of the simple orthographies of these languages, and with the increasing communication across language boundaries it seems inevitable that Pidgin and Police Motu will prevail, though writing in the local languages may persist to some extent for strictly local use amongst members of the same speech community. At the same time, it seems quite unlikely, in the author's opinion, that English will oust Pidgin and Police Motu as means of expression in writing, except for a small minority, unless unforeseen social developments centering around the younger generation take place.

It is difficult to give figures of the numbers of literates in Papua-New Guinea. Amongst members of the adult generation, i.e. persons past twenty-five or so, the percentage of literates is low, and their proficiency is as a rule limited to literacy in a local language or a Mission lingua franca, usually with literacy in Pidgin or Police Motu as well. The degree of their mastery of written expression is mostly rather poor.

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Amongst members of the younger generation, the percentage of literates is comparatively high, for in 1963 for instance, around 30 per cent of eligible natives of primary school age were receiving schooling (Spate 1966:125). At least half of the members of the younger generation who are, or have been, attending schools are to a greater or lesser extent, literate in English. At the same time, the very great majority of present or past pupils of their generation are also literate in Pidgin or Police Motu, though only a fraction of them can lay claim to literacy in a local language or a Mission lingua franca as well.

The increased utilisation of Pidgin and Police Motu for expression in writing, in particular in official records of meetings of Local Government and other Councils and in papers and documents written in conjunction with the work of the House of Assembly, has led to the introduction of a number of new terms, borrowed from English, such as 'vote', 'election', 'minutes', 'quorum' and the like. Most of these new words have become part of the vocabulary of these languages quite naturally in response to new situations requiring linguistic denotation, but some were artificially introduced which marked the first, though rather insignificant, step towards the engineering of Pidgin and Police Motu. If as is most likely, the future role of these languages, especially that of Pidgin, is going to be one of even greater importance than at present, engineering on a much larger scale directed at enlarging their technical vocabulary can be expected. Also, unification of their local dialectal forms and the artificial creation of standard forms will be necessary.

One problem on this level is beginning to make itself felt: that of the spelling of the newly introduced words of English origin, i.e. whether they should be written in a re-phonemicised form in accordance with Pidgin or Police Motu phonemic structure and pronunciation, or whether they should be incorporated in their English spelling. At present, ad hoc solutions prevail, and no serious thought has as yet gone into this problem, but it is one for the very near future.

West New Guinea

The western half of New Guinea was under Dutch rule until 1962 when Indonesia took over. The Dutch Administration had been using Malay, the lingua franca of the Dutch East Indies, as its administrative language, except that some preliminary steps were taken in highland areas opened up after World War II towards the utilisation of numerically large local languages like Ndani in the Baliem Valley area. At the same time, some Administration officers were taking a much greater interest in local languages and the language situation in Dutch New Guinea in general than had been the case with their colleagues on the Australian side.

The policy of Missionary Societies active in Dutch New Guinea was to concentrate in their missionary work on local languages in preference to using a lingua franca. The same policy was, however, not adhered to in their educational activities. For

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these Malay, and in some instances Dutch, was used, except for some limited use of the numerically strong Biak-Numfor language of the Schouten Islands in Geelvink Bay, and for the limited utilisation, directed towards native literacy and native ability to read religious literature, of the few local languages in which such religious literature existed. In the last few years of Dutch rule, the Ndani language of the Baliem Valley was used for local elementary education in that area, and although Dutch was resorted to, Malay was not introduced at all.

The language policy of the Dutch Administration in educational matters stipulated the use of Malay as the chief medium of instruction, though in the last few years of Dutch rule, the Dutch language was gradually introduced into the schools in Dutch New Guinea.

Literacy under Dutch rule was largely limited to literacy in Malay, with some literacy in Dutch beginning to spread in the last years of Dutch control. In addition, literacy in the few languages in which religious literature had been produced, was not insignificant. For instance in the early sixties, literacy amongst the approximately 40,000 speakers of Biak-Numfor was estimated to be around 50 per cent both in Numfor and in Malay, and amongst the approximately 10,000 speakers of Wondama on the southwestern coast of Geelvink Bay, around 25 per cent in Wondama and around 50 percent in Malay (Capell 1962:4). Literacy in the local language was also spreading amongst the Ndani speakers of the Baliem Valley where only Dutch was used in addition to Ndani, as has been mentioned above.

During the last years of Dutch control, the absolute number of literates amongst the population was very considerably lower than in the same period in Australian New Guinea. A basis of comparison is given by the fact that in 1961, only 63,846 pupils were enrolled in all types of primary schools in Dutch New Guinea (Report Netherlands New Guinea 1961: Appendix XXXIV A), whereas in the same year, 189,574 pupils attended all types of primary schools in Australian New Guinea (New Guinea and Papua, Reports 1961). On a percentage basis, the disadvantage of Dutch New Guinea is however very much less pronounced: the number of pupils given above constituted 8.5 per cent of the indigenous population of Dutch New Guinea in 1961, and the Australian figure close to 10 per cent of the indigenous population of Australian New Guinea in that year.

With the Indonesian take-over, the Indonesian language was adopted as the official language of Irian Barat, i.e. West Irian — which is the name given to the part of New Guinea now under Indonesian control — and its use encouraged for administrative purposes.

There have been no significant changes in the language policies of the Missions in West New Guinea as a result of the change of Government, except that on the educational level, the use of Dutch has been discontinued. Indonesian is generally used as the medium of instruction which in practice means the return to the utilisation of Malay, as originally practiced by the Dutch.

The Indonesian Administration appears to largely continue the Dutch school policy

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in having some schools directly under its control, but having the majority of the schools run by Missionary Societies with the help of Administration subsidies. This is comparable to the system in operation in Australian New Guinea, also inasmuch as a large additional number of unsubsidised Mission schools is in existence. In all schools, the language of instruction is Indonesian, except that in some of the schools in outlying areas, especially in the Highlands, the local language may be used for the first two years as the language of instruction, provided the teacher is from the local area.

Enrollment figures are high: the number of pupils in all types of primary schools in 1966 is believed to be close to 110,000 which may compare unfavourably with the corresponding 1966 figure of 244,026 for Australian New Guinea, but the Irian Barat figure constitutes 13.5 percent of the local population, and the Australian New Guinea figure only a little over 11 per cent. The Indonesian Administration is pursuing a vigorous literacy policy in Indonesian in Irian Barat, and in addition to the school system, a large number of adult education and literacy programs is in progress. Many of these are conducted by Missions.

As a result of the spreading of primary education and of the literacy programmes, the level of literacy amongst the indigenous population is quite high. Around 55 per cent of the population in the areas outside the Highlands are classed as literate by the Administration.

In the highland areas, literacy programmes have been developed by some Missions in local languages, especially in Ndani, and close to 10,000 Ndani speakers are said to be literate in it now. The knowledge of Indonesian is beginning to spread in the Highlands, and over 3,000 natives are classed as literate in it.

AUSTRALIA

Government Policy

Until very few years ago, the language policy of the Australian Government towards the Australian Aboriginal languages was one of outright hostility directed towards their complete suppression and eradication. In administrative dealings with Aborigines, English was used exclusively, with the now largely extinct Australian pidgin (which is different from New Guinea pidgin) as a crutch in earlier days, if unavoidable. Interpreters were used only with great reluctance. The police force was instrumental in actively discouraging the use of Aboriginal languages in public, motivating their attitude with the argument that the use of these languages would enable the Aborigines to discuss illegal matters unafraid and quite openly. These attitudes had driven a large number of Aboriginal languages completely underground, with the curious result that many of these languages were believed extinct, some of them for several decades, until, with recent changes in these official attitudes, it was discovered by linguists that speakers of them were still to be found, sometimes in quite impressive numbers as Australian Aboriginal languages go.

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There has been a very decided and still intensifying swing of public opinion in Australia in favour of the Aborigines during the last decade or so which has influenced Government language policy as well: there has been a marked decline in the discouragement of the use of Aboriginal languages. The administrative bodies concerned with Aborigines in areas where large Aboriginal populations exist and continue to use their languages are beginning to realise the value and importance of these languages for their dealings with the Aborigines. In the light of this, D. Trefry, of the University of Sydney, was invited by the South Australian Government in April 1966 to give a short course in general linguistics to Government officers concerned with Aborigines, to prepare them for the study of Aboriginal languages. In 1967, a course in Pitjantjatjara, a very widespread Aboriginal language and lingua franca used in parts of South Australia, Western Australia and the Northern Territory, was established and attended by a number of Government officers directly concerned with Aborigines, such as welfare officers for instance. This has been the first time that such officers have, with Governmental blessing, engaged in the study of an Aboriginal language for the expressed purpose that they should be able to use this language in their administrative dealings with Aborigines.

In this changing atmosphere of public opinion and Governmental attitude, the Government-controlled Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies was established in Canberra in 1961 for the expressed purpose of encouraging, furthering and assisting research into aspects of Aboriginal culture in the widest sense, be it under its own auspices or through Australian Universities. The main emphasis in its activities since its establishment has been on the linguistic field, and it is to a considerable extent attributable to the Institute's role that many languages, believed extinct, have been re-discovered, and that a more favourable attitude towards and greater interest in, Aboriginal languages has evolved on the part of authorities, and has been heightened on the part of Missionary Societies.

Missionary Societies

Missionary Societies active amongst Australian Aborigines have in general been more favourably disposed towards Aboriginal languages than Government agencies. However, only in a comparatively small number of instances have Aboriginal languages been extensively resorted to by Missions in carrying out their work, and the use of several of these was discontinued, some many years ago, with English taking over more and more. Only in a few cases has the utilisation of Aboriginal languages been continued to the present. Examples are the Western Desert language of which the abovementioned Pitjantjatjara is a widespread dialect, the Aranda language of Central Australia, and half a dozen languages in the north of Australia. In this context, the activities of Gospel Recordings Inc. may be mentioned as well. This organisation has, over the last fifteen years or so, arranged for freely narrated versions of Bible stories and other items of Christian teaching to be put on records in approximately seventy languages, for use by the Missions in their work.

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In the last few years there has been a revival of the interest taken by Missions in Aboriginal languages. This is partly attributable, as has been mentioned above, to the general change of attitude towards Aborigines in Australia, partly to the linguistic activities of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, and partly to the influence of, and the work carried out by, the Australian Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which was established less than a decade ago.

The members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics have carried out, or taken up, work in close to a dozen Aboriginal languages, and have already produced good results. Their activity includes the production of translations which will undoubtedly stimulate a more extensive use of Aboriginal languages by Missions in carrying out their work. They have also been active in teaching Aborigines to read and write their own languages.

Education and Literacy

The policy of the Government in matters concerning Aboriginal education has clearly been that English should be used in all cases from the start. Government schools for Aboriginal children on Aboriginal settlements and elsewhere are essentially comparable in their approach to schools elsewhere in Australia, though some allowances are made to the special intercultural situation in which Aboriginal children find themselves. However, such allowances do not include the use, however limited, of Aboriginal languages as media of instruction.

Mission Stations used to have schools which were under their direct control. In most of these schools, English was employed as the sole medium of instruction, but in a few instances, Aboriginal languages were resorted to in the elementary stages. In recent years, many of the schools on Mission Stations have been placed under Government control, and teachers employed by the education authorities were provided for them, which has led to the discontinuation of the use of Aboriginal languages at most schools situated on Mission Stations.

However, several Missions, in particular some of those operating in Arnhem Land in the north of Australia, have taken an active interest in the education of adults who have not received any European-style schooling. Many of these have only a very poor command of English, if they know it at all, and literacy work and some very basic elementary education is provided for them in the Aboriginal languages at special adult schools which are organised and run by the Missions themselves. With the increasing activity of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Australia, education and literacy work of this kind amongst adults, with Aboriginal languages as media of instruction and literacy goals, is likely to increase and intensify. It has been widely recognised that this activity constitutes an excellent means for increasing the adult Aborigines' self-respect and giving them greater pride in their languages and cultural heritage, and it is not likely to be discouraged by Government action.

In this connection, it is of interest to note that in an official report submitted to the Australian Minister of State for Territories in March 1964, the compilers of the report

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come to the conclusion that 'Even in a situation like that in the Northern Territory where the Aborigines as a minority group need to become proficient in the English language, it cannot be doubted that the language which should be used as the medium of instruction in the early years of schooling is their own vernacular language' (Watts-Gallacher Report 1964:79). However, they conclude: 'In spite, however, of the educational and psychological advantages, the circumstances in the Northern Territory preclude the use of the mother tongue as the language of instruction.' The validity of the arguments put forward by the compilers in support of this conclusion is questioned, and convincingly disproved, by J. Kinslow Harris (1968). In the light of this, the possibility of the Government paying increased attention to vernacular education cannot be precluded.

From what has been outlined it is clear that with few exceptions, literacy amongst Aborigines who are of school age, or not much past school-leaving age, is exclusively in English. The percentage of literates amongst them is very high since only comparatively few Aborigines of the appropriate age are left in Australia who are not, or have not been, attending schools. Amongst adults, especially older age groups, the percentage of literates is quite low. Most of those who are literate, are so in English, though literacy in Aboriginal languages has been increasing rapidly in recent years as a result of the activities of Missions and the Summer Institute of Linguistics as outlined above. Only very few Aborigines are literate in both English and their own language, but it seems possible that their number may increase substantially, because even sophisticated Aborigines are beginning to take a definite pride and interest in their own language and culture as a result of the recent favourable change of attitude in Australia towards the Aborigines, and the gradual awakening of the Australian population to the interesting nature and value of the Aboriginal culture and heritage.

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THE PHILIPPINES[1]

BONIFACIO P. SIBAYAN

There are two quotations[2] regarding language that may be merged into a paraphrase to describe the problem of the Filipino of today and of the future. This complex question can be expressed as three smaller ones: 1) how shall we learn English so as to partake of the world's knowledge that is made available in it; 2) how shall we learn Tagalog (Pilipino) so that we as a people will speak one language, so that we may participate in the ritual act of speaking to confirm or affirm our solidarity as one nation, and so that we may not be accused of expressing social distance or even hostility; and finally 3) how shall we preserve the languages of our ancestors in the regions where we come from so that our children will understand the treasures they contain?

[1] I am indebted to Professor Benjamin M. Pascual, editor of publications, Language Study Center, Philippine Normal College, for assistance in gathering data for this study; to Mr. Juan L. Manuel and Dr. Narciso Albarracin, directors of the Bureaus of Public and Private Schools, respectively, for furnishing data on their respective Bureaus; to Mr. J. Thomas Lyman, associate director, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Philippine Branch, Dr. Jose Villa Panganiban, director, Institute of National Language, Manila, and the editor of the Philippines Free Press, Manila, for furnishing information used in this study. This study was written at UCLA during the 1967–68 academic year when I held a visiting professorship in the Department of English under the sponsorship of The Ford Foundation and UCLA. I am grateful to both institutions for their generous support.

[2] '... for a man to speak one language rather than another is a ritual act, it is a statement about one's personal status; to speak the same language as one's neighbours expresses solidarity with these neighbours, to speak a different language from one's neighbours expresses social distance or even hostility' (Leach 1954:49). 'Now the question no longer is: how shall we learn English so that we may take part in the social life of America and partake of her benefits; the big question is: how can we preserve the language of our ancestors here, in a strange environment, and pass on to our descendants the treasures which it contains?' (Trond Bothne, Professor at Luter College, 1898, quoted in Fishman, ed. 1966: flyleaf).

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These today are the big problems of the Filipino — to learn English as his language of science and technology and as his international language, to learn Tagalog as his national language so that he may find his identity and get into the mainstream of Philippine life since, as Haugen has correctly put it, 'Nationalism has welded together the people of many primary speech communities, and thereby counteracted the parochialism and narrowness of the former. This function of the national standard is one reason for its value as a symbol of the nation' (Haugen 1966b:63), and finally to learn his mother tongue (if he is a non-Tagalog) so that he may know the intimate life of his own people. There is no conflict in multilingualism. 'Multilingual situations tend to stabilize so that different languages used together are often functionally non-competitive. This is accomplished by any two languages being in complementary distribution in some social or geographical sense' (Stewart 1962:21).

So by force of circumstances, the Filipino must be multilingual. The process is often a painful one. Very few achieve maximum facility in three languages. The tragedy of life under these circumstances is that often by the time the Filipino is old enough to realize that he should have mastered English in his younger years, because it is needed in the advancement in economic and social life, it is too late.

To write, therefore, of the development of language in the Philippines is to write of many hopes, many dreams, many seemingly divided loyalties, many frustrations; it is to write of the struggle of a people to advance rapidly in a fast-moving world.

LANGUAGE POLICY

Language policy involves a number of interrelated attitudes, biases, plans, activities, and the idiosyncracies of a people. Language policy may be the expression of the aspirations of a people. It may also express the search for identity. The foregoing characteristics of language seem to have been summed up in the message of Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines,[3] to the First National Assembly for the establishment of an Institute of National Language which would study and undertake the development of a national language based on one of the existing languages of the Philippines in accordance with the Constitution of the Philippines. Pertinent portions of the message are quoted below.

The Constitution provides that the National Assembly take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing dialects.

This mandate of the Constitution recognizes the fact that there is no common native language spoken by the Filipino people and that it is very necessary and highly desirable that there be one.

It is needless to elucidate the proposition that a people constituting one nationality and one

[3] For those who are unfamiliar with Philippine history, the Philippines went into a period of transition in preparation for complete independence from the United States on November 15, 1935. The form of government was called Commonwealth of the Philippines. Independence was declared on July 4, 1946, a date which is now celebrated as Philippine-American friendship day.

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state should possess a language spoken and understood by all. It constitutes one of the strongest ties that bind the people and foster the unity of national ideals, aspirations and sentiments. In the past, when the Philippines was under a foreign rule without assurance of soon becoming an independent nation, the very presence of that foreign rule was strong enough to weld our people together and to maintain our national solidarity. But since the inauguration of the Commonwealth, this unifying force has been weakening and will disappear altogether once we are independent. It is, therefore, advisable to strengthen the true ties of national solidarity, and in my opinion a common language based on one of the native dialects and used by all our people is one of these bonds. It will take time, perhaps a very long time, but by painstaking and thorough study, ways and methods can be found for developing a national language based on one of the native dialects. Because of the long and arduous process of this undertaking, the need of proceeding at once to take the steps looking forward to this end is the more evident. I am, therefore, recommending the creation of an institute of national language which will study the Philippine dialects in general for the purpose of developing and adopting a common national language based on one of them. This does not mean that our interest in the teaching of the English language in our schools will in any way be lessened. The English language will continue to be taught in our schools and it is our plan to make the knowledge of English widespread throughout the Islands, but we must also have our own common language.[4]

The speed of events in response to the message of Quezon for the development of a national language was amazing. The following chronological account attests to the urgency with which the people involved viewed the work:

November 13, 1936 — creation of the Institute of National Language.

January 12, 1937 — appointment of the seven members[5] of the Institute to study and recommend the language from among the candidate languages (specified as having at least half a million speakers) to be the basis of the future national language.

November 9, 1937 — recommendation by the Institute for Tagalog as the basis.

December 30, 1937 — proclamation by President Quezon of Tagalog as the basis of the national language. The executive order also directed that not later than two years after the date of proclamation, a dictionary and a grammar were to be produced by the Institute.[6]

April 1, 1940 — presidential order for the printing of the dictionary and grammar.

[4] Message of President Quezon to the First National Assembly on the creation of the Institute of National Language, October 27, 1936 (Quezon 1936). It is interesting to note the close parallel of the thoughts and sentiments contained in this message with that given by Norway's linguist-reformer Ivar Aasen in 1836. Although separated a century apart and on opposite sides of the world, the similarities between Quezon's message and Aasen's essay on the subject of the building of a national language is striking. For Aasen's essay, see translation by Haugen (1967).

[5] The members were: Jaime C. de Veyra (Samar-Leyte Visayan), Chairman; Santiago A. Fonacier (Ilocano), Filemon Sotto (Cebu Visayan), Casimiro F. Perfecto (Bikol), Felix S. Salas Rodriguez (Panay Visayan), Hadji Butu (Moro), members, and Cecilio Lopez (Tagalog), member and secretary.

[6] Under the able leadership of Lope K. Santos, one of the Philippines' best Tagalog scholars at the time, two volumes were produced 1) *A Tagalog-English Vocabulary* and 2) a grammar titled *Ang Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa*. It is interesting to note that a bilingual dictionary was produced. The grammar, which was the work of Santos, has become the standard reference work in Philippine schools. Given the state of the art of grammar writing at the time and the speed required to comply with the presidential directive, the grammar was an excellent product, though having it officially accepted has made it difficult to introduce improvements as better grammars have become available.

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June 7, 1940 — approval of congressional act that the national language was to become an official language on July 4, 1946 (the day the Philippines was to become independent of the United States).

June 19, 1940 — the teaching of the national language based on the dictionary and grammar begins in all schools.[7]

Language policy may also be shaped by the impact of events that are not within the control of a people. The policy on English is an example of this. In 1900 when the Americans took over the government of the Philippines from the short-lived Philippine Republic, one of the first concerns that they paid attention to was education, and this through a public school system patterned in many ways after the American public school system.[8] The policy to use English in the public schools was given by President William McKinley of the United States in his instructions to the Philippine Commission (War Department 1902; Tolentino 1950; Ramos, Aguilar, and Sibayan 1967).

Language policy may also stem from the notions of certain men in response to a situation. The decision to use the vernaculars for educating the child in the first two grades of school is such a policy. The use of the local language to educate the children became the obsession of one superintendent of schools, Jose V. Aguilar. It was the experiment on the use of Hiligaynon in Iloilo province from 1948–54 by Superintendent Aguilar and his associates that became the basis of the policy on the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in the first two grades of the elementary school with English as a subject. The policy, which was issued by the Secretary of Education in 1957, was the first in Philippine school history to be based directly on an experiment (Department of Education 1957).[9]

The attitude toward the Philippine languages has been expressed by various persons and groups in several ways at different times under a number of motivations. The sketch that follows should be of interest to students of multilingualism, language planning, and language maintenance.

In 1899, the framers of the Political Constitution of Malolos, which was the constitution under the short-lived Philippine Republic, wrote that 'The use of the languages spoken in the Philippines is optional ... For these acts, the Spanish language shall be used for the present' (Bureau of Printing 1963).

In 1900 the instructions of President McKinley, referred to earlier, stated that the system of primary education should be free to all and that the instruction should be given in the language of the people. Because of the lack of books and teaching

[7] On August 13, 1959, the Secretary of Education issued a department order that henceforth the national language was to be known as PILIPINO. This change was presumably designed to eliminate the regional connotation of the term Tagalog.

[8] The main structural difference between the Philippine public school system and the American is that the Philippine system is highly centralized where the American is not.

[9] The experiment was evaluated by the Research and Evaluation Division of the Bureau of Public Schools. The description and evaluation were published in *Bulletin* Nos. 9, 12, 14, and 16, series 1953, No. 6, series 1954 and No. 9, series 1955 of the Bureau of Public Schools, Department of Education, Manila. For an interpretation of the results in the light of much later experience see Ramos, Aguilar, and Sibayan (1967).

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materials and the lack of teachers fluent in the local languages this instruction was not carried out. Instead English was used.

In 1916 the various Philippine languages including Tagalog still did not have any recognized official status. The law (Philippine Autonomy Act, approved August 29, 1916) was explicit on the matter: '... No person shall be an elective member of the Senate of the Philippines ... who is not able to read and write either the Spanish or English language' (Tolentino 1950:500–1).

In 1925 the educational system was evaluated by a group of experts mostly from Columbia University. Anticipating contrastive analysis by more than a quarter of a century, the Commission recommended that 'A thorough study ... should be made by experts [to] include a critical analysis of the vernacular ... the tonal quality, rhythm, accent, and syllabication of Filipino tongues and a minute comparison with the corresponding elements of English ...' should be made (Monroe 1925:167). No attention was paid to this recommendation — no doubt because it was too far ahead of its time.

Up to 1938 the use of the local language was not allowed in the schools. Pupils were not permitted to speak their local language on the school premises, presumably to give them more opportunity for practice in English. This picture was changed in 1939 by the nationalist, Jorge Bocobo, who was Secretary of Public Instruction. Bocobo's stated policy was that '... whenever public school teachers would find that their pupil or class was unable to understand their question, direction, or explanation, they could use the local dialect' (Bureau of Education 1939).

After World War II a number of circumstances and movements changed the picture of the vernaculars. Perhaps the most important of these movements was the concept of the community school which aimed to teach both the child and the adult in order to improve living conditions in the community. There was a feeling in many quarters that the school had been aloof from the rest of the community, that it concerned itself sparingly, if at all, with the life of the people. The community school movement was a conscious effort to make the school the main vehicle for improving life in the community, especially in the barrios.[10] In this philosophy of the school, the vernacular was a natural vehicle for carrying out its objectives because many of the adults could not communicate in English.

Language policy can be almost tyrannical when imposed by a minority on a people. The imposition of the study of Spanish in colleges and universities is a striking example of linguistic tyranny.

Spain's occupation of the Philippines for the better part of 377 years (1521 to 1898) left its mark on the Philippine languages. While only 2.1% of the population report themselves as able to speak Spanish (Census of the Philippines 1960) it has affected the vernaculars much more than English has. And as Prator has observed, the process of

[10] The barrio is the smallest unit of political organization in the hierarchy nation, province or city, municipality, barrio. Cities are independent and are on the same political level as the province. The barrio is often the cover symbol for the country village; a person who comes from the barrio in effect comes from the countryside.

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influencing the Philippine languages is still continuing up to the present (Prator 1950).

Though the Philippines has three official languages[11] (Pilipino, English, and Spanish), any of which may be used in official publications and correspondence, English is the main language in which such publications are issued, often translated later into Pilipino, usually by the Institute of National Language. Translations into Spanish are not usually made unless there is special reason or occasion to do so.

LANGUAGE ENGINEERING[12]

The manner in which language policy has been interpreted and carried out by those who have been affected, by those in government and out, those in private organizations, groups and individuals, those in mass communication media such as radio, television, and especially newspapers, is treated in this section. Emphasis will be placed on how the agencies designated to carry out language policy did so.

There are many activities involved in language engineering. The Filipino has engaged himself in practically all the areas that are mentioned in the literature as the tasks of the language planner or language engineer. Five concerns of the language planner are listed (Bright 1966:14–15), namely: 1) designating the varieties to be given recognition as 'official' or 'national' languages; 2) recognizing varieties to be sanctioned for use in official publications, in officially encouraged literary work, in educational institutions of various levels, in courts of law; 3) defining the official attitudes towards varieties not sanctioned for any of the above uses; 4) deciding to what extent the political subdivisions of a nation should correspond to its linguistic subdivisions; and 5) planning how the writing system should be developed or standardized.

LANGUAGES IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The main agency for setting the patterns of language use in the Philippines is the school. This is probably true in most parts of the world so that the schools become very important. Haugen writes 'Governments have the advantage over private individ-

[11] Pilipino is not only official but the national language while English and Spanish are official but not national languages. Cf. English in Nigeria 'In respect to the role it (English) serves, it is the *national language* of Nigeria — the language of government, the language of instruction in the schools, the language of business and commerce, the language of internal communication among Nigerians of differing language backgrounds (more than 200 different languages are spoken in Nigeria) and, of course, the language of international communication' (Jacobs 1966:1–2).

[12] Language engineering is defined by J. Donald Bowen as 'attempts made through schools, radio, newspapers, churches, official edicts, etc. to direct change or influence language use (and) specific means of implementation' (letter of J. Donald Bowen to the present author). It is equivalent to Haugen's language planning which he defines as 'the normative work of language academies and committees, all forms of what is commonly known as language cultivation ... and all proposals for language reform or standardization' (Haugen 1967).

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uals of having control over the school system, through which it is possible to train or retrain a people in its writing habits ... If we consider the implementation of LP (Language Planning) as a problem in language learning, we see at once that it resolves itself into the usual dilemma of the language teacher' (Haugen 1966b).

The languages used in educational institutions of various levels have been decided. These decisions, however, have changed through the years and it is likely that further changes will be made in response to needs, research and experimentation, and other motivations including legislative fiats. The languages used in the schools are summed up in Table 1.

Table 1 may be read: the vernacular is used as a medium of instruction in the first two grades and as an auxiliary medium of instruction in the third and fourth grades of the elementary school. Pilipino (in non-Tagalog provinces and cities) and English are taught as subjects in the first two grades. In Tagalog-speaking provinces only English is taught as a second-language subject. Pilipino is used as an auxiliary medium of instruction in the 5th and 6th grades and is studied as a subject from the first grade through college. English is used as the medium of instruction from the third grade through college and is also studied as a subject. Spanish is optional in high school and studied as a required subject in college. French and German are used in some graduate courses as a foreign language requirement.

In many colleges, the students whose mother tongue is other than Tagalog are instructed in Pilipino separately from Tagalog-speaking students.

TABLE 1

Languages used in schools

	Primary				Inter-mediate		Secondary				College					Graduate
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	(5)*	
Vernacular	m	m	a	a												
Pilipino	s	s	s	s	sa	sa	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s		
English	s	s	ms	ms	ms	ms	ms	ms	ms	ms	ms	ms	ms	ms	m	m
Spanish							p	p	p	p	s	s	s	s		
French																f
German																f

* A number of college degrees require 5 years of instruction. Legend: m – medium of instruction; s – required as a subject; p – optional or possible as a subject; a – auxiliary medium of instruction; f – foreign language requirement in some graduate courses.

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Spanish

The case of Spanish is an interesting study in language conflict. While it is true that Spanish is one of the official languages, it was not taught in the schools prior to 1949 except in certain private colleges and universities. On June 5, 1952, a law (Republic of the Philippines 1952) was approved by the President of the Philippines requiring the teaching of Spanish in colleges and universities. The law required twelve units (approximately 200 hours of class time) of Spanish for the completion of a college degree. The advocates of Spanish, however, were not content with twelve units. Feeling that twelve was not enough to insure fluency, they supported a bill to increase the requirement. The new law (Republic of the Philippines 1957) was passed increasing the required number of units to twenty-four for graduation in law, commerce, liberal arts, foreign service, and education. This requirement, considered an unnecessary and useless burden by students and parents, stimulated protests and was the subject of editorials in the newspapers. The law succeeded in making Spanish a hated subject by almost all college students. The feeling against the law became so intense that rallies were staged before the Congress of the Philippines at almost every session. For almost ten years Congress would not listen in spite of the fact that practically every Secretary of Education recommended the repeal of the law. The pressure finally produced results on August 7, 1967, when the House of Representatives passed a bill amending the law. The Senate passed the repeal bill one day later. The President of the Philippines signed the act into law on September 8, 1967 (Republic of the Philippines 1967). The provisions of the law (restoration of the requirements in Spanish to 12 units) goes into effect the beginning of the academic year 1968–69.

The reader can appreciate the burden of twenty-four units of Spanish by considering the fact that the average number of units for all courses in a four-year bachelor's degree program ranges from around 120 to 140 units. The 24 units therefore is roughly one-fifth of the entire requirement. Add this to the 12 units required in Pilipino and 18 in English, the total is 64 units, one half of the entire college degree requirement for languages alone. The new law requires one subject (3 units) of the selected writings in their original versions in Spanish of renowned Filipino heroes, scholars, writers and poets, especially Rizal and Mabini, one of the justifications of the original Spanish requirement. The law makes optional the study of Spanish by foreign students.

The vernaculars

As soon as the Department of Education issued the order adopting the policy that the local language may be used as a medium of instruction in the first two grades, the entire public school system went into vernacular teaching in 1957 without adequate preparation in teacher training or in the preparation of instructional materials. Teachers were forced to improvise on materials as they taught (Ramos, Aguilar, and Sibayan 1967).

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The scarcity of instructional materials is one of the biggest problems in Philippine education, but it is felt most in teaching the vernaculars. The lack of funds and the difficulty of getting publishers to print materials of limited circulation (most publishers have their eye on the national market which is available in English and Pilipino) seem to be two of the chief problems. In 1960, however, the Bureau of Public Schools started producing pre-primers, primers and readers with financial assistance from the Philippine and American governments. By the opening of classes in the school year 1967–68 books in twelve Philippine languages including Tagalog were printed. The languages used are (listed in the order of number of speakers) Cebuano, Tagalog, Ilocano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Waray, Pampango, Pangasinan, Magindanaw, Tausog, Ibanag, and Samal.

There are a number of important unresolved problems or questions on the use of the vernaculars in education. One is that not all of the more than eighty Philippine languages should be used or can be used to educate the child for a number of reasons. Besides the problem of producing instructional materials in these various languages, there are other problems: the inadequate supply of trained teachers, the difficulty of pupils who transfer from one language region to another, and the difficulty of transferring teachers. A much more important problem is to decide which of the Philippine languages are to be used as media of instruction.[13]

One happy development is that the Philippine languages are now being studied and described scientifically by more people. For example, linguists in the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Philippine branch, are engaged (as of the end of 1967) in studying forty-one languages and dialects. The staff of the Department of Linguistics and Oriental Languages of the University of the Philippines has been working on a survey of the languages of the country during the past several years. The Language Study Center of the Philippine Normal College has an Archives-of-Philippine-Languages project under the financial support of the Ford Foundation. The data at the Language Study Center Archives will be useful to writers of teaching materials, future teachers and supervisors of vernacular teaching, and language scholars in general.

The world-wide interest in languages and in second-language teaching which made necessary a knowledge of the structure of the first language of the learner has generated a great deal of interest in linguistics and related fields such as anthropology, psychology, sociology, and folklore. More Filipino teachers and scholars are now going into the field of language study and language teaching.[14]

[13] For an extended discussion on a suggested set of criteria for determining which of the Philippine languages may be used as a medium of instruction see Ramos, Aguilar, and Sibayan (1967:138–79).

[14] More than one hundred Filipino teachers, supervisors, administrators and some college instructors have been trained at the University of California, Los Angeles, in language teaching and linguistics. Several more have been trained at Michigan, Columbia, Indiana, Georgetown, and other universities. A number were sent to Australia, the United Kingdom, and Canada under the Colombo Plan. Today there are several universities and colleges in the Philippines that offer programs in second-language teaching and linguistics, the most important of which are the Language Study Center of the Philippine Normal College which is aided by The Ford Foundation, the Jesuit-run Ateneo de Manila University, the Institute for Language Teaching at the University of the Philippines, and more recently the University of the East.

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Pilipino

Approximately one of five Filipinos (21.0% of the 27,087,685 population in the 1960 census) are native speakers of Tagalog. Two out of five can speak it. Three still have to learn the language.

The propagation of a language must inevitably involve two forms: spoken and written. It is the Philippine experience that the development of the written form has involved emotions and has been the cause for disagreements and debates. In spite of the difficulties in the development of the language as a national language, much has been achieved in less than thirty years from the time the Institute of National Language was established. The time is coming, if it is not already here, that the Filipino will be embarrassed if he does not at least know some Pilipino.

While the spoken form is important because a person generally has to have a possession of it as a basis for understanding the written form, it is the written form that often causes bitter disputes. One reason for this is that the written form is there for everyone to see when it is used in the newspaper or book or periodical. There are several aspects of the written form that cause controversies. In the development of the national language these have centered on 1) the letters of the alphabet and spelling, and 2) borrowed words and how they are to be spelled.

The written form is important because the propagation of the language is generally made through the schools and through mass communication media, the most important of which is the newspaper. Education is carried mainly through the written form even if the spoken form is the basis. Also, it is the written form that divides human beings into two groups — literates and illiterates. In the modern world there are too many things that are not accessible to illiterates even if they can speak the language.

It is for the foregoing reasons that the written form is important in language engineering. Haugen writes that to the language planner the written form is primary and speech secondary. This view is opposite that taken by the linguist who regards speech as primary (Haugen 1966b). But there need be no conflict between the linguist and the language engineer or planner.

Purists and anti-purists

The controversy on the letters of the Pilipino alphabet, the borrowing of words, and spelling have divided those who are engaged in the propagation of Pilipino into two camps, 1) purists and 2) anti-purists. Both groups are in favor of the development of Pilipino but differ in how it is to be done. To many impartial observers it is not mainly the alphabet and borrowed words and how they are to be spelled that divide these two groups. It is their emotional attachment, or lack of it, to Tagalog that is the real cause: the purists are emotionally attached to Tagalog while the anti-purists do not hold such sentimental attachments. Generally, the purists are native speakers of Tagalog while most of the anti-purists are non-native speakers. The purists would like to use original Tagalog words for many borrowed ones which are in general use

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and acceptance, such as *guro* for the more generally used *maestra* (or *maestro*, if a man) 'teacher', *aklat* for *libro* 'book', and the now abandoned tease-word *salipawpaw* for what everyone calls *aeroplano* 'airplane'. The anti-purists on the other hand will use any word that they think is currently understood, with the more extreme ones spelling the word the way it is spelled in the lending language. This practice frightens the purists, who are afraid that if the practice goes on, Tagalog will eventually no longer be recognizable as Tagalog. One writer goes so far as to predict that if the practice goes unchecked nothing will be left of Tagalog within ten years save the words *ang*, a common focus marker, and *mga*, the main marker for the plural (Aspillera 1967).[15]

The Institute of National Language has often been accused of being puristic in its attitude towards the development of Pilipino. The law which established it, however, specifies that the Institute 'shall purify the vocabulary of the national language, [it] shall safeguard the proper meaning and use of the words and expressions of the national language and shall cleanse the same of unnecessary foreign terms, words and constructions' and, even more important, the Institute was given wide and ample powers 'to correct, alter, or amend the linguistic forms and expressions of any or all textbooks written in the national language of the Philippines which are intended for adoption as official texts in the schools' (Commonwealth of the Philippines 1936; 1938).[16] With these provisions the language taught in the schools had to be under the direct influence of the Institute. The puristic character of the language they advocate as the form of Pilipino to be taught is based on the law.

A careful reading of the law gives the impression that the lawmakers contradicted themselves when they made Tagalog the basis of the national language and then practically said in the next breath that it should be Tagalog and not a mixture that is to be the national language.

The Institute recently came under fire when it was accused by the Chairman of the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives of the Philippines of failing to develop a national language which was capable of communicating news and information to the people. The accusation was made in a privileged speech delivered by Congressman Aguedo Agbayani, Chairman of the Committee, before the House of Representatives during the 1967 session of Congress. The speech was prompted by the new style of reporting with the use of 'conversational Filipino' by *Taliba*, Manila's biggest daily newspaper in Tagalog. The newspaper freely used widely understood foreign words and phrases. English words borrowed by Tagalog such as 'wanted', 'victory', 'Supreme Court' were spelled as they are spelled in English.

Congressman Agbayani gave comfort to the anti-purists when he said that the rise

[15] Paraluman S. Aspillera is the daughter of the late Lope K. Santos, who wrote the *Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa*.

[16] In the new law, the action of the Institute is subject to the approval of the President of the Philippines, whereas in the first law this power was subject to the approval of the Secretary of Public Instruction.

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in daily circulation of *Taliba*, from 19,000 to more than 65,000 in less than two months after the newspaper changed to conversational Pilipino from educated or 'classical' Tagalog, simply meant that more people now understood the language used and that it was also an eloquent and practical argument against purism in the development of the national language (Agbayani 1967).

The privileged speech prompted the Committee on Education and the Committee on National Language of the House of Representatives to conduct hearings to re-examine the procedures used in the development of the national language. The congressional hearings which lasted more than a month brought the purists and anti-purists against each other. Among the most active and vocal was Geruncio Lacuesta, a lawyer and editor of *Katas*, a monthly magazine which was formerly on the approved list of magazines and periodicals for reading in high school and college, but which was withdrawn from the list by the Director of Public Schools after Lacuesta started spelling borrowed words such as 'molecule' as is instead of the Tagalized 'molikiyul' in the pages of the magazine. Lacuesta is national Chairman of the National Language Anti-Purism movement.

Jose Villa Panganiban, Director of the Institute, went before the Committee and insisted that everything done under his directorship was in accordance with law. Many others who were not identified with either the purists or anti-purists testified. Carlos P. Romulo, President of the University of the Philippines and concurrently Secretary of Education, testified and advocated a four-point program: 1) conduct an authoritative inventory of borrowed foreign words and the corresponding linguistic rules of borrowing at the end of each five- or ten-year period; 2) for the duration of each subsequent period, there can be debate and the inevitable process of natural selection for new words to be borrowed, the debate to be conducted among scholars, linguistic societies, and experts; 3) the compilation and publication as soon as possible of a comprehensive dictionary of Pilipino to ensure a continuous and orderly growth, and a record of this growth, of the national language; and 4) the use of the national language as a medium of instruction at the elementary, secondary, and collegiate levels (Romulo 1967).

Of the four suggestions by Romulo, the use of Pilipino as a medium of instruction starting from the collegiate level down to the grades was advocated earlier by Frederick Davis (1967a). The thinking behind this suggestion is that it is only when Pilipino is used in higher education that the time devoted to it in the lower grades can have motivational value. As long as English and not Pilipino is the means for getting an education, especially higher education, the incentive to study it well, especially in non-Tagalog areas, will not be strong enough.[17]

The congressional hearings on what the press labeled the 'national language controversy' once more demonstrated, and this time more clearly, that the question on

[17] A number of graduate schools including that of the Philippine Normal College have started requiring that the results of research in Pilipino be reported in Pilipino,

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the development of the national language based on Tagalog centers on how far Pilipino should borrow foreign words and how these words are to be spelled.[18]

The controversy on spelling has centered around the twenty-letter abakada, the Philippine alphabet. (The name of the alphabet is the pronunciation of the call letters of the first four *a, b, k, d* pronounced *a ba ka da*, all a's as in father. The third letter of the alphabet is the letter *k*.)

The abakada consists of the vowels *a, e, i, o, u* and the consonants *p, t, k, b, d, g, h, l, r, m, n, s, w, y*, and the digraph *ng*. The letters *c, f, j, q, v, x, z* are not included even though these are widely used in spelling proper nouns such as Camilo, Epifania, Cojuangco, Enrique, San Vicente, Calixto, and Quezon, to name a few. The seven letters are put in a separate list with *ch, ll, rr*, and *ñ* labeled 'adopted foreign letters'.

The kind of thinking that goes on at the Institute regarding the alphabet of twenty letters and the 'adopted foreign letters' is something as follows: the twenty letters are the romanized abakada equivalent of the syllabary of the old Philippine writing found by the Spaniards; the rest of the alphabet is foreign, but adopted and indicated in a separate list. The letters in the two lists must never be mixed because what worries Panganiban is now the foreign letters might be inserted in the abakada sequence.

The anti-purists, on the other hand, just go ahead and use the twenty-six letters of the Roman alphabet, which is what *Taliba* does.

With regard to the borrowing of words, there are three attitudes: 1) the extreme position of rejecting all foreign words and coining new terms, especially scientific terms, with the use of old Tagalog words or morphemes, or simply replacing the borrowed word with a Tagalog translation; 2) borrow a word but spell it according to the Tagalog rules of spelling unless it is 'funny looking' (a term used by Panganiban, who has not made clear who is to decide whether a spelling is funny or not). For example jet should be spelled 'jet' because the Pilipino spelling 'diyet' looks funny. The word jeep is spelled as is because the Pilipino 'diyep' is funny looking; 3) spell the word as it is spelled in the lending language, the attitude taken by the anti-purists.

I think all three positions will contribute to the growth and the spelling of the national language. Some coined words will stay, many words will be spelled according to the Pilipino spelling rules, and many others will be spelled the way the lending language spells the words. In spite of the animosity generated by the controversy, the debate contributes to a more rapid development of Pilipino by focusing attention to the need for a more systematic or scientific approach to the problem.

English

English is the chief language of government, business and industry, mass communication media, the schools and universities. It is the language for international communi-

[18] The controversy on Pilipino spelling does not seem to be as complicated as that of Norwegian. Cf. accounts of the spelling reforms in Norway from 1862 to 1945 (Haugen 1966a).

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cation. Scientific and technical knowledge is accessible to the Filipino through English. While the role of English as a means of common everyday communication among Filipinos speaking various first languages is slowly giving way to Pilipino, it is not likely that it will be replaced as the language of science and technology and international communication for a long, long time. As long as the content of education is given in English, there will be a demand that English be taught effectively so that it can be an effective medium of instruction.

Up to the fifties, English was taught in the schools with adaptations of first-language teaching materials and methods. The concept of teaching English as a second language was brought to the attention of Filipino educators by Clifford H. Prator in 1950 in his excellent monograph *Language teaching in the Philippines.* At the time of its publication, the first large-scale experiment on the use of the native language of the pupils (Hiligaynon) as the medium of instruction was going on in Iloilo (Ramos, Aguilar, and Sibayan 1967:37–43). As stated earlier, the Iloilo experiment became the basis for the policy on the use of the native language as medium of instruction in the first two grades; more importantly, it was to inspire two other large-scale experiments on second-language teaching (Davis 1967b).

The movement and the development of second-language teaching that followed the publication of Prator's monograph is considered by many as one of the brightest chapters in Philippine education. Largely through Prator's efforts in collaboration with Philippine education officials, a Philippine project on second-language teaching was established at the University of California at Los Angeles with financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation. This led to two important programs, 1) the training and education of Filipino teachers, supervisors, and administrators at UCLA and other American universities and in the Philippines, and 2) the establishment of the Philippine Center for Language Study (PCLS) in 1958.

The PCLS and the Bureau of Public Schools (BPS) produced a series of teacher guides and manuals[19] on teaching English as a second language in the elementary school and a series of monographs on linguistics, language teaching, experiments, and policy (Hemphill 1962; Dacanay and Bowen 1963; Sutaria 1965; Davis 1967; and Ramos, Aguilar, and Sibayan 1967).

The BPS and PCLS also conducted two large-scale experiments, one a four-year study in Iloilo (called Iloilo Experiment II) to determine the best time to introduce two second languages (English and Pilipino in non-Tagalog provinces) in the education of the child, and the other a six-year study in Rizal to: 1) find out when it is best

[19] The British journal *English Language Teaching* 17:100–1 (1963) has high praise for the guides in a review of the first volume, *Teacher's guide for English in Grade I.* Excerpts of the review: 'This book is an impressive example of what co-operation among teachers, administrators, linguists, and teacher-trainers can achieve ... The work reflects sound linguistic and pedagogic principles; material is analyzed and graded; meticulous detail marks every stage, and every stage is reinforced by background information for the teacher.' For a complete list of publications and projects undertaken by the PCLS and UCLA, see J. Donald Bowen, *The UCLA-Philippine Project* (forthcoming).

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to introduce reading in a second language, and 2) determine the best grade for introducing English as a medium of instruction (Davis 1967b).[20]

In addition to the preparation of teacher guides and monographs and overseeing investigations, the PCLS conducted a number of workshops for Filipino teachers and supervisors. It also assisted in the establishment of a graduate program leading to a master's degree in second-language teaching at the Philippine Normal College, the national college for the education of teachers, supervisors, and administrators.

As a whole, the work on the teaching of English as a second language, which saw a revolution in methodology and materials, has led to many related activities and interests. The movement has produced (and is continuing to produce) a new breed of teachers and supervisors and administrators who are interested in linguistics and in research as instruments in language teaching.

LITERACY

One of the important measures of determining the state of progress of a nation is its percentage of literacy. A literate person is defined in the Philippine census as a person who can both read and write a simple message in any language or dialect. This test is asked only of persons ten years old and above, so in a way literacy data measure the extent to which one of the fundamental objectives of a country's educational program has been successfully carried out. The literacy rate in the Philippines for the last three decades is shown in Table 2.[21] In 1960 more than two-thirds of the total literate persons were in the age group 10 to 34 years for both sexes. The literacy rate was lowest for persons 65 years and over (31.2%) and highest for persons 15 to 19 years (83.3%).

TABLE 2

Literacy rate in three decades

Year	Men	Women	Total
1939	54.3%	43.2%	48.8%
1948	62.8%	56.9%	59.8%
1960	73.6%	70.6	72.0%

[20] The Iloilo Experiment II proved that two second languages are best introduced simultaneously right at the start of the child's education with the medium of instruction for the content subjects being his native language. This finding contradicts the average layman's belief that the introduction of two foreign languages simultaneously confuses the child. The Rizal experiment proved that, 1) reading in English as a second language is best introduced in the first year of the child's education approximately after a semester's instruction in English, and 2) that of three schemes of introducing English as a medium of instruction 2a) four years of native language instruction and the 5th and 6th years in English, 2b) two years of native language instruction with the 3rd to the 6th years in English (the plan in effect since 1957), and 2c) English instruction from the very beginning without instruction in the native language — of these three schemes, the third or all-English curriculum was the best with pupils achieving the highest in language and content subjects including a test in the native language (Tagalog) which they did not study formally compared to those who were instructed in it.

[21] The data on population and language in Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 are from the 1960 census.

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The percentage of persons attending schools for the ages 6 to 19 years was highest immediately after the Second World War. The highest percentage of persons who attended school fell on age 11 with 73.0%; the lowest on 30 years and over with 1.3%. A gradual but steady decrease followed after age eleven. The percentage of persons ages 6 to 19 years attending school for the last three decades are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Percentage of persons ages 6–19 years attending school

Year	% Attending Schools	Median Age		
		Male	Female	Both sexes
1939	32.3%	11.7	11.1	11.4
1948	55.2%	12.6	12.4	12.5
1960	42.7%	11.9	11.7	11.8

An index to determine the portion of population which has attained a level of formal education beyond mere literacy is the highest grade completed. In 1948 the median grade completed for both sexes was 4.2 and in 1960 it was 5.1.

SPEAKERS OF VARIOUS LANGUAGES

While it is true that there are more than eighty languages and dialects in the Philippines (some estimates go as high as 150), 86.2% of the population report one of the

TABLE 4

Number and percentage of Filipinos whose mother tongues are the eight major languages

Mother Tongue	No. of mother tongue speakers	Per cent of total population
Cebuano	6,529,882	24.1
Tagalog	5,694,072	21.0
Ilocano	3,158,560	11.7
Panay-Hiligaynon	2,817,314	10.4
Bikol	2,108,837	7.8
Waray	1,488,668	5.5
Pampango	875,531	3.2
Pangasinan	666,003	2.5
Total	23,338,867	86.2

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eight major languages[22] as their mother tongue, leaving only 13.8% speaking the minor languages. The alien population of 219,686, which is .8% of the population, is included in the 13.8% figure. Table 4 shows the number and percentage of speakers of the total population who speak the eight major languages.

The percentage of people who can speak (the test for ability to speak is the ability to carry on a simple conversation) Tagalog and English increased considerably from 1939 to 1960. While only 24.1% of the population report Tagalog as their mother tongue, 44.4% of the total population are able to speak it. It is probable that a great number of the non-Tagalog speakers of Tagalog acquired their speaking knowledge of the language in the schools, while many others may have acquired theirs with the aid of the movies, radio, and television and in contacts with Tagalog-speaking Filipinos in and around Manila. In 1939, the year before Tagalog was introduced as a subject in the schools (the language was first introduced as a subject in secondary and normal schools for a start in 1940), only 23.4% of the population could speak it. The percentage has almost doubled in two decades. The percentage of persons who could speak the three official languages in 1939, 1948, and 1960 are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

Percentage of population who can speak the three official languages

Year	Pilipino*	English	Spanish
1939	23.4	26.6	2.6
1948	37.1	37.2	1.8
1960	44.4	39.5	2.1

* Pilipino became an official language only on July 4, 1946.

MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA

Perhaps two of the most important means of directing or influencing language change and use, exceeded only by the schools and the newspapers, are radio and television. In 1967 there were 183 radio stations in the country. Of these, 41 were in the Manila area and the rest scattered throughout the country. Most of these radio stations are commercial and privately owned but a number are operated and owned by the Philippine government, by colleges and universities, and by the United States government.

[22] A Philippine major language is one spoken by at least half a million speakers (Commonwealth of the Philippines 1936; Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1960:xxi-xxiii). Cf. the working definition of a major language used in the Survey of Second-Language Teaching to investigate the nature and extent of the problem of second-language learning as a factor in national development in countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America as 'a language spoken by at least ten million people or one tenth of the population' (Ferguson 1962).

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Broadcasts are mostly in English and Tagalog, with provincial stations using the local or trade language. The most frequently used languages after English and Tagalog are Cebuano, Ilocano, Bikol, Hiligaynon, Pangasinan, and Pampango. The Philippine Broadcasting System, which is government-owned, uses only English and Pilipino. The Department of Education's Bureau of Public Schools uses commercial radio stations as outlets for its series of educational broadcasts in Pilipino and English as a second language.

Perhaps even more important in influencing language use than radio is television, both commercial and educational television (ETV). The development of ETV has been aided financially by the Ford Foundation with a grant to the Ateneo de Manila University to develop ETV materials in science, Pilipino, and English. The lessons are beamed to a number of schools in the Manila area.

Of the ten television stations in the Philippines, six are in Manila using English and Tagalog; two in the Visayan islands using Cebuano, Tagalog, and English; one in Mindanao using Cebuano, Tagalog and English; and one in Baguio City in northern Luzon using English and Tagalog.

NEWSPAPERS

The most important means of mass communication media are newspapers and periodicals. In 1965 there were 1,120 periodicals published in 18 languages with a total circulation of 7,336,572. The greatest number of publications were in English of which there were 611 wholly devoted to that language with a total circulation of 3,552,938. In addition there were those published bilingually or trilingually (six were in four languages) with English as one of the languages in 341 publications. There were 202 published bilingually in English and Tagalog with a total circulation of 824,480. There were 101 published exclusively in Tagalog, with a circulation of 2,117,346. Ten were published in Spanish with a circulation of 46,066, and 97 others which used some Spanish. The data includes school newspapers and periodicals which may account for the large number of publications published partly in Tagalog, and especially Spanish.

The number and influence of the Chinese population of the Philippines may be gauged by the fact that ten newspapers were published in Chinese with a circulation of 81,298 and seven others in Chinese and English with a circulation of 44,500.

The number of newspapers and periodicals entirely and partly devoted to 18 languages are summarized in Table 6.[23] Of the eight major languages, the number of periodicals and circulation show that Pilipino is by far the most widely used. It is likely that its selection as the national language has had important effects on the number of newspapers and periodicals.

Also of interest is the fact that sixty-six per cent (749 out of 1,120) of the newspapers

[23] Data on newspapers, radio, and television furnished by the General Services Division, Bureau of the Census and Statistics, Manila.

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and periodicals were printed in and around Manila. The rest were scattered all over the country. Of the 56 provinces there were eleven without any newspapers published within their territories. However, most of these are either adjacent to or contain the cities where periodicals are published. A good example of a province where no newspapers or periodicals are published is the island province of Cebu, whereas 21 periodicals are published in Cebu city.

TABLE 6

Breakdown of newspapers and periodicals by language used

Language	Number of publications	
	entirely in	partly in
English	611	341
Pilipino (Tagalog)	101	293
Spanish	10	97
Cebuano	8	20
Ilocano	14	13
Visayan*	2	16
Chinese	10	7
Bikol	3	1
Hiligaynon	1	3
Pampango	2	1
Ilongo	3	—
Pangasinan	1	1
Panayan**	1	1
Leyteno (Waray)	1	—
Ibanag	—	1
Igorot (Sagada)	—	1
Itawis	—	1
Latin	—	1

Note: It is very likely that because of the difficulty of reporting names of languages: * is Cebuano; ** is Hiligaynon.

A NOTE ON THE CHINESE

While the Chinese were in the Philippines ahead of the Spaniards and there are a large number of Chinese (the exact number has never been ascertained, but the consensus is that there are more than the 1960 census report of 122,906), there is no organized effort to teach the Chinese language to Filipinos. The Chinese, however, learn the language of the locality where they live. In fact a Chinese who cannot speak

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the local language is often suspect: people think he got into the country illegally. Many have married Filipino women (Filipino men marrying Chinese women are very rare) and have become Filipino citizens. Some of the most influential and most distinguished Filipinos are of Chinese ancestry including the national hero, Jose P. Rizal.

The Chinese in the Philippines have managed to maintain their culture and their language (as they have in many parts of the world including the United States) by: 1) sending their children to Chinese schools; 2) living in 'Chinatowns'; and 3) supporting their own means of mass-communication media which includes newspapers and the radio.

In connection with Chinese schools, the Bureau of Private Schools of the Department of Education, which is in charge of the supervision of all schools supported by private organizations or individuals, has had difficulty in supervising these schools because of the lack of supervisors who could speak and write Chinese.

ENROLLMENT IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

This report on language policy, language engineering, and literacy would be incomplete without some data on the number of pupils and students in the schools. The Constitution of the Philippines requires that 'the government shall establish and maintain a complete and adequate system of public education, and shall provide at least free public primary instruction, and citizenship training to adult citizens' (Republic of the Philippines 1967a:34). Because of this requirement on free public primary education, more than 90% of those enrolled in the public schools supported by the government are enrolled in the elementary schools.

The national government spends more than a third of its entire annual budget for education, most going to public education. In the school year 1964–65, there were 5,701,029 students enrolled at all levels of public school education (kindergarten, elementary, secondary, college, and university) and 1,379,868 enrolled in private schools (all levels) for a total of 7,080,897. This is approximately more than 20% of the estimated total population of 32 million in 1965. In the same school year there were 178,702 teachers and supervisors in the public school system. Data available for 1965–66 show that there were 49,529 teachers and supervisors in the private school system.

The comparative enrollments in public and private schools, colleges, and universities during the 1964–65 school year are shown on Table 7. It is interesting to note that higher education is practically in the hands of people in the private school system. Of the 69,292 enrolled in public colleges and universities, 60,747 were enrolled in state colleges and universities which are not under the Bureau of Public Schools. The University of the Philippines, the country's highest institution of learning, had an enrollment of 20,779, a third of the enrollment in state colleges and universities.

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TABLE 7

Enrollment in public and private schools, colleges, and universities, school year 1964–65

Level	Public	Private	Proportion
Kindergarten	466	29,602	1 : 64
Elementary	5,327,704	247,567	22 : 1
Secondary	303,567	643,061	1 : 2
College and University	69,292	390,454	1 : 6
Special Vocational		69,184	
Totals	5,701,029	1,379,868	4 : 1
Grand total	7,080,897		

LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS IN PHILIPPINE MULTILINGUALISM

Linguistic diversity is (and will continue to be) the rule in the Philippines, and Filipinos accept it as a way of life. Even with the program of building Pilipino as the national language, the country is committed to multilingualism. The Philippines is one of those countries where the policy is 'the recognition and preservation of important languages within the national scene, supplemented by universal use of one or more languages to serve for official purposes and for communication across language boundaries' (Stewart 1962:15).

Tagalog (Pilipino) is standard in the sense that it has a formalized grammar and lexicon. It is also marked as a group language because those who speak it as their native language identify themselves as Tagalogs. Spanish is also marked as a group language because there is a small but influential group, especially in the Manila area, which identifies itself with the language.

Tagalog and English are classified or marked literary because the development of literature in these languages is more or less officially encouraged. Spanish may also be considered as occupying a literary function because various literary pieces in Spanish are officially required for study in college. The literature in the major vernaculars is generally read and cited only by group members and therefore has limited national importance.

There are two languages of wider communication across local language boundaries for purposes of trade and commerce. These are Cebuano in the Visayan islands and in Mindanao and Ilocano in Northern Luzon.

The various functions or domains of the languages in use in the Philippines are summarized in Table 8.

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TABLE 8

Functions or domains of various languages in the Philippines

Language	Function
1. Pilipino (Tagalog)	S – o – n – e(i,s) – l – g
2. English	S – o – e(m,s) – l – g
3. Spanish	S – o – e(s) – l – t
4. Cebuano, Ilocano	V – w – e(i) – g
5. Hiligaynon, Waray, Bikol, Pampango, Pangasinan	V – e(i) – l – g
6. Tausog, Magindanaw, Samal, Ibanag	V – e(i) – g
7. Other Philippine languages	V – g
8. Chinese	S – e – g
9. Latin	C – r
10. French, German	S – f – e(s)

Legend:
S – Standard; V – Vernacular; C – Classical.
o – official language
n – national language
l – literary function
e – educational
(m) medium of instruction for content subjects
(i) medium of instruction in the initial or first two grades of schooling
(s) language studied as a subject
r – mainly for religious purposes
t – language used for technical and scientific purposes
g – language used mainly by the group and native speakers identify themselves with the language
f – foreign language requirement
w – language used for wider communication (trade language).

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TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

GREGORY J. TRIFONOVITCH

INTRODUCTION

Geography

The United States government administers the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the United Nations. It is composed of over 2,100 islands (ninety-six of which are inhabited), scattered throughout the Pacific Ocean, extending from 1° to 20° north latitude and from 130° to 172° east longitude. Although the combined total land mass of all the islands is only 700 square miles, the total area over which they are spread exceeds three million square miles.

The territory falls within the geographical and cultural area of Micronesia, which also includes the Gilbert Islands, Nauru, and Guam. The Trust Territory is distinguished by three major archipelagoes — the Caroline Islands, the Marshall Islands, and the Mariana Islands. These are further subdivided into six major districts — Marianas, Yap, Palau, Truk, Ponape, and the Marshalls.

The 92,000 inhabitants of the Trust Territory who live on the ninety-six inhabited islands, speak at least ten different languages. The major languages are Chamorro, Palauan, Yapese, Trukese, Ponapean, Kusaiean, Marshallese, Carolinian (which subsumes a number of closely related dialects or languages spoken on the low islands west of Truk), and the Polynesian languages spoken by the inhabitants of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro. A few of the older inhabitants speak German and almost all Micronesians over the age of thirty or thirty-five speak Japanese. English is becoming the lingua franca of the Territory, dating from the beginning of the American administration in 1946.

History

Several major powers have ruled the peoples of the Trust Territory. Early in the sixteenth century the Spanish discovered the Mariana Islands and consequently heavily influenced the culture and language of its inhabitants. Then late in the nineteenth century Spain extended its domination and influence to the other islands of Micronesia, except the Marshalls and the Gilberts. Germany claimed the Marshall Islands and some of the Caroline Islands in 1885, and in 1898 Spain withdrew

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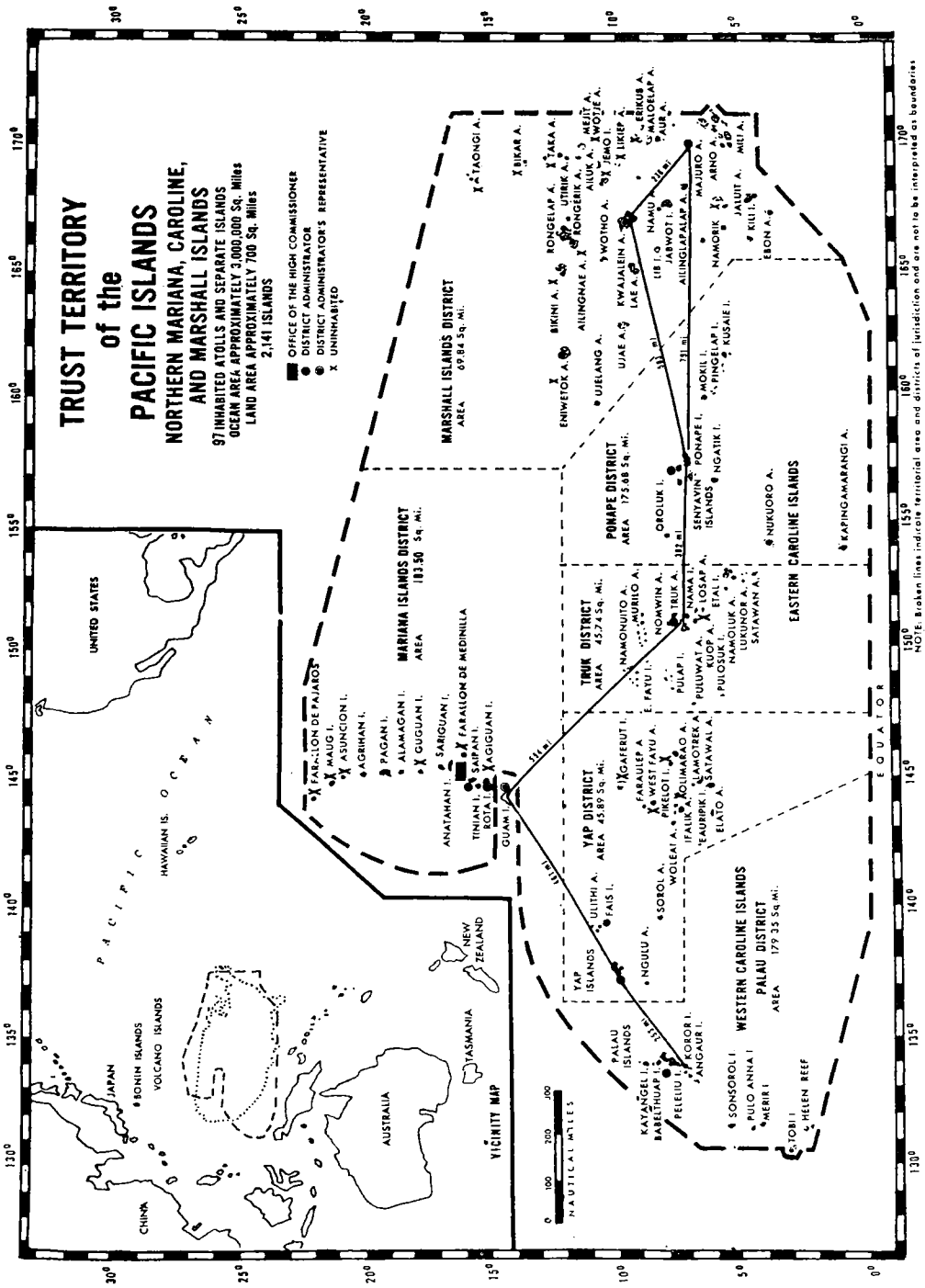

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from the area selling all of its remaining Micronesian possessions to Germany.[1]

Japan moved into the islands of the Trust Territory in 1914, and in 1920 the League of Nations entrusted the area to Japan for formal administration. The Japanese remained in Micronesia until the end of World War II. In 1946 the United States agreed to administer the islands as a trusteeship of the United Nations. At first the administration was in the hands of the military, but in 1951 it changed to civilian hands, and the first civilian High Commissioner took office. At present the Trust Territory is under the supervision of the Department of the Interior.[2]

The vastness of the area, the heterogeneity of cultures and languages, and the succession of foreign rulers have all contributed to the complexity of the recent history of these islands with respect to language.

PRE-WORLD WAR II

German Period

There were very few Micronesians who spoke English when the United States assumed the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. What little English there was came from two major sources — a mission school on Kusaie and a German communications school on Yap. Students attending the mission school were mostly Kusaieans, but there were a few students from other islands. The German administrators selected a handful of people from each district and sent them to Yap to attend their school where German and English were taught. Some of the Micronesians from these schools were the first interpreters used by the American military personnel in 1945.

One of these interpreters was Elias Sablan who was born on Saipan during the German regime. He had already learned two languages in his early childhood because his mother was Carolinian and his father was Chamorro. He was selected by the Germans to attend the communications school on Yap where he learned German and English. He also learned Japanese during that regime. Mr. Sablan was forced to go into hiding during World War II because the Japanese were suspicious of his ability to speak English, thinking he was a spy for the American forces. The U.S. Marines learned of his talent and asked for him when they invaded the island. They finally rescued him and his family from a small mountain cave, and he proved of assistance during the invasion and post-invasion days. Today his ability to speak Carolinian, Chamorro, Japanese, German and English aids him vastly in his position as the Land and Claims Officer for the Marianas District of the Territory.

[1] Annual report to the United Nations on the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. 1965. Saipan, Mariana Islands, Publications Office, p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp 7–8.

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Japanese Period

The Japanese did not provide free public education for the Micronesians. Their schools were for Japanese children, although Micronesian children were permitted to attend if they wished. The schools were staffed only by Japanese teachers who did not speak the local language; and, of course, Japanese was the medium of instruction. Micronesians who attended Japanese schools learned the language quite well, for in addition to Japanese being the medium of instruction and the fact that the majority of the students were Japanese, the students received three hours of language drill daily. School attendance beyond the third grade for Micronesians was on a competitive-selective basis. Very few went beyond the fifth grade. Some more promising students were sent to Japan for further vocational study. Many who could not study Japanese formally did learn to speak it from their close contact with the Japanese people who were in the majority on the larger islands and who intended to settle in the islands. As a result, today most Micronesians over the age of 30–5 speak Japanese and still use it to communicate with each other if they do not speak the same Micronesian language.

The Japanese made no attempt to learn the local languages and, in fact, felt that these languages of the minority would soon die out anyway. Thus, Japanese was used exclusively in the schools, courts, government offices, commerce, business and radio. In some centers, such as Saipan, priests and pastors were required to deliver their sermons in Japanese, and those who did not speak it were required to have their sermons translated and approved prior to delivery.

Now, although two decades have passed since the Japanese regime, one can still hear the language spoken, and Japanese radio programs are extremely popular.

A living example of this bilingual generation is Jose Tenorio (known as Joe Ten) of Saipan, who learned Japanese in school and English from the American Naval educators who selected him and several others to be student-teachers of English. They received their English instruction one lesson at a time the night before they were to teach the same lesson to the Micronesian school children. No doubt, Joe Ten's ability to speak Japanese and English fluently has aided him in becoming the most successful Micronesian businessman in the Trust Territory. His company imports products from countries where English and Japanese are spoken — New Zealand, Australia, the U.S.A., Okinawa, and Japan.

One of Joe Ten's students, who was too young to attend the Japanese schools but who was of school age at the beginning of the American regime, began to learn English with Joe Ten and later continued his studies in English at the Pacific Islands Central School on Truk. Felix Rabauliman had learned Chamorro and Carolinian at home, English at the Naval school and a combination of English and Trukese at PICS. His fluency in these languages contributes to his success as the radio station manager on Saipan where three languages — English, Chamorro, and Carolinian — are used in broadcasting.

During the pre-World War II period, there was little linguistic research done in

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Micronesia. However, missionaries did establish local orthographies, translated the Bible or portions of it into the local languages, and taught literacy to their school children and informally to adults. All missionaries attempted to learn a local language, and many of them have spoken it with great facility. Father Arnold, who has been on Saipan twenty-eight years, speaks Chamorro very well and delivers his sermons in it. However, it should be emphasized that while a succession of foreign rulers and foreign missionaries were affecting the linguistic background of the Micronesians on the larger islands, a sizeable proportion of the total Micronesian population were residents of the smaller remote islands and remained relatively unaffected by this turmoil and cultural upheaval and, as a result, did not learn the foreign languages. Although many Micronesians learned to speak Japanese during their rule, most of them remained illiterate.

POST-WORLD WAR II

Navy Administration

The Navy Department which administered the Trust Territory in the early years immediately after the occupation (1947–51) accepted the language policy of the United Nations Charter which stipulated that English was to be taught as a subject in the earliest grades, and thereafter as soon as possible was to become the medium of instruction. In order to implement this policy, the administration of the Trust Territory developed and adopted the following policy:

Sect. 2. Schools shall foster and encourage:
  a) The native language, history, arts, and crafts.
  b) Instruction in the English language to inhabitants of all ages.
Sect. 8. Elementary schools shall provide instruction in:
  a) English
  b) Native language, history, arts, and crafts.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE INTERIM REGULATIONS, MARCH, 1951

Chapter III

General Curriculum

Sect. 3.01 *Language*

Instruction in the English language for all pupils is a prime necessity. The emphasis on English shall not discourage instruction in the several indigenous languages and dialects.

3.011 *Vernacular*

The vernacular shall be taught and used as the medium of instruction during the first two years in the elementary schools. Teachers and pupils shall be encouraged to respect and revere their indigenous languages.

3.012 *English*

The English language will gradually become the medium of instruction. English will now

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be introduced during the first school year and will be stressed throughout the subsequent years of the elementary schools. Correct and constant use of the English language shall be encouraged so that it may become the 'lingua franca' of the Trust Territory in the shortest possible time.[3]

Civilian Administration

In 1951 when the administration of the Trust Territory became the responsibility of civilians, the policy used during the Naval administration had to be revised. Shortly after Robert E. Gibson became the Director of Education (1951), he realized that it was impossible for him to implement the language policy as it stood. First, he realized that there were no qualified teachers to teach English in the elementary schools, and it was impossible for him under the extremely limited budget to supply the schools with native-speaking teachers of English. He also felt that the teaching of English as a subject in the earliest grades was educationally inadvisable. As a result of these observations and convictions he appointed a committee to study and to help formulate a policy with regard to the relative stress that should be placed on the teaching of the vernacular and English in the schools of the Trust Territory. The committee was composed of six members — three from the Trust Territory and three from the University of Hawaii. Two of the members were educators, two were linguists, and two were anthropologists. After a two-month study the committee made the following recommendations which were accepted by the High Commissioner:

'Two languages shall be used in the schools of the Trust Territory — the vernacular or island language and English' (Gibson 1961a:1). The first recommendation was based on the sound educational philosophy that education should start where the pupils are. The committee also indicated that a person's literacy in his own language will help him in learning to read and write a foreign language. This statement was made after the committee had reviewed several studies, especially one made at Iloilo in the Philippines, which supported this view. (See Sibayan, this volume.)

'When the child first comes to the elementary school, the program should be taught entirely in the island language' (Gibson 1961a:2). This was a logical deduction, for all pupils who first came to school spoke no English, and in many case, the teachers did not either.

'Later on in the elementary school, as soon as the pupils are ready for it, English can become a subject for study and at the same time the teacher can use it when he talks to his classes. This should only be done if the teacher can speak English fairly well. Until teachers are better able to read and write English, only oral English should be used in the elementary schools' (Gibson 1961a:2).

'English shall be encouraged as the second language for the peoples of the Trust Territory whenever and wherever these conditions are fulfilled:

[3] U.S. Navy Department. 1951. Interim regulations, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Washington D.C., Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. Chapt. 8, pp. 1–2.

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1. a problem in communication is recognized by the people;
2. a knowledge of English is found to be a solution to that problem;
3. pupils have learned to read and write in the mother tongue;
4. teachers who can teach English are available. English shall then be taught as a foreign language' (Gibson 1961a:2–3).

As a result of the committee's recommendations, the language policy for the Trust Territory was revised to read as follows:

Recommended Revisions of the Interim Regulations

Chapter 8

Sect. 2

Education shall foster and participate in the self-development of all individuals and groups in the Trust Territory. It shall help these individuals and groups to enable themselves to solve their own problems effectively. It shall therefore help them to understand themselves and their own languages, history, traditions, industries, arts, and crafts. It shall further help them to solve new problems by providing new instruments as needed. If a problem arises for them in communicating with the world at large or with other parts of the Trust Territory, the instrument for solving such a problem may be English.

Sect. 8, revise to read:

Elementary schools shall provide integrated educational programs which shall be designed:

a) to promote the welfare of the community in all the ways and things appropriate to that community;
b) to help the pupils do better what they are already doing: to think more clearly; to communicate more effectively; to maintain their health; to contribute to the welfare of their community;
c) to help pupils do such new things as are meaningful to them: to read and to write; to learn new facts about health and to acquire new health habits; to use arithmetical concepts; to become proficient in arts, crafts, agriculture, and industries; to understand local and world history, geography, and other social matters; to develop habits of scientific inquiry.

3.01 *Language*. The language program shall be designed to develop:

a) the content of expression and communication:
b) the oral and written media of expression and communication.

In this way the language program should do more than promote language instruction as an end in itself.

3.011 *Island Languages*

Education should start where the pupils start. In a language program the pupils start with their mother tongue. In general, therefore, the medium of instruction in the elementary schools shall be the mother tongue of the pupils, even where that mother tongue is not an official dialect or the official language of the island. Because a person is effectively aided in learning to read and write in a foreign language by ability to read and write his own language, literacy in the mother tongue shall be one prerequisite to instruction aimed at English Literacy. Teaching aids, texts, and other literature in all island languages shall be prepared, preferably as a part of the local school curriculum by teachers and pupils with expert guidance and advice.

3.012 *English*

English is a foreign language in the Trust Territory. It shall, however, be fostered as a

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second language for the peoples of the Trust Territory wherever the following conditions are fulfilled:

a) a problem in communication is recognized by the people;
b) a command of English is found to be a solution to that problem;
c) literacy in the mother tongue is attained;
d) certified teachers of English are available.

The necessity of deciding when these conditions are fulfilled will be the joint responsibility of the High Commissioner and District Administration.

English shall then be taught as a foreign language. The content and the vocabulary of English studies shall be adjusted to local conditions to make them more meaningful to the pupils. English teaching aids, texts and other literature for teacher's use shall be prepared for each local area as necessary, preferably as a part of the local school curriculum by teachers and pupils and with expert guidance and advice. Oral competency in English shall be a prerequisite to the development of literacy in English during the first years of English studies [Gibson 1961a:2–3].

In order to implement the revised language policy, the Education Department, still bound by an extremely limited budget, hired a very small number of qualified and experienced American teachers to serve as supervisors. Their primary function was to assist the Micronesian teachers, many of whom were only sixth grade graduates who spoke no or very little English, with their educational responsibilities. This situation was further complicated by the fact that almost all the American supervisors did not speak the local languages. The fact that this very limited number of supervisors had to reach, via a very inadequate transportation system, more than a hundred elementary schools and six intermediate schools with an enrollment of 11,350 students scattered throughout the islands of the Trust Territory, further added to the complication. Later, as the budget permitted, additional American teachers were recruited to staff the only secondary school, the Pacific Islands Central School, on Truk where English was the medium of instruction.

Although Micronesian teachers understood the language policy of the administration and many of them realized that they were not qualified to teach English, they nevertheless were forced to teach it by the constant pressure of the community. One educator reported an encounter with a village chief in which the chief blamed the American administration for not emphasizing English in the early grades of the elementary schools as a deliberate action TO KEEP MICRONESIANS IN THE BOONDOCKS. As a result, many of the Micronesian teachers attempted to teach English in spite of their inadequate knowledge of the language. The technique used was the only one they knew, the traditional method of teaching reading, coupled with translations into the local language, even though this was contrary to the language policy which clearly stated that oral competency in English shall be a prerequisite to the development of literacy in English during the first years of English studies. As a result of this unintentional direction of the language policy, the children not only acquired a reading pronunciation but also learned the unique English idiolect of their Micronesian teachers. This in turn forced the American teachers at the one high school and the few teachers of English at the intermediate schools to do a great deal of remedial work in English,

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which was, of course, very difficult, for they were trying to undo at an older age the damage that had been done when the students were younger. The habits had already been thoroughly fixed, and the task of the teacher proved to be, in most cases, discouraging and unrewarding.

Nevertheless, the Micronesian community continued to apply pressure on the administration by demanding an intensification of the teaching of English in the Territory. In the meantime, certain educators were concerned over the problem of teaching wrong English in the schools. In response to these two concerns the Director of Education in 1956 met with a group of educators with interest and special training in the teaching of English. The main objective of this conference was to consider how to effect a more rapid learning of English throughout the Trust Territory, without detriment to the other existing programs of the Department.

At this conference, Byron W. Bender, presently a professor of linguistics at the University of Hawaii, delivered a paper entitled "Some suggestions for the improvement of English language instruction in Micronesia" (1956) in which he presented a careful assessment of the English language teaching problem and made several recommendations which were approved by the conference. These were later referred to by Charles F. Hockett as sound suggestions when he wrote his recommendations in 1961 with regard to the teaching of English in that area.

This conference recognized the need for introducing special materials and methods for teaching English as a second language as distinguished from those used in teaching American children to read and write. Specifically, the recommendations of the conference called for:

1. A trained linguist attached to the staff of the Director of Education.
2. Development of a course, *Spoken English for Micronesians*, based on the ACLS *Structural notes and corpus.*
3. A methods workshop to be held for one or more instructors from each district.
4. An oral course to be completed by intermediate school students before work in reading and writing; intermediate libraries to be strengthened with graded reading materials.
5. Districts to work towards making English the sole medium of instruction in intermediate schools; and students to be encouraged to use English outside of class as well; more scholarships for intermediate teachers; on-the-job training programs for students to be expanded to increase contacts with Americans.
6. Audio-visual equipment to be used increasingly in the teaching of English.
7. American personnel to be encouraged to avoid using pidgin or other fractured forms of English with Micronesian employees.
8. Every attempt to be made in hiring new education personnel to secure those familiar with TESL (teaching English as a second language); the number of American education personnel to be increased.

Also out of this conference came the Education Department's decision to adopt the *Fries American English Series,* a series of six books published by D.C. Heath Co. be-

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tween 1952 and 1957. While some of the materials in these books were directed towards specific difficulties arising with students whose first language was Spanish, they had the then rare virtue of having been designed for grades 4 through 12, and it was felt that the bulk of their content, since it concerned the English language, was material that would need to be mastered by students with other first languages as well. There was some discussion at the conference as to the cultural content of the series, which was chiefly American, but the consensus of at least the linguists was that this did not affect the structural patterns to be learned, and that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to divorce the English language from the cultural context in which it developed.

If one were called upon to date the inception of a conscious English program in the Trust Territory, the conference held on Truk in 1956 would have to be cited.

However, the Education Department was not able to implement fully the recommendations made at that 1956 conference due to the lack of funds. Nevertheless, they did not cease working at the problem. The Director of Education was interested in learning what was being done in the field of teaching English in other areas of the Pacific. After attending the Regional Educational Seminar held under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission in Brisbane, Australia, November 16–27, 1959, he made the following observations and recommendations on the two different viewpoints set forth at the conference with regard to the vernacular language:

The French viewpoint was: The indigenous populations demand that they be given our type of education. They will not accept any watered-down substitutes. If we are to comply with this demand, then we have no time to waste with local languages which will in any case play no further part in the child's education in two, three, or four years, as the case may be. It is our experience, and we have been at this job for many years, that pupils taught in the metropolitan language at the outset are perfectly able, other things being equal, to compete with pupils in our own metropolitan schools at every level. Furthermore, they said, in many territories there are great numbers of indigenous languages, each one spoken by a few thousand people. It is surely unrealistic to attempt to convert these languages into teaching languages.

Dr. F.H. Walter, Program Specialist for the teaching of foreign languages, *Unesco*, was a proponent of the development and the use in teaching of the existing vernacular language. One argument was a moral one. Native language, he said, the language that a child learns at his mother's knee is man's most cherished possession. It is at once the essence and the vehicle of his culture. He has a right to maintain it and administering powers have a duty not only to help him to maintain it but to help him to develop it in any educational process that is introduced.

The second argument was pedagogical. The child, he said, comes to one of your schools at, say, six years of age and is at once subjected to what is really a quite intolerable intellectual burden. You not only confront him with a totally new language, the metropolitan language, which you compel him to start learning at once, but, in addition you make him begin the study of all these new, difficult arts, such as reading and writing and arithmetic, which are in themselves difficult enough for any child, and you make him try to master these arts in the, to him, totally unfamiliar medium of the metropolitan language. You would get far better pedagogical results if you let pupils learn to read and to acquaint themselves with numbers in their own tongue. Later, with proper planning, they will have ample time to master the metropolitan language which should in any case be introduced to them gradually.

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In Trust Territory we have accepted this latter viewpoint and we have been reinforced in this policy by three linguists who, during the last ten years have been employed in three different districts of Trust Territory ... (Gibson 1961a:3–5).

The lack of qualified TESL teachers and the constant turnover of American administrators continued to bring up old problems. In 1961 there seemed to arise several arguments as to whether or not English should be used as the medium of instruction beginning in the first grade. The policy stated that English will become the medium of instruction as soon as the students are able to cope with this language, but until then the local language would continue to be used as the language of instruction. Some American officials and Micronesians seemed to feel that this policy was holding the Micronesians back and was keeping them from getting into the orbit of the twentieth century.

Edward M. Quackenbush summarizes this argument in his letter of rebuttal with a certain government official who was of the opinion that English should be taught as the medium of instruction in the first grade by saying:

The whole letter implies an attitude which I have heard expressed in one form or another many times in the Trust Territory. In its simplest form, it runs something like this: "Our English program is not doing the job it should because the Director of Education is deliberately holding us back. Our hands are tied by his unreasonable and perverse refusal to let us teach English in the first grade". This tendency to view an early start in English as the panacea for all the troubles of the Trust Territory just doesn't fit the facts. If there were even the remotest chance that beginning the teaching of English in the first grade could accomplish all the wonders that are claimed for it, I'd be first to recommend a change in our present policy. But deferring English instruction for a few years as we do ... is NOT what is presently wrong with our English program. The fault, ..., is in

a) lack of teachers qualified to use the oral approach
b) lack of teacher-supervisors qualified to teach the use of the oral approach
c) lack of really serious interest and motivation on the part of the Micronesians. [Quackenbush 1961:6].

Quackenbush followed Bender in the capacity of English language teaching advisor to the Director of Education. Bender was the advisor from 1957 to 1959 and Quackenbush from 1959 to 1962. Both were trained linguists and TESL teachers.

In the continuing search for answers to the problems of language teaching in Micronesia, the Director of Education in 1961 requested the aid of the South Pacific Commission in obtaining the services of Charles F. Hockett who visited the Trust Territory early that year and made the following recommendations for and endorsements of the language policies of the Education Department:

II. The Teaching of English.

There is general agreement that English should be taught as efficiently, effectively, and rapidly as possible throughout the Territory, as the lingua franca for the whole region and as the metropolitan language supplying access to the vast wealth of modern scientific and technological knowledge. The Micronesians themselves want this. The Americans in the Territory

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want it, sometimes for different reasons. The recent UN Visiting Mission was sharply critical of our achievement so far along this line.

In November, 1956, Byron W. Bender prepared a set of recommendations, "Some suggestions for the improvement of English language instruction in Micronesia," which formed the basis of a conference held in Truk on 15 November 1956. The recommendations made by Bender, and supported by the conference, were excellent. A consultant such as myself has the right to ask very sharply why the recommendations were not put into effect. A letter from the Director of Education to the High Commissioner, dated 19 November 1956, is clear evidence that the lack of positive action on the recommendations was not the fault of the Department of Education.

The following recommendations are not absolutely identical with those made by Bender in 1956, but they are congruent therewith, the differences stemming from what has happened in the intervening four-and-one-half years:

1. Just as rapidly as suitable teachers can be trained, English should become a part of the curriculum beginning in the first year of the elementary schools.
2. English in the elementary schools should take the form of conversational, oral, training; the children should not start to read and write English until
   a) they are literate in their own language, and
   b) they have a reasonable level of oral competence in English.
3. A six-weeks orientation session should be held as soon as possible, for all teacher trainers in all districts (or for as many of them as is feasible), for training in the basic language facts of life.

Top-notch leaders in linguistics and the teaching of English as a second language should be brought in to direct the session from the technical angle. The aim, of course, is to render more efficient and realistic the way in which the teacher trainers themselves teach English.

4. The Department of Education should have a 'Language Specialist' who visits the various Districts to supplement the results of the orientation session. He should also be equipped to render technical assistance in the Districts in the problems taken up below under III.
5. Incoming Stateside Personnel for the Department of Education should receive intensive orientation of the kind recommended in (3) above, or else should be chosen from the available stocks of people who already have such training.

The above five recommendations are minimal. If they are not acted on with some dispatch, the next five years can easily go by with as little accomplishment as the past five. Optimally, the Language Specialist for the whole Territory ought to be replaced before long by a Language Specialist at least for each District (except that Rota and Saipan could be grouped were it not for the high-level administrative split — or could be grouped with Guam were it not for the same factor). I should recommend that longer-term planning look forward to this as a distinct and desirable development within the next two or three years.

III. Native Language Policy.

Increased emphasis on teaching English throughout the Territory does not automatically entail abandonment of the ideal of literacy in native language.

The French viewpoint expressed at the Regional Education Seminar in Brisbane 16–27 November 1959 de-emphasizes literacy in native language, apparently on two bases: (a) there are too many indigenous languages, and (b) the metropolitan language is the important one.

Now here, as in all other connections, it is the preferences of each cultural group that must ultimately decide. If, for example, the Palauans were to decide that they don't want the

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schools to bother with reading and writing in Palauan, but to concentrate on English, then for Palau this would be the only possible policy. However, pending decisions of this sort by the various cultural groups, and as a basis of advising and counseling the various groups so that they can make their decisions in an informed way, I believe that the French viewpoint is to be strongly resisted.

The grounds for this resistance were well set forth by Dr. F.H. Walter at the Brisbane conference, and need not be repeated in detail here, especially since on this point my comments constitute an endorsement of current policy of the Department of Education, not a criticism thereof.

There are, however, several related points that need discussion.

1. If English is to be begun in the first grade (when teachers are available), how is the teaching of English as a second language to be worked in alongside of the development of literacy in the first language? I should say that in the first grade the bulk of the time each day should be spent on the 'three r's' in native language, with special periods each day — not more than two-fifths of the whole school day — devoted to conversational English at the appropriate level. In the second year, the ratio might be reversed; by the fourth year, instruction might be wholly in English. The second or third year would be the time to start teaching the children to read and write in English — in any case, not too soon. It must be granted that time spent on activities in native language is school time lost from learning English — and vice versa. The only true test is the ultimate results. In a bicultural (and bilinguistic) situation, it is all too easy to produce 'marginal men', who have no true sense of participation in either culture; the aim, of course, should be to produce people who have a sense of participation in BOTH cultures. It is hard to see how neglect of and contempt for native language can contribute to this goal. Therefore one must simply assume that a somewhat slowed learning of English is more than compensated for by native language literacy.

2. For literacy in native language, what orthography is to be used? The speakers of the language ought to decide this whenever possible — on the basis of suggestions from linguists who know the problems of orthography-formation. In some of the districts there are two, or perhaps more, competing orthographies: one in use by one missionary group, another by another, perhaps a third tentatively being used by the government schools. Not surprisingly, speakers of the language who have been trained to read and write in one orthography are inclined to prefer it to any of the others.

From conversations with Quackenbush I gather that the most serious problems of orthography selection arise where two different mission groups each support their own. In any such case, I recommend the following. Let Governmental authority issue an ultimatum. Say to the mission groups: get together with each other and with native speakers of the language, and choose a single orthography, by such-and-such a deadline, that you will all use from then on. If you can do so, the Government and the Government schools will thereafter use the orthography you have selected. If you cannot, the Department of Education will make a decision, and will require all of you to abide by that decision if you wish to continue your work in the District.

3. If we teach a Micronesian group to read and write its own language, what are they going to read? The long-term answer to this problem is not terribly important: if native literacy proves to be a viable ingredient of native culture, the group will do their own writing. But for an initial period of a good many years, this question ought to be answered with some central guidance. There should be a plan in each language area for selecting materials that ought to be written, printed, and distributed. There should be a central Literature Production Bureau to take care of the detailed work — or possibly, in time, not a central Bureau but a smaller one in each District. A weekly newspaper of some sort, perhaps partly in the District language and partly in English, would in due time be a good idea.

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4. How about native literacy in highly divergent dialects or sharply distinct languages within a District? The clearcut case that comes to mind — in the absence of detailed information about the distribution of languages and dialects in the whole Territory — is Kapingamarangi. The language of Kapingamarangi and of one other atoll in the Ponape district is a Polynesian language — and an EASTERN Polynesian language at that! — having only the remotest genetic relationship to the language of Ponape. If Kapingamarangi children are brought up to Ponape and are put into schools in which 'native language' instruction is in the dialect of Ponape, the basic principle of literacy in native language is being violated. They are being taught a second language of highly limited use instead of a second language — English — of very broad value.

This is probably the sort of situation the French participants at the Brisbane conference had in mind. And yet there is no reason to change basic policies. A language spoken by a community of a hundred or so people is just as complex and viable a phenomenon as one spoken by a thousand people or a million. The child works just as hard learning it; it conditions his patterns of thinking and acting just as thoroughly. The benefits of native language literacy are as valid for a tiny speech community as for an enormous one. The basis of planning is unaltered. If economic factors preclude extending a policy to such small speech communities, then one finds the next best policy — say, perhaps, instruction completely in English from the beginning of school. But one abandons the basic policy with regret.

5. To what extent should Stateside personnel in the Territory learn to communicate in the languages of the Territory? People whose duties take them from one part of the Territory to another have little opportunity to learn any of the Territorial languages. Of those who stay at a District Post for a year or so, we can be sure that very few will have any desire to learn more than a handful of everyday phrases. But it is eminently desirable that more Stateside personnel learn more of the language of their particular district.

One can argue against this on the grounds that if English-speaking personnel learn Trukese or Yapese or the like, the Trukese or Yapese will have less occasion to practice their English and perhaps less motivation for learning their English. This is largely a rationalization, stemming from the fact that Americans are lazy and embarrassed about learning other languages. Actually, there is nothing as encouraging in cross-cultural and cross-language relations as a good healthy quid-pro-quo. If every American on Truk spoke fluent Trukese, things would be better, not worse — communication would be carried on in English much of the time anyway; the Trukese would feel that the Americans were taking on a more reasonable share of the total communicative burden; the Trukese would learn English better. Indeed, the more a teacher of a language is familiar with the native language of his students, the more effectively he can teach. And every American in the Trust Territory is, for better or worse, a teacher.

I know of no culture anywhere in which the participants do not deeply appreciate the efforts of outsiders to learn some of their language. It seems to be almost a universal token of cross-cultural respect. I suppose we should not display the token unless we feel the respect; but if we do not feel the respect we should not be here [Hockett 1961:1–5].

As a result of Hockett's recommendations, the High Commissioner appointed a committee in October of 1961 to further study and prepare a statement on the state of teaching the English language. Thereafter, this committee made the following recommendations:

1. A rigid policy which can apply to all communities, grades and levels is not possible at this time because of the variations of ability of students and teachers in these communities, grades and levels.

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2. English shall be taught where there are teachers who are qualified to teach it, and every effort will be made by this administration to provide the teachers.
3. English shall be used as the medium of instruction after it has been taught using the 'oral approach' and when both pupils and teachers are ready to profit from this method.
4. The standards of qualification of teachers and pupils will be made by the Administration based on the technical recommendations of the educational staff. [Gibson 1961b:1]

Immediately after these recommendations were made, the policy for teaching English was revised to read, 'English shall be used as the medium of instruction after it has been taught using the "oral approach" and when both pupils and teachers are ready to profit from this method'. Following this policy change, Quackenbush conducted teacher training seminars in all the district centers.

When Bender again assumed Quackenbush's responsiblities in 1962, he was named the English Program Supervisor for the Trust Territory. He continued Quackenbush's efforts by holding a seminar for the teacher supervisors from each district on Saipan. Later, in 1963, he continued with seminars in every district. Bender was joined by the author in the latter part of that year at a seminar held on Yap.

While all of this was going on, a massive program of building schools and houses for American teachers was initiated in 1962.

The government continued to explore the feelings and attitudes of the Micronesians with regard to this new emphasis and intensification of teaching English. Many favorable comments were received from the local inhabitants and educators. One of these educators from Saipan, Mr. William Reyes, expressed his opinion in a memorandum to the Educational Administrator by indicating that '... undoubtedly the majority of the people of the district want English to be taught to and learned and used by these children. At least they want it to be the language in the schools ...' (Reyes 1962:1).

John Trace, Director of Education after 1964, upon visiting the six districts in preparation for a massive accelerated education program, made the following comment in his report: 'Considerable feeling expressed on Yap that the local language should be learned by the Americans. The other districts made no point of this' (Trace 1963:3). He also mentioned that 'There was almost complete unanimity of feeling that English should be the language of instruction. In no district was any local feeling expressed indicating a desire for instruction in the indigenous language. There appeared to be no local concern that instruction in English would either kill the local language or force undue cultural changes on the people. The feeling was quite strongly expressed by both Micronesians and Americans that English was what was wanted. It appeared that, if English was not pushed to the maximum, the Micronesians would be upset and would protest. The Micronesians seemed to feel that the children would learn the local language at home, and that the schools should concentrate on English. It was recognized that this approach was not feasible in the past, but that now, with the American teachers coming to the islands, every emphasis could be given to instruction in English' (Trace 1963:5). No doubt, the Micronesians realized the great need

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for a common language and the necessity for learning a language which the people could use in this twentieth century.

ACCELERATED EDUCATION PROGRAM (1963–)

Objectives

In 1963 the Accelerated Education Program had its inception, following a change in the statement of basic objectives. The new objectives were to bring Micronesians into the orbit of the twentieth century by developing a sound educational system of high quality based on standards required elsewhere in a modern world. This program called for (a) universal free education through the twelfth grade, (b) compulsory education for ages 6–15, (c) opportunity beyond high school for all interested and capable youth, (d) English as the language of instruction, (e) a preschool program, (f) and a program of adult education to help bridge the gap for those already beyond school age. The major points of emphasis which affected the language policy were (a) the employment of qualified English-speaking elementary school teachers and (b) the development of a program of teaching English as a second language (Trace 1966:2–3).

With increased funds the Department of Education recruited over 100 English-speaking Stateside teachers with the usual domestic American professional education qualifications to augment and implement this new program.

Teacher Training

Since the average American elementary teacher has no background, training or experience in teaching English as a second language, the Trust Territory Education Department began an intensive training program for all new teachers. This program began in the districts with a brief orientation and introduction into TESL methods and techniques prior to the teachers' assuming their teaching assignments. This was followed by seminars and workshops in TESL conducted during the school year by the Trust Territory English Program Supervisor who traveled from district to district conducting these one- to three-week sessions. During the summer months these in-service TESL training workshops were augmented by a more formal type of applied linguistics and TESL seminar. The Trust Territory solicited the assistance of the East-West Center and the University of Hawaii who sent professionals from the Linguistics Department and English Language Institute to Micronesia to conduct these seminars in the various districts.

Also, the Government encouraged teachers to attend NDEA–TESL Institutes by giving them administrative leave and contributing towards their transportation with a round-trip ticket from their respective districts to Hawaii. Many of the teachers took

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advantage of this opportunity and received more formal training in TESL. When they returned to the Trust Territory, many of them assumed supervisory capacities, teaching and training other teachers in TESL methods and techniques.

However, as might be expected, there remained many American teachers who were unconvinced as to the value of these new methods and continued their attempt to teach school, including the language arts, much as they had always done.

In the fall of 1963 Bender designated the Oleai Elementary School on Saipan as a TESL experimental center and a demonstration school. The Micronesian staff was assisted by the author as a linguist-teacher who taught oral English in all six grades. The author became English Program Supervisor when Bender left the Territory late in 1964.

During the summer of 1964 Bender and the author co-authored *A manual for teachers of English in the Trust Territory* (1965). The included a chapter on the theoretical aspects of teaching English as a second language, another with a brief phonological contrastive analysis of English and several Micronesian languages, and another with an extensive annotated bibliography of TESL materials. The rest of the manual was devoted to practical classroom devices such as language games, poems, sample lesson plans, dialogues, etc.

Language Policy

The language policy continued to undergo revisions in order to keep pace with the accelerated changes of the sixties, which included the advent of hundreds of Peace Corps volunteers, beginning in 1966. Another major revision came in June of 1967 after George Pittman, English Language Specialist from the South Pacific Commission, visited three of the districts and participated in a TESL conference on Saipan which had district-wide representation. At the end of this conference the Education Department reaffirmed its policies on teaching English in schools by issuing an administrative directive to all the districts stating that 'English shall become the general language for communication and instruction in the Trust Territory' (Mangan 1967:1) and listing the following basic principles:

1. Elementary school children, starting in grade one, shall be taught to read in their local language.
2. English shall be taught as a second language.
3. English shall become the medium of instruction in the school as soon as the students indicate sufficient evidence of their ability to comprehend other subjects in English.

In order to implement the program, the Territory adopted materials developed by the South Pacific Commission for Polynesian children, Florida's Dade County materials developed for Cuban children, and other U.S. TESL texts, in lieu of the various ones being used.

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At the time of this conference three of the districts had an English Language Specialist to supervise their TESL programs. Every district had one by the end of 1967.

Schools

As of June 30, 1966, there were 198 elementary schools and twenty high schools in the Trust Territory. The Department of Education has been able to staff most of these schools with at least one English speaking teacher with some background in TESL. In the 1967–68 school year there were more than 20,000 children in public elementary schools. There were also thirty-seven Catholic and Protestant mission schools with an enrollment of 6,500 students. It should be remembered that some of the oldest schools in the Territory are mission schools in which the medium of instruction has been English, in the case of some like the one at Kusaie, for over 100 years. Government statistics also indicate that by 1966 there were 257 students enrolled in institutions of higher learning outside the Trust Territory.

Peace Corps

The largest influx of Americans into Micronesia began in 1966 with the arrival of the Peace Corps. The first group arrived on October 31, 1966, and initiated the first and only program in which the Peace Corps operates in a country where the host government is in a sense its own. A second group arrived in February of 1967, and a third group in September of the same year, bringing the total number of volunteers to approximately 580.

The infusion of Peace Corps volunteers into the Trust Territory has affected and reinforced the language policy in the islands. One of the major emphases of their program is education, mainly TESL. These volunteers received their training in TESL for three months prior to their assignments to their duty posts. One part of the first group was trained in Key West, Florida, by a group of TESL-trained ex-Peace Corps volunteers; and the other part was trained on Molokai, Hawaii, by linguists and TESL specialists from the University of Hawaii. The second main Peace Corps wave conducted its training on the island of Udot in the Truk District in 1967. This group received 120 instruction and practice hours in methods and techniques of TESL. The program was conducted jointly by the Trust Territory and Peace Corps TESL personnel. The Peace Corps endeavor, with its high ratio of volunteers to the local populace, will have a very significant effect on the language policy and the teaching of English in the Trust Territory.

Languages in Use

The Peace Corps has also affected the attitude towards the local languages of this area, since the volunteers are required to learn the local language. Linguists of the Univer-

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sity of Hawaii have since conducted a preliminary linguistic analysis and developed lesson materials in Chamorro, Palauan, Yapese, two Carolinian dialects, Trukese, Ponapean, Kusaiean, and Marshallese.

Chamorro is the language of the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands. Most of the Chamorroes are bilingual, speaking either English or Japanese in addition to their mother tongue. Many who are over forty speak three languages. Almost all the Carolinians who migrated to Saipan from the central Caroline Islands about eighty years ago are bilingual, speaking both Chamorro and Carolinian. According to Government statistics, about 90% of the population of the Marianas below the age of twenty-five are now conversant in English, and many of these are now literate also.

Yapese is spoken on Yap proper, and several Carolinian languages or dialects are spoken on the outer islands of the district, such as Ulithi, Woleai, Satawal, Ifaluk, Elato and Lamotrek. Many Yapese also speak Ulithian and English. Some speak Japanese and a few German and Palauan.

Palauan is spoken in the Palau District, with the exception of approximately 170 people who live in the southwest islands (Sonsorol, Tobi and Pulo Ana) and who speak two dialects of Carolinian.

Trukese is spoken in the Truk District. Many of the islands have their own local dialects which are not completely mutually intelligible with the other dialects.

Ponapean, Kusaiean, Kapingamarangian and Nukuoroan are the languages spoken in the Ponape District. The dialects spoken on Mokil and Pingelap strain what Dyen has called the language limit in their relation to Ponapean.

Marshallese has two mutually intelligible dialects — the eastern spoken in the Ratak chain and the western spoken in the Ralik chain of the Marshall Islands.

Most young people under the age of twenty-five, at least in the district centers, are now conversant in English also.

Past and Present Attitudes Concerning Local Languages

The American administration realized the importance of the local languages of Micronesia to the inhabitants and have never supressed their use. In fact, as early as 1951 the administration made several attempts at standardizing the existing orthographies. Many of these orthographies had been devised by missionaries, and most of them were not based on sound linguistic principles. During the military administration in 1945 to 1951, Isidore Dyen, Arthur Capell, Samuel Elbert and Paulino Cantero suggested orthographies for Yapese, Palauan, Trukese, Marshallese and Ponapean. In 1951 Alfred G. Smith recommended an orthography for Kusaiean and Woleaian, and wrote guides to Marshallese and Trukese spelling. In 1952 Paul Garvin revised the orthography for Ponapean.

These linguists were extremely interested in the preservation of the local languages.

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An example of this interest occurred in 1951 when Saipan and other islands of the Marianas ceased to use Chamorro as the medium of instruction in the schools and replaced it with English. Smith referred to the situation in a memorandum emphasizing that this was in violation of many of the official regulations found in the Charter of the United Nations regarding this territory. To meet these criticisms, he recommended that a training program be conducted on Saipan to train teachers how to teach Chamorro.

While some districts were de-emphasizing the use of the local languages, other districts continued their efforts in achieving a reasonable balance. In 1953 several American personnel in the Marshall Islands realized the need for learning the local language and began to learn Marshallese using lesson materials developed by Bender, who also in the same year revised the Marshallese orthography and pointed out to the Director of Education the need for arriving at a complete agreement between all agencies making attempts at improving and standardizing the orthography. Bender was also successful in establishing a printing press in the Marshalls and printed several Marshallese primers and readers.

Nevertheless, with all these attempts, Americans and Micronesians continued to emphasize the English language program at the expense of the local languages. Then, in 1966, a new interest began to develop. As was mentioned before, the local languages were taught to the Peace Corps volunteers. These volunteers received approximately 350 hours of instruction via the aural-oral technique in the language of the district to which they were assigned. Many of them are proficient in the local language and use it exclusively in their daily communication. As a result, the Micronesians are retaining, or regaining, an overt pride in their mother tongues and are demanding that the Government establish a standard orthography for each language.

A certain demand is beginning to be felt outside the bounds of the Trust Territory, also. Under the supervision of Bender, now with the Department of Linguistics, a formal course in Marshallese was offered at the University of Hawaii in the spring semester of 1967 and for the school year of 1967–68, with a total of about ten students. Donald M. Topping, of the same department, has arranged for instruction in Ponapean and Chamorro in response to individual demands. Dr. Samuel Elbert periodically offers a course in Trukese structure. Bender also conducted a seminar on problems in comparative linguistics of Micronesian languages in the fall of 1967.

Interpretation and Translation

Even though the official language of the Trust Territory is English and it is used in government offices, business, and commerce, there are many who do not speak it or understand it. The government does provide translations and interpretations. The Trust Territory language policy states that 'All legislative proceedings are to be conducted in English. However, any member may use his native language if he lacks

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fluency in English, and the Congress provides for interpretation in English in such cases.'[4] A journal of the proceedings of the Congress of Micronesia is published in English.

The official language of the courts is English. However, since the courts of the Trust Territory operate in the context of the area and take into full consideration the varied cultures and backgrounds of the islanders, the government does provide interpreters and bilingual court assistants to interpret the proceedings.

The rules of procedure issued by the Chief Justice provide that the proceedings and records of each case in any court may be kept in English or in such indigenous language as the court deems best. Ordinarily, proceedings and records in cases in the High Court are in English but pleadings in an indigenous language are frequently accepted. Proceedings in the Trial Division are ordinarily translated orally in open court into the principal indigenous language in use where the proceedings are held. Further translation is also provided for any accused who understands neither English nor such principal indigenous language. In the District and community Courts, proceedings are ordinarily in the principal indigenous language in use where the proceedings are being conducted, and records are kept either in that language or in English.[5]

The Trust Territory code has been translated into the major district center languages.

Adult Education and Radio

Adults are also provided with opportunities to learn English. Formal adult education classes in English and literacy are offered throughout the Territory. In addition, all radio stations, except Saipan's, are conducting radio English classes reaching a very large audience of Micronesians. The first radio English class began in 1959. The idea was developed by Bender after he interviewed several Marshallese as to their reasons for learning English. He wrote:

The Marshallese people want and demand that the teaching of English be maintained in the Public Elementary Schools. This was their response to the suggestion that it be delayed till the pupils enter the Intermediate School. The fact that the Marshallese teachers are not only incapable of teaching this subject but also make the problem worse by teaching a kind of English, does not deter them in their insistence for an early start. They argue that in the Mission Schools English is taught from the first day a pupil enters and do not seem to be hampered by the reasons we gave. When pointed out to them that there are only a few Mission Schools and most of them have highly trained Americans as teachers they will then simply answer: 'Well, you asked us for what we want and we have given it.'

Why are the Micronesians so desirous of learning English? This question has often been dismissed with this simple answer: 'Prestige value.' Not that this may not be true, but a simple answer is usually not adequate to convey the whole picture. I would like to give a few

[4] Annual Report of the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the Secretary of the Interior. 1965. Saipan, Mariana Islands, p. 13.

[5] Annual Report to the United Nations on the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. 1965. Saipan, Mariana Islands, p. 41.

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samples of what the Marshallese usually say when they discussed this problem among themselves:

Envy (?)	"Look at all those who are in important positions, all of them speak English. The better one speaks, reads and writes English, the better the job he has. More money too."
Suspicion (?)	"Why should we rely solely on the translation of a handful of interpreters. These men are like a small pipe controlling the flow of information between the Americans and the Marshallese."
Sense the attempt of propagandising	"Ridiculous, wanting to learn to speak English does not mean that we don't have pride in our own culture."
Positive and more realistic	"We believe all you have said. The problem is, as I see it, not whether or not English should be taught at all, but where and when? I prefer the teaching of it in the elementary school level because that is all the schooling the great majority of Marshallese will ever have and all Marshallese want to have some understanding of what they hear or read in English."
Human quest for knowledge for its own sake	"I am so envious when I see you fellows talking to an American, listening to a radio, reading a 'nujpepa' (newspaper or magazine), or a book that I wish I could understand what is going on. Don't ask me why I want to know, I don't know the reasons myself. If I am too old to learn, the children are not. If more funds are not available then stretch the dollars we have. Am I asking for a miracle? Yes, I am. Americans are a people who are constantly making miracles."

Taking a cue from the last statement, I think we can 'stretch' the dollar by using the Radio Station (WSZO) on Majuro as a means to teach English in the elementary schools. This is not a novel idea at all. Instruction by radio has been in use for a long time now. This is what the New Zealand Government is using in the teaching of not only English, but science and all the other subjects as a supplement to their [Western] Samoan teachers, whose training, like the Marshallese teachers, is not at par with the kind of job they are required to perform. [Bender 1959:1—2]

There is a radio station in every district of the Trust Territory and radio sets number well over 10,000. Even the most remote out-island has at least one transistor radio. Most of the programs and newscasts are in English, but as mentioned before, Japanese broadcasts are also very popular (Bender 1959:71).

Newspapers and Magazines

There are no formal newspapers in the Trust Territory; however, some government sponsored and some private newssheets written in English and translated in the local languages are distributed in each district reaching several thousand readers. In addition, newspapers, magazines, and general periodicals mainly from the United States as well as some from Japan are in wide circulation throughout the Territory. There are also a number of Micronesians who subscribe to technical and professional publications from Europe and the United States.[6]

[6] Annual Report to the United Nations on the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. 1965. Saipan, Mariana Islands, p. 98.

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ETV Interest

In addition to these mass media, the Trust Territory Government is also interested in and has explored the possibility of educational television in Micronesia. In the latter part of 1966 a team from the National Association of Educational Broadcasters conducted a feasibility study in the use of instructional television in Micronesia. The interest in the use of this media of instruction was sparked by the rather successful (especially in the teaching of English) ETV program of American Samoa. The NAEB recommended that the Trust Territory use television in its instructional program, especially in the area of teaching the English language. Certainly the use of television could unify the TESL program and strengthen its effectiveness.

As of 1968, over 500 TESL teachers, led by an English Language Specialist in every district and guided by the Trust Territory Headquarters English Program Supervisor, were rapidly changing the language picture in Micronesia, and English was becoming the general language of communication and instruction, while the languages of the Micronesians were at the same time taking on new significance to the rest of the world.

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INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA

S. TAKDIR ALISJAHBANA

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The most remarkable fact in the context of the Malay-Polynesian or Austronesian

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language family is the rise of Indonesian and Malay,[1] which are basically the same language, into one of the modern languages of the twentieth century. It is the national and official language of Indonesia, of Malaysia, and of Brunei. It is also the national language of Singapore, but here it shares its position, as an official language, with English, Chinese, and Tamil. It is thus spoken by about 125,000,000 people in Southeast Asia, i.e. the sixth largest language in the world.

From the multitude of Malay-Polynesian languages, Indonesian/Malay is the only one which has become a modern language, used not only in administration, law, commerce, etc., but also in teaching from primary school until university.

As mentioned above, Indonesian and Malay are basically the same language, which before 1928 was called simply Malay. How is it possible that Malay, although not the largest, and culturally not even the most important language of the Malay-Polynesian group, has become so influential in the twentieth century? It is today the mother tongue of only about fifteen million people in the whole of Southeast Asia, whereas Javanese in Central and East Java is spoken by about forty million people. Even the Sundanese language in West Java has twenty million speakers. The dominant position of Malay in the southern part of Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia, is the result of a long process, which has its basis in geographical, historical, social and cultural factors.

Indonesia and Malaysia stretch over an area, in terms of Europe, as far as from Ireland to the Caspian Sea — or in terms of America, from Los Angeles to Boston. This large area is moreover divided by the sea into thousands of islands; the larger islands are divided by high mountain ranges into hundreds of isolated districts. During thousands of years hundreds of languages and dialects have become established. Almost all of them belong to the Indonesian/Malay branch of the greater Austronesian or Malay-Polynesian language group. The differences between these hundreds of speech communities are so large that one can call them with good reason separate languages and dialects.

Precisely because the extensive area of Indonesia and Malaysia is fragmented into hundreds of geographical, cultural, and most important, linguistic units, there has been from time immemorial a need for a single common language which could be understood not only by the natives of the archipelago, but also by the constant waves of foreigners attracted by celebrated riches. Of course, at times when the archipelago was dominated politically and/or culturally by a foreign power, there was a prevailing

[1] There is a great deal of confusion in the use of the terms MALAY and INDONESIAN: In the English language the word Malay is used to denote the Malay people in Malaysia and Indonesia, and also all the languages in Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia, including even some in Madagascar and Formosa. The term Indonesian is also used for these languages in continental scholarly writing. At the same time, Indonesia is the name for the Republic of Indonesia and its national language (which is the same as Malay). More confusion is added by the word 'Malaysia' for the new state combining Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah in North Borneo. The word Malaysia has also been employed as a synonym for Indonesia in the broader sense.

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tendency for the language of that foreign power to become known to some segment of the population, i.e. Sanskrit in the Hindu period, Arabic in the age of Islam, Dutch and English under colonialism, and Japanese under the occupation. Yet because the structure of the foreign languages differed markedly from that of the languages of Indonesia and Malaysia, and because they were comprehensible only to a small stratum of society, there was always a second lingua franca, alongside the intrusive language, in use by the native peoples of Southeast Asia.

Ancient Chinese chronicles appear to give evidence precisely of this. At the beginning of the Christian era, Chinese travellers coming to Indonesia found a sort of Indonesian lingua franca in the archipelago, which they called Kw'enlun (Krom 1931:109–18). Although various native languages in Southeast Asia were called Kw'enlun (for example, by Itsing who said that Sriwijaya was a great center of learning, where translations were made from the native language into Chinese), there is no doubt that the Kw'enlun of the early travellers was an old form of Malay.

We know little about Kw'enlun, all our knowledge derives from allusions of travellers. We arrive on more solid ground with the first discoveries of Malay or Malay-like inscriptions from Kedukan Bukit (683), Talang Tuwo (684), Kota Kapur (686) and Karang Brahi (686),[2] Gandasuli (832),[3] Bogor (942). From a much later date is the inscription of Pagarruyung (1356).[4] Although there still remain uncertainties about the details of these inscriptions, it is a common opinion that they are all closely related to Malay. It is a great pity that nothing is available in manuscript from this time: material of the early form of Malay is thus limited to the few lines of these inscriptions. Since they are from the era of the great kingdom of Sriwijaya, it is fair to conclude that the Malay language already played an important role as lingua franca and official language of the time. Itsing's description also indicates that the language was instrumental, along with Sanskrit, in political and religious life at this date.

Although the various inscriptions already give an indication of the great spread of Malay far beyond the area of Malay proper, it is not until the arrival of the Europeans that we really acquire a good idea, not only of the spread of Malay, but also its status among the other Indonesian languages. Pigafetta, who accompanied Magellan on his first voyage around the world, compiled the first glossary of Malay while the ships were harbored at Tidore in 1521.[5] This glossary is of great significance as it clearly

[2] See G. Coedès, 1900. "Les inscriptions Malaises de Crivijaya", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, 30:29–8d.

[3] See J.C. de Casparis, 1950. "Inscripties uit de Cailendra-tijd", *Prasati Indonesia* I, pp. 50–73. Djawatan Purbakala Republik Indonesia. Bandung, A.C. Nix and Co.

[4] For detailed bibliographical material on the history and development of Malay and Indonesian, see A. Teeuw, 1961. See also his "The history of the Malay language", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 115:138–56 (1959).

[5] *Premier voyage autour du monde par le Chev. Pigafetta, sur l'escadre de Magellan, pendant les années 1519, 1520, 1521, et 1522; suivi de l'extrait du traite de Navigation du même auteur, et D'une Notice sur le chevalier Martin Behaim, avec la description de son Globe Terrestre.* Paris, H.J. Jansen, Imprimeur-Librairie, L'an IX [1800–1801], p. 243.

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shows that although Malay originated in Western Indonesia, it has by that time been disseminated to the easternmost parts of the archipelago. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, a Dutch navigator who sailed to Indonesia some sixty years later, wrote (1614) that Malay was not merely widely known, but was also considered the most prestigious of the languages of the Orient, and that he who did not understand it was in somewhat the same position as Dutchmen of the period who did not understand French.

Islam, following in the wake of the sailors and traders, made use of Malay. The comprehensive and sophisticated Islamic religious Malay literature of the sixteenth and especially of the seventeenth century bears witness to the role of Malay in the spread of Islam. There is even evidence that the use of Malay was not limited to Southeast Asia but had even spread to the centers of commerce in India and South China. It is still a problem, how to account for the fact that Raniri, the great Islamic theologian and writer who was born and brought up in India, had such a good command of Malay on his arrival in Acheh in 1637, without accepting the fact that at that time Malay must have been a much used language in Gujarat (Voorhoeve 1955: 7). In the sixteenth century the princes of the Moluccas used Malay when communicating with the King of Portugal. And, at the same time, when St. Francis Xavier was fighting Islam in the Moluccas, he wrote his expositions of the Christian faith in Malay, in order to attract the native inhabitants into embracing Christianity. As he himself said: it is the language everyone understands (Drewes 1948).

It is clear that the rise of the Malay language as the lingua franca in this part of Southeast Asia was determined in good measure by the favored location of the Malay-speakers on both sides of the Straits of Malacca, the most important sea route for communication between East Asia and West Asia and Europe, between the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. From this area the Malays have swarmed over the seas of Southeast Asia as immigrants and traders, bringing their language to Borneo, Celebes, the South Philippines and the Moluccas. Not less important than the Malays themselves as spreaders of the Malay language were the foreigners, who in continuous flow came to the harbors in the Straits of Malacca as traders and travellers, because of the strategic position of the Straits in commerce in Southeast Asia and as transit harbors between India, Arabia and Europe in the West, China and the whole Pacific area in the East. From the time of Sriwijaya until our time the Straits of Malacca have always been an important center of commerce, where traders from East and West as well as from the Malay Archipelago have met and exchanged products. Moreover, the Straits of Malacca have been for centuries the center of political and maritime powers: Sriwijaya, Malacca and Acheh. This central position in trade, seafare and political power gave the local language its role as the language of commerce and communication in Southeast Asia.

Another factor might be the character of the Malay language itself, which, in comparison to Javanese, is relatively easy to learn. In Malay there are no social dialects as there are in Javanese, where different words are used to express the same idea depending on the age, rank and social position of the person to whom they are addressed. A

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foreigner wanting to learn Javanese would therefore have in reality to learn more than one language, plus Javanese culture. In addition to this advantage, Malay was also easily simplified into a low or bazaar Malay with foreigners.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MALAY IN INDONESIA

After 1600 the Dutch East India Company started operations in Indonesia. Although the Company was primarily a trading organization, from the beginning it made attempts to propagate Christianity in Indonesia, as the Portuguese had done before them. For this purpose they set up, among other things, a number of schools, with the results that, from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, the Company was faced with the problem of what language should be used for the native inhabitants in the new schools and churches. Efforts to introduce Dutch presented so many difficulties, and the local languages and dialects were so numerous, that the Company was forced to use Malay, because it was understood by the majority of Indonesians in the archipelago. One can get a good idea of how slow and difficult the growth of Malay as an ecclesiastical language was, however, when one realizes that the New Testament in Malay could not be published till 1731, and the Old Testament not until 1733 (Brugmans 1938:22).[6]

As the role of the Dutch became increasingly strong and pervasive, so did that of their language. This was particularly true in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the Dutch East India Company's place was taken over by the Dutch colonial government.

Under the influence of the Aufklärung and European liberalism, and also because of the need for trained officials for its own functioning, the colonial government gradually increased its efforts to give some education to the Indonesian people. The constitution of the Dutch colonial government (Regeerings Reglement 1854) states that the Governor General must take continuous care of the education of the population. The government must also build schools for the native population. In looking at primary school education in Indonesia, we must always remember that this education took place not only in the Malay language, but also in the other larger native languages, such as Javanese, Sundanese, etc., depending on the mother tongue of the pupils.

It was toward the middle of the century that the colonial government paid more attention to the education of the native population, not only by establishing primary schools, but also by the creation of Teachers Training Colleges in Java and the other islands. In 1875 there were three Teachers Training Colleges in Java and five in the other islands. In 1893 the schools for native children were divided into two categories,

[6] See also the entry under 'Onderwijs' in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff/Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1919.

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one for the children of the better situated and the other for the common people. The duration of the education was five years for the second category and then later six or seven years for the first category. In the schools belonging to the first category, the Dutch language was also taught. For reason of expenses, a decision was taken in 1907 by Governor General Van Heutsz to create a three year school for as many people as possible in the archipelago. The cost of this expansion would be charged to the local and regional communities.

It was also around this time that schools for girls were established. There were in 1917, 991 schools of the second category in Java and 490 on the other islands; there were further 4,185 People's Schools in Java and 945 on the other islands. In 1913 the native schools of the first category were transformed into Dutch-Native Schools, in which the medium of instruction was Dutch.

The position of Malay was from the beginning rather strong, since the Dutch used it within the governmental apparatus and for communication with the Indonesian population. In this function it stood side by side with the Dutch language. Far from decreasing, the rivalry between Dutch and Malay became increasingly keen in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Dutch colonial government's policy on the question of the language of instruction in elementary and secondary schools was repeatedly changed in the nineteenth century, mainly because opinions on the importance of the two languages for instruction purposes constantly altered. Whereas Governor General Rochussen, after his tour of Java in 1850, suggested that Malay be made the ordinary medium of instruction on the grounds that it was the lingua franca of the entire 'Indian' archipelago, and was used equally by all kinds of ethnic groups, Malays, Javanese, Chinese, Arabs, Buginese, Makassarese, Balinese and Dayaks in their ordinary social intercourse, the influence of Van der Chijs in the mid-nineteenth century was responsible for the progress made in disseminating knowledge of Dutch. He maintained that for this purpose it was not enough simply that Indonesians could attend European schools, but that special schools should be set up for the Indonesians alone where they could learn to speak Dutch. He also proposed to establish a system of secondary schools and of higher education, with this end in view.

The turn of the century saw the rise of an ethical trend in colonial policy which tried to impart to the Indonesians some understanding of European culture by teaching them something of the knowledge and the methodology of Western civilization. When Mr. J.H. Abendanon became the Director of the Department of Education in 1900, he made strenuous efforts to foster and spread the use of Dutch throughout Indonesia. He was convinced that a knowledge of Dutch would be the shortest way for the Indonesian people to absorb Western culture. He instituted courses in Dutch in the People's Schools (providing six years of education), and later made Dutch a compulsory subject in these schools from the 3rd to the 6th class. As a result Dutch became an extremely important subject of study in the Teachers' Colleges.

In 1908 Indonesians put forward their demands with regard to Dutch instruction for

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the first time. The initial Congress of the Budi Utomo, held that year in Djakarta, was the first general gathering of culturally-conscious educated Indonesians. On that occasion the Congress demanded that standards for admission into Dutch schools be relaxed, and that special schools be set up for those Indonesian children who wanted to carry their study of Dutch further than the elementary level. People were no longer satisfied that Dutch was merely one subject among a number of others; they realized that the scanty knowledge of Dutch thus acquired barred their children from continuing their education beyond a certain point. When Hazeu became Director of the Department of Education, Dutch began to be taught in the primary schools from the 1st class upwards. But it was only in 1914 that the demands of Budi Utomo were recognized and carried out fully. As has been said, in that year the Dutch Government established the Dutch-Native Schools, which used Dutch over a seven-year period, so that children who had completed their studies there could carry on their education to the most advanced levels (Brugmans 1938; Hollandsch-Inlandsche Onderwijs-Commissie 1930–31).

I have analyzed the position of the Dutch language here at some length, because throughout the first twenty-five years of the twentieth century, the Indonesians repeatedly demanded greater opportunities for their children to study it. As a consequence Dutch assumed an increasingly important position in Indonesian society. It became not merely a precondition for furthering one's Western education, but also for getting highly paid jobs. Even apart from this, to be able to speak Dutch gradually became the mark of belonging to a new upper class in Indonesian society. Therefore, it was hardly surprising that every year thousands of parents struggled to get their children admitted into the Dutch-Native Schools. But the number of places open was much smaller than the number of applicants, and a great number of these had to be turned down. People then tried to spread the language in other ways, for example, by courses instituted by the Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond (General Dutch Association). There was also a group of Dutch educational experts who made great efforts to promote the use of Dutch in Indonesia. The most important of these was Dr. C. J. Nieuwenhuis. It was with a conscious plan in mind that he fought for the preeminence of Dutch. He saw in it an instrument of both cultural and economic expansion. He declared emphatically:

> Any one with the courage to look calmly into the future and yet with concern enough for his children and grand-children and enough feeling for reality and justice not to dream of eternal domination, should not expect a permanent relationship between the mother-country and the colony, but rather make every effort to ensure that some portion of what we have gained and created with so much toil and trouble be preserved for as long as possible. There is no more appropriate means to this end than the dissemination of our language. As with every communication of intellectual substance, we shall have gained personal satisfaction for ourselves, and have laid the ground-work for an abiding unity of interests (Nieuwenhuis 1925:12).

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It was thus Dr. Nieuwenhuis' intention to make Dutch a unifying force in Indonesia. On this point, he said:

> If we want to promote Indonesian unity, let us begin first with the highest social classes, with the elite; and then, as the British did in India and the French in Annam, we must institute a language which can represent international culture fully as the general medium for social intercourse. In Indonesia this language will have to be Dutch (Nieuwenhuis 1925:12).

Such a viewpoint inevitably made Dr. Nieuwenhuis reject Malay. His influence in spreading the use of Dutch remained until 1930. But in that year there appeared a strong reaction against him from two separate quarters. A great many Dutchmen were much dismayed and alarmed to see that steadily increasing numbers of Indonesians, admitted to secondary schools and the higher levels of education, were coming to occupy increasingly important government positions, and keeping up a constant clamor for wider privileges. One finds Dr. J.W. Meyer Ranneft opposing Western education for Indonesians on the ground that, as he put it, he could not answer for the consequences, either economic or cultural (Volksraad 1927–28:306–8; Hollandsche-Inlandsch Onderwijs-Commissie 1930).

Meanwhile the problem of a national language for the Indonesian people gradually changed in character. Since 1908 the Indonesian intelligentsia had struggled to create organizations to stir the consciousness of the common people and encourage their development and progress. But they had slowly come to realize that they would never be able to create close ties with the body of people by using Dutch, which would never be understood by more than a tiny minority of Indonesians. On the premise that only by uniting the entire Indonesian people could they generate a force strong enough to challenge the colonial power, they began spontaneously to look for a language which could be understood by the great majority of the people. And so their attention was drawn to Malay, which as I have said before, had been the lingua franca throughout the Indonesian archipelago for centuries. The mass political parties, like the Sarekat Islam (Islamic Association), had been using Malay from the earliest days of their emergence in 1911. The Dutch government itself promoted the Malay language not only by the creation of Malay primary and later even secondary schools, but in 1908 it opened the publishing house Balai Pustaka, which provided the people who learned to read Malay with material on popular science and literature.[7] Many newspapers in the Malay language were published by private enterprise.

With the growing development of a consciousness of Indonesian nationality, and the rapid advances made by movements striving for Indonesian unity under the stimulus of this new consciousness, the use of Malay became increasingly widespread.

[7] For the history of the publishing house Balai Pustaka, Volkslectuur, vide: *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff/Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1921. For the work of this publishing house and the libraries established by it, see the reports of the Volkslectuur, which were published every year before the war: *Eenige resultaten van de arbeid van het Kantoor voor de Volkslectuur*, Batavia-Centrum: Volkslectuur.

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But it was principally the youth movements which made the final decision in favor of Malay.

At the First Congress of Indonesian Youth, held in 1926, Muhammad Yamin was still talking in Dutch about the future possibilities of Indonesian language and literature.[8] But two years later, on October 28, 1928, at the Second Congress, held in Djakarta, the Youth of Indonesia took an oath to the effect that they belonged to one nation, the Indonesian nation, had one mother-country, Indonesia, and one language, the Indonesian language. It was at this Congress that the word Malay was replaced by 'Indonesian' to describe the language (Alisjahbana 1933:129–78). The decision not only settled the nomenclature of the language, but its place in Indonesian society. The competition between Dutch and Indonesian now came to an end. The decision, of course, also meant the acceptance of an obligation to develop the Indonesian language to a point where it could replace Dutch as a means of entry into modern world culture. It is in this light that we should regard the appearance, in 1933, of the magazine *Pudjangga Baru* (1933–41; 1948–53), edited by Amir Hamzah, Armijn Pane and S. Takdir Alisjahbana. *Pudjangga Baru* was a magazine designed to promote the Indonesian language and its literature. Various political and cultural leaders of Indonesia rallied to its support. It was the same group that took the initiative for holding the First Indonesian Language Congress in Surakarta in 1938. Notable among the resolutions passed by this Congress was its affirmation of the need to create an institute and a faculty for the study of Indonesian, to decide on technical terminology, create a new orthography, and codify a new grammar in accordance with the changes taking place in the structure of the language. In addition the Congress advanced a demand that Indonesian be made the language of the law and the medium of exchange in the various 'representative bodies'. But all these resolutions remained on paper. There was no organization behind the Congress which could put them into effect. As a result, the really important development of the Indonesian language came later, during the Japanese occupation.

When the Japanese landed in Indonesia at the beginning of 1942, and shortly thereafter seized the governmental apparatus, one of their first acts was to abolish the use of Dutch, hitherto the official language, and the only means of entry to the world of modern culture for the Indonesian intelligentsia. It was clear even then that the Japanese intended to replace Dutch by Japanese. Although Indonesians were taught Japanese in every department and school, this goal could only have been reached over a period of years, however great might be Indonesian enthusiasm for studying the Japanese language. But the pressure of the military situation meant that the Japanese could not afford to wait for a peaceful development of this kind. Like all the people who had come to Indonesia before them, they were forced to make use of Indonesian as the most practical language for the time being. Indonesian thus became not merely

[8] *Verslag van het eerste Indonesische jeugdcongres, 30 April-2 Mei 1926*, Weltevreden: Jong Indonesia Congres-Comite, 1926, pp. 48–70.

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the language of the law and of official pronouncements, but also of official correspondence between government departments, and between the Government and the people. Likewise Indonesian was used in all schools from primary schools right up to the university level.

It was a period in which a great deal that had never before been written or otherwise expressed in Indonesian had to be communicated in the language, with the result that it suddenly began to grow at a tremendous pace. One could call this flowering of Indonesian a forced growth, designed to enable it to exercise the functions of a mature modern language in the shortest possible time. Apart from this, however, the Japanese were so fully bent on mobilizing the total energies of the Indonesian people for the Greater East Asian War, that they penetrated to the most remote villages, using Indonesian wherever they went. The language spread rapidly in all directions. And the Indonesians themselves experienced a new sensation such as they had never known before that time. As the fighting continued, and the number of Indonesian-speaking Indonesians rose, the feeling of mutual solidarity grew ever deeper and stronger. The Indonesian language became a symbol of Indonesian unity. It became clear to the Japanese that they could no longer arrest its development. They would have to provide a means by which the Indonesians could perfect and amplify their language. On October 20, 1942, they inaugurated a Commission on the Indonesian Language. Its members included many of the Indonesian leaders such as Sukarno and Hatta. Its task was to decide on modern terminology, to compose a normative grammar and to advise on the words used in ordinary parlance by the Indonesian people (Alisjahbana 1946). A Language Office was established, headed by the present author. By the end of the occupation, 7,000 new terms had been decided on, mostly related to teaching in the secondary schools.

When the Indonesian Revolution broke out after the Declaration of Independence on 17 August 1945, the Constitution stipulated that Indonesian would be the official language. This was really only an abstract confirmation of what had long been effective practice. Furthermore, when the Dutch Government tried to establish the Federal States of East Indonesia and Pasundan after the Second World War, it had no choice in the matter: the two Federal States could not avoid accepting Indonesian as their official language. When the Federal States were reintegrated into the Union in 1950, Indonesian automatically became the official language of the state, used in all government departments and on all official occasions.

Meanwhile the work of constructing a modern scientific and technical vocabulary was carried on without a break. On June 18, 1947, a new Language Commission (the Working Committee on the Indonesian Language) under the present author was set up, and was able to establish approximately another 5,000 new terms (Alisjahbana 1947). After the Transfer of Sovereignty, the work was carried further by a larger committee on terminology, which in 1952 became a part of the Linguistic and Cultural Institute of the Faculty of Literature and Philosophy in the University of Indonesia, under Dr.

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Prijana. About 250,000 words have been coined to date.[9] It is possible to say now that the basis of modern Indonesian terminology has been laid. It is clear, however, that not all of the terms decided on have been accepted and are used in the living language. It is now up to the language-users, in school and society, to mould and decide on the terminology further in practice.

Together with the development of the Indonesian language went a strong, very conscious literary movement, first heralded by the Balai Pustaka and the youth magazine *Jong Sumatra* after the First World War, later after 1933 by the group around the magazine *Pujangga Baru.* A new generation arose after the Second World War, which called itself the generation of 1945, i.e. of Indonesian revolution.[10]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MALAY IN MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE AND BRUNEI

The development of the Malay language in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei follows quite different lines, and the problems faced by these three states are also quite different from those faced by Indonesia. In a certain sense we can say that Malaya, Brunei and Singapore belong to the area proper of Malay, where the Malay language was and is the mother tongue of the native population. But since the position of Malay and problems faced by it are different in these three areas, it is best to discuss them separately.

The area which is called Malaysia today, consists of three separate parts: Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah.

Malaya or Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, for the last three centuries has been considered as the country of the Malay proper, i.e. the orang Melayu, who speak bahasa Melayu. The development of the Malay language, however, came rather late due to the educational policy of the British Colonial Government. An important factor is that English is a more important world language than Dutch.

A salient characteristic of English colonization compared to that of the Dutch was that a great deal of Chinese and Indian labor was imported to Malaysia to work on British rubber estates and in tin mines. The native Malays were left relatively untouched under their own rulers with their political, religious, economic and social institutions intact. The fact that during the last decades the Malays form the largest minority group in Malaysia has made the language problem even more complicated.

Education in the Malay communities before English interference was, as in

[9] These terms were published in the magazines *Medan Bahasa* and *Bahasa dan Budaya* and later also in separate books: in the *Medical Dictionary*, *Chemical Dictionary*, *Dictionary of Law*, *Dictionary of Education* etc.

[10] For further information on modern Indonesian literature, see A.Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1967.

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Indonesia, of a religious character. The Malay language was not especially taught and yet, as the wellknown Malay writer Abdullah bin A. Kadir (1796–1854) wrote in the 19th century, it was unheard of for the Malays to learn their language, since they considered themselves as knowing their own language.

Malay secular education started in the areas which were called the Straits Settlements, which included at that time Singapore, Malacca and Penang. It was Stanford Raffles who first expressed a desire to establish Malay schools after he discovered that reading and teaching was concentrated around the reading of the Koran in Arabic (Chelliah 1960:13). The first Malay school was established in 1821 in Penang. In 1856 two Malay schools were started in Singapore and between 1858 and 1863 nine Malay schools were opened in Malacca. These efforts were those of the missionary. The two Malay schools in Singapore in 1856, however, were supported by the Government. It was not earlier than 1867 that the Government of the Straits Settlements showed real interest in Malay education by 'building and staffing vernacular schools where Malay boys should be taught to read their own language both in Arabic and Roman characters'.[11]

Schools for Malay girls were established in 1885.

The development of Malay schools in the Federated Malay States (Perak, Selangor, N. Sembilan and Pahang) was lagging behind that of the Straits Settlements. Still further behind were the Unfederated Malay States (Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu, Perlis and Johor) with the exception of Johor because of its vicinity to Singapore. The first school in Kedah dated from 1897, in Kelantan from 1903 and in Trengganu from 1915.

The appointment of an Inspector of Schools enabled the Government of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States to coordinate their school systems, in contrast to the Unfederated States which were left alone with their educational problems. A great turning point in education in the Malay language was the appointment of an Assistant Director in charge of Malay Vernacular Education in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, under the stimulus of Malay rulers who realized that they had 'to equip their subjects to hold their own against the educated Indian and the vigorous intellect and energy of the Chinese'.[12] The number of Malay schools in 1916 in the Straits Settlements was 191 with an enrollment of 12,934, in the Federated Malay States 365 with an enrollment of 18,034, and in the Unfederated Malay States 137 with an enrollment of 3,096.[13] The content of education was elementary: reading and writing, a bit of arithmetic and geography. The policy seemed to be that too much education would change the life and thought of the Malays.

The year 1916 was a decisive year for Malay education, since it was in that year that Mr. R.O. Winstedt, known for his knowledge of the Malay language and customs,

[11] *Straits Settlements Annual Departmental Report*, 1910, p. 740.
[12] *Straits Settlements Annual Departmental Report*, 1930, pp. 732–23.
[13] *Straits Settlements Annual Report*, 1916.

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was appointed Assistant Director of Education in charge of Malay Vernacular Education in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. After studying the development of vernacular and industrial education in Java and the Philippines, he proposed to develop Malay education 'on practical industrial lines'. The duration of the school was, however, still four years.

From the time that Malay schools were established, there was of course always the problem of how to acquire the necessary teachers. With the increase of schools and pupils, these problems became more urgent, especially in the twenties when the Malays became more school-minded.

Early efforts notwithstanding, it is safe to say that a definite program for training teachers for the increasing number of Malay primary schools began in 1876 when a Malay College was established in Singapore — but the school was closed again in 1895. The beginning of the twentieth century saw a new training college in Malacca (1900), in Matang, Perak (1913), and in Johor (1919). The training of teachers for girls' schools started not earlier than 1935, when a Training College for women was established in Malacca.

A conscious thinking about the Malay schools started with the establishment of the Malay Training College in Malacca, when Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, Acting Inspector of Schools, expressed his opinion that the teaching of arithmetic, geography and even of the Malay language itself were not up to the standard in the Malay schools: a change of textbooks and the more intelligent training of teachers were necessary to effect most important improvements. Mr. Van Ophuysen, the Inspector of Malay Schools in Sumatra, on his visit to Malay Schools in Penang and Province Wellesly, privately expressed very unfavorable opinions regarding the general efficiency of the Malay schools. The Malacca Teachers Training College offered for the first time a two-year course, all the other training colleges before had only one-year courses. Mr. R. J. Wilkinson did even more: he collected and published a large number of Malay classics, which became practically the only textbooks at the College and subsequently in the village schools.

The Training School of Matang which was established because of the enlightened attitude of Sultan Idris of Perak, later gave the basis for a centralized Teacher Training College, the Sultan Idris Teachers Training College in Tanjung Malim,[14] which was opened in 1922. Through this centralized college, Mr. R. O. Winstedt hoped to achieve uniformity, efficiency and economy (Winstedt 1917: C118) in serving the need for Malay teachers for the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States. Compared to the earlier Teachers Training College, the Sultan Idris Teachers Training College was an advantage. It offered, first of all, more courses; among others were introduced history, agriculture and basketry. In connection with the development of the Malay language most important was the creation of

[14] For more detailed description of the development of Malay Teacher's Training, see Awang Had bin Salleh, 1967.

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a Translation Bureau in 1923, attached to the Education Department in Kuala Lumpur, and the appointment of Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad, better known as Za'ba, as the first translator. The next year the translation Bureau was made a branch of the Sultan Idris Training College in Tanjung Malim. The functions of the Bureau were:

a) writing, translating and editing of educational publications and seeing them through press.

b) writing, translating and editing of modern novels and seeing them through press.

c) translations for other government departments.

d) the training of Probationer Translators.

Although earlier efforts had been made for the publication of textbooks by private enterprise as well as the government, it is the first time that an organized effort was made to provide textbooks for the schools and reading materials for the pupils and the common public. The books published by the Translation Bureau can be distinguished into two groups. First, the Malay school series, comprised of textbooks for the training college itself and for the Malay primary schools. Among the books published in this series are books on Malay grammar and composition, Malayan history, geography, arithmetic, agriculture, etc. The Malay Home Library Series consisted of translations of well known stories for children.

The program of the Translation Bureau did not go as far as the Balai Pustaka in Indonesia, established by the Dutch Government in 1908. The efforts of Za'ba, after his visit to Indonesia in 1931, to improve the Bureau in the direction of the Balai Pustaka, were not accepted by the Government.

It is undeniable that the establishment of the Sultan Idris Teachers Training College was a landmark in the development of the Malay language in Malaysia. It has influenced the teaching of the Malay language considerably, not only in Malaya, and Singapore, but also in Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei. A certain uniformity was achieved by the use of the books on the Malay language by Za'ba. Unfortunately the teaching of the Malay language generally remained a four-year primary course, and the highest school in the Malay language was the Teachers Training college with a three-year course.

There were no efforts aimed at the creation of a Malay secondary school, as established by the Dutch before the Second World War in Indonesia.

It is not true, however, that the Malay language did not play an important role in Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories. It was still the lingua franca during the British colonial time for people who did not speak the same language. Furthermore it was the second official language in these countries. All civil service officials were supposed to have a command of the language.

The true emergence of the Malay language, however, was not until independence came in sight after the Second World War — in the fifties. It was nationalism which gave Malay a new status as the coming national language and official language of the country. In 1955, two years before Malaya gained independence, in the first general

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election in which the United Malay National Organization, the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress worked closely together, the proposal of Malay as the national and official language was already put forward and accepted. The following year witnessed the creation of an educational committee,[15] led by the Minister of Education Tun (at that time Dato') Abdul Razak, which in the formulation of the objective of the national system of education clearly stated 'the intention to make Malay the National language of the country'. To this end the language should be taught in all primary and secondary schools. For this purpose a Language Institute should be created, which, in addition to the training of teachers of the Malay language, should conduct research into the Malay language and its teaching. The learning of the language should be encouraged. The Roman script should be used for the national language, while the Arabic script should be taught to Moslem pupils. It was also this committee which proposed the establishment of a language and cultural institution, in the line of the Balai Pustaka in Indonesia.

In 1959 the newly created institution, called Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, acquired the status of a corporation under the Ministry of Education. Its tasks are:

1. to develop and enrich the national language;
2. to promote literary talents, especially in the national language;
3. to print or publish or assist the printing or publication of books, magazines, pamphlets and other forms of literature in the national language as well as in the other languages;
4. to compile and publish a national language dictionary.[16]

The Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka had published by the end of 1966 a total of 475 titles; most are books for the primary and secondary schools and general reading materials for a wider public.

Important also is the coining of a modern Malay terminology. At the beginning of 1967 about 70,000 terms have been coined in the Malay language in connection with government, agriculture, engineering, economics, commerce, telecommunication, linguistics, medicine, etc.

A comprehensive dictionary of the Malay language (Iskandar 1970) was published in 1970.

The Dewan is also the center for the National Language Campaign, to encourage people to use the national language in their daily lives.

In the first Malayan Constitution of 1957, the position of the Malay language was clearly formulated: the national language shall be the Malay language.

It was the National Language Act of 1967 which made the national language the sole official language of the country.

For Sarawak and Sabah in North Borneo, which in 1963 became parts of Malaysia,

[15] *Penyata Jawatan-Kuasa Pelajaran.* Kuala Lumpur, 1956.

[16] *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, a general outline of its first ten-year progress and achievements.* Kuala Lumpur, 1967.

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the position of the Malay language is comparable to that in the constitution of Malaya in 1967. Both states are to decide in 1973 whether the Malay language will become the official language. It is very likely that in 1973 the Malay language will also become the sole official language in Sarawak and Sabah.

After the discussion of the position of Malay in the policy of the British Colonial Government and the policy of the independent Malayan and Malaysian Government, it is interesting to follow the development of the language in the hands of its supporters and writers.

The Malay language came very early under the influence of modern culture. It was with Abdullah that the Malay language consciously has accepted Western influence, and thus modern Malay language and literature have started. Abdullah had close contacts with Europeans through his work and the teaching of Malay. His description of the events of his time was quite different from that of chronicles and stories of the old Malay literature. But he did not have any followers. The thinking on the Malay language and the development of the Malay literature came to a standstill for about three-quarters of a century. It started again after the establishment of the Sultan Idris Training College in Tanjung Malim, with its Translation Bureau, where Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad had a very important position. He wrote various books on Malay grammar and composition, which are still widely used in Malaysia. Although the first Malay newspaper (bin Ahmad 1941b) was published in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was not very important for the development of modern Malay language and literature. The same can be said about the novels, poems and other earlier literary works, which were published before the twenties. For this period mention must be made of the magazine *Guru Melayu* in Malaya from 1924 until 1941, which, being a magazine published by teachers of the Malay schools, had a great interest in the growth of the Malay language and literature.

The movement for the development of the Malay language and literature, however, was started with force after the Second World War in Singapore by the Angkatan Sasterawan 1950, i.e. the generation of writers of 1950, and the Lembaga Bahasa Melayu, i.e. the Malay Language Institute for the promotion of the Malay language, whose members consisted mainly of Malay teachers.[17] Both these organizations reflected the rise of Malay nationalism after the war, which in one way or another was influenced by the language, the literary and political movements in Indonesia, before, during and after the war. At the Congress of the Indonesian Language in Medan in 1954, Malays of Malaya sent their representatives for the first time. It was during this time that Malay poetry and prose made real progress.[18] Thinking on the problems of the Malay language also took a more serious turn, and following the lead of the

[17] For the activities of Angkatan Sasterawan 1950, see *Memoranda Angkatan Sasterawan 1950*. Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1962.

[18] For a survey of the development of modern Malay language and literature, see bin Ahmad 1941a, and also Osman 1961.

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generation of 1950, several Congresses for the promotion of the Malay language and literature were held. The first Congress took place in Singapore on the 12th of April 1952, in which twenty Malay language organizations from Malaya and Singapore participated. A permanent Congress Committee came into being. A discussion on the merits of the Roman and Arabic scripts did not lead to the adoption of either. The second Congress was convened in Seremban by the same Committee on the 1st and 2nd of January 1954. This Congress adopted the Roman script as the official one, but the Arabic script was not abolished.

Meanwhile, at the University of Malaya in Singapore, a Department of Malay Studies was established. This new institution was a great stimulus for the supporters of the Malay language. Moreover it was clear that the students of the Department would add a new force to the language struggle. The third Congress, held in 1956 in Singapore and Johor Baru, was more important than the previous ones, not only because of the participation of fifty-one organizations and the support of the Malayan and Singapore Government, but also because of its decisions. A Permanent Congress Institution for Language and Literature was established, which, among others, had the task of organizing congresses from time to time, of bringing the decisions of the Congress into practice, of making contact with other language and cultural organizations. Besides the decisions to promote Malay literature, Malay songs and melodies, films, theaters, and painting, the teaching of the Malay language in primary and secondary schools and in the University, and to expand the use of the language, the resolution that the Malay and the Indonesian language were one and the same language and that efforts should be made to arrive at a common spelling was of great importance. In this last decision the influence of the Persekutuan Bahasa Melayu Universiti Malaya, i.e. the Malay students' organization at the University of Malaya, which was established in 1955,[19] was quite apparent.

After the separation of Singapore from Malaysia in 1965, the Malay language remained the national language of Singapore, but as the official language it shares a position with English, Chinese and Tamil. The Malay language, however, is taught in all primary and secondary schools in Singapore. Since the Malay population is only about 15% of the total population, in fact the Malay language is the third language in importance in Singapore, after English and Chinese.

Brunei, which is an independent sultanate under English protection, formulates clearly in its constitution of 1959 that the official language of the state shall be the Malay language and shall be in such script as may be provided by written law.[20] The English language, however, may be used for all official purposes.

In general it can be said that the development of the Malay language in Brunei, where the majority of the population speaks the Malay language, has followed the

[19] *Kertas Kerja Konggeres III Bahasa dan Persuratan Melayu Malaya*, Laporan tentang Bahasa Melayu Malaya dan Indonesia, dikemukakan oleh Persatuan Bahasa Melayu Universiti Malaya. Singapura, 1956.
[20] Bakyr, 1968.

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trends in Malaysia. The schools use mostly books from Malaysia. It has now established its own Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, which besides publishing books and magazines also coins modern terms.

THE PROBLEMS OF LANGUAGE ENGINEERING

After having given a survey of the development of Indonesian and Malay until its appearance as a modern language in the twentieth century, I would like to conclude this description with an analysis of the various problems the language is facing in becoming a fullfledged modern language comparable to English, French, German, Russian, etc.

These problems can be formulated in the terms of 1) standardization 2) modernization and 3) implementation of books and other reading materials. 1) By the term standardization is meant the creation of uniformity in the Indonesian/Malay language for use in school, administration, law and mass media. The Indonesian and Malay language, arising from the lingua franca and the various local dialects, was, and to a certain extent is, not standardized. There was and, to a certain extent, is a great variation in the vocabulary used as well as in grammar — for example in the use of affixes.

Standardization in language growth goes parallel with the increase of communication within the language community, and especially with the spread of education. For the European languages the most important epoch for their standardization was the 18th and 19th centuries, with the creation of the national states and the institution of compulsory education.

Standardization of the modern Indonesian/Malay language in the strict sense is a very recent phenomenon. Although both the Indonesian and the Malay language claimed to be based on the same Riau-Johor Malay, they developed along rather different lines. The growth of the Indonesian language in the atmosphere of Dutch colonial government and the Malay language in Malaysia under the British resulted in a tendency to emphasize the differences of both languages.

The process of standardization of the Indonesian language went rather smoothly, due to Dutch policy concerning Malay and the works of some Dutch scholars, beside the clear stand of the Indonesian people in their struggle for their national language. Dutch scholars have written various grammars of the Malay language in the 19th and 20th century, the most influential of which was *Spraakkunst van het Maleisch* (first published 1910) by Ch. A. van Ophuysen (1856–1917). In 1896, he standardized the spelling[21] of the Malay language, which is still the basis of the present Indonesian spelling. It was especially through the Sekolah Raja, or Teachers Training College in Bukit Tinggi, that the clear rules of Malay grammar were spread over the whole of Indonesia. The transformation of the Malay language into the Indonesian national

[21] *Kitab Logat Malajoe.*

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language, although it took the form of a rebellion against the old vocabulary, the old rules of grammar, and the old style of the language, was conducted with the realization of the necessity for a well structured language. In the most used Indonesian grammar after the Second World War,[22] the rules of grammar and the necessary changes (due to the change in attitude of its users and to the new larger function of the language) are discussed consciously and rationally, and some restrictions are given for the further development of the language. At this time there was also the magazine *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia* (1948–57), which answered questions from teachers on language in the stage of transition. Later other magazines were published such as *Medan Bahasa* (1951) and *Bahasa dan Budaya* (1952).

Besides this effort at conscious standardization, the whole education in Indonesia from primary school until University has been conducted in the Indonesian language since the Japanese occupation. A whole generation has thus studied the language in school. This is the reason why (although the deviating forces are very strong — for the great majority of the Indonesians the Indonesian language is not their mother tongue), it can be said that gradually the language has been satisfactorily standardized during the last two decades.

But quite another situation occurred in Malaya (West Malaysia) where the teaching of a standardized Malay language, and especially of Malay grammar, did not receive enough attention in school. Local vocabulary and local usage of affixes are still discernible in the spoken as well as in the written language, even at the university level. The Malay language in Sarawak and Sabah in North Borneo, and the Malay language in Singapore and Brunei, are developing more or less along the lines of the Malay language in Malaya.

Above the problems of standardization of the Indonesian language in Indonesia and the Malay language in Malaysia, there are still the larger problems of the standardization of the Indonesian and the Malay language into one large language, spoken by about 125,000,000 people in Southeast Asia. As it has been said, the necessity for the standardization of the Malay language of Malaya with that of Indonesia, was already expressed by the Angkatan Sasterawan 50 and the Persekutuan Bahasa Melayu Universiti Malaya during the third Language Congress in Singapore and Johore Baru in 1956.

In 1960 the Joint Indonesian and Malayan Language Committee arrived at an agreement on what they called the 'Melindo' spelling. This agreement has never been realized, however, especially because of the political controversy between Indonesia and Malaysia from 1963 until 1965. In 1967 a second Joint Committee has decided on a new common spelling, which is more practical than that of 1960 (among other things all diacritics are eliminated).

Of quite another character is the standardization of the grammar[23] and especially

[22] Alisjahbana, S. Takdir. *Tatabahasa Baru Bahasa Indonesia*, Vols. I and II. The first edition was in 1949. The last edition of 1969 was the 37th edition.

[23] On the writing of a standardized prescriptive grammar see Alisjahbana 1968a.

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of modern terminology. There are not many real differences in grammar and it looks as though they will be solved with the increase of communication and exchange of books and other reading material between these areas. Already a substantial number of Indonesian publications is widely read in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei. Most difficult is the standardization of modern terminology. In the case of administrative and other terms which are related to specific social and cultural realities in the countries concerned, the differences will remain. But outside these terms, there are still many which are of a more international character, such as the terms in science, technology, etc. It is to the advantage of all the Malay speaking countries, if for these international terms the same words are used. In my paper for the Conference on the Modernization of Languages in Asia (1968b), I suggested that a more liberal attitude toward the acceptance of internationally used terms, deriving from Greco-Latin or other languages would be to the advantage of the Indonesian as well as the Malay language. But even if this becomes the case, there still remains the problem of the pronunciation and spelling of these words, since the Malay pronunciation and spelling, derived from English, is different from the Indonesian pronunciation and spelling, derived from Dutch. A simple word such as *museum* or *station* is spelled in Indonesia *museum* and *stasion* and in Malaysia *muzium* and *steshen*. It is clear that in this and still other matters, a permanent committee, consisting of representatives from all the countries concerned, with the power to take decisions, will be the proper answer.

With a discussion of the terminology, we have already embarked on the problem of the modernization[24] of the Indonesian and Malay language. The modernization has already made great progress with the coining of a large number of modern terms in Indonesia and Malaysia. With the use of the language on higher and more sophisticated levels, with speculation and creation, the style and the atmosphere of the language itself experience a distinct transformation. A comparison of a piece written at the turn of the century and another piece by a modern writer of the last years shows great differences. Because of its modern content, the Indonesian/Malay language is already resembling the other modern languages of today's world in style and, to a certain extent, also syntax.

Great changes are taking place in the vocabulary, symbolizing all the different concepts and ways of thinking within the total framework of the Indonesian and Malay culture. It is not merely that within a very short space of time tens of thousands of words in daily use and terms taken from modern culture have invaded the old Indonesian/Malay language, enlarging the horizon and enriching the thought of Indonesian/Malay culture with new concepts and ideas; countless old words have been pushed into the background or been eliminated altogether, because the concepts they express no longer correspond to any substantial reality in Indonesia's and Malaysia's contemporary cultural life. There are also a vast number of Indonesian/Malay words which have taken on new meanings within the context of modern life, because concepts

[24] On modernization, see Alisjahbana 1962, 1965.

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and ways of thinking have changed so radically. The change is very clear in the use of noun-substitutes or pronouns due to a change in social relationships. In traditional village society pronouns were generally used to describe blood relations, such as father, mother, elder brother or sister, young brother or sister, uncle, aunt, etc. In feudal court society the same pronouns described a person's social position or his rank in the official hierarchy. Nowadays, however, under the influence of modern society and culture, people feel the need for more neutral words without connotations of family connection, social status or official rank. In this regard an interesting experiment is being carried out in Indonesia at the present moment with the word *anda*. This word is designed to replace the multiplicity of words used to address the second person in traditional village and feudal aristocratic society. The hope is that *anda* will eventually have a status analogous to that of the word 'you' in English, which can be used to address anyone, old or young, of high or low social position. Although there are many indications that *anda* will be accepted by society in the long run, it is clear also that confusion over the use of pronouns will persist for a long time in everyday life in the various relationships between different groups of people, mainly because a number of traditional cultural reflexes will exert an indirect inhibiting influence. In Malaysia the use of *tuan*, *enche*, and *awak* (all three words used to address the second person) is still confusing. Various feudal pronouns are yet maintained because of the particular political structure of Malaysia.

Another conspicuous change has taken place in the use of numerals. In the traditional languages of Indonesia and Malaysia numerals were often supplemented by numerical coefficients indicating certain noun classes. For example *buah* was used for inanimate objects, *ekor* for living things, *batang* for elongated inanimate objects. Nowadays, we often find people writing 'three eggs' not 'three *buah* eggs', 'four chickens' not 'four *ekor* chickens' and 'four cigarettes' instead of 'four *batang* cigarettes'. In this change one can see how an abstract way of thinking has ousted an older and more concrete style of thought.

One can also include in this general trend towards abstraction the taste people have acquired for using abstract nouns, formed by adding a prefix and a suffix, instead of traditional Indonesian modes of expression. For example, the sentence, 'if you want to get well take your medicine' is today often paraphrased by using the word 'healthiness': i.e. 'for healthiness, take your medicine'. In this way a great number of new abstract terms have become common usage (e.g. nationality, sociality, consideration, etc.), under the influence of a way of thinking as expressed in the language of Europe.

One other important change has been the tendency towards an active or causal use of language. This is expressed in a rapidly expanding use of the prefix *me-* which denotes the subject as the initiator of an action, and a corresponding decline in the use of the prefix *di-* which carries a more passive connotation and tends to make an event less directly dependent on a person-performing-an-act.

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I have on many occasions expressed my conviction that, if the standardization and modernization of the Indonesian/Malay language be executed with diligence, and especially if care be taken to adjust systematically the special structure of the Malay language to the concepts and thoughts of modern culture, the Indonesian/Malay language will undoubtedly become one of the most simple and efficient languages of the modern world.

As it has been said, the Indonesian language has been used at the university for two decades in the teaching of all subjects, while in Malaysia the process has just started. It is clear that apart from the use of the language at university level, if the Indonesian and Malay language is to become a mature modern language of the twentieth century, more and more publications must be expected of scholarly and other socially and culturally relevant subjects. An overwhelming proportion of important writings on Indonesia and Malaysia are still to be found only in Dutch and English, or other languages. Although a few of these have been translated into Indonesian or Malay, and also a few new works have been written in the language, this number is still far too small when compared to the number of books and scientific writings in English and Dutch. Apart from the need for the translation of these works into Indonesian, there is still another task of colossal proportions which the Indonesian and Malaysian people will have to tackle: the translation of everything of real value that has been written in the various regional languages, let alone the great universal works of human knowledge. It is essential that these countries lose no time in catching up with the European languages, which have had time to grow through the centuries by a gradual evolutionary process.

If this task is not performed as rapidly as possible, the transfer from Dutch and English to Indonesian and Malay will mean a deterioration in the people's intellectual development.

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FRENCH POLYNESIA[1]

HENRI LAVONDÈS

I. DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL FRAMEWORK

French Polynesia (the appellation which replaced 'Etablissements Français d'Océanie' in 1957) consists of five island groups: the Society Islands (divided into the Windward and Leeward Islands), the Australs, the Tuamotus, the Gambiers, and the Marquesas, which correspond noticeably to as many great cultural and dialectal divisions of the pre-European era. Although the total land area measures no more than 4,000 square kilometers (1,000 for Tahiti alone), it is dispersed over a stretch of ocean comparable in size to Europe. The present (1968) population must be about 93,000 (extrapolating from the 1962 census figure of 84,500). More than one-third dwell in Papeete and its 'suburbs', half live on Tahiti, and four-fifths in the Society Islands alone (Insee: 17-31). The demographic imbalance between the Societies, Tahiti in particular, and the other four archipelagos, which house only one-fifth of the territory's population, is becoming more accentuated as a result of the heavy flow of migration to Tahiti from the other islands. This is not the least important factor in the ascendancy of the Tahitian dialect over the other Polynesian dialects.

Four large ethnic groups make up the territory's population: Polynesian stock, European stock (*popa'a*), Chinese stock (*tinito*), and 'mixed' (half-breed — 'demi'). Race is not the criterion by which an individual recognizes himself or is recognized by others as belonging to one of the four categories. Racial mixtures exist in all four, especially the Polynesian, where no one can be counted definitely as pure-blooded. A person who considers himself Polynesian may very well be much more Caucasian in appearance than one who calls himself 'demi'. The ethnic categories are distinguished by a complex set of sociological criteria: manner of living, level on the social and professional scale, economic behavior, choice of language, etc. The 'demi' category is particularly difficult to define (Finney 1964:46–8; Kay 1963:329–30; Moench 1963:4–6; Panoff 1964:14–15, 126–33). Briefly, this category includes descendants of mixed European and Polynesian stock who, more than those of mixed blood classified as Polynesians, have chosen to follow Western ways and have succeeded in doing so. It should also be noted that an individual may choose to be connected sometimes to the Polynesian and sometimes to the 'demi' category, depending on where and with whom he is; he may be a Polynesian in his home village and a 'demi' in Papeete. This

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indicates how much this is a matter of opinion, and how cautiously official census figures should be viewed. The 1962 census gave the following ethnic composition (Insee: 34–5):

Polynesian	62,747
'Demi'	8,492
Chinese and part-Chinese	9,577
European	2,696

II. LINGUISTIC SITUATION

Consequently, the inhabitants of French Polynesia speak languages from three sources: Europe, Asia, and Oceania. The European languages are French and English. English, although it does not of course occupy a position comparable to that of French, is better known in Polynesia than in the other overseas French territories. One cannot but be impressed by the number of persons among the territory's native population, especially the 'demi', who have a good knowledge of English. High school English teachers marvel at the facility with which the native students learn English, a facility which, they opine, exceeds that of the French-born pupils, and which they attribute to some rather dubious phonetic similarities between English and Tahitian. As a matter of fact, English owes its position to special historical and geographical conditions. Tahiti did not become a French protectorate until 1842. From 1796 to 1862, when the London Missionary Society was active in Tahiti, English exerted an almost exclusive influence, and therefore was still important at the beginning of the protectorate. Tahitian, and even the local spoken French, bear very evident marks of this period of English influence, which left distinctive traces in vocabulary (O'Reilly 1962:69–81). Even today, the geographical position of Tahiti, whose nearest neighbors are English-speaking countries (Hawaii, Australia, New Zealand, the United States), the particularly strong trade and tourist relations with those countries, and American-Tahitian intermarriages are sufficient to maintain English in a prominent position. An idea of the importance of the Anglo-Saxon influence in the territory may be gained from the fact that it is quite the thing for the 'demi' middle class to do their shopping in Honolulu and to have medical treatment in Hawaii or on the U.S. mainland; that among the Tahitian poor, (English language) units of measure (foot, inch, gallon) are the only ones used; and that the only family reading is that on the labels of canned goods coming mostly from English speaking sources. It is difficult to give an estimate of the number of people who have some knowledge of English. Let us merely point out, with reservations to which we shall refer later, that in the 1962 census, 3.9% of the population over fifteen years of age (or a little under 2,000 persons) indicated a language other than French, Tahitian, or

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Chinese under the heading of languages they could read and write. In most cases, this other language is very probably English.

Chinese is spoken in Tahiti as a result of immigration organized originally to supply manpower for the plantations. The first wave arrived in 1865–66. A second wave, much larger and more spontaneous than the first, moved into the territory over a period of several years, from 1909 to 1928 (Moench 1963:17–26).

The Chinese of Tahiti came from Kwangtung Province. 'At least 80% — and possibly as high as 90% of Chinese in the Society Islands speak Hakka, originally a northern China language closely related to Mandarin ... The remainder of the Chinese population are Cantonese, or as they call themselves, "Punti" which means "native". The Punti minority may be divided into speakers of several fairly distinct dialects of Cantonese ...' (Moench 1963:14).

It is worth remembering that a second language is a vital necessity for the population of Chinese descent. The demands of commerce, the activity preferred by the Chinese, make it necessary for businessmen in rural areas to be bilingual in Chinese and Tahitian, and in Papeete to be trilingual in Chinese, French, and Tahitian. As a result, the Chinese language has regressed. One important contributing factor has been the requirement since 1938 that Chinese businessmen keep their books in French. For a while, several kept their accounts in both French and Chinese, but this practice is falling into disuse (Coppenrath 1967:82). There is a tendency for French and Tahitian to enter into the language of daily conversation, producing linguistic melanges of which Moench (1963:15) gives an amusing example. Linguistic interferences between Chinese and Tahitian are numerous (Weinreich 1953). They relate not only to phonology, but also to the grammar of Tahitian as spoken by the Chinese. Among the urban middle class, this Chinese influence is blamed for the present alteration of the Tahitian language. Research would be necessary to determine whether this argument has any foundation in fact or merely reflects anti-Chinese prejudices. It is also very possible that the knowledge of Chinese, particularly written Chinese, is dying out among the younger generation. This may be inferred from the 1962 census data: the proportion of persons of both sexes who 'read and write Chinese' is 61% for the Chinese population aged fifteen and over, only 47% for those between the ages of fifteen and twenty (Insee: 142, 135, 145). It should be mentioned, however, that some data indicate that there is a tendency to use spoken and written Chinese in business, where it would aid in insuring secrecy.

The large majority of the population of the territory is of Polynesian descent. Although the 1962 census does not offer confirmation, it appears that the rate of growth of the Polynesians is much higher than that of the other population groups. The Polynesian language characteristic of this ethnic group is subdivided into a number of dialects of very uneven importance. Tahitian is spoken throughout the Societies (both the Windward and Leeward Islands). According to Hooper, however, a dialectal form of Tahitian is still spoken on the tiny isle of Maupiti because of its distance from Tahiti and the difficulty of communications (Hooper 1966:92). Immigrants

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from other dialect areas of the territory speak their own dialect among themselves, at least for a time, but speak Tahitian in interethnic relations. Tahitian is at the height of its expansion. It has become the language of intercourse for all of the territory's Polynesian population. It is understood and, to varying extents, spoken in all of the archipelagos. There are several reasons for the predominance of Tahitian: the overwhelming demographic and economic ascendancy of Tahiti; the role of the minor officials (medical orderlies, auxiliary police, teachers) who are mostly Tahitian speakers; the function of Tahitian as the language of trade with the schooners that are the islands' sole direct link with the outside world. Finally, we should emphasize the leading part played in the spread of Tahitian nowadays by the Tahitian language broadcasts from Radio Tahiti. For many of the islands, transistor radios, which are increasingly widespread today, represent the only contact — except for the rare schooners — with the outside world, near and far, which is the object of insatiable curiosity on the part of the Polynesians. The daily listen-in to the Tahitian language evening broadcast (5:00 to 7:00 p.m.), a time of day that fits perfectly into the rhythm of Polynesian life, which is one or two hours out of phase with the European schedule, is in the nature of a religious ritual that takes precedence over every other pursuit. The audience is especially interested in the personal messages that substitute for telegrams where there are no postal services available, messages concerning the comings and goings of the schooners, and the 'listeners' records' which serve to revive the bonds of affection among relatives separated by distance. In all cases that I have observed in the farther islands, when the French language broadcast begins at 1900 hours (7:00 p.m.), the radios are turned off even by listeners who have a good understanding of French. In the rare cases where they continue to listen, the people try to tune in on the musical programs from Honolulu. Radio Tahiti is a powerful means of making the Polynesians aware of themselves as a linguistic community, and even simply as a community.

Sufficient information is not available for evaluating the position of dialects other than Tahitian, but it is certain that they are regressing. With respect to the Austral Islands, P. Vérin asserts without further particulars that 'the linguistic corpus constituted by the dialect of Rurutu is still very well preserved' (1965:290). From the sketch he gives of the dialectology of the island group, it is evident that each island possessed a clearly differentiated dialect, presenting affinities with Tahitian and the dialects spoken in the Cook Islands (Vérin 1965:290–6).

There appears to be no recent information on the dialects of the Tuamotus; Stimson and Marshall's dictionary (1964), particularly the chart of dialect divisions, may be referred to for a description of the situation in the past. The personal and quite subjective impression gained by the author of this article during a schooner trip that included nine stops lasting several hours at various islands, is that a form of the dialect much altered by the influence of Tahitian is still used in daily conversation on some islands. The high rate of mobility of the Tuamotu population, the strong current of emigration to Papeete, with the resulting depopulation of the archipelago (between

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the census of 1956 and that of 1962, although the overall population of Polynesia increased 11%, that of the Tuamotus declined 15%), mean that the regression of the dialects can only become more pronounced in the future.

No information is available on the language situation in the Gambiers.

In short, the present state of the dialects other than Tahitian spoken in French Polynesia has not been the object of serious research and should be an interesting subject of study for a linguist.

With respect to the Marquesas, however, a stay of nearly a year, mainly on the island of Ua Pou, allows me to express the opinion that although the position of the dialects is undoubtedly threatened, it is still very solid. Marquesan dialects are divided into two groups: those of the northern group, which includes three inhabited islands, and those of the southern group, also three inhabited islands. Speakers of one group can understand those of the other. Intercomprehension is possible between speakers of both groups. Dialect variations exist within each group, and even from valley to valley on a single island. The variations are slight, but sufficient, nevertheless, for the people of Nuku Hiva to ridicule the inhabitants of Ua Pou, who are considered bumpkins by the other islanders, by calling them the *ta koe* (that is, the people who say *ta koe* instead of *ta 'oe* for the second person possessive adjective). The dialects of the big islands, Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa, are considered to have higher prestige, and are often imitated by speakers on the other islands, especially when they are attempting to impart a literary or solemn turn to their remarks. This is particularly apparent in the harangues of the chiefs to the people of their districts. The influence of the prestige dialects on those of lesser repute is manifested in frequent borrowings of forms. As a result, two or three forms of the same word may be used alternately by the same speaker, not always with a stylistic value (for example: in Ua Pou, *koe*, *'oe* = you, singular; *ko'aka*, *'oaka*, *koana* = to obtain; *'aki*, *'ani* = sky, etc.). It is worth noting that these variations admit some phonetic alternations (k/', k/n, for example) while rigourously excluding others (f/h). Thus, at the present stage, interpenetration of the dialects is manifested by a multiplication of variants rather than by the substitution of one dialectal form for another.

The reasons for the preservation of the dialect in the Marquesas are numerous, and primarily geographic and demographic. The Marquesas are far from Papeete, and communications with the capital are slow and infrequent. Up until very recently, emigration to Tahiti was comparatively slight; according to the 1962 census, only 10% of the total native population resided outside the archipelago. There are other reasons, of historical and religious nature. The great majority of the population is Catholic. Protestants make up barely ten percent, and are a numerically important minority only in three valleys of the island of Ua Pou. In contrast with the Protestants, who use Tahitian in their religious services and are oriented toward Tahitian culture, the Catholic missionaries, all European-born, do not know Tahitian, and use only Marquesan in worship and in daily life. Finally, certain more or less conscious political aspirations on the part of the Marquesans work toward linguistic conservatism.

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The people of the Marquesas, aware of their cultural and economic lag in comparison with Tahiti and possessed of an inferiority complex with respect to the Tahitians, fear lest this imbalance find expression in an actual control over their islands by the Tahitians. They see this foreshadowed by the fact that by far the greatest number of the minor officials (auxiliary police, hospital attendants, farming advisors, and school teachers) working in the Marquesas are not Marquesan-born.

The preceding remarks should not, however, be taken to mean that Marquesan has remained entirely unchanged since pre-European times and that the great tides of acculturation that have swept over the rest of French Polynesia have spared the Marquesas. Although it is difficult to define the nature and size of the phenomenon without detailed study of this particular problem, it seems certain that Marquesan has become impoverished since contact with Europeans began. New words borrowed from English during the first half of the nineteenth century (under the influence of the whalers) and then from French, did not compensate for the loss. A check made by having some young people point out the words they knew on a few pages of a Marquesan-French dictionary reveals that almost two-thirds of the terms in the book (Dordillon 1901) are unfamiliar to them. Even taking into account that the dictionary in question contains dialect words and terms relating to pre-European culture that they would not ordinarily know, the impoverishment seems unquestionable. The Marquesans themselves are aware of it, and think their dialect is threatened with oblivion. But, curiously enough, they think that French is the language that bids fair to supplant it. This opinion is contradicted by the facts, and its underlying explanation should probably be sought in the confused political aspirations mentioned above. Indeed, the assertion is a paradox in this island group where the French language is less known than anywhere else in Polynesia. In Ua Pou, only one or two people besides the schoolteachers and minor functionaries have a passable knowledge of French. The rest speak it poorly or not at all. Practical knowledge of Tahitian, however, is almost general. Some differences in bilingualism appear between the sexes; a rudimentary knowledge of French is more widespread among women than men. Often, the women attended a primary boarding school conducted by missionary sisters in Atuona, where pupils live entirely cut off from their families during the school year, and, in earlier times, even for their entire school career. In this way, an artificial microenvironment of French culture is created, which seems to favor the acquisition of a practical knowledge of the rudiments of French. Knowledge of Tahitian, though, is more widespread among the men than the women; it is the language they use in their business transactions with the schooners. With respect to the language problems, therefore, the attitude of the Marquesans is ambivalent. Knowledge of French is an ideal that is very difficult to achieve under existing circumstances but intensely desirable because it is the necessary condition for social and economic advancement, and particularly the attainment of coveted official positions. Knowledge of Tahitian is an easily accessible goal, thanks to frequent contact with the small number of immigrant Tahitian officials, the relationship between the two languages, and the educational

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influence of Radio Tahiti. Furthermore, although they deny it for political and psychological reasons, Tahitian and the culture it conveys enjoy immense prestige with the Marquesans. In comparison with the overwhelming boredom that is the lot of the dwellers in the outer islands, Tahiti presents the fascinating mirage of a lively and brilliant civilization. The young people, especially, are infatuated with everything Tahitian, adopting the songs and dances and strongly influenced by the language. So, in the Marquesas, a gallicization desired by the administration, accepted by the missionaries, and dreamed of by the people, is opposed by a de facto tahitianization.

It should be possible to conclude this account of the linguistic situation with a chart showing the number of persons who speak one or more of the languages and dialects to which we have referred. But, failing an investigation bearing on this problem specifically, we must be satisfied with partial and necessarily rough estimates or data that relate to the entire population but were collected for a non-linguistic purpose during the 1962 census. An example of a partial estimate is furnished by Finney's work; it deals with Aoua, a quarter in the Paea district that is sufficiently representative of a rural area in Tahiti strongly influenced by Papeete, and concerns only the knowledge of spoken French. 'Although I made no formal survey, I estimate that about 30 percent of the Aoua speak French with some fluency; that another 50 percent can at least carry on a simple conversation in French; and that only about 20 percent of the Aoua are completely, or almost completely, unable to speak the language' (Finney 1964:52).

As for the results of the 1962 census, they are given in Table 1, which presents a resumé of the responses to the question addressed to everyone fifteen years old and above asking 'whether he could read and write any language, and if so, the highest certificate he could have obtained'. The census takers had to indicate one or several of the following answers: none, Tahitian, French, Chinese, another language. Several reservations should be made as to the significance and validity of the responses, and the organizers of the census are the first to make them. They note that the replies 'n'ont fait l'objet d'aucune vérification ... [elles] traduisent donc simplement les déclarations des intéressés et peuvent dans ces conditions être biaisées, les recensés ayant tendance à donner des réponses les surclassant' (Insee: 42). The census organizers also wonder whether the census takers may have confused 'ability to write a given language' with 'ability to speak it'. It should also be remembered that the purpose of the census was not to find the languages spoken in the territory, but only to determine the rate of literacy. More particularly, the census took no note of the existence of dialects other than Tahitian, and the replies may have thereby been influenced, especially in the Marquesas, where the exceptionally high rate of illiteracy indicated may very well mean that many of the people there can write only Marquesan. Nevertheless, despite these qualifications, and partly because of them, we may agree with the census organizers that 'ultimately, these results can give an idea of the languages spoken', and therefore it did not seem useless to include them in this study.

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TABLE 1

Population of age 15 and over by origin, and languages read and written (according to Insee: 145)

Languages read and written	Origin					
	Poly-nesian	'Demi'	European	Chinese	Others	Total
None	2,161	98	9	288	21	2,577
Tahitian only	21,567	875	17	461	93	23,013
French only	978	413	1,324	350	120	3,185
Chinese only	10	2	—	1,413	3	1,428
One or more languages other than the preceding only	58	4	12	8	77	159
Tahitian and French	9,168	2,466	135	709	108	12,586
Tahitian and Chinese	23	1	—	452	—	476
Tahitian and other	51	10	6	2	44	113
French and Chinese	17	1	1	638	6	663
French and other	44	28	440	44	147	703
Chinese and other	1	—	—	6	—	7
Tahitian, French, and Chinese	28	5	3	774	—	810
Tahitian, French, and other	312	257	62	92	72	795
Tahitian, Chinese, and other	11	—	—	2	—	13
French, Chinese, and other	1	—	1	40	—	42
No response	591	17	14	32	71	725
TOTALS	35,021	4,177	2,024	5,311	762	47,295

III. LANGUAGE POLICIES

Table 1 gives an idea of the languages read and written in the territory. The problem now is to discover to what extent the situation is the expression of spontaneous tendencies, and to what extent it is the result of one or more language policies consciously formulated by the various authorities capable of exerting influence in this connection. The three principal forces in confrontation are the territorial government authorities, the missions, and the opinions and behavior of the public insofar as they constitute resistance against or acquiescence to the policy pursued by one or the other authority. Rather than a deliberate, organized policy aimed at definite objectives, France's position with regard to language problems in Polynesia appears to be an attitude inherited from the era when she still commanded a vast colonial empire. A single policy was then applied throughout the infinitely varied colonies. It resulted from the doctrine of 'assimilation', the objective of which was to make all the colonial peoples 'Français à part entière'. In linguistic matters, the result of the doctrine was a policy of gallicization.

It appears from the preceding that the language policy applied by France in Poly-

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nesia cannot be viewed as one conceived specifically for the territory. On the contrary, it is astonishing that the same policy has been applied in countries where a multitude of mutually unintelligible languages and dialects coexist, such as sub-Saharan Africa and New Caledonia, and in countries with a single language or dialect that plays the role of language of common intercourse and is destined beyond question to become the national language, such as Madagascar or Tahiti. This unitary policy is a legacy of the spirit of centralization that has characterized the French Government since the National Convention and the Napoleonic era. Therefore, French language policy should be studied not merely on the level of Polynesia, but in relation to the overall community formed by France and all those territories that once comprised the French Union. Such a study would unquestionably be of interest, but would surely exceed the compass of this article.

It is education on all levels (primary and secondary) and in all forms (public and private) that is the chief instrument of the policy of gallicization. From the most elementary level, all education is dispensed in French. At no stage in public education is Tahitian taught. Use of the vernacular is forbidden in the schools, not only to the teachers, but to the pupils, who may not speak it in class or even during recreation. The object of these measures is to help the children to acquire a practical knowledge of French and keep them from considering it a dead language that they cannot use in daily life.

Outside school, French occupies a dominant position. The Polynesian dialects are tacitly ignored in every case where the need to communicate does not absolutely demand recourse to the vernacular. French is the official language of all territorial services: government, technical services (agriculture, public works, etc.), justice, police, and so forth. The upper echelons of government authority employ certified interpreters (whose role is particularly important in the courts). On the lower echelons, French territorial officials are assisted by local officials who act as interpreters when the need arises. Also, there used to be an optional test in Tahitian in the examination for recruitment of local officials for all government services, but it was recently deleted for reasons having nothing to do with language policy.

All government texts are in French. The territory's official newspaper is in French, except for a small number of cases (mainly legal notices regarding real estate) where a Tahitian translation accompanies the French text. Although, as far as I know, there is no formal regulation on this subject, French is the language employed in the deliberations of the Territorial Assembly, and speeches in Tahitian are rare; their relative infrequency is, furthermore, a telltale sign of the political coloration of the Assembly. Some notices meant for the district population are posted in Tahitian, and a few popular pamphlets on agriculture are published in both languages. Generally speaking, Tahitian is used when it is necessary that the population understand, and especially when their spontaneous cooperation is solicited. Among other concessions to Tahitian, there is one of considerable importance, the Tahitian language broadcasts by Radio Tahiti. We have already had occasion to emphasize the role these broadcasts

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play in the spread of the Tahitian language and cultural values. Other concessions are of minor significance: a public course in Tahitian for Europeans, given four hours a week in the Papeete City Hall; a course in Tahitian given at the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris.

The language policy pursued for Chinese differs greatly from that adopted toward Tahitian. This divergence is revelatory of the ultimate intentions at the roots of the two language policies. We have said that the policy practiced toward the Tahitian population is one of gallicization, whose final objective is assimilation. Now, assimilation is precisely what, until recently, was never envisaged for the Chinese population, the majority of whom were assigned the status of aliens, and to whom naturalization was granted only under extraordinary circumstances (Coppenrath 1967:95). The policy applied to the Chinese minority results from the cautious attitude of the government, troubled by the existence of a 'Chinese problem' in Tahiti (Moench 1963:32–8), and from the violently anti-Chinese attitude of the 'demi' middle class who dominate the Territorial Assembly and find the Chinese their direct economic rivals (Coppenrath 1967:84–91). Until recently, the Chinese had every opportunity to open Chinese schools (in which, however, a certain number of hours of instruction in French were obligatory). There were three Chinese schools with over a thousand students. Instruction was given in Hakka up through 1950, then in Mandarin. But the Chinese minority were inclined to make less and less use of the opportunities granted them, and showed a growing preference for French private or public schools which afforded the youth more practical preparation for their active participation in the life of the territory. As early as 1951, the total number of pupils in Chinese schools had fallen to 310, in comparison with the 1,011 attending French private and public schools. It was not until 1964, however, with France's recognition of the Chinese People's Republic, that this de facto disaffection was sanctioned and the Chinese schools were closed by decree. This reversal is due to the fact that recognition of the C.P.R. left only one long-range prospect for settling the lot of the Chinese minority — assimilation. Hence the new policy of gallicization in preparation for that step.

The language policy of the missions was and is distinctly different from that of the government. The necessity of winning deep-seated adherence from the peoples they intend to evangelize obliges them to use the vernacular. It is the missionaries who have made the most extensive collections of linguistic materials for use in learning the Polynesian dialects spoken in the territory (dictionaries and grammars for Tahitian, Marquesan, and Mangarevan). Very early, they opened schools in which instruction was given in the vernacular. In 1829, Moerenhout was saying that 'à Papara, la plupart des Indiens savent lire et écrire, grâce à l'assiduité de M. Davies, qui n'épargne ni soins ni peines pour leur donner ce premier rudiment d'éducation' (Moerenhout 1837, I:278). Historical research would be necessary to discover how the transition from vernacular to French instruction took place. It seems that by 1860, the Catholic missions were making considerable efforts to promote the spread of education in French (Rulon 1964:90–2), with active support from the colonial administration.

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Fear that the acquisition of French would threaten the faith of the island Protestants was the essential argument advanced by the Queen of Tahiti when, in 1860, she asked the French Government representative to arrange for two French Protestant missionaries to be sent: 'Nous désirons ardemment que nos enfants apprennent la langue française, mais nous ne voulons pas que lorsqu'ils apprennent le français, ce ne soit que dans le but de changer de religion' (Vernier n.d.:171). The title given to his schools by Pastor Vienot, 'Indigenous French Schools', is significant in that it conveys acquiescence, reserved, perhaps, but no less real, to the policy of gallicization. 'On enseigne aux élèves, en français, les matières du programme scolaire. On parle français, même pendant les récréations et les études. Mais pour le côté spirituel, pour la lecture de la Bible, la préparation des écoles du jeudi et du dimanche, etc., nos élèves tahitiens retrouvent leur langue maternelle' (Vernier n.d.:244). In any case, it is certain that the schools conducted by the missionaries and supported by the territory have now fallen into line with the public school curricula and give all non-religious instruction in French. There is, however, one notable exception: in the Catholic and Protestant mission secondary schools, a course in Tahitian is offered to upper form students. This is the only instruction in Tahitian offered to the territory's school population, and obviously it reaches only a very few.

Although nowadays the missionary schools share in the policy of gallicization in teaching, they remain completely faithful to the use of the vernacular languages in religious instruction. Tahitian, or the Polynesian dialect of a given island group, is used in religious services. Children are instructed in the vernacular. Tahitian is the language of instruction in the seminary where the Tahitian Reformed Church ministers are trained. Finally, because they have translated into the vernacular languages all or part of the Sacred Scriptures, missions of every creed offer their Polynesian faithful the only available reading material in their mother tongue. If we recognize the fact that the parish is the strongest social structure in the Polynesian community, we can see that the language policy followed by the missions in religious affairs is the strongest bastion of defense against the forces threatening to change or annihilate the Polynesian languages.

In order to understand the reactions of public opinion to the language policy pursued in the territory, it is necessary to remember that it comes within the framework of a 'colonial situation' (on this concept, see Balandier 1963:4–38). Unquestionably, local reactions are not what they would be in the case of spontaneous acculturation, and occur in the setting of an overall policy defined by the metropole. We should not forget, however, the generous intention of the policy of assimilation which, at least in theory, offers every Polynesian-born person the possibility of acquiring high social status. This explains the undoubted approval with which Tahitians of lower economic and social class greet the policy of gallicization. Although to my knowledge no inquiry has been made in this connection, I am convinced that any attempt to introduce Tahitian into the primary school system would meet with strong opposition. The population of Tahitian stock would interpret such a step as a trick to prevent them

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from learning French, the necessary condition for their rise on the socio-economic scale. Nothing demonstrates better the anxiety of the Polynesians to see their children learn French than observation of language behavior within the family. While parents and other adults speak to one another in Tahitian, or in another Polynesian dialect spoken in the territory, they use French to the extent of their ability when talking to their school-age children. The children reply in French or Polynesian, depending on the circumstances. The parents hope thus to facilitate their children's progress in school. Reticent attitudes toward the policy of gallicization are apparent only among the Polynesian elite and the 'demi' middle class, that is, in that stratum where mastery of French is an established fact. The attachment for Tahitian expressed by this section of the population is chiefly sentimental. For these highly acculturated classes, linguistic patriotism becomes a means of claiming roots in the past and of affirming their ethnic personality in contrast to the Europeans. This is doubtless the same sort of phenomenon as the interest shown by the English speakers of New Zealand and Hawaii in Maori and Hawaiian antiquity. On the linguistic level, the attachment on the part of the territory's Polynesian elite to the cultural values redolent of bygone days is manifested in a purist reaction against the real or imagined change that threatens Tahitian these days, and in a concern that Tahitian be granted a more exalted position than the one it now occupies. One project, now under study, would be the establishment of an Académie Tahitienne which, like the Académie Française, would be responsible for setting standards for the language and enabling it to adapt itself to the modern world by enriching it without changing its nature. Such a project would be of little interest to the Polynesian lower classes, who fear every attempt to promote Tahitian as a move by the French-speaking elite to maintain their cultural lead, although its realization would be a source of considerable satisfaction to the elite.

IV. LITERACY AND EDUCATION PROBLEMS

The rate of literacy in French Polynesia is remarkably high. According to the 1962 census, only 5.5% of those over the age of fifteen were illiterate (Insee: 42). Further, this rate is regularly regressive: 4.7% for fifteen to nineteen year olds; 5.4% for those aged twenty to fifty-nine; 8.4% for those sixty and over. True, there is reason to recall the reservations previously made concerning the validity of these results; nevertheless, they give a satisfactory picture of the actual situation. One reason for this very low rate of illiteracy is the Polynesian's prodigious receptivity to innovation. Writing speedily became considered a useful novelty; some individuals who could not attend school taught themselves to write with the help of a literate relative. I know of such cases in the Marquesas. But of course the essential reason is the extraordinary effort made by the territory's Education Department, particularly during the past few years. School attendance has long hovered around the 100% mark. Deschamps and Guiart had already noted that 'La situation de l'enseignement ... paraît, si l'on en

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croit les statistiques, la plus florissante de tous les pays de l'Union Française. Le nombre des enfants scolarisés (14.310) dépasse très notablement celui des scolarisables (9.345)' (1957:64). As a matter of fact, this paradoxical attendance rate of over 100% is explained by the choice of an arbitrary figure to define the student population: 15% of the total population. In 1961, this figure was 20%, and still too low, because in 1967 the theoretical school-age population figure was 19,200, although 25,000 were attending primary school. Publication of the 1962 census results made it possible to arrive at a more reasonable estimate of the number of school-age children. School-age population, defined as five-to-fourteen year olds, was 22,673 (children born between 1957 and 1949) according to the 1962 census (Insee: 122), corresponding to an actual 26.8% of the total population. On 1 January 1963, the total primary school enrollment was 20,398; sixth and fifth form pupils (who fall under the above age grouping) numbered 1,484; so the total school enrollment was 21,882. The difference between the two figures is slight, and indicates a 96.5% school attendance rate. Indeed, this difference corresponds to the error resulting from the method of calculation used, and it seems quite legitimate to consider, as the Education Department does, that very close to 100% of the school-age children are attending school. Accordingly, the problems of literacy and education of the territory's population may be deemed solved. It remains to be seen, first, how it has been possible to solve these problems, and then, because an educational policy that limits its ambitions solely to the attainment of literacy is manifestly inadequate, how education in Polynesia attempts to achieve its true goal, the preparation of children for life.

It is true that an educational policy in Polynesia is favored by such elements as the relatively small size of the territory, on the one hand, which means that a limited effort suffices to solve problems, and the relatively high standard of living of the population, on the other. Other factors, however, are plainly unfavorable: the geographic dispersal of the population of the outlying island groups, the difficulty of communications, and finally, and above all, the youth of a population at the height of demographic expansion (the annual rate of population growth is 3.3%). For the Education Department, the problem is one of assuring the education of generations that grow more numerous every year, while guaranteeing that the quality of education is not lowered but rather, improved.

The figures in Table 2 give an idea of the magnitude of the problem and the considerable means employed to deal with it. The education budget has more than quintupled in nine years, while the proportion of the overall territory budget devoted to education has increased constantly, rising from less than 20% to over 27% by 1966. It should be added that the figures in Table 2 do not take all expenses into account. Not included are part of the costs for school construction financed by France (F.I.D.E.S.) and the European Fund (681 million Pacific francs for the 1966–70 Five-Year plan), and the operating costs for secondary and technical education taken over by France since 1962. During the same period, primary school enrollment rose 64%, and enrollment in secondary and technical schools more than tripled. Such an

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TABLE 2

Statistics on Education

(Source: Education Department Files)

	1958	1961	1964	1967
Budget				
(in millions of CFP francs)	76,660	171,869	285,612	575,708
Primary education				
Enrollment	15,249	17,889	21,471	24,984
Number of schools	123	133	139	158
Number of classrooms	401	465	595	809
Secondary education				
Enrollment	1,027	1,651	2,873	3,645
Vocational education				
Enrollment	157	255	432	550
Examination results				
C.E.P.*	501	595	792	821
B.E.P.C.**	88	109	246	221
Baccalaureate	—	—	25	48
Vocational certificate	36	30	56	60

* Certificat d'études primaires (6 yrs.).
** Brevet d'études du premier cycle (4 yrs.).

increase cannot occur without causing serious problems. The gravest of these is the recruitment of primary school teachers. The inadequacy of the teachers is a constantly recurring source of anxiety apparent in the annual reports from the Education Department. In 1967, it was estimated that 40% of the teachers were 'serious and devoted young people who have neither the training nor the professional background to make them effective'. The problem is particularly acute in some of the remote islands, where it is possible to recruit only very mediocre personnel, and where natives of the more favored islands would not work at any price because they dread the harsh living conditions and severe isolation that make life on those islands one of exile. We may add that the number of candidates is only half that of the positions open by examination to future primary teachers, and that the present economic prosperity, and the pressure on the employment market resulting from the establishment of the Pacific Experimentation Center, mean that schoolteacher vocations are sparse. It appears that the problem of teacher recruitment will be difficult to solve under present conditions, at least in the near future. The Education Department is attempting to alleviate the situation by recruiting teachers in France and appealing to certain young people fulfilling their military obligation. But these measures are merely a palliative for filling positions on the deprived islands, and are inadequate to meet the overall need.

This has not prevented the Education Department from seeking ways to improve

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the quality of primary education wherever possible. During the period under consideration, despite the considerable increase in school attendance, the average number of pupils per class declined from thirty-eight to thirty-one. Action was also taken against another source of pedagogical ineffectiveness, the one-room or one-teacher school. Now, statistics show that the number of classrooms has increased more rapidly than the number of schools; this a partial indication of a reduction in the number of one-room schools. Where population dispersal made it unfeasible to envisage an increase in the number of classrooms, audacious experiments were attempted. In the Tuamotus and Marquesas, inter-island centers were opened for the older pupils in the one-room schools, who were regrouped in a boarding school system. An effort was also made to improve the curriculum and textbooks, which had been criticized for failure to adapt to the local situation. The reader, *Tico and Mareta*, presents familiar scenes of Polynesian life to the child; the geography and natural science programs begin with facts about the territory. Finally, in order to help an appreciable number of teachers to improve their French, language lessons are offered by educational radio.

In concluding this survey of the problems of primary education in Polynesia, I should, as a recent report from the Education Department does so courageously, bring up the question of its effectiveness. 'Almost every child of school age in French Polynesia is in school. But what good will it do them?' Two factors are considered in arriving at a necessarily rough evaluation of the effectiveness of the educational program. One is the ratio of the number of those who pass the examinations to the number of eligible candidates. The other is the age of the primary grade pupils. It is evident that many of the children, too old for their class, will never complete their primary education. There is no need to go into detail on the calculations required for arriving at this estimate; the results will suffice. The graduation rate from primary schools in Polynesia is estimated at:

60–70% in Tahiti
30–35% in the Leeward Islands
20–30% in the Australs;
20–25% in the Marquesas;
10–15% in the Tuamotus and Gambiers.

The rate of effectiveness varies, therefore, from one island group to the next. Thus, the importance of the differential factors emphasized at the beginning of this study is made apparent: first, geography, which sets Tahiti apart from all the other islands, and then sets the far islands apart from those near Tahiti; second, sociology, because there is no doubt that the distinctly higher rate of effectiveness of a French primary education in Tahiti is explained by the concentration on that island of the 'demi' and European population, resulting in a very Frenchified cultural milieu that is especially favorable to scholarly success.

Finally, a sketch of the educational problems in an area which, like French Polynesia, has solved the problems of education and literacy, would be incomplete without

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some mention of post-primary educational opportunities. Since the last war, secondary education has made enormous strides; in 1946, only 63 children were attending secondary school; in 1967, there were 1,652 secondary school pupils. The number of pupils attending vocational school is still comparatively small compared to secondary school attendance. This may be viewed as a manifestation of the tendency of tropical countries to place too much emphasis on preparation for careers in the 'secteur tertiaire'. An effort is being made, however, to adopt education to the economic needs of the territory; a hotel training school has been opened, and a graduate agricultural school is being established.

V. CONCLUSION

At the conclusion of this brief study, conducted by an anthropologist, not a linguist, and based solely on a general knowledge of the milieu acquired during a four-year stay in the territory and an analysis of immediately accessible documentary sources, it may not be unprofitable to take stock of the results attained, indicate the areas where further research would be especially desirable, and to point out the most difficult of the problems raised, that of the relationship between the French and Tahitian languages.

The first point to be made is that the linguistic situation in Polynesia is not in any sense a stable one. On the contrary, analysis reveals that it is in a state of flux: advancement of French, maintenance of an English influence, expansion of Tahitian to the detriment of the other dialects, which are in varying stages of regression, probable decline of Chinese resulting from the new political orientation. Furthermore, is has become apparent that the dynamism of this situation cannot be comprehended without analysis of the complexity of factors at work in a multilingual society. Among the differentiating elements that appear relevant, allow me to call attention to: geography (the contrast between rural and urban, and between close and distant island groups); demography (respective numbers of speakers of the diverse languages in contact; contrast among the various age groups); economy (variations in linguistic behavior according to standard of living); sociology ('demi'/Polynesian opposition); culture (position of each language on the scale of prestige); politics (importance of the 'colonial status' factor, and of the 'political' factor in explaining a Marquesan-type dialectal situation). All of these elements, which are not independent variables, should be considered in arriving at an explanation of the present situation and determining the direction in which it is evolving. As Uriel Weinreich points out, they make it possible to explain 'the extent, direction, and nature of interference of one language with another' (1953:4).

More thorough study of many points appears necessary. From the purely linguistic point of view, it should be remembered that none of the five principal Polynesian dialects spoken in the territory has been the subject of scientific research. It is high time for such research, before it is too late. Given the reservations inspired by the

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census data, the linguistic situation in the territory may be considered still largely unknown, especially with respect to dialects other than Tahitian. Moreover, there has been no scientific study that would make it possible for us to take up in this essay the highly interesting question of linguistic interference. Yet, the territory's linguistic situation offers several possibilities for research. Historical studies should be conducted to place the language policy followed in Polynesia in the context of the overall policy pursued in former French colonies. Also worthy of study would be the history of the educational policy.

As for relations between French and Tahitian, two questions should be tackled: Has the policy of gallicization succeeded, and what is its future? Is another policy possible? The superficial impression received by the tourist when he moves out of Papeete is that knowledge of French is far from general in the territory. Beyond this surface appraisal, and according to the results of the 1962 census — the replies to which have to be considered as biased by a tendency on the part of the respondents to given answers above their class — the fact is that 60% of the population cannot read and write French. For the 'demi' population, the percentage is only 39%; it is 68% for the Polynesian-born population, 54% for the Polynesians of the Windward Islands, 80% for the Polynesian population of the remaining island groups. This comes down to the fact that one in every three Polynesians over fourteen in the territory can read and write French, but only one in five in the island groups. After more than a century of activity in favor of French, this would seem a poor result. And the policy that led to this result has given rise to reservations. 'Il est certain que nombre d'écoliers redeviennent illettrés quelques années seulement après avoir quitté l'école par manque de pratique de la lecture et de l'écriture' (Insee:42); 'on déclare que la grande majorité des élèves oublie le français dès sa sortie de l'école et que nos programmes conçus pour la Métropole, ne peuvent susciter que de vains exercices de mémoire' (Deschamps and Guiart 1957:64). It should be noted, however, that the considerable effort exerted by the Education Department appears to be bearing fruit. According to the 1962 census, knowledge of French is progressing rapidly among the young people: 57% of those aged 15–19 said they could read and write French, compared to 38.6% of those aged 20–60, and 22.9% of those over 60.

Regardless of progress in French language proficiency (and it can only be gradual) the fact remains that 80% of the respondents said they could read and write Tahitian, and that Tahitian is the mother tongue of an even higher percentage of the territory's population (Insee: 42–7). Tahitian, therefore, is the first language in number of speakers. But the Polynesians do not, in fact, have any opportunity to enrich and cultivate their knowledge of the language. For this to happen, Tahitian would have to be made part of the curriculum. But that would imply a political choice which it would be inadvisable for us to explore in this article. It is also certain that neither the educators nor the people are prepared to consider or welcome any large-scale approach to this matter. Meanwhile, literate Polynesians who cannot enjoy reading in French (and they constitute an enormous majority, greater even than the statistics imply) have no

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means of improving their minds. At the present time, Radio Tahiti makes the truest and strongest educational impact on the people, but it is still only an aural impact. Except for the Bible and a monthly religious magazine for each of the churches, the Polynesians have no reading material in their language, no works adapted to their need, no newspaper. The principal benefit they derive from literacy is the ability to carry on personal correspondence. I have known several Marquesan school graduates who maintain such a correspondence, but what they do to the language is something to see: mistakes, especially in word separation, are so numerous that their letters are difficult for their correspondents to read. It would not require much to improve the most obvious anomalies in the present situation: a few hours of Tahitian language instruction in the upper primary grades, and the establishment of a Tahitian newspaper. But even such limited measures would run too much counter to present tendencies for their implementation to be considered.

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STYLE CONTRASTS IN PACIFIC LANGUAGES

J. L. FISCHER

This chapter is intended to illustrate something of the range of style contrasts found in the various languages of the Pacific Ocean area and to indicate those which are especially characteristic of the area. Information on style contrasts in the Pacific is for the most part included incidentally in publications primarily concerned with other topics. An exhaustive survey of all described languages and cultures would be extremely time-consuming for the results, and I have therefore mainly been concerned with looking for examples of a variety of types of style contrast in the major cultural areas of the Pacific region.

The first part of the chapter briefly discusses the nature of style and some of the linguistic variables which can be subject to style contrasts. The bulk of the paper is devoted then to discussing the various kinds of style contrast in terms of their social and communicative functions, along with exemplifications from Pacific languages where available. A concluding section briefly summarizes the special significance of the Pacific languages for the study of style.

NATURE OF STYLE CONTRASTS

There is a variety of views as to the nature of style contrasts. According to one popular dichotomy, style is concerned with form rather than content, with code rather than message. Where there are two or more ways of saying 'the same thing' in a language the choice can be regarded as stylistic. Against this may be set the view that there is no such thing in natural languages as variation in form without variation in content or meaning, at least in connotation; that there are no true synonyms in language and therefore no truly equivalent longer expressions.

Part of the argument here is based on a confusion as to what the semantic content or meaning utterance is. The realized meaning of any normal linguistic utterance as a whole is limited considerably by the previous linguistic context, the identity of speaker and audience, the social situation, etc. The specific meanings of the words in that utterance are likewise limited, especially by the meanings of the other words with which they are combined in grammatical constructions. Moreover, the meaning of an utterance may be divided into essential meaning or core meaning and accidental or peripheral meaning. The core meaning of an utterance is finite and often fairly simple,

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and is limited to that part of the meaning which the speaker intends to communicate and is reasonably confident that he can communicate to his audience. The peripheral meaning includes all kinds of associations of speaker and audience which may or may not be shared, and even if shared, may not be clearly recognized as shared by the parties to the conversation. If we take a sharply defined view of the core meaning of particular utterances, two utterances in the same language composed of completely different linguistic forms can easily have the same core meaning (core semantic content). The choice between these two utterances would then be a matter of style.

However, such a definition needs further qualification. It implies that stylistic choice is purely a matter of idiosyncratic background of the speaker and that the listener's only concern with this choice is to get beyond it to the core message, to recode the idiosyncratic utterance of the speaker into his own idiosyncratic forms. Another necessary distinction regarding content beside that between core and peripheral meaning involves that between objective communication and communication about the communicative situation itself, between communication and metacommunication in Gregory Bateson's terms (1966). In all utterances, we may assume, the speaker is talking about two things: he is talking about the overt topic of conversation most of all as a rule, but he is also conveying information about the social communicative situation in which he finds himself. In the very process of speech he is constantly giving what Karl Bühler (1934) called 'symptomatic signs' about himself as a speaker: whether he feels energetic or tired, excited or relaxed, positive or negative; how he feels socially toward the audience — equal, superior, inferior, and if so how much; apart from relative rank, how close is he to his audience — is there an assumption of easy mutual understanding or not?

If 'core semantic content' is defined as that content which the speaker intends to communicate to his audience and is reasonably confident that he will do so, then it would appear that some of the metacommunicative content can be a part of the core semantic content, since speakers are often aware, even painfully so at times, of the metacommunicative implications of their utterances; that is, speakers know that the way they phrase and present a particular utterance has certain implications about their personal character and mood and their relationship to their audience. This distinction between objective communication and communication about the communicative situation, or, put more simply, between communication and metacommunication, is especially relevant to stylistic choice. In these terms, the differences between two utterances are purely stylistic if the objective communicative content is the same (still preserving the limitation to core meaning) while the metacommunicative content is different.

Presumably such relationships can be found between certain pairs of utterances in any living natural language. However, the stylistic choices available appear to vary considerably from one language to another in the degree to which they pervade utterances and in the degree of precise refinement which they permit along various functional dimensions of style.

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Another dichotomy which has been considered relevant to the definition of style is that between *langue* and *parole* as discussed by de Saussure (1958), or the more current but related dichotomy of linguistic competence and performance as discussed by Chomsky (1965) and the transformational generative school. Insofar as the concepts of performance and *parole* cover the objective semantic content as discussed above they include more than style, but they cover stylistic variations as well: how speakers use the alternatives presented by the rules of the language to construct concrete utterances, and how they at times even violate the rules of the language in their utterances.

The concepts of performance and *parole* have been developed mainly by investigators whose interest lay primarily in competence and *langue*. Chomsky, for instance, speaks of the need to develop the understanding of competence before a theory of performance can be developed. He discusses performance mainly in terms of why certain sentences which are logically possible according to the rules of a grammar are nevertheless unlikely to be uttered and likely to be treated as 'unacceptable' if uttered (Chomsky 1965:9–15). He talks about fatigue, rate of memory decay, and limitations of total neural capacity. While these questions are certainly of interest they are only one facet of the problem of performance and perhaps not the facet most amenable to investigation at the present time.

For another important facet of performance we must return to the concept of metacommunication discussed above. In other words, the choice among certain possibilities of applying the basic rules provided by the speaker's linguistic competence tells the audience something about the speaker: his mood, his social identity, his attitude toward his audience and his topic, his physiological state, his intelligence, etc. Somewhat to our initial confusion, perhaps, we are led to the notion of a set of rules for performance which can account for the choice between grammatical alternative utterances.

To be sure, one might argue that some of these rules are not cultural rules in the same sense that a typical grammatical rule is. If maximum sentence length is limited by neural capacity and rates of short-term memory decay, as seems likely, this could not be changed by a caucus of the speech community meeting to adopt a new rule or by any other imaginable process of linguistic change. However, within the range of acceptable sentence lengths, average sentence length varies by speaker and occasion, and this variation may be culturally and overtly recognized as meaningful, whatever its physiological basis and origin. A person who is speaking slowly, softly, in short fragmentary sentences and short total utterances is probably doing so because he is tired. At the same time, he would probably realize that he was giving the impression of fatigue to his audience, and if he had some reason to want to conceal this from them he would probably try to correct these features of his speech and might succeed. Again, he might actually not be tired, but speak as though he were in order to encourage a bore to leave. Following Dell Hymes (1966), we might say that normal speakers have a culturally structured 'communicative competence' which is one factor in

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determining their linguistic performance: whether and how much they will speak and use other forms of communication, and, to the extent they do speak, which linguistic alternatives they will use. In this view, communicative competence is one important determinant of linguistic performance, and linguistic style may be regarded as the reflection in linguistic performance of communicative competence.

The dichotomy of competence versus performance is also related to that between group or speech community versus individual member of the community. The competence is presumably basically shared within the speech community, but idiosyncratic factors result in different utterances (performances) from different individuals, not only in content but in formal matters, in style. Style might then be looked at as individual variations in the use of language. On the other hand, if style is socially meaningful then the individual variations in language use must be understood by the other members of the community. Hymes' notion of communicative competence, mentioned above, provides a tie between the stylistic variation in individual speech and the speech community: the community shares more than a grammar for a language; they share norms about how the grammar should be applied by different people in different situations, and what these differences in application mean in metacommunicative terms.

While most linguists have been primarily concerned with competence and *langue*, they have not entirely neglected certain aspects of style in standard grammatical descriptions. For instance, where there is a marked difference between written style and spoken style, or honorific and familiar style, or archaic and contemporary style, this has often been described by linguists as part of the grammar, which is supposed to involve linguistic competence rather than performance. For our purposes here it is not important to settle whether style involves competence or performance, *langue* or *parole*, as long as we can note some of the main issues involved and in doing so further clarify the concept of style.

The question also arises as to the relation between style and type of discourse or literary genre. Obviously, different types of discourse as defined by semantic content and general function characteristically show a number of linguistic differences which are regarded as stylistic. Probably it would be correct to say that each prominent type of discourse has its own style in any language. Nevertheless, style and discourse type can not be equated, since there can be variations in style within a single discourse type as well as variations in the degree to which distinguishable types of discourse show stylistic contrasts. It is also possible for individuals, through ignorance or for rhetorical purposes, to use unusual or inappropriate styles.

Readers interested in further discussion of the nature of style, especially from the linguistic point of view, are advised to consult Sebeok (1960).

DEFINITION OF 'PACIFIC LANGUAGES'

Under the term 'Pacific languages' we are including the languages spoken in the insular

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Pacific in the major culture areas of Indonesia (including the modern Republics of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines), Australia, New Guinea (Papua), Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. Our main emphasis is on languages indigenous to this area, although some account will be taken of historically intrusive languages. The indigenous languages of Formosa and some of those of Hainan off the coast of China, as well as those of Madagascar and the Cham language of Southeast Asia are all considered Indonesian languages, and would have been appropriate to consider. I have excluded them from consideration below because I could not find enough information on style contrasts in them.

The Pacific is an area which has traditionally contained a considerable range of sociocultural complexity, from the densely populated princely states of Indonesia to the scattered bands of hunters in the Australian desert. Nevertheless, even in the most complex societies, writing has until recently been restricted to a minority of the people. Writing was found only in certain cultures within the culture area of Indonesia, except for the still somewhat uncertain case of Easter Island (see Barthel, this volume). In the remainder of the area it was entirely absent until introduced by Europeans. Moreover, the number of speakers of most of the languages outside the area of Indonesia was rather small, a few thousand or even a few hundred. Contact with speakers of other languages varied. In Indonesia, New Guinea, Australia, and the larger islands of Melanesia, it would be normal for speakers of one language to have contact with speakers of alien languages, while farther out in the Pacific in Micronesia and Polynesia frequent contacts with speakers of other languages were not to be expected. Even where contacts with speakers of other languages were frequent one might expect that the geographically limited and isolated island environment would reduce the importance of contact with other languages as a source of innovation as compared with some continental areas with linguistic diversity.

Nevertheless it would be an error to suppose that even the smaller speech communities lacked rich stylistic resources. For instance, T. G. H. Strehlow, an Australian anthropologist who was raised among the natives of Central Australia, speaks of the Aranda language, which he knows well, as 'an instrument of great strength and beauty, which can rise to great heights of feeling' (Strehlow 1947:xviii). Anthropologists have long generally recognized that all living languages which have been adequately studied have proved to have extensive vocabularies. Many primitive languages also have extremely complex morphology. Strehlow (1947:xx) notes that there are 'about a thousand' combinations of verb suffixes for a typical Aranda verb stem, expressing a variety of subtle meanings.

While a map of distribution of many culture traits in the Pacific would show a gradual attenuation as one moves out from the Asiatic mainland to more isolated or unfavorable areas, this same sort of attenuation should not be expected for language, which is a universal feature of human society. One may even wonder whether some of the more remote Pacific societies may not have been especially concerned with language since they did not have as many items of material culture to concern them-

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selves with. The Keesings note for Samoan a 'very rich vocabulary relating to speech and speech processes' (Keesing and Keesing 1956:85), and Luomala discusses the importance of specialists in oral literature in a variety of Polynesian societies (1949: 69–70).

We should expect a priori that the development of literacy and an increase in the size of a speech community would favor both the development of a variety of styles in a language and an increase in vocabulary size and other linguistic resources available for stylistic purposes. It would be unreasonable on these grounds to expect that the vast majority of Pacific languages would have the range of stylistic differentiation of the major written languages of Europe and Asia. At the same time, it would be a great underestimate to equate the stylistic resources of a Pacific language spoken by a thousand people with those of a Euro-American village of the same size, if we restrict ourselves to styles which could be said to be actively produced within the village. This is because the isolated Pacific island must produce a total language with all its functions, while the modern civilized village receives and comprehends much that is produced by other parts of the same society. To take a simple example, most rural American villages would lack a local serious poet or composer of songs, but at the same time they would hear nationally popular songs on the television and radio, buy records and sheet music, go to dances and concerts, etc. The mass media of communication effectively stifle any budding local talent. In a non-literate, isolated society with its own indigenous language, on the other hand, the people must compose their own songs locally if they are to have any at all, and they generally do. We must keep in mind, therefore, the fact that each of these often small Pacific speech communities was, until recently, a complete and largely self-sufficient society and possessed the linguistic resources appropriate to this status.

VARIETIES OF STYLE

One of the main dimensions along which linguistic style varies in a number of Oceanic languages is that of social status, especially relative social status of speaker and listener. One would expect this dimension to find its clearest expression in highly stratified societies and on the whole this turns out to be correct. We refer here to what has been variously called 'respect language', 'honorific speech', etc.

Honorific speech must be distinguished from class dialects, although it bears some relation to them. Honorific speech, properly speaking, is the distinctive style of speech, involving special vocabulary and often special features of delivery, etc., which social inferiors are expected to use toward social superiors in certain societies. As Altman and Riška (1966) have recently pointed out, there are a variety of ways of expressing respect or 'courtesy' in different languages. However, relatively few languages in the world are generally regarded as having well developed honorific speech, and the Pacific area is a focus of this. In a recent paper I have suggested that

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'the most distinctive feature of honorific speech may be the differences possible in degree of respect to an addressee when he is NOT directly referred to in the utterance ... This ... necessity to express respect in speech regardless of the objective content of the utterance ... seems to be the distinctive characteristic of languages with well-developed honorific speech' (Fischer 1966b). It is my impression that Javanese may be the language with the most developed honorific speech in the world. It has been estimated that there are about 600 common words and particles in Javanese for which special alternate respect forms exist (Gonda 1948:375). The number of different alternate forms, graded by respect, differs by concept. For the second person singular pronoun, there are at least six; for the concept 'house' there are three; for some others there may be only two (C. Geertz 1960:248). However, in any extended utterance or conversation there are possibilities for expressing many subtle intermediate degrees of respect to the listener since varying degrees of mixture of the two polar styles are possible (Uhlenbeck 1963:82).

Javanese is reported to have class differentiation of speech style as well as honorific speech. C. Geertz (1960:249–52) distinguishes three social levels which differ in part in their use of honorific speech; although the greatest social gap would exist between a peasant and an aristocrat, the greatest use of honorific speech would probably be found in the case of one aristocrat talking to another aristocrat of markedly higher status. Aristocratic children learn the rudiments of polite speech in the family at an early age and have by five or six years of age 'an extensive repertoire of graceful phrases and actions' (H. Geertz 1961:100).

Respect language is also well developed in a number of Indonesian languages related to Javanese, such as Balinese (Bateson and Mead 1942), Sundanese, and Madurese (Stevens 1965). It is said to be relatively little developed in Malay compared to Javanese (Winstedt 1939:177), but polite and court styles are nevertheless described (ibid.:180). Winstedt notes that polite Malay 'adopts many Arabic words especially when talking of religion and literature' (Winstedt 1939:180). Brown describes three levels of first person pronoun in Perak Malay: a 'normal' pronoun, *mika*; a specially humble and respectful pronoun, *saya*; and an especially familiar or rude pronoun, *aku*, used among small children and by adults mostly in anger (Brown 1956:57–8). However Selosoemardjan says that one effect of the Indonesian national revolution was to reduce the use of stratified language in official contexts by substituting Malay (or Indonesian) for Javanese as the official language (Selosoemardjan 1962:135).

To the extent that honorific speech tends to be used in modern Indonesia it persists most strongly in traditional contexts. C. Geertz (1967:223) notes the use of honorific speech toward traditional aristocrats on Bali who happened to have inferior status occupationally, e.g. a commoner employer towards his aristocratic employee.

A marked development of honorific speech is found in some other languages in other major ethnographic areas of the Pacific as well. Sugiura (1940) and Garvin and Riesenberg (1952) have described honorific speech in Ponapean (Caroline Islands, Micronesia). Milner (1961) and the Keesings (1956) describe honorific speech in

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Samoa (Polynesia). Hocart (1929) has described honorific speech in Fiji (Melanesia). It would be mistaken to infer that all or most societies in these areas possess a strong development of honorific speech, however, although a number of additional examples could no doubt be found. In general, within a major ethnographic area, honorific speech is most developed in the larger and more stratified societies. Probably the degree of stability of the stratification over a period of centuries has something to do with the development of honorific speech to its extreme forms. The isolation of many Pacific island cultures may have helped to provide this stability by rendering invasion and large scale immigration and other social catastrophes less likely.

One sees the view repeatedly that honorific speech is a recent development. Gonda states that Javanese honorific speech has shown an increase since the 17th century and he cites Heider, a German writer, to the effect that the Samoan 'chief's language' is 'comparatively modern' (Gonda 1948:376). The correctness of this view is hard to test in languages with no written literature or even in those with rather limited written literature which does not adequately reveal the range of daily usage. It seems likely that in languages with honorific speech there is a tendency for honorific words and other devices to gradually lose their value and become everyday speech. This is the result of people straining to be polite by using forms which are a little more than the listener deserves (cf. Selosoemardjan 1962:133). If such competition to be polite is widespread, it would imply that older honorific texts would appear to modern speakers less honorific than they originally were, also that a fair proportion of the honorific forms current at any given time would be relatively recent inventions.

While the extreme development of honorific speech in the Pacific seems to be limited to the more stratified, larger societies, honorific speech is used within the family in these societies as well as toward exalted strangers. Holmes describes the efforts of Samoan parents to teach their children to 'speak correctly', although he indicates that not much refinement is expected until the age of about twelve (1958:41). There are a number of reports of societies in which some of the devices of honorific speech (e.g. use of plural or dual forms of the second person pronoun as an honorific singular) are reported to be used mainly within families toward various relatives who are owed special respect. Firth (1936:311) reports that in Tikopian the second person dual is used as a polite second person singular between certain affinal relatives, especially a man to his wife's father or daughter's son, and adds that Codrington noted similar usage in the Banks Islands and the New Hebrides in Melanesia. Leenhardt notes a similar custom in New Caledonia (1937:153).

Mode of address is another linguistic index of respect widely studied by anthropologists which can vary widely among kinsmen. Frake distinguishes variations in mode of address in Subanun (a Mindanao language) corresponding to a five-point behavioral scale ranging from intimacy to reserve; the most intimate mode of address is to use the personal name, while the least intimate is to avoid addressing the other (Frake 1960:63).

Goodenough (1951) has some discussion of special speech styles and other associated

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behavior used with relatives of varying status in Truk. He distinguishes two dimensions with scaled variables which are relevant, respect and sexual distance. Most of the variables on the 'respect scale' involve speech, e.g. 'speaking harshly', 'refusing requests', and 'avoiding' (including not speaking unless spoken to; Goodenough 1951:111–9). Some kinship relations may involve the opposite of respect — more or less obligatory familiarity and joking. For instance, Gladwin describes the sexual horseplay and joking between a man and his sisters-in-law on Truk, who are potential wives (Gladwin and Sarason 1953:116).

Sex roles themselves, apart from kinship relations, can influence linguistic style, and no doubt sex influences on linguistic style exist in Oceania. I have not, however, been able to locate any extended references to this in Pacific languages. Speech characteristics associated with sex roles are mentioned briefly in Riesenberg and Fischer (1955), describing proverbs from the island of Ponape, Caroline Islands. Some proverbs deal with the values of terseness of communication and suppression of emotion in male speech, and a deviant pronunciation of the *r* phoneme is mentioned which is said to be limited to certain women.

The emotional state of the speaker, especially insofar as it involves his attitude toward the listener, affects the style of speech in all languages. Special endearing and insulting vocabulary can no doubt be found in any language, and variations in pronunciation and delivery can also be found. Some of these variations are paralinguistic rather than part of the linguistic code in the narrow sense, e.g. variations in speed of delivery, in loudness of voice. Others, while they could be regarded as linguistic, are probably universal in their applicability, e.g. the tendency to speak in more complete sentences in certain situations, and do not deserve special discussion in this chapter.

Lessa gives some discussion of the style of verbal expression of aggression on Ulithi and notes that the Ulithians make little use of curses involving supernatural powers and much use of obscenity (Lessa 1966:82). He notes the existence of an 'outrageously indecorous dance with lewd words' which is used by men to correct women and vice versa, and which develops at times into an exchange of insults (ibid.). There are various reports of a more or less formal exchange of insults before battle in Polynesia, Micronesia, and elsewhere in the Pacific. Possibly the short Marshallese chants called *drodru* described by Davenport (1953:232) were at times used in this fashion, although they reportedly had other uses as well.

Raymond Firth (1963) has described the affective associations of a rare phoneme in Tikopia. Unlike most Polynesian languages, Tikopia has a phonemic distinction between /l/ and /r/. Firth notes that a disproportionate number of the relatively few words containing /l/ have some kind of disturbing connotation: sex, disliked mental traits, physical hardship (Firth 1963:59). In a recent paper comparing Trukese and Ponapean I have noted the tendency in both languages for double stop clusters to express aggression and nasal-stop clusters to express restraint or gentleness (Fischer 1965); the two languages contrast, however, in that in Trukese rapid speech homorganic nasal-stop clusters are replaced by the corresponding double stop clusters, while

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in Ponapean rapid speech the reverse substitution is made. I suggest these phonological contrasts may be related to contrasts in values about speech and in social structure between the two societies favoring different emotional styles in the two cultures.

Perhaps the greatest amount of information on style contrasts in Pacific languages is tied to discussions of the special styles of particular types of discourse. Relatively little attention is paid to the discussion of ordinary colloquial style as such, although many linguists in studying unwritten languages make the attempt to collect texts which are relatively close to conversational style on which to base their grammatical descriptions. Malinowski's famous concept of 'phatic communion' was developed in reference to the idle talk and gossip of the Trobriand Islanders whom he investigated (Malinowski 1923). He regarded phatic communion as speech for the purpose of maintaining and strengthening ties and cited it as evidence that primitive (nonliterate) peoples lacked 'reflective thought', which civilized peoples have, at least occasionally, although he thought that much of our own gossip should also be regarded as 'phatic communion' (ibid.: 478).

Quain remarks on the appreciation of esthetic use of speech in conversation in the Fijian village which he studied (1942:5). In contrast to Malinowski's emphasis on the use of conversation in strengthening social ties between speakers and listeners, Quain presents the picture of a sort of envious competition between speakers, vying with each other for the most appealing turn of phrase. While both authors are describing Melanesian societies, the two societies concerned are reasonably far apart and culturally contrastive in a number of other respects. Conceivably the different emphasis reflects cultural differences in values about speech and in conversational style.

Turning to still another geographical area, I have discussed briefly the preoccupation with gossip of the people of various islands in the Eastern Carolines (Fischer 1966c:237–8). Most of this deals with a few topics: sex, crime, politics, and hospitality. Most of it is critical of third parties not present. There would appear to be relatively little of the rhetorical competition which Quain describes for Fiji in this Carolinian gossip, although there is some competition as to who can report the most outrageous news.

When we turn to more formal types of discourse and their special styles there is somewhat more information. Frequent mention of oratory is encountered in all the major cultural areas of the Pacific except for Australia, where one receives the impression that on public occasions there is an especially great emphasis on conducting ceremonies whose form and associated literature is fixed.

As Holmes notes for Samoa (1958:vii), oratory is everywhere primarily a male art. Within the more stratified societies it is further limited largely to men of high rank and in some cases, such as Samoa and certain other places in Polynesia (Holmes 1958: 23), to specialists trained in traditional history and mythology, this knowledge being needed to provide the necessary allusions and precedents. There is probably considerable variation in oratorical style between various islands and language groups. A

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liberal use of historical and mythological allusions, figurative speech, and quotations from chants seems to be very widespread (cf. Collocott 1928:59ff. among others). The normal length of a speech seems to be variable. Capell quotes the missionary Paton as saying that the traditional orators of Aniwa in the New Hebrides might spend a whole day in discussing a situation (Capell 1960:58) and H. Geertz mentions Javanese children sitting quietly 'through hours and hours of formal speeches' (H. Geertz 1961:113). Metge (1967:194), on the other hand, says of modern Maori speeches that they are short, rarely more than fifteen minutes, although she notes continued debate back and forth. The Maori speeches are reported to be opened and closed with an appropriate traditional chant. A special stylistic feature of Hawaiian oratory and debate is the competitive use of phonetic word play, according to Elbert (1951:347). Elbert points out that the small phonemic inventory of Hawaiian (and other Polynesian languages for that matter) and the limited rules of combination of phonemes presents many opportunities for punning (Elbert 1957:320).

Folktales (various forms of traditional narrative told for entertainment) represent another widespread form of discourse probably found in all functioning cultures in the Pacific and elsewhere. Tales have often been ignored by ethnographers as trivial or unimportant amusements, reflecting the native attitude toward them, so that the body of tale texts in any area like the Pacific, where relatively little intense collection of oral literature has been done, tends to be underrepresentative. Katharine Luomala (1949a-e) has surveyed the state of research in Pacific narrative in her articles on the various cultural areas in the *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend.* The cultural distinction between myth and tale varies in its sharpness by culture and culture area. It would seem that in Australia and in New Guinea there is more of a tendency to treat traditional narratives seriously, resulting in fewer tales told for entertainment and more myths. In other areas both types of narrative are found in abundance and reasonably well differentiated, although they may be confused in specific instances. The distinction between myth and recent semi-historical account is also made in a number of cultures (cf. Firth 1961), and stylistic differences accompany these. The semi-historical accounts are likely to be the least organized, with disorder in presentation of temporal sequence, frequent corrections of statements and vocabulary just uttered, etc. The tales told primarily for entertainment will be somewhat more organized, and are likely to contain quotations of the speeches of characters or short songs which are remembered verbatim. The myths regarded as serious narratives about early times are likely to contain more verbatim material and be the most carefully narrated of all, when recited by an expert.

A thorough stylistic analysis of the tales of the nonliterate peoples of the Pacific or elsewhere requires proper data: a collection of texts in the native language with full annotated translation and some description of the circumstances under which the tales are normally told. There are few collections in the Pacific area which meet these standards. Moreover, since tales are told for entertainment, a good teller of tales is likely to adapt his narrative to the audience and, as Elbert and Monberg (1965:32)

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have pointed out in their monograph on Rennell and Bellona (Polynesian outliers in the Solomon Islands), tellers who are dictating to a foreign researcher are likely to add explanatory details and otherwise modify the text for the benefit of the foreign audience.

For some purposes myths and tales may be considered together. The stylistic differentiation between them may not be sharp even where there is a clear functional differentiation. Both myths and tales in the nonliterate cultures of the Pacific area are generally characterized by much repetition and use of antithesis, as is typical of most nonliterate narrative in other parts of the world compared with the contemporary written narratives of the major civilizations (cf. Elbert 1957:320, for antithesis in Hawaii; Barton 1955:15, for repetition in Ifugao texts from the Philippines). As these two examples suggest, the emphasis on these two structural principles in narrative varies according to culture, some emphasizing antithesis more — e.g. pairs of episodes with similar beginnings and opposed endings, while others emphasize repetition more — e.g. a series of episodes all more or less alike in general form with minor variations in wording and detail. An attempt to make a quantitative measurement of the use of these two principles at the episode level was made by me in a paper comparing folktales of Truk and Ponape (Fischer 1960). The same principles can also be manifest in other respects with regard to content, e.g. characters and settings.

Polynesian mythology and narrative has been characterized as especially concerned with names of people and places (Elbert 1957:320). Probably this concern with tying mythological events down to actual places and families is widespread in the Pacific area, but the Polynesian concern with genealogy is extreme compared to other Pacific culture areas and probably accounts in part for the abundance of personal names in the Polynesian myths. Australian mythology is also notable for its concern with place names in myths representing the routes of travel of the ancestors and traces of their deeds and supposed physical remains (cf. Strehlow 1947; Berndt 1951, 1953).

Polynesian mythology and other traditional literature has been characterized by a relative freedom of description of sexual activities (Handy 1930:5). Comparatively speaking this seems to be a valid generalization, even within the Pacific area, although sexual episodes by no means account for all of Polynesian mythology. This may be regarded as a literary expression of a general liberal attitude toward sex in most Polynesian societies. This in turn may be functionally related to the need for population control on the small, remote islands of Polynesia: in such circumstances the recreational and social values of sex perhaps become more important than the reproductive values. Infanticide, abortion, and the giving away of children were all rather widespread in Polynesia, providing further evidence for this reasoning.

Similarities in the content as well as the style of mythology between Pacific cultures depend in part on opportunities and need for communication. Lessa (1961:2) in his study of Ulithian tales, notes that these have little distinctive local character and are not too closely related to each other. He traces cognates in many other parts of

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the Pacific. Probably this 'conglomerate' character of Ulithian literature and culture is to be explained by the frequent canoe travel of the people to other islands on both purposeful and accidental voyages. The Ulithians are in the typhoon belt of the Central Carolines and their island is periodically devastated, forcing them to migrate temporarily to other more fortunate islands until the food supply recovers. They also take periodic voyages for trading and ceremonies. Some of the larger high island cultures where the people felt less need to travel appear to show a more distinctive style in their literature.

Lessa also notes that in his comparative study of Pacific mythology all the major culture areas show considerable contact with each other with the exception of Australia (ibid.:6). It is not surprising, therefore, that Australian mythology stands out stylistically as rather distinctive. It would appear that most Australian myths were embodied in poetic chants which were recited on ceremonial occasions and accompanied by dances which dramatized them. Prose recitations of the myths seem to have been regarded as distinctly secondary by the Australians. Poetic versions of myths exist in the other culture areas of the Pacific as well (for an example from Melanesia, cf. Quain 1942 for Fiji; for Polynesia see Elbert 1951 (Hawaii) or Grey 1956 (Maori); for an Indonesian example see Barton 1955 (Ifugao)), but prose versions of the myths seem to have been more important in these other areas, and in some cases the poetic versions were less complete and required the amplification of the prose version to be understood.

The entire prose version of myths and tales is usually not transmitted verbatim, although the attempt is made to transmit the poetic version verbatim. However, in the prose versions there are often passages in a special style which may be transmitted verbatim. These include short songs and quotations from the characters. Elbert and Monberg (1965:31) mention that in Rennellese myths a certain goddess 'did not use the language of mortals' and spoke of herself in the third person. In most Pacific cultures other than the literate cultures of Indonesia the language of the narrative prose versions of myths is close to that used in tales and ordinary conversation, except for brief passages. However, Schärer (1963:10) has reported a distinction between the language of myths and tales for the Ngaju of South Borneo; the myths are supposedly told in a special style said to be the language of the gods and first ancestors, while tales are told in ordinary colloquial Ngaju. It is unclear how different these two styles are, or in what respects.

As has already been indicated, a distinct poetic style is found widely in Pacific languages. In some areas, including Indonesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia, there exist poems which are simply recited as well as other poetic texts which are chanted or in some cases sung to more complex melodies. In the literate cultures of Indonesia there are indigenous poetic forms which are derived from Indian and Arabic civilization.

Fairly clear examples of formal meter are reported from Indonesia, Micronesia, and Australia (cf. Barton 1955:11; Fischer 1959; Burrows 1963:50; Capell 1965:113).

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The existence of meter as distinct from 'rhythm' in Melanesian and Polynesian poetry is less clear. Elbert speaks of the importance of 'quantitative verse' in Hawaiian poetry (1951:352), but Pukui states that the lines varied in length (1949:247). The Hawaiian and other Polynesian languages possess the phonemic distinction between long and short vowels but these have not been indicated in texts of Polynesian languages which I have seen. For the song texts of Tikopia, a Polynesian-speaking island in Melanesia, Firth mentions that words are lengthened and otherwise altered to preserve the rhythm (1936:286), again suggesting some kind of meter. Possibly Polynesian poetry was governed by a fairly explicit standard that lines should vary in length around an average.

Rhyme appears to be found principally in Indonesia, especially in the literate cultures. Tanner, for instance, refers to Minangkabau poems called *pantun* with four line stanzas in which the first rhymes with the third and the second with the fourth (1967:31). Similar forms are presumably widespread among the literate cultures of Western Indonesia. Jamias (1953:21) mentions that rhymed proverbs exist in some of the lowland Philippine languages, which have been subject to considerable outside influence, although unrhymed proverbs are characteristic of other Philippine languages. Barton's (1955) Ifugao (pagan mountain people) myth chants do not appear to be rhymed.

Rhyme is also reported for poetry from the two nearby languages of Tongan (Collocott 1928:63) and Fijian (Quain 1942:14–5). Although the first is Polynesian and the second Melanesian there was prehistoric contact between them. A common form of rhyme involves the last two vowels of the final word of a line with the intermediate consonant being irrelevant. I have not seen any mention of rhyme for precontact texts in other parts of Polynesia, Melanesia, New Guinea, Micronesia, or Australia, although assonance and alliteration are evident elsewhere (e.g. Beckwith 1951:38).

The poetic style in Pacific languages as in many others is typically more metaphorical than ordinary speech. This has been particularly discussed for Hawaiian poetry. The Hawaiians had a term, *kaona*, for the 'inner meaning' of a poem. Hawaiian poems and songs typically had a readily apparent meaning which all could understand and an inner meaning which might require special explanation to understand (Pukui 1949; Beckwith 1949:293, 1951:38). In Hawaiian poetry the hidden meaning was often sexual or bodily. Beckwith attributes the use of figurative speech in Hawaii to the 'tension of court etiquette' (1951:38). It may be worth noting that many of the same sorts of concepts which constitute the hidden meaning of Hawaiian poems are also expressed in the special honorific vocabulary used in talking to or about chiefs in the more stratified Polynesian societies.

Much of the poetry in the more stratified societies of Polynesia and Melanesia was sponsored by the chiefs and may be regarded as court poetry. For instance, Quain mentions the 'royal audience' of the Fijian poems he translates (1942:7) and Collocott mentions poetry contests sponsored by the chiefs in Tonga (1928:64). Poems in these societies were recognized as esthetic creations and the name of the composer of a poem

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was remembered, often as long as the poem. A payment would be made by the chief or other important person for whom the poem was composed and public recital was then supposed to be controlled by him (cf. Pukui 1949:255 for Hawaii and Capell 1960:59 for Aniwa in the New Hebrides, Melanesia).

Other forms of poetry and songs are reported than those celebrating the virtues and accomplishments of aristocrats in these same societies. Love songs used in courting are reported at least for Indonesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia. Eggan and Scott report courtship songs sung by youths and girls among the Sagada Igorot of the mountains of Luzon. In these boys and girls exchange bantering verses in a kind of duel (Eggan and Scott 1965:79).

A variety of other short forms of literature each with its distinctive features of style, exists among many Pacific cultures. Riddles are found from Indonesia east through to Polynesia, although I have found no reference to riddles in Australia. Hart (1964) gives extensive examples of Philippine riddles and a bibliography for that country. Beckwith (1922) discusses riddling in Hawaii and describes the training of chiefs for riddling contests in which substantial wagers were made. Proverbs have a distribution similar to that of riddles in the Pacific.

Spells and prayers constitute forms of discourse or literature with distinctive stylistic features in most Pacific cultures. The most thorough and authoritative discussion of spells in a Pacific culture is perhaps that provided by Bronislaw Malinowski in presenting data from the Trobriand Island in Melanesia off the eastern tip of New Guinea (1922, 1935). The style of spells is especially distinctive and might be characterized as 'hyperpoetic'. The use of repetition, antithesis, and figurative speech which characterize poetry is carried to an extreme in spells. Verbatim repetition is generally considered essential to the effectiveness of spells, and the language accordingly tends to be especially conservative. If meaningless distortions creep in over generations of transmission or if items of the vocabulary go out of use in ordinary speech these may be preserved in spell texts. As Powdermaker has pointed out (1933:302), spells are characterized by a terse, elliptical style in which whole sentences are often replaced by phrases or single words. At the same time there is much redundance in most spell texts in that the chosen words and phrases, which principally express wish fulfilment and imitation of the process of wish fulfilment, are, as Malinowski put in, 'rubbed in by constant repetition' (1922:408).

SOME GENERAL STYLISTIC VARIABLES AND THEIR RELATION TO TYPE OF DISCOURSE

In the previous section of this chapter we have considered various types of discourse found in Pacific languages which have distinctive styles in one or another respect. In this section we shall consider some of the same data from a different point of view, that of some general variables of style and communication which may be manifested in more than one type of discourse in varying degrees.

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One such dimension, which has a number of more detailed implications, is the question whether an utterance or type of discourse is a verbatim repetition of a fixed form or spontaneous speech formed anew according to the requirements of the moment. In the foregoing section, the progression has generally been from considering the freer types of discourse, beginning with conversation, to the most fixed, ending with proverbs and magic spells. The introduction of writing into a culture can greatly increase the fixity of intermediate forms of discourse on this scale, such as tale, myth, and poem, and the modern introduction of printing can increase this fixity still further by eliminating transcribing errors in making manuscript copies. Gonda suggests that in Indonesian languages generally the forms of words are less stable than in languages in which many of the speakers are literate, go to school, etc.; that lengthened and deviant forms which result may then be used for special expressive purposes (Gonda 1950:331–2). If this holds for the Indonesian languages, some of which have a considerable tradition of minority literacy, it should be all the more valid for languages in other major culture areas of the Pacific. The Keesings develop the notion that in a non-literate culture special care must be taken with phrasing important communications, such as the statements of chiefs (Keesing and Keesing 1956:140); they suggest further that the chiefs' decisions will be stated sparsely with only the necessary explicitness to avoid the danger of introducing ambiguity (ibid.:149). While it does appear that Samoan and some other Polynesian and Micronesian chiefs made a virtue of well-phrased, concise speech, I am not sure that this is an inevitable consequence of authority in non-literate societies: recall the long-winded speeches of the Aniwans noted above as mentioned by Capell (1960:58).

Absence of writing does not prevent fixity of some types of discourse where exactness of reproduction is valued. Malinowski notes that the Trobriand Islanders regarded spell texts as things which were never changed and had always existed as long as the objects with which they were concerned (1922:398). Berndt says that the sacred songs of the natives of Arnhem Land likewise are regarded as stemming from the prehistoric 'Dreaming' era and are thought to have been passed on unchanged since that time (1951:85). Nevertheless both authors recognize that changes have taken place in these texts in oral transmission, if slowly. On many Polynesian islands lengthy genealogies were remembered verbatim over long periods, as is shown in some cases by recording by different European visitors a couple of generations apart.

Lighter types of literature are also at times preserved verbatim in nonliterate cultures. Romantic poetry and songs may be memorized by youths in many Pacific cultures. Conklin speaks of Hanunóo youth in Mindanao as memorizing large repertories of chanted verses for use in courting (1959:634). The Hanunóo have the aid of a pre-European syllabary which seems to be used largely for this purpose, but youths of other groups in Micronesia, Polynesia and probably elsewhere memorize extensive bodies of love songs without the aid of writing.

In his discussion of peoples of the Eastern New Guinea Highlands, Berndt (1962: 68ftn.) notes that people in this area tend to compose songs about their personal

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experiences 'at times of stress'. Apparently this is done partly to facilitate expression of their feelings and partly to call attention to themselves in the hope others will remember them by their song.

Even discourse which is largely spontaneous is likely to contain stereotyped phrases, epithets, proverbs, fixed quotations, excerpts from longer verbatim literature, etc. We have already mentioned the quoting of chants and citing of myth in Polynesian and other oratory; this can also occur in daily conversation, of course. And such forms of discourse as myth and tale, where the prose portions are variable in nonliterate cultures, are likely to contain passages such as quotations and songs which are reproduced verbatim (for an example cf. Elbert and Monberg 1965:31 on the set speeches of gods and heroes in Rennellese myths).

In those cultures which have historically possessed some form of literacy for an appreciable period, writing was introduced from the outside, ultimately from mainland Asia, and there is at times a considerable difference between the written and spoken language. Some of the literature may be in a foreign language, e.g. Arabic in Moslem areas. Jaspan (1964:19) notes that the language of most of the folklore of the Redjang of Sumatra is in the local dialect, but that there is a form of writing which is used for poetry; these poems are in 'a literary form of old Malay'. G. Williams (1956) in a review of a survey of linguistic work on Sumatra has noted that much of the writing of linguists on Sumatran languages has been concerned with the written literature and with writing systems. Winstedt's grammar of Malay contains a special appendix on epistolary style (1939:105).

In the discussion of writing in the Pacific it is appropriate to make some mention of the Easter Island 'script', which has not been satisfactorily deciphered. The late Alfred Métraux expressed the opinion that this was not a true script but rather a sort of mnemonic device in which possibly each character was associated with a phrase or whole line of poetic chant (1957:204); if so, a chanter would have to know the piece by heart but if his memory failed him temporarily the engraved wooden tablets would remind him. However, Yuri Knorozov and Thomas Barthel have both recently urged that the script is a true writing system; according to Barthel (1958:315; this volume) it contains a limited number of conventionalized signs which are less variable than would be expected of pictographs and repeated more frequently.

Mnemonic pictographs are known from elsewhere in the Pacific area along with other mnemonic devices, however. I have personally been impressed by the large number of Easter Island characters which suggest Polynesian dance poses, with different positions of the limbs and head. The Polynesians are known to have had a large 'vocabulary' of dance gestures which can still be studied on some islands. Possibly much of the writing is intended primarily to indicate dance movements which went along with the chants and only secondarily to indicate the chants themselves.

Another dimension of style which tends to be related to that of spontaneity versus fixity is that of the historical age of the language used: archaic versus contemporary and innovative. In general, archaic language tends to be preserved in fixed memorized

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texts or in written texts, while innovative language occurs in spontaneous texts. Thus for example, Wilson infers that the sacred songs of the Nabaloi of northern Luzon must be very old because they contain a number of apparently archaic words (Wilson 1953:34). However, it is possible on certain occasions for new utterances to be made or attempted in an archaic style, using words and phrases which are recognized as archaic, are characteristic of the older fixed texts and are no longer used in ordinary conversation. As in European languages, prayers and religious ritual are likely to contain such 'modern archaic language'; it may also be found in improvised quotations of characters in myths and tales about olden times. Probably any formal situation is likely to use somewhat more conservative language than most informal, intimate situations in Pacific cultures as well as elsewhere. I am not aware of any extensive discussion of slang in Pacific languages but it certainly exists in many, including some with rather small speech communities with little literary tradition: Ponapean informants speaking English have given me examples of what they call Ponapean slang involving innovative uses of old Ponapean words and phrases in informal situations.

Salisbury (1962:11) makes the interesting suggestion that the rate of linguistic innovation and differentiation may be accelerated in areas like much of New Guinea where there are many small, mutually hostile speech communities who know their neighbor's language; to the extent that a village wants to differentiate itself from its neighbors the speakers may readily seize on any linguistic innovation arising within the community which will give them justification for saying that the neighbors speak a different language which needs interpretation.

The state of consciousness of the speaker is a variable affecting style of speech. In many parts of the Pacific the speech of individuals in trances was specially valued as the speech of a dead person or spirit familiar possessing the speaker, or speeches of spirits appearing in dreams were remembered and valued as supernatural communications. In some cases the spirit possession is regarded as something to be avoided if possible. For instance, Geertz reports that in the Javanese town which he studied a sick person thought to be possessed by a spirit would be in a trance and answer the questions of a curer in the voice of a spirit; when cured the spirit would leave, the patient would faint, and later, on coming out of the trance, would remember nothing of what he had said (C. Geertz 1960:20).

On the other hand, in many Pacific cultures spirit mediums were thought to provide valuable information such as diagnosis of illness, prescription of medicine, warnings of storms and other dangers. Such spirits might be regarded as benevolent and possession might be welcome (e.g. Lamotrek as described by Alkire 1965:117). The speech of people in trance and possessed or visited by spirits might be different from ordinary conversation. Berndt and Quain report the composition of songs in trances, which were thought to have been given to the person in trance by spirits or ancestors; these reports are for the Eastern New Guinea Highlands and for Fiji respectively (Berndt 1962:69ftn.; Quain 1942:14). The New Guinea people described by Berndt induced

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their trances by chewing a special bark. Force (1960:51) mentions that Palauan shamans (Micronesia) at times went into trances during which they were possessed by the deity they represented; they sought these trances by chewing large amounts of betel nut; the gods (presumably the shaman thought to be possessed by the god) communicated with humans by whistles which only the human representative could interpret. It is unclear whether the whistling had any genuine linguistic significance or was simply a sort of show put on by the shaman in trance. The Palauan language has not been reported to be tonal to my knowledge.

Another stylistic variable of relevance in Pacific languages is that of secrecy: i.e. whether the style is readily understandable to the general public or understandable only to a special audience. There are various reports of secret 'languages' used for sacred purposes. Capell (1965:113) mentions that such reports exist for Australia, although the information is not very full. Warner (1958:39) describes a 'fairly extensive' sacred language restricted to adult men for the Murngin of Arnhem Land; it includes esoteric names for individuals and for customary foods, etc. Strehlow's description of Aranda chants (Central Australian desert) indicates that these are in a style which is unintelligible to the uninitiated; apparently this is in part due to the phonetic modifications of the words in versification (Strehlow 1947:xx). O'Grady (1956:158) gives a brief report of a Western Australian boy who had recently been initiated and claimed to know a special language which he had been taught by a spirit; O'Grady notes that a secret language used in initiation was reported from New South Wales in the 19th century. Hale (1967) has described a disguised language associated with initiation ritual among the Walbiri of central Australia. Ordinary Walbiri words are for the most part used but in the sense of their antonyms, i.e. each noun pronoun and verb is replaced with an antonym; reportedly it takes about two to four weeks for novices to acquire fluency.

In New Guinea Loukotka (1952:724) mentions poorly understood secret languages used in ritual on the Rai Coast and Astrolabe Bay. Held (1957:269) indicates that the sacred poetry of the Waropen Papuans in West New Guinea or Irian appeared to be understood by very few people, in some cases because the songs were imported from other linguistic groups; in the Waropen view one had to drink a special medicine in order to understand these chants (ibid.:270); as far as Held could tell, this sacred chant language was not simply an older stage of Waropen (ibid.:271).

In the literate areas of Indonesia there are sacred scriptures and other literature in Asian languages which are unintelligible to the untrained person (Arabic, Pali, old Malay). Sacred 'languages' are also reported for some of the nonliterate Indonesian groups. Gonda (1948:374) cites a work by Adriani (1932) to the effect that the language of the priests of the central Celebes is like Javanese *krama* (honorific speech). Evans describes a 'sacred language' of the priestesses among the Tempasuk Dusuns of Borneo; this appears to be a mixture of ordinary Dusun, obsolete forms, 'playful' forms, with a small admixture of Malay (Evans 1953:49).

In Micronesia Bollig has described the 'language' of the *itang* of Truk (Bollig

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1927). The *itang* were a combination of orators, magicians, diplomats and war leaders. The special vocabulary appears to be a mixture of figurative and archaic speech not grammatically or phonologically distinct from ordinary Trukese.

Much sacred oral literature in various parts of the Pacific was treated as secret even though the language might be intelligible enough if it could be heard. Beckwith reports a Polynesian saying to a European inquiring about sacred matters, 'Would you rob me of my only treasure?' (Beckwith 1951:40). Firth was told by several Tikopians that they were afraid that they or their children might be harmed by gods angry at them for divulging esoteric sacred information (Firth 1961:15).

Secrecy is not always for sacred purposes. In the Philippines there are various devices of secrecy involving courting and sex. For instance, Vanoverbergh (1954:16), describing the songs of the Lepanto Igorot of Luzon, says that some of these are very obscene but this is obscured by figures of speech so that an unalerted listener would take them in a different sense. Conklin has described several kinds of speech disguise and linguistic play in the Philippines (Conklin 1956 and 1959). These are used mainly by adolescents to keep their conversations secret from adults. Presumably the adults might be able to figure them out if they took the time, but are not enough in practice to readily interpret the disguised speech of the young. For Hanunóo Conklin (1959) notes one type which involves a semantic reversal — reminiscent of the Walbiri initiation language mentioned above, others which involve phonological modification analogous to English 'Pig Latin', and he also notes the use of voice modification for the same purposes. He also reports a variety of forms of phonological modification of words in Tagalog, which are changed frequently and undergo fads, thus helping to preserve the generation gap (Conklin 1956:139).

In those areas of the Pacific where more than one language is spoken in a community the choice of language can be used for secrecy. Solenberger (1962) discusses language choice in the Marianas from this point of view. Chamorro, Central Carolinian, Spanish, German, Japanese, and English were all available to some speakers at the time of his fieldwork. One gains the impression that the most common reasons for using a special language for secrecy in the Marianas were political and economic.

Another important aspect of style is the degree to which there is an esthetic intent — and if so, of course, the extent to which this has been successfully expressed. The development of oral literature and the verbal arts has reached a high development in parts of the Pacific as already indicated above in the discussion of certain types of discourse. Oral literature has at times the advantage over written literature of being subject to improvement in transmission by concerned bearers, so that a myth or song or proverb can gradually improve in time over its first conception (cf. Berndt 1953:6 in discussing the poetic songs of Arnhem Land). In some of the more remote areas of the Pacific there may be a special emphasis on verbal art accompanied by a neglect of visual art. Burrows (1963:7) alleges this of Ifaluk in the Central Carolines, Micronesia. The people of Ifaluk are rather few in number and their contacts are mostly with other islanders quite similar to themselves; their material possessions are periodi-

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cally subject to destruction by typhoons which render the island temporarily uninhabitable. Under such discouraging circumstances perhaps it is not surprising that their esthetic efforts are concentrated especially on dance songs.

The esthetic dimension is relevant to conversation as well as to types of discourse which are more overtly esthetic in aim. Frake gives some discussion to the esthetic aspects of conversation at Subanun drinking parties (Frake 1964). According to Subanun custom the conversation is supposed to become more and more 'stylistic' as the drinking progresses (ibid.:129–31), and in the final stages of the drinking party only the true experts are left, who speak in a style which involves the repetition of each 'line ... with a semantically equivalent but formally different line' (ibid.:131). I gather that at this point the speakers are improvising a kind of verse, and are also making use of a special vocabulary of synonyms for ordinary words to enable this repetition.

Related to the question of esthetic purpose is that of figurative versus literal style. A figurative style is often used to produce an esthetic effect, although figures of speech may be used under other circumstances and there are other devices of discourse (phonological, dramatic and developmental) which have esthetic effect as well. Hiroa (1945:34–5), discussing the problems of translation of Polynesian chants (specifically Maori), notes the figurative use of place names to denote garments and other objects obtained or made at those places, a kind of metonymy. The use of names in this figurative fashion was one way in which the Polynesians and Micronesians indulged their fondness for reciting names (cf. Elbert 1951:348).

Another great use of figurative speech is in spells and magically potent language. It was suggested above that the style of spells could be considered 'hyperpoetic' in some respects. While we have in modern European languages the distinction between sacred and profane literature, we have much less the notion of speech as magically potent, compared with most Pacific cultures, especially the nonliterate ones. The acme of magically potent language is the spell, but other forms of oral literature were also considered to have supernatural effects at times. Barton (1955:4–11), for instance, describes the ritual recitation of Ifugao myths to cure the sick, to gain victory in war, etc. The goal of fertility (especially of wild plants and animals) of most Australian ritual, which included extensive chants, is well-known. Pukui (1949:247) notes that in ancient Hawaii a composer of a song in honor of a chief who inadvertently inserted a word or phrase which was ambiguous and had a bad second meaning might have been put to death, which suggests a carryover of magical attitude even toward types of discourse which were not primarily magical or ritual. Beckwith (1951:35–6) notes the importance of accuracy in reciting Polynesian genealogical chants; a mistake or even a hesitation was thought to be an evil omen for the living descendants and would certainly give rise to ill will or even punishment to the reciter. Davenport (1953:256), describing Marshallese sailing songs, notes that relatively short texts were prolonged by intoning each syllable 'for minutes on end' in order to keep the navigator alert,

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but also probably for magical purposes, to ensure a safe arrival from the dangers of the sea.

A further stylistic variable which is often closely related to magic and to esthetic effect is the introduction of nonsense forms into the discourse. This is especially characteristic of spells and of songs. Williams, discussing nonsense syllables in the taro songs of the Orokaiva of Eastern New Guinea, which are intended to help the taro grow, suggests that in these songs people have become less concerned with the meaning and more concerned with the magical function, thereby moving them to adhere to what they conceive to be the correct form regardless of whether it is meaningful as language or not (F. E. Williams 1928:181). Nonsense forms are also found widely as short refrains in songs, both secular and sacred, although perhaps not as much as in the songs of some North American Indian tribes. Here they may serve the function of giving the singer a little break to remember the next verse, or they may fill out a metrical pattern in a line or stanza.

Another communicative variable which affects linguistic style is the degree to which other forms of communication can supplement or substitute for language. The Keesings say that in order to fully understand Samoan formal oratory one must first understand Samoan oratorical gestures; these involve, among other things, the brandishing of a fly switch by the orator (Keesing and Keesing 1956:142). Songs of one kind or another are no doubt to be found in all living human cultures but Firth's observation on Tikopian songs, that the songs are always accompanied by some sort of action, such as dancing or mourning (Firth 1936:285), undoubtedly applies to much of the music and songs of the Pacific cultures, especially the smaller, less complex, more isolated ones. The dance is highly developed in many Pacific cultures and often consists of the enactment of mythical or legendary events using a rich vocabulary of gestures.

Under certain circumstances there are partial or complete taboos on speaking in many Pacific cultures. The notion is widespread that in hunting or fishing one must be careful not to speak of the prey by its usual name. For an example from the Gilberts in Micronesia, Grimble (1952:188) tells how he was instructed to speak of porpoises as 'our friends from the west' while the chief's hereditary porpoise caller was luring the animals to their doom. Similarly, the taboo is widespread that one must not speak of sharks by their proper name while at sea, lest the speaker call forth a shark attack.

Human names are often taboo after the bearer dies, at least among the close relatives of the deceased. In Tahiti and some other islands of Polynesia there was a general taboo on the names of dead chiefs which was also supposed to extend to the words of which the name was composed.

At times, especially in areas of contact between groups speaking mutually unintelligible languages, an elaborate sign language has developed, used for intertribal contact and also within the tribe for religious purposes. This has been especially noted in native Australia (Guiart 1952:709). Warner (1958:515–8) reports that the tribes in Arnhem Land, who speak a variety of languages, share an elaborate com-

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mon sign language, used in intertribal communication, by young men under taboos of silence in connection with initiation, and in communication with the deaf and dumb. Strehlow (1947:2) reports that among the Aranda, the older man who guided younger men to the sacred forbidden sites explained things completely by sign language; the meaning of the sacred chants was also said to have been explained largely by sign language.

COMMUNICATIVE GAPS AND STYLE

In this section we shall consider the stylistic significance of dialects and languages in contact. As long as the speakers of a dialect or a language remain isolated, it can be said that their language as a whole has no stylistic significance for the speakers. Such isolation has been approached in the past for some of the more remote islands of Polynesia which lacked sea-going vessels on discovery (e.g. Easter Island). However, when the speakers of one language or dialect come in contact with another and each group comes to understand the other's manner of talking, then the languages or dialects acquire a stylistic significance which is dependent on the social relationships between the two speech communities. One group may be regarded as generally superior to the other and if contact is intense enough the speech of the superior group may be taken as the basis for a common standard language. Or there may be no such agreement on the relative merits of the groups, in which case, other things being equal, the languages or dialects are likely to persist as long as a reasonable amount of social separation persists.

One recent important example of the development of a standard language in the Pacific area is that of Indonesian, derived from Malay, being established as the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. This development has been greatly helped by the mass communicative media (cf. C. Geertz 1965:137, quoting H. Geertz). At the same time, C. Geertz (1960:259) has speculated that Indonesian will by no means completely replace the Javanese language on the island of Java in the near future, but will be used as an additional style of speaking for particular contexts and purposes. The motive for establishing Indonesian as a standard national language has been largely political, but it was aided by the widespread use of Malay in the area for trade purposes before independence.

European missionaries have in some cases had some effect on the establishment of standard languages where they have succeeded in getting good translations of the Bible and other religious literature into a particular native dialect. Hiroa (1932:11) reports, for instance, that the people of Manihiki in the Cook Islands were tending to adopt the dialect of Rarotonga in favor of their own because of the use of Rarotongan in the translation of the Bible and, presumably, in church services and possibly religious schools. I suspect that a similar leveling of local dialect differences may have taken place in Samoa, where Holmes (1958:47) reports that the church school

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which most children attended was taught in the Samoan language. For the Solomon Islands in Melanesia, Hogbin (1964:90–1) reports that an early attempt to translate religious material into the Kaoka language of Guadalcanal was so poor as to be ineffective; as a result the missionary work was taken over by catechists from the island of Florida, who speak a related dialect, and the Florida dialect is in use in church work and school.

Contact with western civilization has not always led to the development of a standard language where there was none before. Garvin (1964) describes his difficulties in trying to develop a standard orthography for Ponapean and concludes that the islanders themselves did not really want a standard language and were not ready for one. Certainly part of the problem here was that there were already two missionary derived orthographies in use: a Protestant set originated by English speaking Americans in the mid-nineteenth century and a Catholic set originated by Spanish speakers somewhat later. Another part of the problem was that the island was originally divided into five independent petty states, each commanding the exclusive loyalty of its inhabitants. For ceremonial purposes these were ranked in one order which did not correspond to the ordering of the states in terms of access to foreign culture and missionary effort.

One alternative to the development of gesture language in contact between groups speaking mutually unintelligible languages is the development of a pidgin language, discussed more full in Wurm's chapter in this volume. The two possibilities are not mutually exclusive, of course, and it has been occasionally remarked that speakers of pidgin languages tend to make more use of gestures when speaking pidgin than when speaking their native tongue (Hymes 1968:15). As Hall notes, it has been suggested that the development of pidgin languages is a widespread characteristic in certain areas of the Pacific (e.g. New Guinea, Australia), where speakers of a number of different languages must come together periodically for reasons of ritual or trade (Hall 1966: 4). This view is in opposition to the diffusionist view recently mentioned by Hymes (1968:14) that possibly nearly all pidgin languages 'have their origin in an Afro-Portuguese pidgin developed on the coasts of West Africa ... and subsequently ... "relexified"' from other European languages in other parts of the world'.

While the best known and most important pidgins in the Pacific are derived from European languages, especially English, there are reports of pidgin versions of local languages as well. Police Motu is an example from Eastern New Guinea which according to Hall (1966:10–11) developed in part as a substitute for pidgin English. Pidgin varieties of Malay (cf. Hall 1962) and a number of other languages can also be found. I have personally observed a form of pidgin Ponapean used in contact with Europeans and with people from other islands who had immigrated to Ponape. I have also suggested that contemporary Chamorro may be a creole language which went through a pidgin phase after the Spanish conquest (Fischer 1961:262). This would explain the otherwise excessive proportion of Spanish loanwords in the basic vocabulary, for as Hymes (1968:16) notes, the basic vocabulary of most languages

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tends to change by replacement at about the same rate except for pidgin languages, which are much more unstable.

Pidgin languages appear to be a spontaneous development in certain language contact situations and are inherently unstable. They are subject to rapid replacement by a related standard language if the degree of contact increases or persists with some intensity. Alternately, if they become established generally in a community and are spoken in other than the contact situation they become expanded and standardized and are then said to have turned into a creole language. (Hall (1959:24) reports that pidgin English in New Guinea, which he prefers to call 'Neo-Melanesian', has become creolized in some places.)

Modern Indonesian has been regarded as a creole language developed from a simplified version of Malay. Faublée (1952:653) notes that in the Indonesian cultural area Malay has been an important language of foreign trade and has also been a language associated with the Islamic expansion. As Faublée and Winstedt both note, the so-called 'bazaar Malay' which has formed the basis for modern Indonesian was characterized by a simplified verb morphology, and a reduced vocabulary with many foreign loans from Indic, Chinese, and certain European languages (Winstedt 1939:177 ff.). In a language of this sort it is often unclear when a word of foreign origin has become a 'part' of the language. Carr (1956:808), in reviewing a grammar of Indonesian by a German author, praises the author for including and explaining a variety of English and Dutch expressions commonly in use in Indonesian which Indonesian, English or Dutch writers would have been likely to exclude as still extraneous to the language.

Indonesian may be considered not only as an indigenous language which has undergone substantial foreign influence but as an intrusive language itself in areas where the local language was originally Javanese, Sundanese, Minangkabau, etc. Tanner (1967:24–8) discusses the usefulness of Indonesian in socially ambiguous situations where the speakers would prefer to avoid the precise considerations of etiquette implicit in those local languages with a strong development of honorific speech. As more and more people become bilingual in Indonesian and their local language, the local languages will certainly come under substantial influence from Indonesian, although it is unclear how much they already have.

A variety of outside languages have become established in varying degree in the Pacific area at various times over a long period. The Philippines is an example of an area where Chinese, Spanish, and English have all had important influence on some of the local languages. According to an investigation by Manuel (1948:117), the proportion of standard Tagalog vocabulary of Chinese origin is about 2%, rising to $3\frac{1}{2}$% among the 1,000 most commonly used words.

The relationship between the local and the intrusive languages can affect the latter as well as the former, through the establishment of foreign languages as the languages of scholarship and literature in some areas, e.g. Spanish and English in the Philippines, English in Malaysia, Dutch in the Philippines. In some cases a local version of the

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foreign language has developed with a distinctive style of its own as compared with the homeland version (cf. Mallari 1952 for a discussion of the importance of Spanish and English literature in the Philippines).

Another intrusive Asian language in the Pacific area has been Japanese, principally in Micronesia during the thirty year period of Japanese rule between the two world wars. Many Micronesians acquired considerable fluency in Japanese during this period. Barnett (1960:66–7) describes a Palauan whose knowledge of Japanese surpassed his knowledge of Palauan. At the time Barnett met him the man was eager to learn English, which he regarded as the new probable replacement for his supposedly vanishing native tongue. During this period numerous Japanese words were borrowed into many of the Micronesian languages, especially for introduced objects of material culture. However, in my fieldwork on Truk and Ponape I also noted the use of Japanese words in love songs for their esthetic effect (Fischer and Swartz 1960:218, 221–2), perhaps mainly through impressing the listener with the singer's education and refinement.

Thurnwald (1936:7) notes a similar esthetic use of Alu words in the songs of Buin, Solomon Islands (Melanesia); the Alu people were according to tradition the origin of the chiefs of Buin and therefore had special prestige; in more recent songs Thurnwald notes the use of English words to add 'style'.

Salisbury (1962:8) has noted the prestige value of bilingualism for males in the New Guinea Highlands. Often bilingualism in this area means that each individual speaks his native language with members of other groups but is prepared to understand the others speaking in their own language, so that bilingual or even trilingual conversations occur; these same individuals, however, would often be able to speak the other languages when necessary or appropriate (ibid.:1–2).

Up to this point in this section we have been considering the stylistic significance of dialects and languages where there is a choice for individuals speaking more than one language or dialect. With historically related languages and languages which have been in contact in the past we may consider what might be called 'total language styles', in the sense that Brown and Gilman (1960:269) have referred to the different European languages as 'so many styles of Indo-European'. It is fair to assume that where two currently separate speech communities have spoken a common language in the past which has diverged into two contemporary languages, or where a community has in the past been bilingual in a second language unrelated to its original language, the communities have been offered a choice of contrasting linguistic alternatives. If so, part of the decision to choose one form rather than another may have been stylistically motivated; i.e. it may have been the result of the attempt to express one social value rather than another through an associated linguistic form.

In a couple of papers I have developed the concept of total language style in an attempt to explain some of the differences between the related Micronesian languages of Trukese and Ponapean (Fischer 1965, 1966a). I propose that there is evidence suggesting that certain aspects of the modal personality and values of these cultures

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as described by other anthropologists (for Truk see Gladwin and Sarason 1953; for Ponape see Bascom 1965:16–7) have guided the syntactic, morphological and even phonological differentiation of the associated languages over a long period. Micronesia and Polynesia would be especially suitable areas in which to test such ideas, since the social structure and culture of the islands are often closely adapted to the local ecology and geography, and the effect of foreign invasion and other contact has been greatly reduced by the vast ocean barriers; it is reasonable to assume a base of considerable linguistic and cultural homogeneity at the time of the initial settlement. In studies such as this, one is not asking about stylistic contrasts between individuals or segments within a single society and speech community, but rather about contrasts between whole societies and their language. Ideally, to be sure, it would be desirable to show some small scale differences involving currently active choice within the societies which parallel the larger 'fossilized' differences between the societies.

CONCLUSIONS

Style contrasts in language and between languages are universal. In concluding this chapter I will simply call attention to some problems of style contrasts in the Pacific which appear to be of special interest.

For one thing, we have in the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) linguistic phylum a widespread group with many related languages which are found in a variety of types of societies, which are for the most part well delimited. This group of languages is found in the Pacific cultural areas of Indonesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia and also on the large island of Madagascar off the east coast of Africa. It is an ideal case in which to examine the effect of cultural and ecological differences on the development of stylistic repertoires within a single group of related languages.

A second problem of great interest suitable for investigation in certain parts of the Pacific is the stylistic implications of the extreme multilingual situation characteristic of New Guinea and parts of Australia, Melanesia, and Indonesia. To what extent does multilingualism encourage the development of simplified contact languages or pidgins? How are foreign loanwords used stylistically? Do small, semi-hostile speech communities show especially rapid and great linguistic differentiation out of a sort of linguistic patriotism?

A final problem which is of special interest is that of stylistic differentiation within small, isolated nonliterate speech communities, such as many of those in Polynesia and Micronesia, especially the smaller atolls. The assumption is sometimes made that stylistic differentiation within a language, as the differentiation of languages or dialects within a group of related languages, is solely the result of partial or complete barriers to communication, so that random innovations arising in one social group spread slowly or not at all to other groups originally speaking a common language. Undoubtedly some linguistic differences which arise in this fashion later acquire

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stylistic significance when related social groups become aware of them. However, for stylistic significance to exist for a form, there must be a contrasting form which 'says the same thing in a different way', or gives the same message with a different social connotation. In other words, what one says is not solely a consequence of what one has heard most often but also of what one wants to say and how one wants to say it. By examining stylistic differentiation within small, isolated speech communities with a minimum social differentiation one should be able to reach an especially clear understanding of the functions and purposes of style contrasts in these languages and of the role of style contrasts in motivating linguistic change.

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Note: Only those references are included which I have been able to consult, except as noted. Those references marked by a single asterisk contain substantial bibliographical references. Some of the works mentioned in these sources but not listed here are clearly of great relevance to a discussion of style contrasts in Pacific languages, but were unfortunately not readily available to me while preparing this chapter. Readers interested in pursuing the topic in detail are urged to consult the bibliographical references.

Those references marked by a double asterisk have not been consulted in the preparation of this chapter, but have been kindly provided by Professor E. M. Uhlenbeck for readers interested in pursuing the question of honorific speech in Javanese and related languages. Professor Uhlenbeck independently also suggested a number of the references on this topic which were consulted and are therefore included in the bibliography without special marking. Readers interested in this topic will also wish to consult his chapter in this volume.

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PRE-CONTACT WRITING IN OCEANIA

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PRE-CONTACT WRITING IN OCEANIA

THOMAS S. BARTHEL

Beyond the line delimiting the maximum extension of Indian writing systems in South East Asia (Macassar-Buginese scripts in Celebes, Tagala and Bisaya scripts in the Philippines) there begins an area which is strictly speaking 'scriptless'. However, as soon as the idea of a 'full script' (adequate representation of the language by means of a system of graphemes) is no longer taken as a criterion, a fascinating field opens out within the ethnology of Oceania. Here we find the most diverse examples of mnemonic aids right up to the level on which a genuine 'partial script' offers the modern scholar chances of decipherment. In this context we discount the Woleai script attested in the Central Carolines, which must be considered a modern contact phenomenon. As Riesenberg and Kaneshiro (1960) have shown, this is in fact a recent (1905–09) remodelling of the alphabet into a syllabic script suitable for the Woleai language, together with the invention of additional graphemes. Historically we see here the phenomenon of modern stimulus diffusion, which can be observed in quite different parts of the world (cf. Cherokee script about 1820, Vai script about 1840, Alaska script and Bamum script about 1900). The Woleai script sheds no light on the history of thought in Oceania before the advent of Europeans and equally clearly cannot be considered as proof of an Indo-Pacific system, as Imbelloni (1951) has postulated.

Widespread throughout Australia one finds so-called 'message sticks', i.e. wooden sticks which by being incised are given a certain mnemonic function. The incisions may relate to persons (differentiated according to sender as against receiver or according to old men, women and children), to days, objects or the topographical features of a particular route. They cannot, however, be deciphered by reason of their shape, but serve merely as aids to the messenger, who carries the information he has to communicate in his memory. The purpose of these message sticks may be ceremonial or of a personal nature; occasionally a correspondence can be recognised with the symbol forms known to us from writings on bark (Frank 1940; Mountford 1956). Notched wooden objects of the most varied kinds (Menninger 1958) are widespread throughout the world; it is not surprising therefore if counting sticks occur beyond East Asia (Eberhard 1942:479 for the border population of China) and Indonesia (Nicobar Islands, Borneo, Celebes) right out into the South Pacific. Well-known are the notched sticks of the Maoris, usually made of wood, rarely of bone, which

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serve genealogical purposes (*papatupuna, rakau-whakapapa, kapeu-whakapapa*).

Knot records are found in parts of a far larger area of distribution extending all round the Pacific from Ancient China (Needham 1959:69), possibly surviving on the Riukiu Islands (Simon 1924), as far as the Quipus in Ancient Peru. Comparative treatment recently by Birket-Smith (1966) is constituted by the Oceanic evidence for the use of knot records. The highest degree of functional differentiation is found on the Marquesas Islands (von den Steinen 1904, 1925–28), where knotted cords are used to record genealogies, as mnemonic aids for religious songs and to measure time. In Hawaii they were used in connection with the levying of taxes, while indirect evidence exists for the former use of knotted cords among the Maoris for genealogical purposes (*aho ponapona, tau ponapona*), and on the Cook Islands for the memorisation of songs. A completely different role is played by palm leaf knots in Micronesia; here we are concerned with important methods of divination, but such oracles can scarcely be considered a 'means of communication' (Lessa 1959).

In isolated areas in Oceania one also finds what has been called 'object script'. By combining specific objects of agreed symbolic value into a letter-like bundle, a message can be stated (examples: Maori, Taylor 1870:379–80; Palau, McKnight 1961. Here too Indonesian evidence, e.g. Batak).

Property markers, boundary markers and tapu signs constitute another group of symbols which leads us on to the rich inventory of 'decorative' motifs. Here one can easily be deceived by the use of predominantly geometrical designs into underestimating the information they contain. Similarly tapa patterns (and the printing and rubbing tools developed in Polynesia, such as the *'ohe kapala* in Hawaii or the *upeti* in Samoa) cannot be fully dissociated from the Micronesian and Polynesian tattoo patterns and their sources. Tattoo patterns have rarely been exhaustively analysed (von den Steinen 1925–28 for the Marquesas Islands) and even more rarely has their actual meaning been explored. The kind of symbol system sui generis which has here fallen into oblivion can be seen in the case of Ponape, where the tattoo patterns were an 'expression of the lines of ancestors or chieftains and their exploits' (Hambruch and Eilers 1936:181, after O'Connell), in other words a kind of heraldic symbol which showed exactly the complicated kinship relationships of the wearer.

The vast domain of pictorial art in Oceania contains 'information' of the most varied kind, which cannot be demonstrated here. Cave paintings and petroglyphs, the embellishment of masks and sculptures, house and boat decoration frequently offer far more than naturalistic representation or stylised ornament. The relation between pictorial and oral tradition can be excellently checked in the case of Palau (Krämer 1929). There the gables of the men's houses bear horizontal planks, decorated and painted with 'picture stories' (*logukl*) which to a great extent can fortunately be understood in extenso from stories that have been handed down orally. This is obviously more than a question of the mere illustration of single events of a mythical or legendary kind; thus the polyvalence of geometrical elements would for example be totally incomprehensible if we had only the picture to go by. Future research needs to show

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in what ways the riches of the oral tradition have been condensed and selected in order to find their partly pictographic, partly ideographic expression. Here, beyond the probable evidence of Indonesian prototypes, fundamental insights can presumably be obtained into the relationship between word and picture in a culture on the western margins of Oceania.

Another possibility of approaching this general question lies in semasiological investigations. From the comparative analysis of a Polynesian key-word for 'writing' (Koskinen 1965) tentative connections are already observable. A further study by Koskinen (1968) on the Polynesian 'concept of knowledge' is especially promising for a deeper understanding of forms of graphic expression in Eastern Polynesia.

These introductory remarks are designed to sketch in the regional and socio-historical background against which the present struggle to decipher the Easter Island script is taking place. In structure and number there are only the inscribed tablets of Easter Island, this last outpost on the fringe of Polynesia opposite the west coast of South America, that reach a level enabling us to overcome the fundamental impossibility of deciphering mnemonic aids. Although we have here only a 'partial script', it nevertheless provides the only chance in Oceania of opening up to a certain extent autochthonous documents from pre-contact times as sources of primary importance.

Of the original number of inscription-bearing objects on Easter Island only a small fraction has been preserved and these were principally collected between 1866 and 1886 by missionaries and other visitors to the island. In the 20th century, it is true, the remains of wooden tablets have repeatedly been discovered in caves (Barthel 1959:162–3), but the original inscriptions had already been eroded away. The hope of acquiring additional material is thus minute; at best individual fragments carried off to other lands could reappear (Barthel 1958:36–7; 1963b:373). The 'Corpus Inscriptionum Paschalis Insulae' comprises two dozen objects. If we discount damaged fragments, very short inscriptions and paraphrases of the same text, then we have only seven large and intact inscriptions at our disposal which are in a satisfactory condition for scholarly analysis. The decipherer can here rely on approximately 9,700 graphemes of text (81% of the total number).

The 'Corpus Inscriptionum Paschalis Insulae' has been fully edited with a drawing, transcription and history of each individual inscribed object (Barthel 1958). It is, however, confined to the classical Easter Island script of the 'staffs (= tablets) for (the) reciting (of songs)' (*kohau rongorongo*). In pre-missionary times, however, two other scripts existed besides this, the *kohau ta'u* and the *kohau mama*. The documentation for these is very scanty (two pieces of evidence for *kohau ta'u* — presumably also the so-called 'Chieftain's Signature' of 1770 — and a questionable piece of evidence for *kohau mama*), but it does show that another inventory of signs was used (predominance of animal and plant shaped symbols, absence of anthropomorphic figures, special shaping of the geometrical signs; normal sequence of lines of writing instead of boustrophedon?). Thus we have here the most unusual situation of an island with a

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maximum of 5,000 inhabitants where no fewer than three types of script were in use! If we combine all the scattered data, including recent ethnographical investigations (Barthel 1959:166) we obtain the following scheme, in the sequence in which it was required to be learnt:

1. *kohau ta'u* 'staff (= tablet) of the year', for worldly annals
2. *kohau mama* 'staff for the lifting of taboos' (?)
3. *kohau rongorongo* 'staff of recitation', for religious themes

Alongside this three-tiered classification, which finds expression both in the type of script and in the general subject matter, a whole series of descriptive names are recorded which provide us with certain clues about the themes dealt with on inscription-bearing objects. According to these, the subjects dealt with are death (*kohau o te tangata mate*, 'staff of the dead man'), mourning and revenge (*kohau timo*, 'staff of the avenger powerful in magic ?') and *kohau ika*, 'staff of the fish (i.e. of the slaughtered one, of the human sacrifice)'), harmful magic (*kohau totohu mo mate*, 'staff of the magic that kills'), successes in war (*kohau o te ranga*, 'staff (for the bringing home) of fugitives (as prisoners)'), name-giving (*kohau pare*, 'staff for the naming (of a child, by the family on the father's side)'), initiation (?) (*kohau manu*), prayer (*kohau o te pure*, 'staff of prayer') and songs for the gods (*kohau kiri taku*). How themes were apportioned to the three kinds of script is not known; nevertheless we may suppose that those mentioned first were more likely to be recorded in *kohau ta'u* and those mentioned last in *kohau rongorongo*. As far as the individual sign in the script was concerned, it bore the name of *rona*, but this technical term was also used in connection with 'figures' of every kind, thus also with petroglyphs and sculptures. Certain *rona* had a magic power ascribed to them.

The term *kohau motu*, 'staff with incised (signs)' indicates the technical side of the production of inscription-bearing objects. Nevertheless only one of the extant objects is in fact an inscribed staff; most of the others are as a rule small rectangular boards. The dimensions vary between 21 cm and 90 cm for the length and between 5 cm and 21 cm for the height respectively; on both sides shallow grooves have been hollowed out lengthwise and these serve, so to speak, as 'lines' for the signs inscribed later. The text runs from left to right and works up from the bottom to the top, the signs in alternate lines being turned through an angle of 180°, i.e. written upside down. This arrangement of the lines in 'reversed boustrophedon' may be considered an unmistakable characteristic of the Easter Island script.

A number of ethnographical details point to the fact that the production of inscribed wooden tablets represents the second stage in the process of development. The first stage consisted in writing on banana leaves or on the sheaths from the banana trunk; the signs could easily be incised on the soft surface with a bone stylus. This 'pre-writing' was the training practice for pupils, but could also have served in the composing and planning of the individual sections of the text, since the classical

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tablets were consistently inscribed over the whole of their surface. Practical experiments with the material available on Easter Island have proved that the above-mentioned parts of the banana tree are not only an ideal writing material, but that in particular a direct correspondence exists between the height of the lines of writing and the distance between the veins on the leaves and stems of the banana tree. The classical inscriptions can be arranged in two groups according to the height of the lines of writing (10–12 mm vs. 15 mm); this corresponds to the natural disposition of the veins on the banana stem (on average 10 mm in the lower part of a medium-sized tree) or on the banana leaf (the distance between the central veins of a middling leaf being a maximum of 15 mm). Not only the height of the lines but also the occasional slight curving of them would seem to show precisely that a banana leaf served as a model. And finally the cursive character of the script is comprehensible only if we ascribe its origin to a soft writing surface and not to an original wood-carving technique. It appears from the account of a calabash, which has unfortunately disappeared, that other materials were also inscribed. On the other hand we have no proof that rongorongo texts were possibly painted in color on bark-cloth.

The rongorongo signs (hereafter called RR) follow each other on the tablets in a kind of 'endless band', i.e. without any marking of the division between words, sentences, songs or the like. It is only on the so-called 'Santiago Staff' that short vertical incisions between various long subsections occur. This absence of marking off or segmentation, of course, greatly impedes textual analysis. Only with the help of parallel passages in the text, of recurring 'refrains' or 'titles' is it possible to determine the inner structuring of an inscription which generally consists of a number of thematically alternating individual cantos. The exploitation of parallel passages as well as the especially frequent occurrence of certain RR signs also permits connections to be established between the individual inscription-bearing items, and allows a certain grouping of thematically related tablets to be undertaken even before the actual decipherment has begun. These connections can be made purely optically and remain free of possible later interpretations, but can on the other hand be used as a check on the specific thematic framework when the decipherment has reached an advanced stage.

It is characteristic of the RR signs that almost without exception they follow a conventional canon of shapes which lays down rules for their 'contours'. This strict traditional stylization as a 'contour script' clearly differentiates the RR from pictographs and on formal grounds already brings them close to a genuine writing system. Geometrical shapes and figure signs are flexible to the extent that a whole series of variations and combinations can be constructed from them; in the case of the former by the addition or inclusion of other elements or by personification; in the case of the latter by changing the shapes of the heads, the bodies or the hands. The RR system thus permits new formations from a predetermined basic inventory of signs. In addition the RR signs can also form ligatures.

Today the types and frequency of the RR signs are pretty well known (Barthel

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1958). With the assistance of type tables a characteristic number can be inserted in place of the original form; corresponding text transcriptions and a catalogue of signs indicating frequency of occurrence are available. The type tables contain about 600 forms; if one counts only those that occur at least three times, there remains a positive stock of 322 current RR signs. Two thirds of the entire length of text that has been handed down to us consists of geometrical signs (3,000 individual signs, 5,000 ligatures), one third of anthropomorphous and zoomorphous signs. The frequency graph of the individual RR signs shows a pronounced apex: the eight most frequent elements comprise a quarter of the total length of the text. This apparent monotony disappears, however, as a result of the multiple alterations and combinations of the graphemes. If we search for the simplest graphical elements, those which cannot be further analysed, we obtain a basic inventory of approximately 120 fundamental constituents (80 geometrical shapes, 40 head, hand and body types). On the RR tablets 1,500–2,000 compositions have been derived from these; thus a far greater wealth of possible expressions is available.

In the light of all the research done on scripts so far these proportions would seem to indicate that the RR tablets contain a WORD SCRIPT. We cannot exclude a priori the possibility of a 'mixed system' (incorporating a stock of syllables or even letters); however neither the frequency of occurrence of the symbols nor the nature of the parallel passages in the text seems to support this. Eyraud's observation in 1864 that each sign had its own name would at any rate not contradict this working hypothesis of a 'word script'.

The history of the investigation of the Easter Island script has been described many times (cf. for example Heine-Geldern 1938; Heyerdahl 1965). After an initial period of trying to find a solution in Polynesia itself (Bishop Jaussen and others), there followed a second period of resignation. Until the middle of the 20th century either attempts were made to find links with non-Oceanic writing systems or RR were not considered a script at all. Comparative method chose writing systems in Asia or America as objects of comparison, the main criteria being outward formal characteristics. Starting from RR as an unsolved entity, either another unsolved non-Oceanic script was postulated as historically related or one whose contents were more or less understood. According to the rules of general decipherment this method of linking together two unsolved writing systems must be considered extremely suspect. Behind individual resemblances of shapes can be hidden totally different writing structures; the danger of vicious circles is just as great as the neglect of historical relational criteria of time and place. As declared advocates of such methods we may mention Hevesy (1932, 1938) and Heyerdahl (1965:373–5). Whereas the still unsolved Indus script is today hardly postulated any longer as an early relative of RR, Heyerdahl's recently propounded thesis of a genetic connection between the Tiahuanaco culture and RR represents a relapse into obsolete working methods. The key to the future understanding of RR is supposed to lie in the 'truly ideogramatic figures' of the so-called Sun Gate of Tiahuanaco. A careful analysis of the sixteen points of comparison

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set out by Heyerdahl shows that this approach is mistaken both in matter and method. Apart from elements that have a far wider distribution in the Pacific area (three-fingeredness, feather head dress, two-headedness, ceremonial girdle and deforming ear-decoration) and thus are unsuitable as proofs of a specific connection between any two places, any presumable correspondence between the iconographic inventory in Tiahuanaco and that in Orongo (Heyerdahl augments his 'long-range interpretation' of RR by bringing in petroglyphs, stone sculptures and ethnographic data from Easter Island) can be discounted. The same thing is true of the argument that Heyerdahl takes from Knorosov, according to which a writing system 'in reversed boustrophedon' is said to occur in only two places in the world, namely on Easter Island and in the Tiahuanaco region. Apart from the fact that this general limitation is incorrect (cf. Indus script, Heine-Geldern 1938:870–1 for Harappa), not a single piece of evidence exists from pre-Spanish times in the Andes area for a system of writing with this peculiarity! The only source is a post-Columbian stone tablet on which one line is written normally and the other line half in reversed boustrophedon; the signs correspond to the pictography of the colonial era, such as were used for writing down Christian prayers (Ibarra-Grasso 1953:Lam.XXIII). If we consult the analogous documents of the 'Andean script' (as understood by Ibarra-Grasso), we see that what we are concerned with here is nothing more than an exception, all the other writing methods, such as normal line writing, simple boustrophedon or spiral script, are not only permissible but far more frequent. On the other hand RR texts are necessarily and entirely written in reversed boustrophedon. Furthermore in the shape and composition of the graphemes there is no parallel between RR and the 'Crown Witness of Carabuco'.

At this point it may be noted that as a result of the investigations of Jara (1967) there arises again today the question of a script in pre-Spanish Peru and that the present author is inclined to revise his former critical attitude. Systematically constructed sign systems can be identified on textiles and ceramic or wooden vessels for two epochs of the pre-Columbian period. The more ancient coast system existed in the cultures of Paracas, Nazca and Mochica for many centuries. It employed at least 300 bean-shaped graphemes (plus signs for numerals) and only disappeared with the expansion of the Tiahuanaco culture. The younger highland system can be established for the Inca culture and consists of rectangles which are almost entirely geometrically stylised. Here too a total of approximately 300 signs has already been obtained at the present stage of research. In view of the wide-spread symbolic use of colour the powers of expression in the ancient Peruvian script could however, have been many times greater. For the Tiahuanaco culture on the other hand, Jara has been unable to establish the existence of any system of writing. She supposes that it was precisely the representatives of this culture who forbade the use of writing to the peoples of the coast. To sum up, we must conclude that neither of the two systems recognizable in Ancient Peru has any connection with RR and that in particular the Tiahuanaco culture, which Heyerdahl makes responsible for the Andean expansion towards Polynesia, must be considered devoid of a writing system or hostile to one.

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As a second point of comparison in the New World the writing of the Cuna Indians in Panama has frequently been discussed. According to Kramer (1967) these attempts must be considered abortive. However, a structural comparison on basic general principles could be of heuristic value for RR: for in the Cuna material the conversion of a literary (oral) text into graphemes can be studied with very great exactitude.

The third stage in the investigation of the RR can be characterized as 'the beginning of effective decipherment'. Up to the present it is based principally on the inquiries of the present author (Barthel 1958, 1963a, 1963b), which were carried out first in Hamburg, then in Tübingen. Alongside these should be mentioned the studies pursued by a group of Leningrad scholars (Butinov, Knorosov, Fedorova and Kondratov) within the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The 'Leningrad Group' follows an old Russian tradition in Easter Island research (since Miklucho von Maclay), which in the 1940s was directed through Kudrjavzev and Ol'derogge towards a closer study of the RR. A 'Corpus Inscriptionum Rapanuicarum' which has been announced for a long time has not yet appeared, nor has a monographic synopsis of the results of Russian research. Insofar as fundamental or critical questions connected with the RR are touched upon in articles published up to the present, I shall discuss them at the appropriate place. Here I shall first give a synopsis of the results obtained in Tübingen as they have emerged after ten years of study of the RR problem. As the results of the author's work on deciphering the texts have been published in German — a language which is unfortunately no longer familiar to most Oceanic scholars — this resumé should prove useful and obviate the polemical arguments of a number of critics which are presumably due to linguistic misunderstandings.

The RR signs are indeed a script and thus unique in Polynesia. On the other hand they exhibit a 'defective system' in which the qualities of a 'full system' are lacking. As a 'partial script' the RR texts in principle can only be solved up to a point and only really 'understood' by the modern decipherer in certain sections of the text. They are written in Polynesian; their contents refer to the culture and society of Polynesians; their style is moulded by analogy with Polynesian songs, recitations and prayers. It is true, however, that the 'Polynesian' in the RR texts is a complex and many-layered substance, and this can be accounted for by the contradiction between local traditions (limited to Easter Island) and extra-insular traditions (brought with them by literate immigrants from Central Polynesia), as well as various historical time depths in the composition of certain passages.

Each sign has first the fixed sound value of a word. The unambiguousness of the equation 'grapheme = morpheme' is, however, not maintained. To begin with, the RR give no indication whatever of the 'particles' (subject marker, attribute marker, verbal particle, etc.) which are so frequent in Polynesian; similarly there appears to be a total absence of pronouns. Prepositions can be expressed at least partly by changing the position of a sign (raised = *runga*; lowered = *raro*; infixed = *roto*). Thus RR texts are to a great extent 'degrammaticized'. A residue of syntax remains, of course, in the sequence of the signs, but even this can sometimes be obscured by compounds

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and ligatures. Furthermore RR signs are used polyvalently beyond their unambiguous prime value.

Polyvalence finds expression on three levels: through the relatedness of terms, through symbolic language ('metaphorical writing') or through sound relationships. According to the context RR 8 must be read as 'sun' (*raa*) or 'fire' (*ahi*), and thus according to the theory of writing represents an ideogram. RR 15 depicts 'two staffs' (*tokorua*) but refers to the metaphor for 'twins'. In exceptional circumstances polyvalence can also proliferate in synonyms (RR 1, the grapheme 'staff' for *toko*, *kohau*, *turu* and *tira*) or produce ramifications as shown in the following example: RR 600 represents the 'frigate-bird' and thus corresponds both realistically and ornithologically with the term *makohe*. The 'frigate-bird' is at the same time the symbol for the noble Miru and can thus assume an heraldic and sociological value, with the result that in suitable contexts RR 600 also means the group *Miru*. Furthermore the frigate-bird is a messenger of the gods and as such a 'precious bird' (*manu kura*). This is the sense in which the writers of the RR used sign 600 most often, but again not always without ambiguity: in cases of necessity it was reduced to the attribute *kura* (in accordance with the RR rule: 'Attributes are to be depicted by means of objects of which the quality in question is typical'). Fortunately polyvalences of this kind are far less common than the unambiguous co-ordination of word and sign.

The range of symbolic values of RR is extremely extensive: occasionally it goes beyond use within the writing system and can be traced and even interpreted among petroglyphs, tattoo patterns and painted objects. It is, however, not as if the RR signs were nothing more than an epiphenomenon in the pictorial art of Easter Island; they constitute an autonomous system sui generis with its own rules and functions. Its primary task consists not in fixing ideas but in permanently preserving in a binding manner and in adequate volume selected texts from an oral tradition — in other words speech. In this sense the solution of the RR cannot be undertaken with the 'picture' as starting point (putative picture writing, whether of a pictographical or ideographic nature). The RR represent to a certain extent a phoneme-oriented script, even though it may operate with only a limited stock of morphemes. The RR signs are not an independent communication system (corresponding to the graphemicized 'contents' of a letter or a book), but composed and employed always in connection with a more detailed stock of oral literature. The RR seem to reduce the text to note form ('memory-joggers' and catch-words), i.e. they reproduce only the skeleton of oral tradition. At the same time, however, the RR retain characteristics of poetic and esthetic forms, such as the arrangement of strophes in recitations, parallel or contrasting elements of style, etc. The function of the RR is undoubtedly mnemonic, yet the means used for this purpose are so superior to the mnemonic aids usually employed that pronouncements about the former oral literature of Easter Island are to a certain extent possible. The deciphering of the RR creates in some measure a basis on which we can again make manifest, by extrapolation, the broad outlines at least of an apparently irretrievable tradition.

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As a 'phoneme-oriented partial script' the RR are indeed only possible and effective because of the use made of the abundant homophones and homoiophones found in Polynesian. To put it in a somewhat simplified form, it is the rebus character of numerous RR signs that permits the possibilities of expression to be considerably extended. Up to the present two techniques have been observed (Barthel 1963b:423):

a) Representation of one term by using another with exactly the same sound. Homophonic transcriptions are frequent, but can only be discovered in their full range of meaning by a comparative study of Polynesian dialects.

Sign 54 = *hatu*. Represents a 'plaited object', is used as a genuine rebus for 'lord, master'.
Sign 57 = *hoe*. Represents an 'oar', is used as a genuine rebus for 'to assume a shape.'
Sign 300 = *koro*. Represents the 'father', is used as a genuine rebus for 'feast, festivity'.

b) Representation of one term by using another suggesting the sound of the first. Homoiophonic transcriptions are possible only within certain limits. So far we have been able to discover the following rules governing where the suggestion of sounds was permissible:

1. The vowels *o* and *u* (especially when final) are considered equal and interchangeable in the writing of rebuses:

Sign 3 = primary sound *maro*; homoiophonic representation of *maru*
Sign 75 = primary sound *hiku*; homoiophonic representation of *hiko*
Sign 44f = primary sound *hurukava*; homoiophonic representation of *horokava*

2. The glottal stop presents no obstacle to the writing of homoiophonic rebuses:

Sign 59f = primary sound *ha'u*; homoiophonic representation of *hau*
Sign 60 = primary sound *va'e*; homoiophonic representation of *vae*

3. The prefix *ma* can be omitted in favor of the root word:

Sign 40 = primary sound *mahina*; homoiophonic representation of *hina*
Sign 52x = primary sound *matangi*; homoiophonic representation of *tangi*

The last two examples are good evidence to prove that sound suggestions are permissible (in this case by reducing the total sound of a RR sign by one prefix). This principle creates considerable difficulty where the oral tradition has been fixed in the RR texts only by means of 'partial sound suggestion'. If the (deciphered) signs of an inscription 7 (*rei*) or 22f (*tapa*) correspond to the words *parei* or *tapairu*, alternatively *tapatuu* in the oral tradition, then so much information has been lost that an interpretation of such RR passages becomes impossible. The partial suggestion of sounds by means of a series of corresponding RR signs makes sense for the reciter in whose memory the complete version is present, because this is all that is needed to evoke the

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relevant recitation. For the decipherer it is usually not enough, because he does not know what needs to be added or supplied. This technique is thus not reversible and sets up a fundamental barrier to comprehension wherever the RR writers made use of it. One could in fact speak of an inherent obscurity barrier in the RR system. This is presumably the reason why certain RR passages at the present stage in decipherment can be understood quite readily, while others remain closed to a deeper understanding. This shortcoming will also remain in the future; fortunately, however, numerous RR sequences are not obscured by partial sound suggestion and can thus be interpreted.

Furthermore, iteration does not usually require the doubling of a symbol. RR 380 stands for (the god) *Rongo* and for (the verb) *rongorongo*. Writing a RR sign twice seems rather to have introduced the numerical conception of 'two' ((*e*)*rua*). As far as can be judged from the inscriptions that remain, the classical RR script possessed no special numerical signs whatever. There are vague hints that graphemes of certain marine animals symbolized particular numbers (Barthel 1959:167); zoomorphic numerical signs suggest Asiatic prototypes.

The lexical resources of the RR can at present be surveyed only in part. Local expressions — i.e. words attested only in Rapanui — are rarer than was supposed in the initial stages of decipherment, and were presumably only incorporated in the course of the historical changes in the RR system on Easter Island. The fact that a transition from extraneous to indigenous denotations of certain RR signs actually took place emerges from the statements of the last informants who could read the script. Since the importation of the RR is presumed to have occurred with the arrival of the immigrant leader Hotu Matua about 1400 A.D. (plus or minus a century), several hundred years were available for local processes of change. The need for such changes was principally due to the fact that the literate immigrants stumbled on a prior population (the 'pre-Hotu Matua' inhabitants) and that a linguistic merger took place between Old East Polynesian (with the Marquesas Islands as place of origin of the first immigrants) and the younger idiom of the RR-writers (with the Leeward Islands as that of the second immigrants). This process of adapting and remoulding an imported system of writing requires more detailed study. A large part of the RR texts can only be semantically solved by reference to the vocabularies of other East Polynesian idioms; where the findings in Rapanui are inadequate (either because the language was inventoried too late or incompletely, or because of a possible cleavage between the colloquial and the literary language in the ancient culture of Easter Island), clues to the meaning are often provided by Maori, Tuamotu, Hawaiian, etc.

The syntax of the RR contains sentence-like constructions of the 'action-actor-goal' kind, but inclines especially towards enumerations of particular classes (strings of titles, list-like cataloguing). Here we can see a literary style that revels in serial variations, that operates with parallelisms or stereotyped oppositions and makes abundant use of circumlocutory techniques. The poetic content of the RR must be seen and

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analysed in connection with well-known stylistic principles of Polynesian poetry; poetic phrases are now beginning to be recognizable in RR passages here and there. A comparison with the composition techniques of oral literature, especially of strictly formal recitations, seems to be of particular heuristic value (Barthel 1960).

What themes are dealt with on the RR tablets? Since we have by chance only a fraction of the former RR literature to work on, any kind of inventory is necessarily incomplete and furthermore dependent on the present stage of decipherment. A dominant characteristic, however, is the choice of strongly religious themes. They refer to an East Polynesian pantheon whose central deity is represented by Tane (with his antagonist Tangaroa). In comparison with him Makemake (= Tiki), the principle deity of the Easter Islanders when missionary work first began, receded in importance; it looks as if the pantheon brought by the Hotu Matua immigrants persisted in the RR, whereas the popular religion (of the pre-Hotu Matua population) received more forceful expression in the cults of Makemake. Rongo, Tu, Ruanuku and other gods (*atua*) designated by circumlocutions bear witness to the original polytheistic system. The religious world-view in the RR is expressed in a pronounced dualism which opposes 'light' (*tea*) to 'dark' (*uri*), 'heaven' (*rangi*) to 'underworld' (*po*) and thus explains the opposition between the great gods Tane and Tangaroa. The cosmogony describes the beginning of the world as the raising up of heaven on supports, and several anthropogonic themes (original creation of woman, Hina; East Polynesian procreative motif; West Polynesian evolutional motif) can also be recognised. Furthermore we obtain the first hints of notions concerning the soul and the hereafter.

The mythological background of RR literature provides the stage for numerous rites and cult practices. Evidently a high percentage of the RR songs were composed to accompany, support or explain feasts and ceremonies, in other words for liturgical purposes. Genuine 'prayers' (*pure*) are explicitly mentioned; the imposing and the lifting of taboos are contrasted; offerings of gifts and human sacrifices celebrated in song. Occasionally lengthy sections are devoted to a particular task such as canoe-building or girdle-investiture.

At the same time the RR represent a deposit of genuine erudition. On the one hand we find knowledge of the calendar (recording of the lunar nights and presumably months of the year too) and transmission of genealogical details (Butinov 1959–61; Barthel 1963a); on the other hand remarkable 'bibliographical catalogues' on several RR tablets, i.e. lists of RR songs, which are designated, and so kept apart, by their titles or initial words. Thus we obtain glimpses into an otherwise lost literature.

The social world of the ancient Easter Island culture is also reflected in the RR. Social stratification and kinship terminology are beginning to become evident; thus social terms are occasionally used directly as 'indicators' so as to explain names (in the progressive sequence of signs) as such and according to their value in the social scale. Furthermore there are some RR texts, in particular the so-called 'Santiago Staff', which use a highly developed genealogical technical terminology. There is also a striking division between male and female themes: women and girls are only men-

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tioned in very special RR sections (on sexuality and fertility). The RR literature that has come down to us is eminently and characteristically male.

In the study of the history of religion, of the mind and of the social order the RR already offer a rich reward. But a concrete historical content is also beginning to appear. Individual passages in the inscriptions can for example be connected with well-known archaeological problems of Easter Island. The decipherment of RR 291 (*moai*) is beginning to elucidate the function of the famous huge stone figures. Furthermore the RR contain not a few names of cult sites (*ahu*). Particularly instructive is the case where a new decipherment of the text converges with a new archeological finding. The 'Sun Cult of Orongo', discovered by Ferdon in his excavations, was independently recognized by the present author in a RR text. Oral versions of the Island's history are beginning to find points of connection in RR passages that use the technique of circumlocution. A great deal remains to be done here.

The question of the origin of the literate immigrants to Easter Island is to a great extent answered in the RR. Alongside general botanical indications that they came from the west (RR signs for breadfruit tree, pandanus and kava), alongside general ethnographical indications of an Oceanic culture (RR signs for double canoe, breast-ornament and dance paddle), the names that have been deciphered also provide conclusive evidence. From repeated and interlinking references the geographical location of the homeland appears to be Huahine and Raiatea, i.e. two of the high islands west of Tahiti. This fits in excellently with the religious and cult data on the RR tablets. The RR literature brought with them by the Hotu Matua people represents nothing less than an extract from that intellectual flowering of Polynesian culture which developed on the Leeward Islands and whose influence when mature reached as far as New Zealand and Hawaii. This legacy constitutes the unexpected nucleus of the RR inscriptions and makes possible a process of reciprocal elucidation between one phase of the Easter Island culture and the ethnohistoric and ethnolinguistic findings in the ancient center of East Polynesia. Furthermore, if we take into account the fact that the users of the RR, in the sense of tradition-preserving reciters, constitute a typical East Polynesian institution for intellectuals (Easter Island *maori rongorongo*, Mangareva *taura rongorongo*, Marquesas *tuhuna o'ono*), then the connection with Polynesia is also evident on an even wider plane. There is no need to emphasise again that it is only in the medium of the Polynesian language that the RR as a writing system have any 'function' at all, i.e. permit rebus interpretations and metaphorical readings and thus produce intelligible results.

Between Huahine-Raiatea and Easter Island is a distance of over 4,000 kilometres. As one of the intermediate stopping places to be expected according to the RR we should have Mangareva and Pitcairn Island (if the valid name for this was indeed *kai-rangi*). In addition, hints also point to Ra'ivavae, as will be shown later. A 'southern route' from the Society Islands via the Austral Islands and then eastwards was probably the path along which the immigration of the literate Hotu Matua people took place; contrasting with it is the 'north route' of the first settlers, who seem to

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have sailed originally from the Marquesas group of islands. Of great interest here is a RR text about an ancient 'directional model of the world': a 'path of the sweet potato' (east) and a 'path of the breadfruit tree' (west) are mentioned, thus handing down for both these food plants that are so important in Polynesia the directional designations which correspond to their actual origin from the east (i.e. South America) and the west (i.e. Indo-Micro-Melanesia).

The proofs of the Polynesian origin of the RR have thus been further strengthened. Of course, the question remains open why then there is no evidence for the existence of the RR in the place of origin or along the paths of migration. Inscriptions on perishable material are, of course, exceptionally endangered; the history of human writing provides numerous examples of this and even the wooden tablets on Easter Island came very near to being lost with no one noticing it. 'Proto-RR' must still have existed in the region of the Society Islands about 500 years ago; what may have happened to these literary remains (a literature written on leaves or on bast?) in the course of migrations and battles down to the time of the European discovery cannot be reconstructed. To this must be added that special writing ability of this kind must certainly have been limited to a small group of experts, and so could relatively easily be brought to an end by historical accidents. If we discount an isolated Maori tradition that a 'script' (*tuhi tuhi*) was imported from Irihia, only two other pieces of evidence remain, which to our knowledge have not yet been discussed in public. At the enthronement of the ruler of Raiatea the sacral 'red girdle' (*maro'ura*) played a special role; for each new king it was extended by a band of artistically wrought feathers. In the words of Henry (1928:189):

> Artistic patterns, mostly in squares, were thus formed by turning the feathers in different directions, answering nearest to the hieroglyphics of anything in the handiwork of these islands. For they symbolize to the national chronicler the name, the character, and the acts of every monarch that reigned and the annals of the land which were faithfully recorded in chants and songs of these times.

Unfortunately this insignia, which belonged to the collection of the London Missionary Society, has been lost. No pronouncements can therefore now be made on the symbols used, but at least the function of a certain 'historical writing for Kings' is clear. The connection with Raiatea is at any rate important because it is just this Island that we find mentioned in RR traditions. Very strange too are the traditions from Ra'ivavae; they all derive from Hapai, now dead, a key informant of Stimson (ms.).

According to these there existed in the pre-contact culture of Ra'ivavae 'carved wooden tablets of aligned glyphs called *taparakau*'. These tablets were 6 feet long and 2 feet wide and were fastened over the doors of the houses of the priests. They were incised in five rows 'to mark the tablet with black guiding lines for the rows of carved signs to be engraved between them'. The patterns of the symbols (*hôhô*) served the artists as models for tatooing or for the decoration of blankets and the clothes of

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persons of high rank. Moreover these tablets enjoyed great veneration since they accurately transmitted the knowledge of the ancestors. The *taparakau* also contained historical events which were then recited by priests, who had learnt the meaning of the signs. Many of the symbols were supposed to have represented the great gods and the bird-men (*kura manu*) and thus to have been considered as exceptionally taboo. Besides history and religion sexual themes are also said to have been dealt with.

This description is strikingly reminiscent of RR principles; even if we are only willing to accept Hapai's account as an approximate echo of an erstwhile Ra'ivavae 'script', most of the details have an authentic ring about them. To this must be added that Ra'ivavae coincides with Easter Island in one or two terms so specialized (*Make-make, Akuaku*; *Te Pito o te Henua*) that a direct or indirect contact at some previous point in time must be assumed. As a tertium comparationis between Ra'ivavae and Easter Island we have again, significantly, the Leeward Islands.

Whether the Proto-RR were the discovery of a Polynesian school of priests in the Society Islands area or whether behind them another stimulus diffusion is to be assumed from a culture possessing a system of writing outside Polynesia remains open. Heine-Geldern (1957) has drawn attention to the structural resemblances between the RR script and Chinese examples.

The results of the present author's deciphering work have met with a varied response. Although the majority of reviews are positive and such excellent scholars of Easter Island culture as Métraux and Englert have expressed approval both orally and in their letters, a reply to one or two criticisms and objections would seem to be useful. Criticism can be levelled at decipherment on various planes: on concrete grounds at actual RR passages (refutation or correction of proposed RR readings), on ethnographical or linguistic grounds at the methods used for the interpretation, and finally on general methodological grounds. In practice these levels of criticism are indeed frequently not kept apart.

1. A critical discussion of a particular inscription has so far occurred only once. It concerned a genealogical RR text (Gv5–6), whose structure had been discovered by Butinov and Knorosov (1957) and then explained with a concrete reading by Butinov (1959–61). I expressed my own opinions on this subject in detail (Barthel 1963a) and published my own contrary interpretation of the passage in question. Despite differing results in the details my Russian colleagues and I are agreed in our findings that a) it is indeed a genealogy that we have before us and that b) it is a Polynesian text. One can record as a success that I was able to elucidate the meaning of a sequence of approximately 50 graphemes (descent of the chieftain Tuu-Maheke from the gods). Discussions on this level are in all cases fruitful; in the last analysis it is on them that progressive decipherment of the RR depends.

2. Objections with regard to the language of RR texts. Koskinen (1967:10) xpresses doubt about the use of local terms (i.e. ones limited to Rapanui) and supposes in their place older forms of Polynesian. Fedorova (1964) criticizes the direct se of modern Rapanui in the interpretation of RR tablets and suggests a threefold

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temporal division of the Rapanui language: 'Old Rapanui (the language of Kohau rongorongo texts); the language of "Hotu Matua" and records close to it; the Modern Rapanui language (folklore records of nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century).' These objections are partly justified. However, they do not take into account the fact that the RR texts also have gone through changes and renovations since they were imported into Easter Island; that (after the subtraction of recent borrowings from Tahitian) modern Rapanui contains lexical remains from older stages of the language; and that 'free' and 'bound' forms from the oral tradition (with corresponding stylistic and thematic peculiarities) exist side by side. How old the Polynesian was on the tablets brought with him by Hotu Matua — whether contemporary with the immigration or several centuries older than that — cannot yet be established. It is a fact that copies of that imported Great Tradition were repeatedly produced on Easter Island until well into the 19th century, and were thus presumably also understood and made use of. Texts with themes that can be proved to be typically local (e.g. the tablet 'Mamari', which refers in particular to the Orongo ceremonies) are at any rate in comparison chronologically younger. Here, however, we must remember that the language of the pre-Hotu Matua population appears to be the oldest single idiom differentiated in Eastern Polynesia (according to phoneme inventory and vocabulary) (cf. also Bergmann 1963); a 're-archaization' of the RR songs composed on Easter Island should by no means be excluded, so that chronologically younger inscriptions could contain historically older material! Nevertheless the fact emerges that a dual division of the RR according to the choice of extra-insular or local themes promises to be fruitful in differentiating periods in the history of the language. The paraphrases of the 'Great Tradition' possess particular value as evidence for the gradual transformation of an imported RR text.

The sources for Rapanui, apart from the RR inscriptions, are relatively late and not equally valuable. Of particular value for the work of decipherment are those texts which were handed down orally but declared by the informants to belong to the RR. Such fragments — among them the 'great, old words' (*he timo te akoako*) and two texts for *ta'u* tablets (Barthel 1959:168–9) — have even been recorded in our century. From last century, fragments in the so-called Metoro songs and a part of the texts recited by Ure Vaeiko are worthy of attention. Apart from certain translation difficulties (e.g. particular sections of the 'Apai' text) all the texts that have any possible connection with RR literature are written in Polynesian. Recitations that have been handed down word for word in connection with string figures (Barthel 1960) are also valuable; several extensive examples go back to historical events in the 18th century, others can be associated with the cult site of Orongo. They offer instructive evidence for the rules of Easter Island poetry and thus indirectly for the rules of composition employed in the RR songs. Finally the semihistorical legends and stories contain ancient, formulaic expressions which can be isolated by a comparison of several versions of the tale.

Certain additions to the number of Rapanui texts have been made by the discovery

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of native manuscripts in the possession of present-day Easter Islanders (Heyerdahl 1965). The gain lies in the ethnohistorical and folkloric field (Barthel 1965; Knorosov 1965; Federova 1965), not however in that of RR decipherment. The RR signs that occur in the native manuscripts partly represent copies of the so-called 'Jaussen list'; partly they are drawings of published RR inscriptions to which arbitrary explanations have been appended. A corresponding study by Kondratov unfortunately has its value partly reduced by inexact transcription and erroneous translation of the 'Esteban Atan Manuscript' published in facsimile by Heyerdahl (Fig. 111–12), but agrees with our opinion 'that the manuscripts from Easter Island present no clue to the deciphering of the Rapanui script.'

The position of the 'Leningrad Group' with regard to the RR question has been particularly clearly formulated by Fedorova (1963). In view of the number of signs the script is judged to be hieroglyphic (i.e. 'a mixed morphemo-syllabic form'), and the graphemes that are especially frequent reckoned as syllables or 'common affixal morphemes'. Repetition of graphemes counts as the doubling of morphemes and thus as indirect evidence that the RR texts are written in Polynesian. This speech form is indeed clearly distinguished from Rapanui and from other Polynesian idioms; this 'archaic Rapanui' is supposed to be characterised by different grammatical and syntactical constructions. Thus an at least partial reconstruction of this archaic language is considered necessary for the decipherment of the RR.

The difference between the 'Leningrad' and the 'Tübingen' positions is notably not in principle but in degree. Both share the opinion that the RR are firstly a system of writing and secondly a medium of expression for the Polynesian language. Nevertheless all the while concrete proposals on decipherment are not yet available on the Russian side, the gap in technical assessment (grapheme quality and level of language) cannot be closed. The methods of deciphering used by the 'Leningrad Group' apparently go back to Knorosov and resemble those employed by him in the analysis of Maya hieroglyphs.

3. Heyerdahl (1965) has recently argued in favor of the thesis that the RR are a system which originated from the west of South America and which has continued to exist on Easter Island. He thinks the ability to read RR was lost there as a result of clan warfare and linguistic changes. He denies any knowledge at all of the RR script to the Easter Islander Metoro, who served as Bishop Jaussen's main informant on Tahiti almost a century ago, and thus endeavors to brand the so-called 'Metoro songs' as useless for decipherment. In fact the situation is quite different. As the present author was able to show in a comprehensive analysis (Barthel 1958:169–222), the Metoro songs are not the actual key but the raw material for the interpretation of a certain percentage of the RR signs. The manuscript, published in extenso (Barthel 1958:173–99; Heyerdahl 1965:380 is mistaken when he speaks of 'Jaussen's unpublished notes'), shows that Metoro by no means merely improvised, but must have possessed a rudimentary knowledge of RR signs and fragments of traditions. Amidst errors and mistakes and free associations a basis of truth is discernable which charac-

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terizes Metoro as a modest beginner in the art of the RR. Of decisive importance, of course, is the question of how far Metoro's explanations have been proved valid and fruitful for the interpretation of the RR inscriptions that remain. Progressive deciphering shows that his chance beginner's knowledge was limited but genuine. At the present stage of our research (Barthel 1963b) less than half of the graphemes solved go back, however, to the songs of Metoro.

At this point it seems expedient to indicate precisely how far our understanding of the RR has in the meantime progressed. Apart from the above insights into the general structure of the writing and into the linguistic data and the various types of themes, at least the fundamental meaning of all the frequent and most important signs has been discovered and to a very great extent also the values of their sounds and symbols: information on this is to be found in the catalogue (Barthel 1963b:429–36) with 150 examples. The fact that short sections of text, in other words RR compositions, RR ligatures and RR sequences, could be deciphered has been demonstrated by hundreds of examples (Barthel 1958:226–313, 1963b:374–422). These results must be discussed — and nobody would be more happy to do so than the present author — but one cannot act as if such substantial achievements in deciphering the RR just did not exist. As has been explicitly emphasized on various occasions, we are here concerned with the FIRST STAGE in the solution of RR writing, which we have passed through in ten years of research. Even the SECOND STAGE, which is now beginning, will not produce a complete reading of whole RR tablets (this ultimate goal can only come after complicated and critical research by various scholars), but it is now proceeding from a more or less atomistic sign analysis to a study of longer, connected passages of text. The present task is thus to work out the individual songs, a combination of which then usually constitutes a complete text on a tablet. The immediate goal consists in determining the content and compositional technique of passages of medium length (on the average between 20 and 50 graphemes). We could to some extent speak of a 'molecular' magnitude of research, in which the hitherto relatively isolated individual findings can now be co-ordinated on a higher plan. According as the individual 'chapters' (songs, recitations, prayers) become intelligible, so also the MOTIF STRUCTURE OF A WHOLE RR TABLET begins to appear.

As always in the history of deciphering unknown scripts, gradual degrees of understanding are found in the elucidation of the RR. The stage of 'gross interpretation' (i.e. determination of the general sense or of the concrete value of a grapheme; formal comprehension of a grapheme within a systematic 'study of signs' (Zeichenkunde)) is followed by the stage of 'decipherment' (i.e. determination of the sound of simple or composite signs; introduction of philological work) and only then by the stage of 'understanding'. On this, the highest plane, we can successfully determine 'what is actually meant' (i.e. translation and text interpretation which gets successfully close to the original tradition in all its fullness). The formal 'gross interpretation' of the greater part of the RR signs has been successfully accomplished; the decipherment of the sounds has been achieved for 50–60% of the texts on the tablets that have come

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down to us. This 'decipherment quotient' is subject to certain limitations, as polyvalences, of course, can at first only be recognised in part because the extent to which we can apply homoiophonic reading has not yet always been determined and the barrier to understanding caused by the principle of partial sound suggestion must repeatedly be considered a disturbing factor. The quotient is, however, already so high that any critic ought to be able to verify the accuracy of the proposed solutions by checking and comparing in a variety of different texts. The most difficult step will certainly be text interpretation beyond the stage of successful decipherment. Even when a 'full script' of a past culture has been deciphered, true 'understanding' has depended on rich and varied textual material and decades of co-operation between philologists and archeologists (and even then has not always been achieved). In the case of the RR, a partial script, with only the scanty remains of a literature that once comprised hundreds of tablets, the desired understanding is far more laborious. Until now an interpretation of the complete contents of sequences of medium length (about 10–30 signs) has only been possible in isolated cases. This is principally due to the peculiar fact that the RR served not as an independent medium of information but as a supplementing mnemonic aid.

Without exception the user of the RR had prior knowledge at his disposal. By this we mean a knowledge of the complete, orally transmitted traditions or songs, extracts or condensed versions of which were transcribed in the RR system. The shortenings and reductions which took place in the process (and which the modern decipherer can discover from overt or partially parallel passages) did not have a negative effect at the time as far as mnemonic usefulness was concerned. The nexus between 'prior knowledge' and fixation in the RR disappeared with the cessation of oral and institutional transmission on Easter Island. Nevertheless in some parts of the RR material there remains something which can within a particular framework replace prior knowledge: we mean 'OBJECTIVE STRUCTURES'.

This may be explained as follows: the extent of certain sections of the tablets can be delimited by means of parallel passages or reiterations of motifs (e.g. repetition of sequences of signs resembling titles or refrains). Now some of these chapters exhibit a NECESSARILY REGULAR STRUCTURE. They are concerned with sequences of names within genealogies, with the stringing together of the names of places according to their locational circumstances, with the naming of the points of the compass according to a traditional pattern and above all with CHRONOLOGICAL REGULARITIES. As an example we may quote the RR scheme for the nights of a synodic month on the tablet 'Mamari'; a calendar of this kind has a necessarily orderly structure as a result of astronomical regularities. If a part of a chronological frame work of this kind has been deciphered, then one can extrapolate chronologically for related passages. Certain RR THEMES may then be assigned to fixed POINTS IN TIME and we now obtain a 'second degree ordering' in which cult activities and feasts can be placed in a relative chronology. In this way the possibility is opened for us to reconstruct for example the seasonal cycle of feasts on the strength of characteristic RR songs. Wherever place names appear in

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context, the 'objective structure of the festive cycle' can be localized and possibly be carried over into a topographical ordering system. Objective structures in the RR typically derive from what precedes and follows events viz. from traditional phases in social life or rites. Investigations in this direction have at present been started at the University of Tübingen. Our research program foresees in the course of the 70s the second stage in RR decipherment (solution of individual songs, discovery of the motif structure of whole tablets, investigation of objective text structures).

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APPENDIX

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CHECKLIST OF OCEANIC LANGUAGE AND DIALECT NAMES

Edited by GEOFFREY N. O'GRADY and CHARLES A. ZISA

INTRODUCTION

Charles A. Zisa

The following list of Oceanic languages is divided into three sections: I. AUSTRALIAN (with a supplement on Tasmanian), by G.N. O'Grady; II. AUSTRONESIAN, by I. Dyen; and III. PAPUAN (with a supplement on Andamanese), by S.A. Wurm.

Under Papuan are listed the non-Austronesian languages of the Papuan linguistic area (i.e. New Guinea and Melanesia). Conflicting classifications have resulted in some languages appearing in both the Austronesian and the Papuan sections. Such languages are listed only once in the Index of Languages.

Alternate names have been indicated in two ways: (1) following the major heading in parentheses; and (2) in alphabetic sequence with the major heading listed after an equals sign. Obvious variants, such as those which differ only by the doubling of a consonant, have been omitted. Insofar as was possible, those names which have the greatest currency, or are consistent with widespread orthographic principles, have been used as major headings.

Data from the list of languages compiled by Charles A. Zisa (in preparation) have been added to the Austronesian and Papuan sections.

I. AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE AND DIALECT NAMES

G.N. O'Grady

Abedal = Kakadu
Abodja
Adinda (Wikatinda)
Adjahdurah = Narangga
Adnyamathana = Wailpi
Adowen = Djauan
Aghu Tharnggala
Agikwala = Wulwulam
Agwamin (Wamin)
Ahnbi = Banbai
Akara
Alawa
Alidara
Alkan (Wik Alkan)
Alngitth
Alura

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Alyawarra (Iliaura)
Amangu (Nyaakurdi, Ying)
Amarag (Umorui)
Ambama (Wik Ampama, Wikampama)
Ambara
Ame
Andakerebina
Andedja
Andilyaugwa (Groote Eylandt, Ingura)
Angudimi = Awngthim
Aniwan
Ankamuti
Anmatjera
Antakirinya
Antingitth
Anyula = Yanyula
Araba
Arabana
Arabatura = Yadliaura
A'ragu
Arakwal (Gundurimba)
Aranda, Eastern
Aranda, Lower (Macumba)
Aranda, Southern (Pirdima, Wychinga)
Aranda, Western
Arawai
Arawari
Ari = Mangeri
Aritinngithigh
Atjinuri
Awabakal
Awngthim (Angudimi)
Ayabatha
Ayan
Ayi

B, *see also* P
Badhudbadhud
Badjiri
Badun = Koko Patun
Baganambia = Lamalama
Bagu
Bagudjarra
Bagundji
Bailko = Balygu
Bakanha
Bakanu
Bakunamba
Balamumu
Balardong
Balgalu
Balmawi
Balygu (Bailko)
Banambila
Banbai (Ahnbi)
Bandjalang
Bandjerang
Bandji
Bandjigali
Bandjima
Bandjin
Barada
Baranbinya
Ba'rangu
Baraparapa
Barbaram (Mbabaram, Wumbabaram)
Bard
Bardimaya (Patimaya)
Barindji
Barna
Barunggam
Barunguan
Batjala
Bayali
Bayungu
Bedengo = Birdungu
Bemb (Forrest River, Walar)
Bemba
Biangil
Bidamanggula
Bidia
Bididji (Koko Bididji)
Bidjadi
Bigumbil

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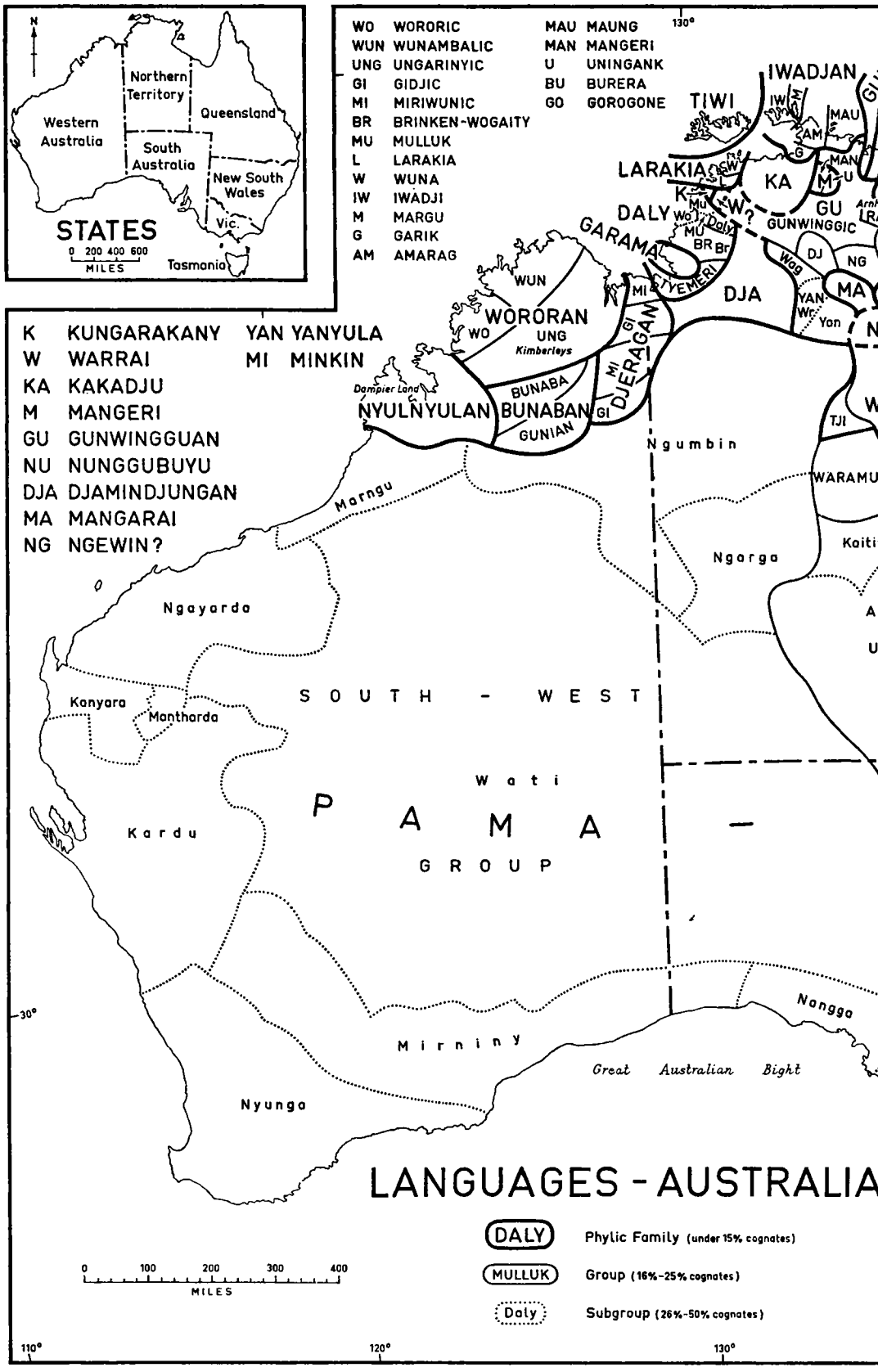

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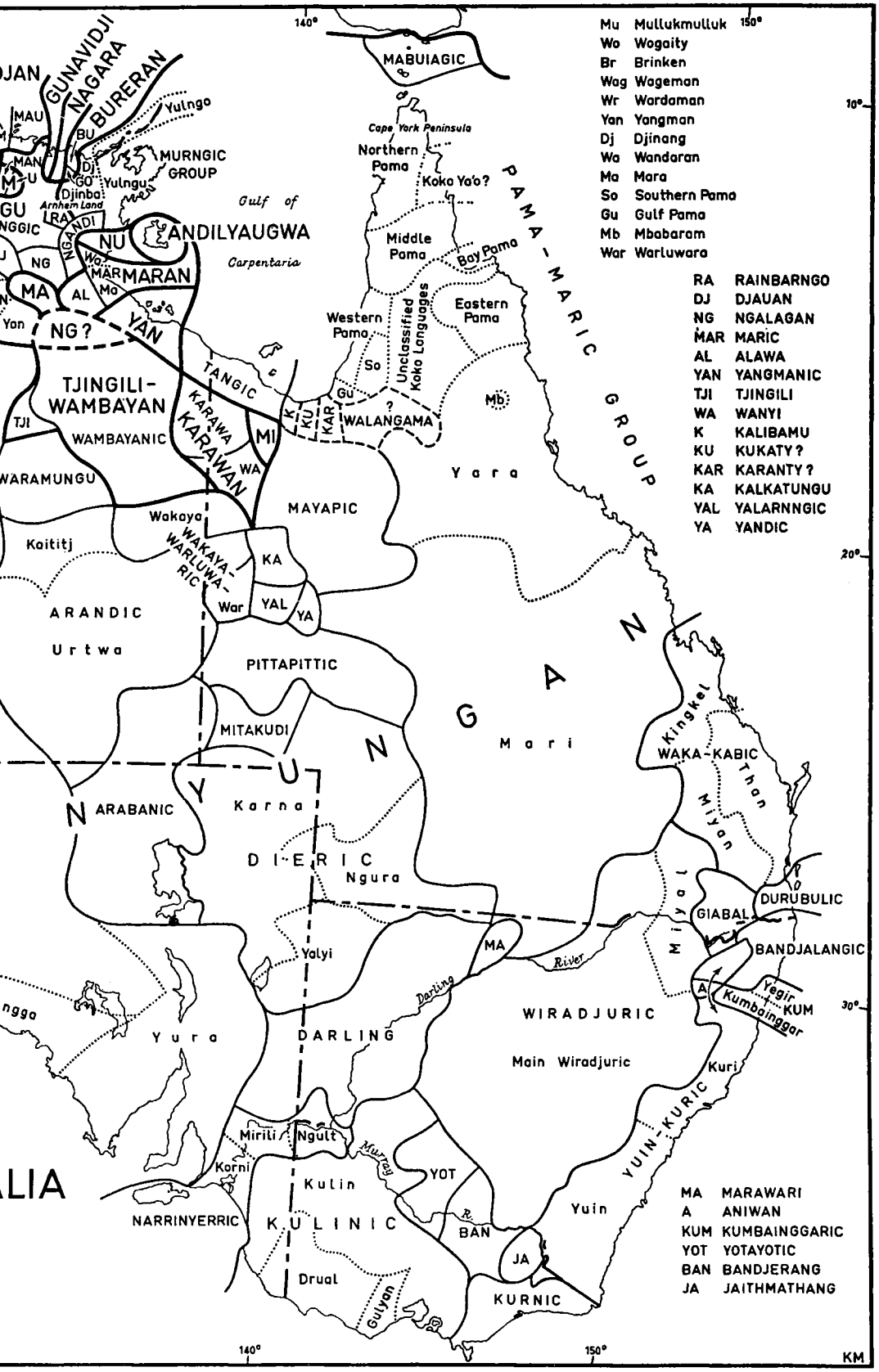

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Bilamandji
Binbinga
Bindaga
Bindal
Binggu
Bingongina
Binigura
Biraliba
Birdawal
Birdungu (Bedengo)
Biria
Birpai
Birripil
Bitjara (Pitjara)
Biynalumbo = Oitbi
Bolali
Bongobongo (Pungupungu)
Bordaruwidj
Bordawulung (Portaulun, Warawalde)
Boripar = Ngarkat
Brabirawilung
Braiakaulung
Bratauolung
Brinken (Marithiel)
Buan
Buandik = Bunganditj
Budidjarra = Targudi
Buduna = Burduna
Bugongidja
Bugula
Buibadjali
Bulanu
Bulaway
Bulinara
Buluguda
Bulyina
Bumburra = Gia
Bunaba
Bunara
Buneidja
Bunganditj (Buandik)
Bunggura
Bunurong
Burada
Buralbural
Buranadjini
Buranudjarra
Burduna (Buduna)
Burera = Burrara
Burrara (Burera)
Buyibada
Buyundji

Camleroy = Kamilaroi
China Camp

D, *see also* T, Th
Dai
Dalabon (Ngalkbon)
Dalla
Dalwangu
Damalamir = Djapu
Danganararumindjeri
Dangbon (Gundangbon)
Danggali
Darambal
Darkinyung
Dauan
Dauor = Yauor
Dawara
Dhagawuru = Taungurong
Dhapil = Kabi
Dharuk
Dharumba (Tharumba)
Dieri
Dippil = Kabi
Diraila = Tereila
Diyogoi
Djaarlwaag
Djabadja
Djaberdjaber
Djabu = Djapu
Djadjala
Djadjawurung = Wurundjeri

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Djagaraga (Gudang, Kekoseno)
Djakunda
Djalakuru
Djalgandi
Djambarbwingu
Djamindjung
Djandjandji
Djangun = Djankun
Djankun (Djangun)
Djappuminyon = Yardwa
Djapu (Damalamir, Djabu)
Djarn
Djaru
Djarwark
Djau
Djauan (Adowen, Djawanj)
Djaui (Tohawi)
Djauor = Yauor
Djawanj = Djauan
Djendewal (Koenpel)
Djerag = Guluwarin
Djeraity
Djerimanga
Djinang (Yandjinang)
Djinba
Djirbal = Dyirbal
Djiringany = Thaua
Djiru
Djirubal = Dyirbal
Djiwali
Djiwalinj = Tjiwarliny
Djonggandji
Djowei
Djuban
Djugan
Djugun
Djulngai
Djungurdja
Do:dj = Trotj
Doora = Nukuna
Drysdale River = Miwa
Duduruwa = Yaitmathang
Dungidjau
Durga = Thaua
Durilyi
Dyalnguy
Dyirbal (Djirbal, Djirubal)

Eau = Nhanda
Eba = Wik Ep
Emon = Yimun
Eneby = Idindji
Erawirung
Eromarra = Ngandangara
Euahlayi = Yualyai
Euola = Mirniny

Forrest River = Bemb

G, *see also* K
Gadang = Kathang
Gadjerong
Galbu
Galdalbadjarra
Gambre
Ganalbwingu
Gandangara
Gandju = Kaantju
Ganggalida
Garama
Garik
Garindjari
Garmalangga
Garmor = Kamor
Gawadji = Kaantju
Gawor = Yauor
Gayardilt
Gaygay
Geawegal
Gia (Bumburra)
Giabal
Gidja
Gidjingali
Gidjiya = Gunavidji

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Gigi
Gingara
Ginginburra = Taribeleng
Giraiwurung = Kirrae
Giramay (Keramai)
Gn, *see* Ng
Gnamo = Nyamal
Goamu = Guamu
Gobabwingu = Gubabuyngu
Goeng
Gogo-, *see* Koko, Koko-
Gogoda
Gog-Yimidjir = Koko Imudji
Go:la = Gulu
Gomaidj = Gumadji
Gona'niin (Koko Babung)
Gonggandji
Gonjmal = Koinymal
Gorlba
Gorogone (Yungorogone ?)
Gowar = Ngugi
Grawadungalung = Krauatungulung
Groote Eylandt = Andilyaugwa
Guamu (Goamu, Koamu)
Guamu Kunggari
Guba
Gubabuyngu (Gobabwingu)
Gudanda (?)
Gudang = Djagaraga
Gudjalavia
Gudjandji
Gugu-, *see* Koko, Koko-
Gugudja
Gugu-Nyungu
Guidj
Gujambal = Kwaimbal
Gulbara
Gulngay
Gulu (Go:la)
Gulungo
Guluwarin (Djerag)
Gumadir
Gumadji (Gomaidj)
Gumbainggar
Gunaidbe
Gunavidji (Gidjiya)
Gunbalang
Gundangbon = Dangbon
Gundara
Gundeidjeme
Gundei'nyekemi
Gundjun
Gundudj
Gundurimba = Arakwal
Gunei
Gungaragan
Gunggarbara
Gunggay
Gunian = Koneyandi
Gunin = Miwa
Gunindiri
Gunmarung
Gunrerg
Gunwinygu
Gunyawan
Gunybarai = Koinberi
Gunyeypmi
Gunyibiyi
Guradjarra
Gurandji
Gurenggureng = Korenggoreng
Gurgula
Gurindji
Gurnditjmara
Gurungada
Guryindi
Guwara (Koara)
Guyula
Gwini
Gwiyamil

Hainman = Ngarinman
High Nyiyabali = Padupadu

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Ibarga
Idindji (Eneby)
Iidu (Ithu)
Ikan
Ilba
Iliaura = Alyawarra
Inawonga
Indandji
Indjibandi = Yindjibarndi
Indjilindji
Inggarda = Yinggarda
Ingura = Andilyaugwa
Iningai
Iora
Irawadjari
Ithu = Iidu
Itinadyana
Iwaidji = Yiwadja

J, *see* Y
Jaara = Wurundjeri

K, *see also* G
Kaantju (Gandju, Gawadji, Kantju, Yanggondju)
Kabalbara
Kabi (Dippil)
Kabikabi
Kadjerawang
Kairi
Kaititj
Kakadu (Abedal)
Kalali
Kalamai
Kalarko
Kalawlwan
Kalibal
Kalibamu
Kalkatungu = Kalkutung
Kalkutung (Kalkatungu)
Kalwa
Kalwanguk
Kambuwal
Kameraigal
Kamilaroi (Camleroy)
Kamor (Garmor)
Kaneang
Kangulu
Kantju = Kaantju
Karadjeri
Karanguru
Karanti (?)
Karanya (Ngulubulu)
Karawa = Karwa
Karbungga
Kardudjarra
Karendala
Karenggapa
Kariera (Kyreara)
Karingbal
Karundi
Karuwali
Karwa (Karawa)
Kathang (Gadang, Kattang, Warrimi, Worimi)
Kattang = Kathang
Kaurareg
Kaurna (Kawurna)
Kawadji
Kawambarai = Koinberi
Kawurna = Kaurna
Keinyan
Kekoseno = Djagaraga
Keramai = Giramay
Kikkar = Nyakinyaki
Kirrae (Giraiwurung)
Kitabal
Kiyadjarra
Koa
Koamu = Guamu
Koara = Guwara
Koenpel = Djendewal
Koinberi (Gunybarai, Kawambarai)
Koinymal (Gonjmal)

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Kok Mbewan = Mbiywom
Kokata
Koko Babung = Gona'niin
Koko Baldja = Waldja (?)
Koko Bididji = Bididji
Koko Daua
Koko Imudji (Gog-Yimidjir)
Koko Katji
Koko Kulunggur
Koko Mindjan = Yir' Yoront
Koko Mini (Mini)
Koko Nyekodi
Koko Patun (Badun)
Koko Walandja (Walandja)
Koko Yak
Koko Ya'o
Koko Yawa
Koko Yimidir
Kokoberang
Kokopera
Kokori
Kokowara
Kolakngat
Konanin
Koneyandi (Gunian)
Kongabula
Kongkandji
Konin
Koreng (Qualup)
Korenggoreng (Gurenggureng)
Krauatungulung (Grawadungalung)
Kukatja (Loritja, Luridja)
Kukatji
Kuku Yalanji (Yalandji)
Kula (Kurnu)
Kulumali
Kulunggor
Kundara
Kungadutji
Kungarakany
Kunggara
Kunggari
Kungkalenya
Kunindiri
Kunjen (Ogondyan)
Kunya
Kurama
Kurduwangga
Kureinji (Pintwa)
Kurnu = Kula
Kurung
Kutandji
Kutjal
Kutjala
Kuungkari
Kuyambal = Kwaimbal
Kuyani
Kwaimbal (Gujambal, Kuyambal)
Kwarandji
Kwokwa = Pittapitta
Kyreara = Kariera

Lago-ya
Laia
Lamalama (Bagananbia, Umbindhambu, Wambara)
Lamumira
Lanima
Larakia
Lardil
Latamngitth
Latjilatji
Lewuru
Liagalawumiri
Liagayomir
Linngithigh
Loritja = Kukatja
Lɔ:tig = Mpalitjanh
Luga = Lungga
Lul'marangu
Lungga (Luga)
Luridja = Kukatja
Luthigh (Tepiti)
Mabida

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Mabuiag
Macumba = Aranda, Lower
Madarba
Madimadi
Madjay
Madjila
Madngela
Madoitja
Maduwonga = Marduwangga
Maia
Maiabi (Mayapi)
Maidhargari
Maigudung
Maikulung
Mailnga
Malara
Malarbardjuradj
Maldjana = Malgana
Malgana (Maldjana)
Malngin
Maly (*a secret language used by Nyangumarda initiands*)
Malyangapa
Mamngaytth
Mamu
Mamwura
Manda
Mandadjungu
Mandandanyi
Mandjiagadi
Mandjila
Mandjilabagal
Mandjildjarra
Mandjililuwa
Mandjindja
Mangala
Mangarai
Mangeri (Ari)
Manggalili
Manggalirgurra
Manggura
Mangu
Mangula
Manu
Manungu
Mara
Maradanggimiri
Maragulu
Maramandandji
Maranda = Midhaga
Maranggu
Maranunggo
Mararba
Maraura
Marawa
Marawari
Mardadhunira
Marditjali
Marduwangga (Maduwonga)
Maredan
Marengar
Maretyabin
Margu (Yaako)
Marigana
Marithiel = Brinken
Mariung
Marnganyi
Marulta
Masig
Mathimathi (Muthimuthi)
Maula = Warluwara
Maung
Mayapi = Maiabi
Maykulan
Mayuli
Mbaatyana
Mbabaram = Barbaram
Mbambylmu
Mbiywom (Kok Mbewan)
Meening = Mirniny
Meintangk
Mengerryi
Meraldi = Peramangk
Mian

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Midhaga (Maranda)
Milamada
Milyarranba
Minang
Mini = Koko Mini
Minkin
Minyangbal
Miriwun
Mirniny (Euola, Meening, Wanbiri)
Mirnongmirnong
Mitakudi
Mitjamba
Miwa (Drysdale River, Gunin)
Moil
Mount Margaret Dialect
Mpalitjanh (Lɔ:tig)
Mudalga
Mudbura
Mugarganalmiri
Muliara
Mullukmulluk
Muluridji = Mulurudji
Mulurudji (Muluridji)
Mundanbara
Mun-narngo
Munumburu
Muralag
Muralidban
Murawari
Murinbata
Murunitja
Muthimuthi = Mathimathi
Mutumui
Muutyati

Nada
Nadura
Nadura
Naimil
Nakara
Nalaba
Nambuguya
Nana
Nanakati
Nanda = Nhanda
Nanduwara
Nangara
Nangatadjarra
Nanggaranggu
Nangor
Nangumiri
Narangga (Adjahdurah)
Narinari = Yabulayabula
Narrinyeri = Yaralde
Naualko
Nauo = Nawu
Nawagi
Nawu (Nauo, Nyao)
Ndorndorin
Neign-go
Nemarang
Ngadadjarra
Ngadanya (Wiknatanya)
Ngadawangga
Ngadhugudi
Ngadjan = Ngatjan
Ngadjunma
Ngadjuri
Ngaduna (Wik Ngatona)
Ngaiawang
Ngaku
Ngalagagurala
Ngalagan
Ngalaugari
Ngalawangga
Ngalea (Ooldean)
Ngalia
Ngaliwuru
Ngalkbon = Dalabon
Ngaluma (Ngarluma)
Ngamadi
Ngamba
Ngameni (Ominee)
Ngamiti

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Nganadjarra
Ngandangara (Eromarra)
Ngandi
Ngandjara (Wik Ngandjara, Wiknantjara)
Nganguruku
Nganygit
Ngaralta
Ngardi
Ngardok
Ngarigu
Ngarimawuru = Yabulayabula
Ngarinman (Hainman)
Ngarinyin = Ungarinyin
Ngarkat (Boripar)
Ngarla (Wanbarda)
Ngarluma = Ngaluma
Ngarndji
Ngaro
Ngaruk
Ngathokudi
Ngatjan (Ngadjan)
Ngawait
Ngawun
Ngemba
Ngengenwuru
Ngengomeri
Ngewin
Nggerikudi (Yupngaytth)
Nggotth (Ngkoth)
Ngiamba
Ngintait
Ngkoth = Nggotth
Ngoborundji (Oborindi)
Ngoera
Ngormbal
Ngormbur
Ngugi (Gowar)
Ngulibardu
Ngulubulu = Karanya
Ngunawal (Yarr)
Ngu'rand
Ngurawola
Nguri
Ngurlu
Nguro
Nhanda (Eau, Nanda, Yau)
Nimanbur
Nimbalda = Wailpi
Nimp-mam-wern = Tatitati
Niolniol = Nyulnyul
Nj, *see* Ny
Noala
Nolgin
Nonagadi
Nonda
Nordaniman
Norweilimil
Nra'ngitth (Ntra'ngith)
Nrwa'a
Nrwa'ngaytth (Ntrwa'ngayth)
Ntra'ngith = Nra'ngitth
Ntrwa'ngayth = Nrwa'ngaytth
Nugara
Nukuna (Doora, Nyuguna, Tjura, Tyura)
Nundjulbi
Nungali
Nungara
Nunggubuyu
Nunukul = Nununkul
Nununkul (Nunukul)
Nyaakurdi = Amangu
Nyakali = Tjapukay
Nyakinyaki (Kikkar)
Nyamal (Gnamo, Nyamarl)
Nyamarl = Nyamal
Nyangadjarra
Nyangga
Nyangumarda
Nyanidjarra
Nyao = Nawu
Nyawigi
Nyekodi
Nyigina

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Nyindingga
Nyinin = Hyininy
Nyininy (Nyinin)
Nyirma
Nyiyabali
Nyuguna = Nukuna
Nyulnyul (Niolniol)
Nyuwadhai

Oborindi = Ngoborundji
Obulgara
Ogondyan = Kunjen
Oitbi (Biynalumbo)
Okerlika
Olkulo (Ulkulu)
Ombila = Umpila
Ominee = Ngameni
Ooldean = Ngalea
Ooonoomurra = Wanamara
Otati (Wɔ:tati)
Oykangant

P, *see also* B
Padupadu (*a ceremonial and respectful form of* Nyiyabali)
Pakadji
Pangkala = Pankarla
Pankarla (Pangkala, Parnkala)
Paramangk = Peramangk
Parnkala = Pankarla
Parundji
Patimaya = Bardimaya
Pawududjarra
Peramangk (Meraldi, Paramangk, Wangarainbula)
Pibelmen
Pilatapa
Pindiini
Pini = Pirnirridjarra
Pinjarup
Pintubi
Pintwa = Kureinji
Pirdima = Aranda, Southern
Pirnirridjarra (Pini)
Pitjantjara = Pitjantjatjarra
Pitjantjatjarra (Pitjantjara, Wongapitcha)
Pitjara = Bitjara
Pittapitta (Kwokwa, Wealko, Wongkaitjeru)
Pontuny
Pooroga = Yirandali
Portaulun = Bordawulung
Potaruwutj
Pulinya
Pungupungu = Bongobongo
Punthamara
Pupinya

Qualup = Koreng

Rainbarngo
Rakkaia (Rukkia)
Ramindjeri
Reveri
Ridarngo
Ringaringa = Ringuringu
Ringuringu (Ringaringa)
Riraidjango
Rukkia = Rakkaia

Saibai

T, *see also* D *and* Th
Taakurda
Tagalag
Tagoman
Tainikwiti
Taior (Thayorre)
Talandji = Thalandji
Tamala
Tanganekald
Tangural
Tarbanawalun
Targari = Thargari

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Targudi (Budidjarra)
Taribeleng (Ginginburra)
Tarpuntjari
Tatitati (Nimp-mam-wern)
Tatungalung
Taungurong (Dhagawuru, Thaguwuru)
Tenma = Thiinma
Tepiti = Luthigh
Tereila (Diraila, Thereila)
Thaguwuru = Taungurong
Thalandji (Talandji)
Thangatti
Thanhngaytth (Tjanngayth)
Tharawal (Thurawal)
Thargari (Targari)
Tharumba = Dharumba
Thaua (Djiringany, Durga, Thurga)
Thayorre = Taior
Thereila = Tereila
Thiinma (Tenma)
Thugur
Thurawal = Tharawal
Thurga = Thaua
Tirari
Tiwi
Tjalkadjarra
Tjanngayth = Thanhngaytth
Tjapanmaya
Tjapukay (Nyakali)
Tjapwurong
Tjeraridjal
Tjial
Tjingili = Tjingilu
Tjingilu (Tjingili)
Tjitiyamba
Tjiwarliny (Djiwalinj)
Tjonkandji
Tjura = Nukuna
Tjuroro = Tjurruru
Tjurruru (Tjuroro)
Tohawi = Djaui
Totj = Trotj
Trotj (Do:dj, Trotj)
Tulua
Tutu
Tyemeri
Tyura = Nukuna

Ualari
Ubulgara
Ulaolinya
Ulkulu = Olkulo
Ulwawutjana
Umbindhambu = Lamalama
Umbuigamu
Umida
Umoriu = Amarag
Umpila (Ombila)
Unalla = Yiwadja
Unambal = Wunambal
Ungarinyin (Ngarinyin)
Unggarangi
Unggumi
Uningangk (Wurningangk)
Unyadi
Uradhi
Uwayan
Uwinkan
Uwolkol

Wada
Wadawurung = Wathurung
Wadere = Yanyula
Wadikali
Wadiwadi = Wodiwodi
Wadiwangga = Warriyangka
Wadja
Wadjabangai
Wadjalang = Wadjelang
Wadjelang (Wadjalang)
Wadjeri (Wad'arri)
Wadjiginy
Wadjuk
Wad'arri = Wadjeri

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Wagatj (Wogaidj, Worgaidj)
Wagelag (Wagilag)
Wageman = Wagoman
Wagilag = Wagelag
Wagoman (Wageman)
Waiangara = Waringari
Wailbri = Walbiri
Wailpi (Adnyamathana, Nimbalda)
Wakaman = Wakamen
Wakamen (Wakaman)
Wakara
Wakawaka
Wakaya (Worgaia ?)
Wakelbara = Yagalingu
Waladjangari
Walandja = Koko Walandja
Walangama
Walar = Bemb
Walbanga
Walbiri (Wailbri, Waljbiri, Yalpari)
Waldja (Koko Baldja ?, Wulpura)
Waljbiri = Walbiri
Walki
Walmadjarri (Wolmeri)
Walmanba (Wanmanba)
Walmbaria
Walookera
Walu
Walyen
Walywan (Weilwan)
Wambara = Lamalama
Wambaya
Wambunge = Wongaibon
Wamin = Agwamin
Wanamara (Oonoomurra)
Wanarua (Wonarua)
Wanayiga (Woneiga)
Wanbarda = Ngarla
Wanbiri = Mirniny
Wanda
Wandanian
Wandarang
Wandjira
Wandjiwalku (Wanyuwalgu)
Wangan
Wangara
Wangarainbula = Peramangk
Wanggamana
Wanggayi (Wonggai)
Wangkadjera
Wangkamala
Wangkangurru (Wonkanguru)
Wangka-tjunga
Wangkumara
Wan'guri
Wanji = Wanyi
Wanjur = Wanyuru (?)
Wanman = Warnman
Wanmanba = Walmanba
Wanudjarra
Wanyarli
Wanyi (Wanji)
Wanyuru (Wanjur ?)
Wanyuwalgu = Wandjiwalku
Wara
Warameri (Waramiri)
Waramiri = Warameri
Warat
Warawalde = Bordawulung
Warawarka
Warburton Ranges Dialect
Wardal
Wardaman
Wardandi
Wardibara
Wardiri = Yanyula
Wareydbug
Wargamay = Warkamai
Warienga = Warriyangka
Warimai
Waringari (Waiangara)
Warkamai (Wargamay)
Warkawarka
Warki

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Warluwara (Maula)
Warnman (Wanman)
Warrai
Warramunga = Warumungu
Warrimi = Kathang
Warriyangka (Wadiwangga, Warienga)
Warumungu (Warranunga)
Warungu
Warwa
Wathiwathi
Wathurung (Wadawurung, Wudjawuru)
Watjandi
Watta
Waula
Wealko = Pittapitta
Weedookarry = Widugari
Weilwan = Walywan
Wembawemba (Yambayamba)
Wembria
Wengey
Weraerai
Western Desert Language
Widagari = Widugari
Widi
Widjabal
Widjala
Widje
Widjilg
Widugari (Weedookarry, Widagari)
Wiilman
Wik Alkan = Alkan
Wik Ampama = Ambama
Wik Ep (Eba, Wik Epa, Wikepa)
Wik Epa = Wik Ep
Wik Galkon
Wik Mean = Wik Me'nh
Wik Me'nh (Wik Mean)
Wik Muminh
Wik Mungkan (Wik Munkan)
Wik Munkan = Wik Mungkan
Wik Ngandjara = Ngandjara
Wik Ngatara
Wik Ngatona = Ngaduna
Wikampama = Ambama
Wikapatja
Wikatinda = Adinda
Wikepa = Wik Ep
Wiknantjara = Ngandjara
Wiknatanya = Ngadanya
Wilawila
Wilingura
Wilyakali
Wilyara
Wimarangga
Winduwinda (*cover term for* Linngithigh *and* Alngitth)
Wiradhuri = Wiradjuri
Wiradjuri (Wiradhuri)
Wiraerai (Wirayarai, Wiriwiri ?)
Wirangu
Wirayarai = Wiraerai
Wirdi = Wiri
Wirdinya
Wiri (Wirdi)
Wiriwiri = Wiraerai (?)
Wirlu
Wodiwodi (Wadiwadi)
Wogaidj = Wagatj
Woiwurung = Wurundjeri
Wolamangu
Wolgal
Wolgara
Wolmeri = Walmadjarri
Wolundara
Wolyamidi
Wolyara
Wonarua = Wanarua
Woneiga = Wanayiga
Wongaibon (Wambunge)
Wonganya
Wongapitcha = Pitjantjatjarra
Wonggadjaga
Wonggai = Wanggayi
Wonggawon

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Wongkanguru = Wangkangurru
Wongka-itjeru = Pittapitta
Wonoka = Yadliaura
Wonu
Woralul
Worgaia = Wakaya (?)
Worgaidj = Wagatj
Worimi = Kathang
Workabunga
Worora
Wɔ:tati = Otati
Wotjobaluk
Wudjari
Wudjawuru = Wathurung
Wudjur
Wugundjal
Wugurin
Wulaki
Wulgurukaba
Wulili
Wulpura = Waldja
Wulu
Wulwulam (Agikwala)
Wumbabaram = Barbaram
Wuna
Wunabul
Wunambal (Unambal)
Wundjur
Wurango
Wurangung
Wurningangk = Uningangk
Wurundjeri (Djadjawurung, Jaara, Woiwurung, Yaara, Yarra)
Wurunggugu
Wychinga = Aranda, Southern

Yaako = Margu
Yaara = Wurundjeri
Yabulayabula (Narinari, Ngarimawuru)
Yabungadja
Yadhaikana (Yaraikana)
Yadica
Yadiwai
Yadliaura (Arabatura, Wonoka)
Yagalingu (Wakelbara)
Yagara
Yaitmathang (Duduruwa)
Yakaburra
Yakula
Yalandji = Kuku Yalanji
Yalannga (Yalarnnga)
Yalarnnga = Yalannga
Yalpari = Walbiri
Yalugal
Yalung
Yam
Yambarrpuynggu
Yambayamba = Wembawemba
Yambina
Yan
Yanari
Yanda
Yandjinang = Djinang
Yandruwanta
Yanga[1] = Yangaa
Yanga[2] = Yangga
Yangaa (Yanga[1])
Yangga (Yanga[2])
Yanggal
Yanggondju = Kaantju
Yangkundjara = Yankundjarra
Yangman
Yankundjarra (Yangkundjara)
Yanyango
Yanyu
Yanyula (Anyula, Wadere, Wardiri)
Yaraikana = Yadhaikana
Yaralde (Narrinyeri)
Yardwa (Djappuminyon)
Yarildekald
Yarindjara
Yariyari
Yarnango
Yaroinga

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Yarr = Ngunawal
Yarra = Wurundjeri
Yau = Nhanda
Yaudjibara
Yauor (Dauor, Djauor, Gawor)
Yauraworka
Yawa
Yegir (Yiergera)
Yeidji
Yelyendi
Yetjeneru
Yibiwan
Yiduwa
Yiergera = Yegir
Yilngali
Yimun (Emon)
Yindjibarndi (Indjibandi)
Ying = Amangu
Yinggarda (Inggarda)
Yinggarda, Northern
Yinwum
Yir Thangedl
Yir Tjutjam
Yir'Yoront (Koko Mindjan)
Yirandali (Pooroga)
Yirari
Yirgandji
Yirgay
Yitayita
Yiwadja (Iwaidji, Unalla)
Yotayota
Yualyai (Euahlayi, Yuwalarai)
Yuat
Yu'gaiwadha
Yugul
Yugula
Yuipera = Yuwinbara
Yukamba
Yukambal
Yukkaburra
Yulbaridja = Yurlbaridja
Yulbre = Yurlbaridja
Yulumbe
Yumakuntji
Yumu
Yungai
Yunggor
Yungorogone = Gorogone (?)
Yunkurara
Yupngaytth = Nggerikudi
Yurlbaridja (Yulbaridja, Yulbre)
Yuru
Yuwalarai = Yualyai
Yuwibara = Yuwinbara
Yuwinbara (Yuipera, Yuwibara)
Yuwula
Yuyu

Tasmanian Languages

Mid-East Tasmanian
North Tasmanian
North-East Tasmanian
South Tasmanian
South-East Tasmanian
West Tasmanian

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II. AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGE AND DIALECT NAMES

*Isidore Dyen**

A'adjio = Kasimbar
A'a Samal = Samal
Aadlai = Radlai
Aara
Abaca = Abaka
Abaká = Ibilao
Abaka (Abaca)
Abauro
Abeda
Ablig
Abing
Abitumete (?)
Abo
Abra-de-Ilog (Pagbahan)
Acira = Atsera
Achinese (Atjeh, Atjehnese)
Adang
Ade = Tubi
Adjio = Kasimbar
Ado = Banggakoro, Pakuli
Adonara = Waiwerang
Aeae = Meramera
A'e'e = Salu Maoge
'Aeke = Haeke
'Aekè = Haeke
Aëke = Haeke
Aeta
Agam
Agomes
Agta (Atta, Eta, Ita)
Agusan Manobo
Agutaino = Agutaynon
Agutayano = Agutaynon
Agutaynon (Agutaino, Agutayano)
Ahamb
Ahiolo
Ahus (Ha'us, Hus)
Aiaisi
Aibondeni
Aiduma
Aigora = Igora
Aikoa = Mori
Airabek
Aissano = Sisano
Aitutaki (Auotu)
Ajage
Aje = Wailu
Ajië = Wailu
Ajiē = Wailu
Ajo = Tambe'e
Ajuh
Aki = Banggai
Akido = Kapontori
A Kinum = Kaulong
A Kinun = Kaulong
Akit
Aklán (Aklanon, Aklan-Bisaya, Inakeanon)
Aklán-Bisaya = Aklan
Aklanon = Aklan
Aku
Alabat
Alag
Aláhgan
Alalao = Padoë
Alamit (Ilamut)
Alang
Alangan
Alas
Alayo

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Albay
Alcal
Alcala
Agta
Alfoersch
Ali
Alifuru = Luhu
Alimit = Silipan
Alisan = Arisan
Aiite
Alo = Alu, *see also* Arawe
Alo Teqel
Alokuk
Alom
Alor = Alorese
Alorese (Alor)
Alorese, coastal = Pandai
Alu (Alo, Old Alu, *practically extinct*)
Amabi
Amahai
Amai = Leuangiua
Amakono
Amanubang
Amarasi
Amari (Ari)
Ambai
Ambelau
Ambenu
Amber
Ambonese
Ambon Malay
Ambrim (Ambrin, Ambrym, Ambryn, Ambrrr, Arosi, Aroti, Chinambrym)
Ambrin = Ambrym
Ambrrr = Ambrim
Ambrym = Ambrim
Ambryn = Ambrim
Ambumi (Waropen der Wandammenbai)
Amfuang
Ami (Amis, Pangtsah), *see also* Tauran
Amis = Ami, Tauran
Ampana
Ampang
Ampibabo = Tinombo
Amwie
Anakalang
Anao
Anatam = Aneityum
Andian = Mandar, Tjenrana
Andiang = Madjene
Andio'o = Bobongko
Andje = Petapa
Andra
Anecom = Aneityum
Aneijom = Aneityum
Aneiteum = Aneityum
Aneityum (Anatam, Anecom, Aneijom, Aneiteum, Annatom)
Anesu (Kanala)
Anganiwai (Anganiwei)
Anganiwei = Anganiwai
Angel
Angkola-Mandailing
Anglat Dumagat
Anir (Feni)
Aniwa
Anlutur
Annatom = Aneityum
Ansoes = Ansus
Ansus (Ansoes)
Ant
Antaifasy = Taifasy
Antaifiherenana = Vezo
Antaimanambondro = Taimanambondro
Antaimorona = Taimoro
Antaisaka = Taisaka
Antaiva = Bezanozáno
Antaivondro
Antaka = Bezanozáno
Antambahoaka = Tambahoaka
Antanala = Tanala
Antandroy = Tandroy
Antanosy = Tanosy

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Antiboina
Antimahilaka
Antimaraha
Antimena
Antimilanja
Antique = Hamtikanon
Anudha = Ngela
Anuki
Anus
Anuta
Aoba = Oba
Aola = Ruavatu
Aomba = Oba
Apae'aa = Saa
Apako (Asimboa)
Apayao (Apayaw, Isneg)
Apayaw = Apayao
Api, *see also* Epi
Api, North = Lamenu
Apui = Kaulong
Apurawano = Tagbanua, Central
Aput
Arabule
Aradigi = Lactan
Arag = Raga
Araga = Raga
'Aragùrè = Haragure
Arama
Aramot
Aran
Arata
Aravia
Arawe (Alo, Pilolo)
Areare
Are'e = Po'u mBoto
Arguni (Arguni Bay)
Arguni Bay = Arguni
Arhâ
Ari = Amari
Aria = Benahu, Pipikoro
Aria (Bibling), *see also* Mok
Aria = Rapangkaka
Ariari
Arifamu
Arikun
Arimoa
Ariom
Aripa
Arisan (Alisan)
Aritao
Armopa
Aro
Aroma (Galoma)
Arop (Arup)
Arop (Waropu)
Arorai
Arosi, *see also* Ambrim
Aroti = Ambrim
Arso
Aru
Arunese (Djuëri)
Arup = Arop
As
A-Sengseng = Sengseng
Asera Wanua (Noie)
Asilulu (Basa Asilulu)
Asimboa = Apako
Atá
Atago (Tanabili)
Ataiyal = Atayal
Ataiyo
Ata Manobo
Atarimboe
Atayal (Ataiyal, Taiyal, Tayal)
Atchin
Ati = Kalibugan
Atiahu (Basa Atiahu)
Atinggola = Bulanga-Uki
Atiu
Atjeh = Achinese
Atjehnese = Achinese
Atnebar (Kai Tanembar, Kai Tanimbar)
Atoni
Atsera (Acira, Azera)

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Atta = Agta
Atui
Aua
Aula = Ruavatu
Aulua
Aunde'e = Lala'eo
Auotu = Aitutaki
Aurora Island
Austral Islands = Tubuai
Avan
Avaratra
Avasö = Kuboro
Aveke = Haveke
Avreas = Vuras
Avuavu
Awa (Ovau)
Awaiama = Wedau
Awalama = Wedau
Ayangan
Ayou
Ayuwet
Azera = Atsera

Ba (Mba)
Ba'a
Ba'amang
Baao
Babar
Babátana = Bambátana
Baboaf
Babun
Babusa = Babuza
Babuyan (Batak, Battak, Tinitanes). *Also dialect of* Ilocano
Babuza (Babusa, Favorlang)
Bada (Bada-Besoa)
Bada-Besoa (Bada, Behoa, Besoa, Ti'ara)
Badjae
Badjau (Luaan)
Badjo (Bajau, Bayo, Borneo Badjo, Gaj, Sama, Turij'ene')
Badlok
Badui
Baebo
Baegu
Baela
Baelelea
Baenggu
Bagabag, *see also* Gaddang
Baggao Agta
Bagobo (Guiangga)
Baha = Batui
Bahasa-: *for multipartite names with Bahasa as first part, see under second part*
Bahau = Murik
Bahnar Cham = Hroy
Baiap
Baibara
Bailifu = Dyaul
Bajan
Bajan Karamuan
Bajan Tawan
Bajat Kubu
Bajau = Badjo
Bakatan (Bakitan)
Baki
Bakitan = Bakatan
Bakoi (Lampung)
Bakovi[1] = Kove
Bakovi[2] = Bola
Baksa
Baku
Bakan
Balad = Balade
Balade (Balad)
Balaesa = Balaesan
Balaesan (Balaesa, Balaisang, Pajo)
Balagwaia
Balaisang = Balaesan
Balait
Balangao
Balangingi
Balangnipa (Taë')

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Balantak (Kosian)
Balantian
Balatoc
Balau (Bala'u), *see also* Palau
Balbalasan
Balbalasang-Ginaan
Baler (Umirey Dumagat)
Bali = Balinese
Bali-Aga
Balinese (Bali), *see also* Sasak Balinese
Bali-Vitu (French Islands)
Baloh
Baluan
Balud (Tumanao)
Baluga
Balui = Uma Baloi
Ba Mali
Bam
Bambátana (Babátana)
Banasu
Banaue = Ifugao
Banaule = Kapore
Banda (Eli-Elat)
Bandjarese (Banjarese)
Banga
Bangad (Dananao)
Banggai (Aki)
Banggakoro (Ado)
Banggi
Bangka Malay
Bangkalan
Bangoro
Bángon = Bángot
Bángot (Bángon)
Banis
Banjarese = Bandjarese
Banjuwangi
Banone = Banoni
Banoni (Banone, Banuni, Bunone, Panone, Tsonari)
Bantaurang
Bantĕn
Bantian
Bantik
Bantun
Banuáon (Banuáuon)
Banuáuon = Banuáon
Banuni = Banoni
Banuwang
Bao
Bara, *see also* Napu
Bára Imamóno
Baraan = Bilaan
Baran (Falanao, Maran)
Baranago
Bare'e
Bareke (Bariki, Mbareke, Mbariki)
Bari
Baria = Mbelala, Tawaelia
Bariai (Barriai)
Baribi = Beribi
Bariki = Bareke
Barim
Barlig
Barok
Barran = Talifugo
Barriai = Bariai
Baruh
Basa-: *for multipartite names with Basa as first part, see under second part*
Basap
Basilaki = Keherara
Basima
Bataan
Batak (Batta', Battak), *see also* Babuyan
Batán = Ivatan
Batanes = Ivatan
Batang Ai (*probably* = Batang Lupar)
Batang Lupar = Batang Ai
Batanta
Batjan
Bato
Batoran
Batta' = Batak

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Battak = Batak
Batu
Batu Bla
Batu Blah
Batu Lapa
Batu Sangkar-Pariangan
Batui (Baha)
Batumerah
Batuna
Bau (Ba'u, Bauan, Mbau, Mba'u)
Ba'u, *see also* Bau
Bauan = Fiji, Bau
Baukan
Bauro
Bawean
Bawu
Bayag
Bayo = Badjo
Bayyo
Beangada
Bebeli = Kapore
Bedaju = Ngaju
Bega
Behau (Pari)
Behe
Behisotra
Behoa (Bada-Besoa)
Bëí
Bejadjouw = Biadju
Bekena = Idóido-Bekena
Beketan (Maketa, Mangkettan)
Bekiau
Bela
Belaga (Mbelaga)
Belagar (Tarang)
Belanas
Belana'u = Milanau
Belang
Belantobi-Helandohi
Belebele
Belep
Beli = Kapore
Belia (Beliao)
Beliao = Belia
Bellona (Mo-iki, Mongiki, Munggiki)
Beloh = Karau
Belu
Benahu (Aria)
Bengkulu = Benkulen
Bengoi (Basa Bengoi)
Benguet Igorot = Inibaloy
Benjukai = Menyukei
Benkulen (Bengkulu)
Bentenan
Bentuni (Bintuni)
Benua = Benuwa
Benuwa (Benua)
Berang
Berawan
Beribi (Baribi)
Beru
Běsěmah = Pasemah
Besoa = Bada-Besoa
Besuki = Pasuruan-Besuki
Besukuan
Beta
Betanimena
Betsiléo
Betsimisáraka
Bezanozáno (Antaiva, Antaka, Tabay)
Bia
Biadjuo = Ngadju
Biadju = Ngadju
Biajos = Ngadju
Biak, *see also* Biak-Numfor, Numfor
Biak-Numfor
Biar
Bibling (Aria, Mok)
Bicol = Bikol
Bidi
Bierebo
Bieri (Bieria, Bierian)
Bieria = Bieri
Bierian = Bieri

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Big Bay (*on Santo*) = Marina
Big Nambas
Biga
Bih
Biha
Bijadju = Ngadju
Bijadjuk = Ngadju
Bijadjuo = Ngadju
Bikol (Bicol, Vikol)
Bikuah = Quop
Bilaan (Baraan, Bilán, Biraan, Tagalaged)
Bilán = Bilaan
Bilba
Bilbil
Bileki (Central Nakanai, Lakalai, Mamuga, Two-Peak Mountain Dialect, West Kakanai)
Biliau-Teterei (? = Peterei)
Bilibil = Bilibili
Bilibili (Bilibil)
Billiton Malay
Bima = Bimanese
Bimanese (Bima)
Bing
Binli
Binokid
Binongko (Wantji)
Bintulu (Segaan, Segan)
Bintuni = Bentuni
Binuang (Taë')
Binukidnon = Hiniraya
Biofa Ve'e = Mekeo
Bionah = Sennah
Biotah = Sentah
Bipi
Bira
Biraan = Bilaan
Birao
Biratak = Sauh
Bisaya, *see also* Bisayan
Bisaya-Hamtikanon = Hamtikanon
Bisayan (Bisaya)
Bisaya-Panay = Hiligaynon
Bisaya-Samar-Leyte = Waray
Bisingai = Singhi
Bitjoli
Blanche Bay = Gunantuna
Blangmerang
Blupblup (RupRup)
Boano, *see also* Bolano
Bob
Böbasan
Bobongko (Andio'o, Imbao'o)
Bobot (Basa Bobot)
Boëng
Boewe
Bogia (Wanami-Sepa)
Bogota = Bugotu
Boh
Boholano = Bohol
Bohatu = Bohutu
Bohila'i = Keherara
Bohira'i = Keherara
Bohol (Boholano)
Bohutu (Bohatu)
Boisa = Manam-Boisa
Bok Punan
Bokai
Bokod
Boku
Bol
Bola (Bakovi, Buli, West Kakanai)
Bolaang-Mongondou (Mongondou)
Bolano (Boano, Djidja)
Boli (Mboli)
Bolinao (Bolinao-Sambal, Bulinaw)
Bolinao-Sambal = Bolinao
Bolongan (Bulungan)
Bom
Bomsau
Bonabona = Mugula
Bonarua
Bondar
Bondé (Thuanga, Yuanga)

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Bondoc = Bontok
Bonerate
Bonfia
Bonggo
Boniki
Bono = Mbono
Bonotsek = Taihyo
Bonta'eng = Bonthain
Bonthain (Bonta'eng)
Bontoc = Bontok
Bontok (Bondoc, Bontoc, Bontok-Igorrot, Itetapanes)
Bontok-Igorrot = Bontok
Bonvouloir
Bo'o
Borneo Badjo = Badjo
Borneo Malay
Boroqoroqo
Bosnik
Bota (Kunabena, Kunambena, Kurubena, Mbota)
Boti (Basa Boti)
Bouaidoga = Bwaidoga
Bowai
Bowat
Boyowa = Kiriwina
Brierly Island
Bromsi
Bruang Kalabit
Bruit (Sirik)
Brumer Island
Brunei
Brung Kalabit
Bua, *see also* Mbua
Bual = Buol
Buboi
Buctulan
Budanok
Buëng
Bugau
Bugeor
Bugil
Buginese (Bugis, De')
Bugis = Buginese
Bugotu (Bogota, Mahaga, Vulavu)
Buguias
Buhi
Buhid = Bukid
Buhil = Bukid
Buíd = Bukid
Buhwan
Buiok
Buka
Bukabukan = Pukapukan
Bukar
Bukat
Bukaua = Bukawa
Bukawa (Bukaua, Bukawa', Bukawac, Kawa')
Bukawa' = Bukawa
Bukawac = Bukawa
Bukid (Buhid, Buhil, Buíd, Buquil)
Bukidnon
Bukit
Bukit Pĕnagan
Bukitan
Bukutan
Bula'a (Hula, Vula)
Bulacan = Bulakan
Bulakan (Bulacan)
Bulalakao = Hanunóo
Bulangan
Bulanga-Uki (Atinggola, Diu)
Bulau
Buli, *see also* Bola
Bulihan
Bulinaw = Bolinao
Bulu
Bulud Opie = Buludupi
Buludupi (Bulud Opie, Orang Sungei)
Bululaha
Buluma = Xarua
Bulungan = Bolongan
Bun

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Bunama
Bunan = Punan, Bunau
Bunau (Bunan)
Bunda
Bundrahai
Bundu
Bungku (Nahina)
Bunnayan = Kiangan
Bunone = Banoni
Bunum = Bunun
Bunun (Bunum, Vonum, Vunun)
Bunun, Central = Katoguran
Bunun, Northern = Tamaroan
Buol (Bual, Buolese, Bwo'ol, Dia)
Buolese = Buol
Buquil = Bukid
Bur
Buria
Burongo
Burruwe
Bursu
Buru
Busami
Busamma
Busang
Bush
Bushman's Bay
Bush Mengen = Longeinga
Butam (Fissoa)
Buton = Butonese
Butonese (Buton, Butung)
Butung = Butonese, *see also* Muna-Butung, South Butung
Buyang
Buyu
Bwadoga = Bwaidoga
Bwaidoga (Bouaidogon, Bwadoga, Bwaidogan, Bwaioa, Morata)
Bwaidogan = Bwaidoga
Bwaioa = Bwaidoga
Bwatapni
Bwatvenua = Lamalanga
Bwewe
Bwo'ol = Buol
Các Giá
Cado = Chru
Cagayano = Cagayanon
Cagayanon (Cagayano, Jama Mapun)
Calaganes = Tagakaolo
Calamian = Kalamian
Calaua = Itawi
Camuhi = Camuki
Camuki (Camuhi, Tyamuhi, Wagap)
Cancanai = Kankanay
Cape Cumberland
Cara
Caraga = Karaga
Caragas = Karaga
Casiguran (Casiguran Negrito)
Catalanganes = Katalangua
Catanduanes
Cataoan (Kataoan)
Caviteño (Kabitenyo)
Cebu-Bisaya = Cebuano
Cebuan = Cebuano
Cebuan-Bisaya = Cebuano
Cebuano (Cebu-Bisaya, Cebuan, Cebuan-Bisaya, Sebuan, Sugbuhanon)
Celebes Badjo
Central Bunun = Katoguran
Central Dusun
Central Manobo (Libagnon)
Central Nakanai = Bileki
Chabacano = Chabakano
Chabakano (Chabacano, Tsabakano)
Cham, *see also* Hroy
Chamorro (Guam, Marianas, Tjamoro)
Chavuku Kuvum
Chechek
Cheribon = Tjirebon
Chháo Le = Moken
Chháo Nam = Moken
Chibora = Tfuea
Chinambrym = Ambrym

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Chipon (Chipun, Kata-tipol, Pyuma, Tipun)
Chipun = Chipon
Chiti = Kiti
Chrau = Chru
Chru (Cado, Chrau, Churu, Cru)
Chuihwan = Thao
Cikobia = Ngelelevu-Thikobia
Ciri
Coarua
Coastal Alorese = Pandai
Coepang = Koepang
Cocos Island
Conner = Nabwangan
Cotabato Manobo
Coyuvo
Craig Cove = Lonwolwol
Cru = Chru
Cuyo = Cuyunon
Cuyuno = Cuyunon
Cuyunon (Cuyo, Cuyono, Cuyuno)

Da'ang = Lajolo
Da'ara = Hanggira
Dabai = Keningau
Dabawenyo = Davaweño
Dabu = Toga
Dadaya = Dadayag
Dadayag (Dadaya)
Dahuni
Dai (Gower I., Ndai)
Daido = Sinohoan
Dainan (Taromak, Taromaki)
Daiomoni
Dairi = Pakpak
Daja
Daju
Daklan
Dali
Dali Dusum = Dali Dusun
Dalit = Peluan, *see also* Dalit Dusun
Dalit Dusun (Dalit Dusum, Dalit)
Dalit Murut = Peluan
Dallmanhafen
Damar
Dampelasa (Dian)
Dananao = Bangad
Dang
Dapitan
Daraloia
Dasener
Datovitu
Daui (Suau)
Dauru = Kapone
Davaweño (Dabawenyo)
Davutukia
Dawan
Dawas-Kubu
Dayak: *for multipartite names with* Dayak *as first part, see under second part*
De' = Buginese
Debabaon = Dibaba'un
Dehu (De'u, Lifu)
Deïng
Delang
Dengka
Deni (Ndeni, Te Motu)
Deni
Derambat
Desa
De'u = Dehu
Dia = Buol
Dian = Dampelasa
Dibabaon (Debabaon, Dibaba'un, Mandayan)
Dibaba'un = Dibabaon
Dila = Gorontalese
Dinanglaën = Waholibang-Dinanglaën
Dio = Kaidipan
Dios (Tsibatabai)
Dip Point Ambrim
Diu = Bulanga-Uki
Djakarta-Malay
Djambi-Kubu

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Djangkung
Djarai = Jarai
Djau
Djidja = Bolano
Djohor-Malay = Riau-Malay
Djuëri = Arunese
Djuru
Dobu (Dobuan)
Dobuan = Dobu
Dohoi
Doï
Dolage (Ta'a Doë)
Dompa = Tamungkolowi
Dondo = Tomini
Dorio
Döröt
Douën
Doura
Dreketi (Ndreketi)
Drikol (Ndrihol, Ndrikol, Ndriol)
Duau (Urada)
Duauru
Dubea (Dumbea, Nadubea, Wameni)
Duchateau Island
Dufaure Island
Duff = Taumako
Dufutu = Luhtu
Duindui = Oba
Dugbatang
Dukai (Rukai)
Duke (Kolobangara, Kulambangara, Nduke)
Duke of York
Dumagat (Dumangat)
Dumangat = Dumagat
Dumbea = Dubea
Dumoga
Dumpa
Dupax
Duri
Durugmunan
Dusun
Dusun Dejah
Dusun Malang
Dusun Witu
Dwar
Dyaul (Bailifu)

E Mira = Emira
East Cape
East Hila
East Kandavu = Kandavu
East Makian
East Nakanai = Meramera
East Santo
East Sumbanese
East Toradja = Napu
Easter Island = Rapanui
Eastern Epi = Maluba
Eastern Futuna (Horne Islands)
Eastern Tanna = Waesisi
Eastern Uvea = Wallis
East Vitu = Garowe
Ebi = Epi
Ebon = Marshallese
Eddystone Island = Mandegusu
Edê = Rade
Edo = Sidondo
Edugaura
Efate (Fate)
Egoñgut
Elat = Eli-Elat
Elato
Eli-Elat = Banda
Elizabeth Island
Ellice (Funafuti, Vaitupu)
Elpaputih (Basa Elpaputih)
Elu
Emãae (Emaë, Maë, Mai, Three Hills Island)
Embaloh = Maloh
Embululi
Emira (E Mira, Emirau, Squally Island,

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Storm Island)
Emirau = Emira
Emus = Tench
Ende
Enggano
Enggros = Tobati
Engkari
Engaro
Engros = Tobati
Enrekang
Enyau = Yoku
Eon
Eongo
Epe-Routa (Nahina)
Epi (Api, Ebi)
Epi, Eastern = Maluba
Erakor
Eralado
Ere
Ermiteño
Eromanga (Erromangan, Erromango)
Erromangan = Eromanga
Erromango = Eromanga
Esirium (Basa Esirium) = Wesi
Espiritu Santo = Santo
Eta = Agta
Eti (Bahasa Eti) = Liang
Eton
Ewab
Ewatiaga
Extended Mengen = Longeinga

Fagani
Fagatau
Fairi
Fais
Faka'afo
Fakata
Falahu
Falanao = Baran
Fantin = Lonwolwol
Fanting = Lonwolwol
Faraulip
Fataleka
Fate = Efate
Fatje
Fatuhiva
Fauro
Fautharii
Favorlang = Babuza
Fead = Nuguria-Fead
Feni = Anir
Fesoa
Fiji (Bauan, Fijian)
Fijian = Fiji
Fila = Mele
Fissoa = Butam
Fiu (Kwara'ae)
Florida = Nggela
Fonofono
Fooa
Fordata ai
Fordata e'e
French Islands = Bali-Vitu
Fukuwe'u
Funafuti = Ellice
Futuna = Eastern Futuna, Western Futuna
Fwaghumwak = Kumac

Gabata = Gaombata
Gadaisu
Gadan = Gaddang
Gadang = Gaddang
Gadjeling
Gaddan = Gaddang
Gaddang (Gadan, Gadang, Gaddan)
Gaeta
Gagan
Gage = Tolitoli
Gaj = Badjo
Gajo = Gayo
Gajo-Luös = Gayo-Luos
Galasu

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Galavi
Galek
Galoli
Galoma = Aroma
Gambata
Gamunganan = Gamungan
Gamungan (Gamunganan)
Gane
Ganglau
Ganongga (Ranonga, Renonga, Ronongo)
Ganti (Ndepu'u)
Gao (Nggao)
Gaogan (Graungan)
Gaombata (? Gabata)
Gapopaiwa
Gari = Nggari
Garowe (East Vitu)
Garua = Xarua
Gasmatta
Gatukai (Ngatokaë)
Gaua = Gog
Gawa (Marshall Islands)
Gayo (Gajo)
Gayo-Luos (Gajo-Luös)
Gazelle Peninsula
Gebe = Minyaifuin
Gebi = Minyaifuin
Gedaged (Geraged, Graged, Graget, Ragetta, Siar)
Gedaged Madang
Gela = Marau, Nggela
Gelik
Gera = Marau
Geraged = Gedaged
Geser = Goram
Gianga = Guiangan
Gieta = Torau
Gilai = Rimba
Gilbertese (Kiribati, Tarawa)
Gilipan = Silipan
Gimi
Gimpu, *see also* Winatu-Gimpu
Ginaan (Gina'ang), *see also* Balbalasang-Ginaan
Gina'ang = Ginaan
Gizo (Wanawana)
Gog (Gaua)
Gogo
Gogoiv
Gongoroi
Gonoa
Goodenough Island
Goram (Geser, Gorang)
Goramlaut
Gorang = Goram
Goras
Gorontalese (Dila)
Gosong
Gower I. = Dai
Graged = Gedaged
Graget = Gedaded
Graungan = Gaogan
Green Island
Griffon Pt.
Grogo (Grogoë)
Grogoë = Grogo
Gua
Guam = Chamorro
Guanga = Gianga
Guap = Yapese
Gubinengo (Tuga)
Guianga = Guiangan
Guiangan (Gianga, Guianga)
Guiangga = Bagobo
Guiminaang = Guinaang
Guinaan = Guinaang
Guinaang (Guiminaang, Guinaan)
Gula-Ala
Gumasi
Guna = Nguna-Tangoa
Gunantuna (Blanche Bay, Kuanua, New Britain, Neu Pommern, Qunantuna, Rabaul, Raluana, Tuna, Vuatom, Watom)

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Gugu
Gurgo
Gungu = Hogo
Gunu = Hogo
Gunung (Basa Gunung) = Sundanese
Guregureu
Gwabegwabe

Haeke ('Aeke, Aëke, Aekè, Haveke, Kone)
Hagaruhi
Hageulu
Hahon
Háhuni
Hahutan
Haisen (La'aluwa, Paitsiana)
Haku
Halaya = Haraya
Halia (Hanahan, Tasi, Tulon)
Halisa
Ham
Hamáp
Hamatana
Hameha (Méa)
Hampangan = Hanunóo
Hamtikanon (Antique, Bisaya-Hamtikanon, Hantik)
Hanahan = Halia
Hangan
Hanggira (Da'ara)
Hanglulu
Hanon
Hanpan
Hantik = Hamtikanon
Hansa Vulkan
Hanunóo (Bulalakao, Hampangan, Minangyan)
Hapa = Labu'
Hapao
Haragure ('Aragùrè, Thio, Thyo)
Harangan = Sori-Harangan
Haraya (Halaya)
Harengan = Sori-Harangan
Haruku, South = Latu
Hatawano
Hatu
Hatuë (Basa Hatuë)
Hatumeten
Hatuolo
Hatusua
Hatwara
Haununu
Ha'us = Ahus
Ha'uwa = Leboni
Havannah Harbor
Haveke (Haeke)
Havunese = Hawunese
Hawaiian (Sandwich Islands)
Hawu = Hawunese
Hawunese (Havunese, Hawu, Sabu, Savu, Sawu, Sawunese)
Heath Island
Helandohi = Balantobi-Helandohi
Hereho
Hiengen = Poai
Hikaura = Tasiko
Hila = East Hila, West Hila
Hileo = Tulambatu
Hiligaino = Hiligaynon
Hiligayna = Hiligaynon
Hiligaynon (Bisaya-Panay, Hiligaino, Hiligayna, Panay, Panay-Bisaya)
Hina = Watu
Hinan
Hiniraya (Binukidnon)
Hinsal = Kinsal
Hitau-Pororan
Hiu = Hiw
Hiv = Hiw
Hivaoa
Hiw (Hiu, Hiv)
Hmoaeke = Moaeke
Hmoaveke = Moaveké
Hoamoal (Bahasa Hoamoal)

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Hoanya
Hoava
Hog Harbour = Sakau
Hogirano
Hogo (Gungu, Gunu)
Hograno
Hok = Pulusuk
Hoosia
Horali
Horne Islands = Eastern Futuna
Horuru (Basa Horuru)
Hotec (Ho'te')
Hoti (Basa Hoti)
Houaïlou = Wailu
Houailun = Wailu
Hova = Mérina
Hroy (Bahnar Cham)
Hua
Huaulu
Huku
Hula = Keakalo
Hula = Bula'a
Hulung (Basa Hulung)
Humeng
Hungduan
Hunitetu
Hura = Keakalo
Hus = Ahus

I'aa = I'iaa
Iai (Wen Yai)
Iangla
Iapa
Iba = Laiwonu, *see also* Iba-Sambal
Iba-Sambal (Iba)
Ibaho (Ivaxo, Southern Bunun)
Ibalao = Ibilau
Ibaloi = Inibaloi
Iban (Sea Dayak)
Iban
Ibanag (Ibanák)
Ibanák = Ibanag
Ibatan = Ivatan
Ibilao = Ibilau
Ibilau (Ibalao, Ibilao, Abaká), *see also* Ilongot
Iboho (Ilutso, Tlukko)
Ida = Madjene
Idaan (Eriaan, Ida'an)
Idaté
Idja = Sigi
Idne = Kilenge
Ido = Sinohoan
Idóido-Bekena
Idore'e = Sinohoan
Ieta
Ifalik = Ifaluk
Ifaluk (Ifalik, Lamotrek, Lamutrik)
Ifo = Utaha
Ifugao (Ifugaw, Ipugaw)
Ifugao, Western (Tokukau-Asin)
Ifugaw = Ifugao
Igan
Igora (Aigora)
Igorot (Igorrot). *Name for all languages in Mountain Province, Luzon, and certain nearby provinces. See* Kankanai, Inibaloi, Bontok, Ifugao, Apayao
Iha
I-Ia = I'iaa
I'iaa (I'aa, I-Ia)
Iimutsu
Ikega (Sinaugolo, Sinaugoro)
Ikolu (Sinaugoru)
Ikongo = Malagasy
Ikoro
Ikyoo
Ilagan
Ilamut = Alamit
Ilanun = Maranao
Illanun = Maranao
Ile-Ste-Marie
Ilianon Manobo
Iliara

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Iliwaki
Ilocano (Ilocan, Ilokan, Iloko)
Ilokan = Ilocano
Ilokan = Ilocano
Iloko = Ilocano
Ilongot (Ibilau, Italon, Lingot)
Ilutso = Iboho
Imamono = Bara Imamono
Imbao'o = Bobongko
Imroin
Imulud (Imurut)
Imurut = Imulud
Inakeanón = Aklan
Inakona = Koo
Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia)
Indramaju
Inibaloi (Benguet Igorot, Ibaloi, Inibaloy, Nabaloi)
Inibaloy = Inibaloi
Inland
Inmeas = Isinai
Ipoteio
Ipugaw = Ifugao
Irahutu
Iranun = Maranao
Iraya
Irisam
Irumu
Isal (Basa Isal)
Isamal
Isarog
Isinai (Inneas, Isinay)
Isinay = Isinai
Isle of Pines = Kapone, Kunie
Isneg = Apayaw
Ita = Agta
Itakwaia
Italon, *see also* Ilongot
Itanes = Itawi
Itaues = Itawi
Itaves = Itawi
Itavi = Itawi
Itawi (Calaua, Itanes, Itaues, Itaves, Itavi Itawis, Kalaua, Tauit)
Itawis = Itawi
Itbayat
Itetapanes = Bontok
Itneg = Tinggian
Itonga
Ivaña
Ivatan
Ivatan (Batán, Batanes, Ibatan)
Ivaxo = Ibaho
Iwaak
Iwatenu

Jaba (Japa)
Jabana = Zabana
Jabem = Yabem
Jabim = Yabem
Jabim
Jabob = Yabob
Jaë = Jawe
Jahalatane (Basa Jahalatane)
Jajao = Kilokaka
Jakamul = Yakamul
Jama Mapun = Cagayanon
Jamdena
Jamir = Raup
Jamna
Jándeki
Jantsantsa
Jao
Jap = Yapese
Japa = Jaba
Japen (Yapen)
Jarai (Djarai)
Jautefa = Yotafa
Javanese
Javanese Balinese
Jawe
Jawe (Jaë, Ubach)
Jenures
Jobi

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Jolo = Joloano
Joloano (Jolo, Sulu-Jolo), *see also* Sulu
Jorai
Jotafa = Yotafa
Jotefa = Yotafa
Juo
Juru

Kabadi
Kabaena
Kabaëna
Kabair = Kobair
Kabanga
Kabanu
Kabau
Kabayan
Kabir
Kabitenyo = Caviteño
Kabola
Kaboro
Kabugao
Kabuli
Kaburuang
Kachirai (Tsoa-qatsilai)
Kadai
Kadaklan-Barig
Kadasan Dusun = Kadazan
Kadawaga (Kaileuna)
Kadayan
Kadazan (Kadasan Dusun, Kadazan Dusun)
Kadazan Dusun = Kadazan
Kadiala
Kadombuku
Kadjang
Kadovar
Kagan = Tagakaolo
Kagankan
Kagayan = Cagayan
Kagi
Kahaian = Kahayan
Kahayan (Kahaian)
Kahua (Kauru)
Kai, *see also* Kaiese
Kai Tanembar = Atnebar
Kai Tanimbar = Atnebar
Kaian
Kaiau = Pokau
Kaibobu
Kaidemui
Kaidipan
Kaidipan (Dio)
Kaiese (Kai, Kei, Keiese)
Kaigan Ami
Kaileuna = Kadawaga
Kaïli = Palu
Kaimana
Kaimbulu
Kairai
Kairiru
Kaitelu
Kaitero = Kasira
Kaiwa
Kajaman (Kayaman)
Kajan = Kayan
Kajeli
Kajoa
Kajumerah
Kajupulau
Ka'kas-Remboken = Remboken
Kakatio
Kakuna (Pita)
Kalabit (Kelabit)
Kalagan = Kalagan-Tagacola
Kalagan-Tagacola (? = Kalagan)
Kalagua = Kalaua
Kalaka
Kalakalo
Kalamian (Calamian)
Kalanguya
Kalansam
Kalaotoa-Karompa
Kalaua (Kalagua, Kulaua), *see also* Itawi
Kalawat

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Kali
Kalia
Kaliai (Lusi)
Kalibugan (Ati)
Kalibugan (Sulu-Kalibugan)
Kalinga (Kinalinga)
Kalokalo
Kamang
Kamarian
Kambera
Kamer
Kanabu = Kanakanabu
Kanagu
Kanakanabu (Kanabu, Kanakanavu)
Kanakanavu = Kanakanabu
Kanala = Anesu
Kanandede = Rongkong-Kanandede
Kanapit
Kanay = Kenyah
Kandavu = East Kandavu, Nambukulevu
Kandavu, West = Nambukulevu
Kangean = Sapudi-Kangean
Kanied = Kaniet
Kaniet (Kanied) (*extinct*)
Kankanai = Kankanay
Kankanay (Kankanai, Lepanto-Igorot)
Kanowit
Kantewu
Kantilan
Ka-paiwan-an = Shimopaiwan
Kapampangan = Pampangan
Kapangan
Kapikapi = Mukawa
Kapingamarangi (Pikiram)
Kapiyan (Kaviangan, Kipiyan)
Kapo
Kapone (Isle of Pines, Kweni, Manongoës, Touaorou, Dauru, Tuauru)
Kapontori (Akido)
Kapore (Banaule, Bebeli, Beli)
Kappir
Kapsu
Kapuas
Kapul
Kara
Karaga (Caraga, Caragas, Karagas)
Karagas = Karaga
Karakelong
Karakitang
Karamuan
Karangan
Karas
Karassau (Tareïn)
Karau (Beloh)
Karawatan
Kareovan
Karesau
Karo (Karo-Batak), *see also* Keakalo
Karo-Batak = Karo
Karompa = Kalaotoa-Karompa
Karongsi = Soroako-Sinongko
Karore
Karu
Karua
Kasa
Kasieh
Kasimbar (A'adjio, Adjio, Ta'adjio, Tadjio)
Kasira (Kaitero)
Kasiui
Katalangan (Catalanganes, Katalanganes)
Katalanganes = Katalangan
Katangnan
Kataoan = Cataoan
Kata-tipol = Chipon
Katazi
Katibas = Ulu Ai
Katin
Katingan
Katoguran (Central Bunun, Katongulan, Ketanganau)
Katongulan = Katoguran

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Katoratele
Katsausan
Katumene
Katurej
Katvenua = Lamalanga
Kauhua
Kaulong (A Kinum, A Kinun, Apui)
Kaunua
Ka'ur
Kauru = Kahua
Kavalan (Kiwarawa, Kuvarawan, Kuwarawan)
Kaviangan = Kapiyan
Kavieng
Kawa, *see also* Nutetu Sepa
Kawa' = Bukawa'
Kawaliap
Kawei
Kawél (Limbur)
Kayalan
Kayaman = Kajaman
Kayan (Kajan, Kian)
Kazukuru
Kbwei = Qei
Keakalo (Hula, Hura, Karo, Keakaro)
Keakaro = Keakalo
Keapara (Kerepunu)
Kebau
Kedang
Kehelala = Keherara
Keherara (Basilaki, Bohila'i, Bohira'i, Kehelala)
Kei = Kaiese
Keiese = Kaiese
Kela (Laukanu)
Kela
Kelabit = Kalabit
Kelai
Kelana
Kele
Kelimuri (Basa Kelimuri)
Kelingan
Kelong
Kemak
Kemaloh
Kĕmĕring = Komering
Kendari
Kendayan Dayak
Keningau (Dabaie, Keningau Murut)
Kenja = Kenyah
Kenniah = Kenyah
Kenya = Kenyah
Kenyah (Kanay, Kenniah, Kenja, Kenya, Kinyah)
Kené
Kerewarra = Kerewara-Mioko-Kerebuto
Kerei (Krei)
Kerepunu = Keapara
Kerewara-Mioko (Kerewarra)
Kerintji = Korintji
Ketagalan
Ketanganau = Katoguran
Keuil = Koil
Kia = Zabana
Kia, *see also* Zabana
Kiamba
Kian = Kayan
Kiangan (Bunnayan, Quiangan)
Kiau
Kibi (Kiwit)
Kibungan
Kilenge (Idne, Maleu, Mariau, Naunongonga, Sagsag)
Kilinailau
Kilokaka (Jajao)
Kilolo = Mamusi
Kimnavo
Kinadu
Kinaji
Kinalinga = Kalinga
Kinaray-a
Kinchai = Korintji
Kindjin = Kinjin

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King
Kinjin (Kindjin)
Kinsal (Hinsal)
Kinyah = Kenyah
Kioki = Laiwui
Kipit
Kipiyan = Kapiyan
Kiposaka (Tipasaka)
Kiribati = Gilbertese
Kiriwina (Boyowa, Trobriand)
Kirungela = Löma Ubi
Kirunggela = Löma Ubi
Kis
Kisar (Kissa)
Kissa = Kisar
Kitava = Kitawa
Kitawa (Kitava, Nowau)
Kiti (Chiti)
Kiviri
Kivori = Maiva-Kivori
Kiwarawa = Kavalan
Kiweri
Kiwit = Kibi
Klamantan (Klemantan)
Klemantan = Klamantan
Kluang
Kaokota
Koba
Kobair (Kabair)
Kobe = Kove
Kobokota = Kubokota
Kobro'or
Kodi (Kudi)
Kodogubi = Sonsorol -Tobi, Tobi
Kofiau
Koil (Keuil)
Koio (Kwaeo)
Kokopo (Vaqtuna)
Kokowari
Kol
Kola
Kolaka
Kolana
Koana-Wersín
Kolbaffo
Kolo
Kolobangara = Duke
Kolube = Kulube
Kolur
Komalu
Kombe = Kove
Komering (Kěměring)
Komfana (Kongampani)
Komodo
Kone = Haeke
Kongadavanu = Tona
Kongampani = Komfana
Kongana
Konio
Konomola
Koo (Inakona)
Koobe = Kove
Korim
Korintji (Kerintji, Kinchai, Kurintji)
Koro
Korimira
Korrido
Kosian = Balantak
Kotawaringin
Kote-Novar
Koumac = Kumac
Kove (Bakovi, Kaliai, Kobe, Kombe, Koobe, Lusi)
Kovio (Kuepa)
Kowiai (Kuiwai)
Kpwa'unangisu = Paunangisu
Kramang
Krei = Kerei
Kroë, *see also* Kru'i
Krokong
Kru'i (Kroë)
Ku
Kuanua = Gunantuna
Kuap = Quop

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Kubiri (Ubiri)
Kubokota (Kobokota)
Kuboro (Avasö)
Kubu
Kuburu = Kumboro
Kudi = Kodi
Kuepa = Kovio
Kufe = Rafarafu
Kui
Kuijau (Kuiyan)
Kui-Kramang
Kuiwai = Kowiai
Kuiyan = Kuijau
Kukula
Kukuya
Kulalau = Kunanau
Kuláman
Kulambangara = Duke
Kulua = Kalaua
Kulawi (Moma)
Kulawi
Kuliviu
Kulube (Kolube)
Kumac (Fwaghumwak, Koumac)
Kumamba
Kumboro (Kuburu)
Kunabena = Bota
Kunambena = Bota
Kunambokota
Kunanau (Kulalau)
Kuni (Uni, Uni Uni)
Kunië = Kunie
Kunie (Isle of Pines, Kunië)
Kup
Kupang = Kupangese
Kupangese (Coepang, Kupang)
Kur
Kurintji = Korintji
Kurtachi = Timputz
Kurtatchi = Timputz
Kurubena = Bota
Kurudu
Kuruko
Kurumut
Kuruti
Kusage
Kusaie (Ualan)
Kutai
Kuvarawan = Kavalan
Kuvilana = Viru
Kuvum
Kuwarawan = Kavalan
Kuyonon
Kwaekwaeo
Kwaeo = Koio
Kwagila
Kwamera
Kwandang
Kwara'ae (Fiu)
Kwarekwareo (Kwareo, Kwarkwareo)
Kwareo = Kwarekwareo
Kwarkwareo = Kwarekwareo
Kweni = Kapone

La'alua = Haisen, Saaroa
La'aluwa = Haisen, Saaroa
Laän
La'aroa = Saaroa
Labahan
Labau
Labea'u (Noihe)
Label = Lambel
Labo
Laboja = Lamboja
Labru
Labu' (Hapa)
Lactan (Aradigi, Ratagnón)
Laë
La'edo = Wotu
Laevo = Maluba
Laewamba = Laëwomba
Laëwomba (Laewamba, Wampur)
Lagalag
Lagao

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Lagaue (Lagawe)
Lagawe = Lagaue
Lage
Laha
Lahanan
Láifa
Laiwonu (Iba)
Laiwu
Laiwui (Kioki, Tambuoki)
Lajolo (Da'ang)
Lakalai = Bileki
Lakemba
Laki (Lalaki, Tambuoki)
Lakohia
Lakon (Lakona)
Lakona = Lakon
Lakor
Lala, *see also* Pokau
Lalaeo (Aunde'e, Lala'eo, Nde'e, Unde'e)
Lalaki = Laki
Lalang Kubu
Lalep = Raup
Lalibula = Loliwara
Laliklik = Rikiriki
Laln
Lamakot (Lamekot)
Lamalanga (Bwatvenua, Katvenua, North Raga, Qatvenua, Raga)
Lamangkau
Lamanu
Lamasa
Lamasong
Lamatukan
Lambatu
Lambel
Lambel (Label)
Lamboja (Laboja)
Lambon
Lambu = Rampi
Lambumbu
Lamekot = Lamakot
Lamen (Lamenu, *probably* = North Api)
Lamenu = Lamen
Lamnga
Lamogai
Lamotrek (Lamutrek), *see also* Ifaluk
Lampong (Lampung)
Lampu
Lampung = Bakoi, Lampong
Lamusmus = Lemusmus
Lamutrik = Ifaluk, Lamotrek
Lanao = Maranao
Lanchang = Sadong
Land Dayak
Landawe
Landu
Langalanga
Langkat Malay
Langoan
Lanlom = Nifilole
Lanun = Maranaw
Lanwolwol = Lonwolwol
Lanzog
Lapeka = Rapeka
Lara (Larah, Luru)
Larah = Lara
Larantuka
Lasahata
Latu (Bahasa Latu, South Haruku)
Lau, *see also* Lauan
Lau-Aba
Lauan (Lau)
La'udje = Tinombo
Laues
Laughlan Islands = Nada
Laughlin Islands = Nada
Laugwêc
Laukanu = Kela
Lauli
Laura (Loura)
Lauru = Taura
Laus
Laut
Lautoka

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Laval
Lavarat
Lavongai
Lawa
Lawangan
Lebei
Lebong
Leboni (Ha'uwa)
Ledo = Palu
Lego
Leha
Lehona
Leiwa
Lekón
Lekong
Lelak
Lelek
Lelepa
Lemanak
Lemarafat
Lemaroro = Tasiko-Lewo
Lĕmatang
Lembak
Lembak Bliti
Lembak Sindang
Lemiting
Lemmá
Lemusmus = Lamusmus
Lenakel
Lendi (Rendi)
Leng banó = Simalurese
Lênggô
Lengo
Lepanto-Igorot = Kankanay
Lenkaitahe = Liambata
Leon
Leper's Island = Oba
Lepu Anan (Anau?)
Lepu Pohun
Lepu Potong
Lepu Pun
Lepu Sawa
Lepu Tau
Lerek
Lesau
Lesu
Leta
Letinese
Letwurung
Leuangiua (Amai, Leuaniua, Leueneuwa, Lord Howe's Group, Lord Howes' Island, Luangina, Ongtong Java, Ontong Java)
Leuaniua = Leuangiua
Leueneuwa = Leuangiua
Leut
Lewa
Lewo, *see also* Maluba, Tasiko-Lewo
Leyte
Liae
Liambata (Lenkaitahe)
Liang (Bahasa Eti, Eti)
Liap
Liara = Livara
Libagnon = Manobo, Central
Libbum Kalabit
Lifu = Dehu
Lihir = Lir
Lihur = Lir
Li'indrau-Salijin
Liliboi
Lilisha (Raokrik), *see also* Rikiriki
Lima (Basa Lima)
Limbol (Limbul)
Limboto
Limbul = Limbol
Limbur = Kawél
Limera
Lindrou
Lindu (Tado)
Lingot = Ilongot
Lionese = Ngad'a-Lionese
Lir (Lihir, Lihur)

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Lire Leti
Lirong
Lisabata
Lisela
Lisum
Literi Lagona
Liuliu
Livara (Liara)
Livitua
Lo = Loh
Loac
Loanatit
Lobaha
Lobo
Lodobelolon
Logahaja
Logea = Rogea
Logohaja
Logologo
Loh (Lo)
Lohe
Lohia
Loi
Loinang, *see also* Loindang
Loindang (Loinang, Madi)
Loitja
Loko
Lola
Lolajan
Lolak
Lolaki
Lolang
Lole (Unde), *see also* Petapa
Lolina
Loliwara (Lalibula)
Lolobau
Lolokara (Lolsiwoi)
Lolopwepwe
Lolsiwoi = Lolokara
Loltavola
Loltong
Lom (Mapor)
Löma Ubi (Kirungela, Kirunggela)
Lömaumbi
Lombaha (Walurigi)
Lomblem
Lomrig
Lonahan
Long Aki
Long Bangan
Long Glat
Long Kiput
Long Pata
Long Pokun
Long Wai
Longa (Bibling?)
Longana
Longeinga (Bush Mengen, Extended Mengen, Mountain Mengen, Pau)
Longgu
Longgu (Longu, Mara Ma-Siki)
Longu = Longgu
Loniu
Lonkon
Lonteis = Lontis
Lontis (*perhaps* = Lonteis)
Lontjong (Basa Lontjong)
Lonwolwol (Craig Cove, Fanting, Lanwolwol)
Lord Howe I. = Leuangiua
Lord Howe's Group = Leuangiua
Lord North Island = Sonsorol-Tobi, Tobi
Lore
Lorengau
Losi
Losiara
Losiara-Taunita
Loso = Maututu
Lote = (?) Uuol
Lotora
Lotora (Tanoriki)
Lou
Louf

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Loun (Basa Loun)
Loura = Laura
Loutowa
Lowa
Lowai
Lowakai
Loyalupu
Luaan = Badjau
Luang
Luanguia = Leuangiua
Lub
Lubo = Mangali-Lubo
Lubu
Lubuangan-Sumadel
Luf
Lugagun = Nalik
Lugat
Luhtu (Dufutu, Namahabana, Namakaban, Namakabau, Ruftu)
Luhu (Alifuru, Basa Luhu)
Lumasoal
Lumu
Lumumbi
Lun Dayoh
Lundret
Lundu
Lunga = Lungga
Lungga (Lunga)
Luru = Lara'
Lusa
Lusi = Kaliai
Lusançay
Lutanga (Sulu-Lutanga)
Luwai
Luwu

Maanjan = Maanyan
Maanyan (Maanjan)
Maaori = Maori
Maba
Mabu (Mopue)
Macassarese (Makassarese, Taena, Tena)
Mackenzie Island = Ulithi
Macuata = Mathuata
Madang
Madar
Maddukayany
Madegusu = Mandegusu
Madi = Loindang
Madik
Madjene (Andiang, Ida)
Madurese
Mae = Eñae
Maenge = Mengen
Maewe (Maewo)
Maewo = Maewe
Mafoor = Numfor
Mafor = Numfor
Maga (Tordukana), *see also* Mago
Magam
Magapta
Magindanao = Magindanaw
Magindanaw (Magindanao, Maguindanao)
Mago (Maga)
Magosan
Maguindanao = Magindanaw
Magusaisai = Mono
Mahafály
Mahaga = Bugotu
Mai = Xarua, *see also* Eñae
Maimai
Mairiri
Maiva (Waima Roro)
Maiva-Kivori
Maiwa
Maiwara
Majugan
Makadao
Makale
Makassarese = Macassarese
Makatao
Makela'i (Maotow)
Maketa = Beketan

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Maki (Mangki)
Makia = Megiar
Makian, *see also* East Makian
Makiar = Megiar
Makin
Maktian
Makunabeïn
Makura
Mala = Mwala
Malagasy
Malai
Malaita (Malayto)
Malakula = Malekula
Malanau = Milanau
Malang, *see also* Mualang
Malang-Pasuruan
Malangai
Malango
Malano = Maranaw
Malapaina
Malasang
Malau = Maloh
Malaueg = Malaweg
Malawaia
Malaweg (Malaueg, Rizal)
Malay (Melaju)
Malayata
Malayto = Malaita
Malekula (Malakula, Mallikolo)
Malepa
Maleu = Kilenge
Maligeb
Maligo
Malileni
Malindang
Mallikolo = Malekula
Malo (Maloese), *see also* Maloh, Sorae
Maloese = Malo
Maloh (Embaloh, Malo, Malau, Palin)
Malol
Malu (Duke of York, Neu-Lauenburg, Romoaina), *see also* Toabaita
Malua
Maluba (Eastern Epi)
Maluba (*probably* = Laevo, Lewo)
Malu'u = Toabaita
Mamak
Mamanwa (Mamanua, Manmanua)
Mamaq
Mamasa
Mambai
Mambië
Mamboru (Memboro)
Mamudju (Udai)
Mamuga = Bileki
Mamusi (Kakuna, Kilolo)
Manado Malay = Menado Malay
Manaia
Manam
Manam-Boisa
Manambia
Mandailing = Angkola-Mandailing
Mandaka = Mansaka
Mandar (Andian)
Mandar
Mandaya, *see also* Dibaba'un
Mandayan = Dibaba'un
Mandeghusu = Mandegusu
Mandegusu (Eddystone Island, Madegusu, Mandeghusu, Sibo, Simbo)
Mandi
Mandok (Mantok)
Mandrelan
Mandusir
Maneta
Mangaia = Mangaian
Mangaian (Mangaia)
Mangali-Lubo
Manganitu
Mangareva = Mangarevan
Mangarevan (Mangareva)
Mangawitu
Mange'e (Mnge'e)
Manggarai (Marggarese)

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Manggarese = Manggarai
Mangguangan (Manggulangan)
Manggulangan = Mangguangan
Mangkatip (Mengkatip, Oloh Mengkatip)
Mangkettan = Beketan
Mangki = Maki
Mangole
Mangseng (Mansing, Masegi, Maseki, Rogo, Roko)
Mangsing = Mangseng
Mangyan
Mani
Manihiki, *see also* Manihiki-Rakahangan
Manihiki-Rakahangan
Manipa
Manketa Punan
Manmanua = Mamanwa
Manobo, *see also* Agusan Manobo, Central Manobo
Manongoës = Kapone
Manowui
Mansaka (Mandaka)
Mantang
Mantangai (Oloh Mantangai)
Mantararen
Mantauran (Oponohu, Opunoho, Upunuhu)
Mantok = Mandok
Mantra
Manus (Taui)
Manusa Manuwe
Manusela
Manyukei = Menyukei
Maore' = Matana'i
Maori (Maaori)
Maotow = Makela'i
Mape
Mapia
Mapor = Lom
Mapute
Mara Ma-Siki = Longgu, Oroha
Marae
Maragaus = Marakus
Marakus (Maragaus, Marangkau)
Maramasiki
Maran, *see also* Baran
Maranao = Maranaw
Maranaw (Ilanun, Illanun, Iranun, Lanao, Lanun, Malano, Maranao, Melanao, Rranao)
Marangkau = Marakus
Marau (Gela, Gera, Marau Sound)
Marau Sound = Marau
Marau Wawa
Marawurei
Maré = Nengone
Mareho
Marehunu
Mari
Marianas = Chamorro
Mariau = Kilenge
Marina (Big Bay)
Maringe (Maringi)
Maringi = Maringe
Marino
Mariveles (Mariveles Negrito)
Maroantsetra
Marofotsy
Maron
Maronene
Maronene (Marumeme, Nahina)
Marovo
Marquesan (Marquesas)
Marquesas = Marquesan
Marshall Islands = Marshallese
Marshallese (Ebon, Marshall Islands), *see also* Gawa
Martajeura
Marua
Marudu
Marumeme = Maronene
Marun
Masamba

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Masarete
Masawa
Masegi = Mangseng
Maseki = Mangseng
Masenrempulu
Masimasi
Massokarera
Matan (Dayak Matan)
Matan Atas
Matana'i (Maore')
Matano
Matbat
Matema
Mathuata (Macuata)
Matsungan
Matu
Matuga = Matukar
Matugar = Matukar
Matukar (Matuga, Matugar)
Mauke
Maumere
Máuta
Maututu (Loso)
Mavia
Mayaoyao (Mayoyao, Pungianes)
Mayaorga
Mayoyao = Mayaoyao
Mba = Ba
Mbareke = Bareke
Mbariki = Bareke
Mbau = Bau
Mba'u = Bau
Mbelaga = Belaga
Mbelala (Baria)
Mboli = Boli
Mbono (Bono)
Mbota = Bota
Mbua (Bua)
Mbuga
Mbuge = Mbuke
Mbuke (Mbuge)
Mbunai
Méa = Hameha
Meaun (Mewun)
Medebur
Medang (? Modang)
Medele
Mefoor = Numfor
Megarao
Megiar (Makia, Makiar)
Mĕkakau
Mekaran
Mekbengetseq = Taihyo
Mekeo (Biofa Ve'e)
Mekongga = Mekongka
Mekongka (Mekongga, Norio)
Melamela = Meramera
Melaju = Malay
Melanao = Maranaw
Melano = Milanau
Melanau = Milanau
Mele (Fila, Vila)
Melebuganon (Meleguganon)
Mĕlĕguganon = Melebuganon
Melilup
Melmalmai
Melolo
Melsisi
Membakut
Memboro = Mamboru
Menabe
Menado Malay (Manado Malay, Menadonese
Menado Remboken = Remboken
Menado Toniohon = Toniohon
Menadonese = Menado Malay
Mengen (Maenge)
Mengen, Extended = Longeinga
Menjukei = Menyukei
Mengkatip = Mangkatip
Mentawai (Mentawei)
Mentawei = Mentawai
Mentok

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Menyukei (Banjukai, Manyukei, Menjukei)
Meoko Meralarea = Merlau
Meramera (Aeae, East Nakanai, Melamela, Open Bay Dialect, Ubili)
Meratei (Dayak Meratei)
Mergui Malay (Pashu)
Meri (Dayak Meri)
Merig
Mérina (Hova)
Merir
Merlav (Meralaua)
Mesara
Metaso
Metelen
Meto
Mewun = Meaun
Mia-I-Topa = Miaitopa
Miaitopa (Mia-I-Topa)
Miangas = Nenusa-Miangas
Middle-Javanese
Middle-Malay
Middleburg (?)
Mikeha
Milanau (Belana'u, Malanau, Melano, Milanau, Milano, Milanow, Millanow)
Milano = Milanau
Milanow = Milanau
Milep
Milikin
Millanow = Milanau
Milne Bay
Mimias
Miñ
Mina = Muna
Minahasa
Miñaifuin = Minyaifuin
Mina mina gorong
Minang = Minangkabau
Minangkabau (Minang)
Minangyan = Hanunóo
Mindiri
Minjai Foen = Minyaifuin
Minyaifuin (Bahasa Gebi, Miñaifuin, Minjai Foen, Minyafuin)
Mio
Mioko = Kerewara-Mioko
Mios Num
Mios Wa'ar
Mirapu
Miratan
Miri
Misima
Misol = Miso'ol
Miso'ol (Misol)
Mitebog
Mitiaro
Miu
Mnge'e = Mange'e
Moa
Moaeke (Hmoaeke)
Moar
Moaveké (Hmoaveke)
Modang = (?) Medang
Moenebeng (Mwenebeng, Pwebo)
Moewehafen
Mofu
Mogemog
Mohr Island (?)
Moibiri
Mo-Iki = Bellona
Mok (Bibling, Aria)
Mokareng
Moken (Chháo Le, Chháo Nam, Salon, Selung)
Mokil
Mokmer = Sampori
Mokomoko
Molbog (Moro)
Molbufa
Mole, *see also* Moli
Moli (Mole)
Molima (Morima)
Molof

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Molu
Molucca Malay = Moluccan Malay
Moluccan Malay (Molucca Malay)
Mom (Moru)
Moma = Kulawi
Momalili = Momolili
Momolili (Momalili)
Mondropolon
Mongiki = Bellona
Mongondou = Bolaang-Mongondou
Mongondow = Bolaang-Mongondou
Mono (Magusaiai, Morgusaie, Shortland)
Monoarfu
Mo'or = Mor
Mopue = Mabu
Mor (Mo'or)
Morata = Bwaidoga
Moresby Island
Morgusaie = Mono
Mori (Aikoa)
Morima = Molima
Moriori (*extinct*)
Moro (Sulu-Moro), *see also* Molbog
Morotau
Mortlock, *see also* Taku
Mortlock Atoll = Taku
Moru = Mom
Mosa'na (?)
Mosin = Mosina
Mosina (Mosin)
Mota
Motlav
Motu
Mouk
Moukaoa = Mukawa
Mountain Mengen = Longeinga
Mountain Upi
Mouton
Möwehafen
Mowewe
Mualang
Mualang (Malang)
Mugava = Rennellese
Mugula (Bonabona, Mugura)
Mugura = Mugula
Muka (Mukah)
Mukawa (Kapikapi, Moukaoa)
Muku = Nakanai, West
Muliama
Mumeng
Muna (Mina)
Muna, *see also* Muna-Butung
Muna-Butung
Mundo
Mundrau
Mundua-Narage (West Vitu)
Munduburew
Munggava = Rennellese
Munggiki = Bellona
Munggui
Mungguran
Muntok
Murang Punan
Muriabang
Murien
Murik (Bahau)
Murik
Murikau
Murinaten
Murua
Murung
Murut
Murut Padass = Padas
Murut Drusan = Trusan
Musau = Mussau
Mushu
Musi
Musom
Mussau (Musau)
Mwala
Mwenebeng = Moenebeng

Naba' = Wain, *see also* Nabaki, Napa

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Nabak (? = Naba', *q.v.*)
Nabaloi = Inibaloi
Nabayugan (Nabuyugan)
Nabi
Nabia
Nabuyugan = (Nabayugan)
Nabwangan (Conner)
Nada (Laughlan Islands, Laughlin Islands)
Nade (Nadi)
Nadi = Nade
Nadrau (Nandarau)
Nadroga (Nandronga)
Nadubea = Dubea
Naga Bikol
Nagada
Nagekeo
Nagisaran
Nagisaru = Kanakanabu
Nahina = Bungku, Epi-Routa, Maronene, Petasia, Routa, Soroako-Karongsi-Sinongko
Nahoa (Taku)
Naibun (Tsa'ovo'ovol, Tsa'ovo'ovul)
Naida = Wawoni, Rete
Nailawa
Nakanai = Kimbe
Nakanai, East = Meramera
Nakanai, West (Bileki, Muku)
Nakgatai
Nala = Pokau
Nalahia
Nale
Nali
Nalik (Lugagun)
Nama
Namahabana = Luhtu
Namakaban = Luhtu
Namakabau = Luhtu
Namaram
Namatote
Nambukulevu (West Kandavu)
Namonuito
Nandarau = Nadrau
Nandi
Nandronga = Nadroga
Nane
Nanghatien
Nano
Napa (? = Naba')
Napan
Napu (Bara, East Toradja)
Napuanmen = Waesisi
Napuka
Nara = Pokau
Narage = Mundua-Narage
Narihua (Wanoni Bay)
Narom
Nasawahili = Nusawele
Nataoran = Tauran
Natuna Malay
Nauhan
Nauna
Naunongonga = Kilenge
Nauru (Nauruan)
Naviliang
Nawono
Ndai = Dai
Ndao
Nda'u = Umalasa
Nde'e = Lalaeo
Ndeni = Deni
Ndepu'u = Ganti
Ndrabito
Ndrabwi
Ndramndrau
Ndranggot
Ndranu
Ndrehet
Ndreketi = Dreketi
Ndrihol = Drikol
Ndrikol = Drikol
Ndriol = Drikol
Ndroliu

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Ndrosun
Nduindui = Oba
Nduke = Duke
Ndundui = Oba
Ndedebang
Negen Negorijen = Negorijen
Negorijen (Negen Negorijen)
Nehina = Waru
Nekete
Neku
Nelua
Nemi
Nenema
Nengone (Maré)
Nenusa Miangas
Nerauya
Nerokwang
Netensal = Port Stanley
Neu-Lauenburg = Malu
Neu Pommern = Gunantuna
Nevat
New Britain = Gunantuna
Ngada, *see also* Ngad'a-Lionese
Ngada Bawa
Ngad'a-Lionese
Ngadju (Bedaju, Biadju, Bejadjouw, Bijadju, Biadjuk, Biajos, Biadjuo, Ngaju)
Ngaju = Ngadju
Ngalianala
Ngao
Ngatik
Ngatokaë = Gatukai
Ngelelevu-Thikobia (Cikobia)
Ngerasi = Ramata
Nggao = Gao
Nggaobata
Nggari (Gari, Qari)
Nggela (Anudha, Florida, Gela)
Ngongoida
Ngongosiba
Ngorefou
Ngulu
Ngumese = Nguna
Nguna (Ngumese)
Nguna-Tangoa (Guna)
Ngunu-Efate
Niala
Niap
Nias = Niassese
Niassese (Nias)
Nibon = Nibong
Nibong (Nibon)
Nibong Punan
Nielaiou
Nieuwa
Nifilole (Nifiloli, Nufiloli, Nufilolo)
Nifiloli = Nifilole
Ni'ihau
Nikaura
Nikuda
Nikulukan
Nila
Nimboran (?)
Nimoa
Ninebulo
Ninigo
Nisan (Nissan)
Nissan = Nisan
Niue
Njo
Njumit
Nobo (Riro Danobo)
Nodup
Noefoor = Numfor
Noemfoor = Numfor
Nogugu (Nokuku)
Nohina = Wiwi Rano
Noie = Asera Wanua
Noihe = Labea'u
Nokon
Nokuku = Nogugu
Nonukan
Norbarbar

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Norio = Mekongka
North Api = Lamen
North Raga = Lamalanga
North Yasawa
Northern Bunun = Tamaroan
Northern Tsou = Tsou
Novar = Kote-Novar
Novul-Amleg (*extinct*)
Nowau = Kitawa
Ntau (Basa Ntau)
Ñua = Nyua
Nuakata (Nukata)
Nuaulu (Basa Nuaulu)
Nubami
Nufiloli = Nifilole
Nufilolo = Nifilole
Nufor = Numfor
Nufwara
Nuguria = Nukuria
Nuguria-Fead
Nui
Nukahiwa = Nukuhiva
Nukapu = Pileni
Nukata = Nuakata
Nukuhai
Nukuhiva (Nukahiwa)
Nukumanu
Nukuoro
Nukuria (Nuguria)
Numa Numa
Numerat
Numfoor = Numfor
Numfor (Biak, Mafoor, Mafor, Mefoor, Noefoor, Noemfoor, Nufoor, Nufor, Numfoor)
Nuniali (Basa Nuniali)
Nunukan
Nupani = Pileni
Nuruë
Nusa
Nusalaut
Nusawahili = Nusawele
Nusawele (Nusawahili)
Nutetu-Sepa (Kawa)
Nutetu-Tala
Nyada
Nyua (Ñua, Thuanga)

Oa
Oba (Aoba, Aomba, Duindui, Nduindui, Ndundui, Leper's Island, Omba, Opa)
Obi (Ombi)
Ogan
Ogar
Oikusi
Oirata
Oiun = Oyan
Okro
Olal
Oleai = Woleai
Olevuga
Oloh Mantangai = Mantangai
Oloh Mengkatip = Mangkatip
Omba = Oba
Ombi = Obi
Omo (Tigak)
Ompa = Tobaku
Onda'e
Onim = (?) Onin
Onin (? Onim)
Ongtong Java = Leuangiua
Onjatsy
Ono
Ontong Java = Leuangiua
Onua
Opa = Oba
Open Bay Dialect = Meramera
Opiaref
Oponohu = Mantauran
Opunoho = Mantauran
Orang Darat
Orang Laut = Oranglaut
Oranglaut (Orang Laut)
Orang Sungei = Buludupi

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Orford
Orierh
Orig
Ormu
Oroha (Mara Ma-Siki)
Ot
Ot Balawan
Ot Banu'u
Ot Danom = Ot Danum
Ot Danum (Ot Danom)
Ot Murung
Ot Olang Olang
Ot Siang
Ot Tuhup
Otop
Ouen = Ven
Ouka = Vele
Ouvea = Wallis, Western Uvea
Ovau = Awa
Owa (Owa Raha, Owa Riki, Santa Anna, Santa Catalina)
Owa Raha = Owa
Owa Riki = Owa
Oya
Oyan (Oiun, Oyun)
Oyun = Oyan
Paama (Pama, Paum)
Pachien (Paichien)
Pada, *see also* Termanu
Padaido = Padaidori
Padaidori (Padaido, Padeaido, Padeaidori)
Padas (Murut Padass)
Padeaido = Padaidori
Padeaidori = Padaidori
Padoa
Padoë (Alalao)
Paete
Pagai
Pagbahan (Abra-de-Ilog)
Pagsupan
Pahavai
Paichien = Pachien
Paici = Pati
Paitsiana = Haisen
Paiwa
Paiwan
Pajo = Balaesan
Pajokumbuh
Pak
Pakail
Pakambia
Pakatan
Pakawa
Pakin
Pakpak (Daïri)
Paku
Pakuli (Ado)
Pakurukae
Pala (Patpatar)
Palanan
Palau (Balau, Palauan, Pelau, Pelew)
Palauan = Palau
Palawan = Palawano
Palawano (Palawan)
Palembang
Palin = Maloh
Palu (Kaïli, Ledo)
Palusi
Pa-Lüt
Pam
Pama = Paama
Pamekasan
Pamona
Pampangan (Kapampangan, Pampango)
Pampango = Pampangan
Panaeati = Panayati
Panaieti = Panayati
Panakrusima
Panatinani
Panawadai
Panay = Hiligaynon
Panay-Bisaya = Hiligaynon
Panayati (Panaeati, Panaieti, Pannieti)

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Pandai (Coastal Alorese)
Pangasinan
Pangkumu (Riro Datoro)
Pango
Pangtsah = Ami
Pannieti = Panayati
Panone = Banoni
Pantar
Pantava (Pantawa)
Pantawa = Pantava
Pante
Panutibun
Papar
Papipao
Papitalai
Papora
Papuma
Paralebei
Paran
Pare
Pari, *see also* Behau
Pariangan = Batu Sangkar-Pariangan
Parigi (Tara)
Paripao
Parizarizao
Paroran
Pascuense = Rapanui
Pase
Pasĕmah (Bĕsĕmah)
Pashu = Mergui Malay
Pasi
Pasismanua
Pasuruan = Malang-Pasuruan
Pasuruan-Besuki
Patai
Patalima
Patani
Patasiwa Hitam
Patasiwa Putih
Patep
Pati (Paici, Ponerihouen, Ponerihuen, Poneriwen)
Patipi
Patpatar = Pala
Patsaval = Tachaban
Patsavan = Tachaban
Patusi
Pau = Longeinga
Paulohi
Paum = Paama
Paumotu = Tuamotuan
Paumotuan = Tuamotuan
Paunangisu (Kpwa'unanggisu)
Paup
Payasan
Pazeh (Pazehe, Pazzehe)
Pazehe = Pazeh, *see also* Saisiyat
Pazzehe = Pazeh, *see also* Saisiyat
Peana
Pebato
Pedir = Pidië
Pegagan
Pekawa
Pelam = Puyuma
Pĕlangas
Pelau = Palau
Peleata
Peleliu
Pelew = Palau
Peli
Pelini
Peluan (Dalit, Peluan Murut)
Pem
Penasifu
Penihing (Pnihing)
Penjabung (Penyabong)
Penjabung Busang
Penjabung Djuloi
Penrhyn = Tongarevan
Peurissen Serin
Pentecost = Raga
Pentjal
Penyabong = Pɛnjabung
Pepohwan

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Perinzula
Permisan
Petac = Petats
Petaj = Petats
Petapa (Andje, Lole, Tadje)
Petasia (Nahina)
Petat = Petats
Petats (Petac, Petaj, Petat)
Peterei = Biliau-Teterei
Petspets
Phileni = Pileni
Pidië (Pedir, Timu)
Piggatan
Pikiram = Kapingamarangi
Pilam = Pinan
Pileni (Nukapu, Nupani, Phileni, Pilheni)
Pilheni = Pileni
Pililo = Arawe
Pinan (Hinan, Pilam)
Pinepil
Pines, Isle of = Kapone
Pingelap
Pinje
Pinukpuk
Pipikoro (Uma Aria)
Piron Is. = Sud Est
Piru
Pita = Kakuna
Pitilu = Pityilu
Pitu Uluna Salu = Pitu-ulunna-salu
Pitu-ulunna-salu (Pitu Uluna Salu)
Pityilu (Pitilu)
Piva
Piyuma = Puyuma
Pnihing = Penihing
Poai (Hiengen, Yehen, Yengen)
Poam
Poamei = Pwamei
Poapoâ (Pwapwa)
Poavosa
Podena
Podokana
Poeng
Pohi Eja
Pokau (Kaiau, Lala, Nala, Nara, Rara)
Pokpapa
Poleo
Polillo
Polo'ot = Puluwat
Pom
Pomi
Pomasan
Ponam
Ponape = Ponapean
Ponapean (Ponape, Puynipet)
Ponerihouen = Pati
Ponerihuen = Pati
Poneriwen = Pati
Ponorwal (Ponorwol)
Ponorwol = Ponorwal
Ponosakan (Ponosokan)
Ponosokan = Ponosakan
Popoko
Popolo = Wuvulu
Pororan, *see also* Hitau-Ponoran
Port Olry
Port Sandwich
Port Stanley (Netensal)
Port Sulphur
Port Vato
Port Weber
Poso
Potnariven
Po'u mBoto (Are'e)
Priangan
Pukapuka, *see also* Pukapukan
Pukapukan (Bukabukan, Pukapuka)
Pulá (Tandianan)
Pulau Arguni
Pulie
Pullun Mapun
Pulopetak
Pululaha
Pulusuk (Hok)

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Puluwat (Polo'ot)
Punan (Bunan)
Pundru
Pungianes = Mayaoyao
Pur
Purui
Purung
Putatan
Pu'u mBoto
Puynipet = Ponapean
Puyuma (Pelam, Pilam, Piyuma, Pyuma)
Pwai
Pwaloto
Pwamei (Pamei)
Pwapwa = Poapoâ
Pwebo = Moenebeng
Pyuma = Puyuma, *see also* Chipon

Qari = Nggari
Qatpe
Qatvenua = Lamalanga
Qei (Kbwei)
Qelik
Quatpe
Quiangan = Kiangan
Qunantuna = Gunantuna
Quop (Bikuah, Kuap)

Ra
Rabaul = Gunantuna
Rabuin
Raday = Rade
Rade (Edê, Raday, Radê, Rdê, Rhadê)
Radlai (Aadlai)
Rafurafu (Kufe)
Raga (Arag, Araga, Pentecost, Whitsuntide), *see also* Lamalanga
Ragetta = Gedaged
Rai (Seyu)
Raidjua
Rairoa = Rangiroa
Raisha (Tsala'avus)
Rakahanga = Rakahangan
Rakahangan (Rakahanga), *see also* Manihiki-Rakahangan
Ralik
Raluana = Gunantura
Ralum (Ralun)
Ralun = Ralum
Ramata (Ngerasi)
Rambutjo
Ramoaina = Malu
Rampi (Lambu)
Ra'na
Ranau
Ranau Dusun
Randai
Rangiroa (Rairoa)
Ranomena
Ranonga = Ganongga
Rante Bulawan
Rante Pao
Ranua
Raokrik = Lilisha, *see also* Rikiriki
Raosiara
Rapa
Rapangkaka (Aria)
Rapanui (Easter Island, Pascuense)
Raparua
Rapeka (Lapeka, Raveka)
Raqa
Rara = Pokau
Rarotongan
Ratagnón = Lactan
Ratahan
Ratak
Rato
Raü
Raup (Jamir, Lalep)
Rauru = Taura
Rauto
Raveka = Rapeka
Ravu
Rawa

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Rawas
Rdê = Rade
Reao
Reboine
Redjang = Rejang, *see also* Redjang-Lebong
Redjang-Lebong
Rejang (Redjang), *see also* Redjang-Lebong
Rejang Kayan
Rejang Punan
Rejang River
Remboken (Ka'kas-Remboken)
Rende = Lendi
Renggou (Ringgou)
Rennell Island = Rennellese
Rennellese (Mugava, Munggava, Rennell Island)
Renonga = Ganongga
Retan
Rete (Naida)
Reva = Rewa
Rewa (Reva), *see also* Rewa Ono
Rewa Ono
Rhadê = Rade
Riau-Malay (Djohor-Malay, Riouw-Lingga Malay)
Ridan-Kubu
Rikiriki (Laliklik, Lilisha, Raokrik)
Rimba (Gilai, Yamat)
Ringgou = Renggou
Riouw-Lingga Malay = Riau-Malay
Ripang
Riring
Ririo
Riro Danobo = Nobo
Riro Datoro = Pangkumu
Rivo = Ruo
Rizal = Malaweg
Roboda
Rogea (Logea)
Roglai
Rogo = Mangseng
Rohinari
Roko = Mangseng
Roma
Rongkong, *see also* Rongkong-Kanandede
Rongkong-Kanandede
Ronongo = Ganongga
Rook Island = Umboi
Roro = Maiva
Rote = Rotinese
Roti = Rotinese
Rotinese (Rote, Roti, Rotti, Rottinese)
Rotti = Rotinese
Rottinese = Rotinese
Rotuman (Rutuman)
Rouk = Trukese
Routa (Nahina)
Roviana
Roviana (Rubiana)
Rowa
Rranao = Maranao
Ruatuna
Ruavatu (Aola, Aula)
Rubi
Rubiana = Roviana
Ruftu = Luhtu
Ruk = Trukese
Rukai (Tsalisen, Tsarisen), *see also* Dukai
Rumahelen
Rumahkai
Rumatari
Rumberpon
Rundum (Rundum Murut)
Rungu
Rungus Dusun
Ruo (Rivo)
Ruprup = Blupblup
Ruravai = Ruruvai
Ruruvai (Ruravai)
Ruteng
Rutuman = Rotuman

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Saa (Apae'aa, Sa'a)
Saaroa = Saarua
Saarua (La'alua, La'aluwa, Saaroa, Sisyaban)
Saban (Sabanun)
Sabanun = Saban
Sabari (Sabrai)
Sabon
Sabrai = Sabari
Sabtang = Southern Ivatan
Sabu = Hawunese
Sabungo (Dayak Sabungo)
Sabutan (Dayak Sabutan)
Sabuyau
Sadan = Sadang
Sa'dan = Sadang
Sadang (Sadan, Sa'dan, Ta'e, Toradju Sadang)
Sadong (Lanchang, Sadong Dajak, Serian, Tebakang)
Sadong Dajak = Sadong
Sagada
Sagsag = Kilenge
Sahafatra
Sahe = Sarhe
Sahulau
Sailo
Sailolof
Saint Andrew Island = Sonsorol-Tobi
Saint Philip's Bay, *see also* St. Philip and St. James' Bay
Saint Philip and Saint James' Bay
Sairakis = Taiai
Saiset = Saisiyat
Saisett = Saisiyat
Saisiat = Saisiyat
Saisiet = Saisiyat
Saisirat = Saisiyat
Saisiyat (Saiset, Saisett, Saisiat, Saisiet, Saisirat, Saisiyatto)
Saisiyatto = Saisiyat
Sajau
Saka = Tagakaolo
Sakalagan
Sakaláva
Sakar
Sakau (Hog Harbour)
Sake = Sarhe
Sakei
Sal
Salajar = Salayar
Salakahadi
Salakau
Salaman
Salawati
Salayar (Salajar, Selayar, Siladja, Silajara)
Salebabau
Salegseg
Salien
Salijin = Li'indrau-Salijin
Saliu
Salon = Moken
Salu Maoge (A'e'e)
Saluan
Sama = Badjo
Samada
Samah-Samah (Samar-Lambuh)
Samal (A'a Samal, Samal-Moro, Sulu-Samal)
Samal-Moro = Samal
Samap
Samar-Leyte = Waray
Samar-Leyte-Bisaya = Waray
Samar-Lambuh = Samah-Samah
Samareño = Waray
Sambal
Sambal (Sambali, Zambal)
Sambali = Sambal
Sambas
Samberi
Sambiau
Sambuari
Samihim

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Samoa = Samoan
Samoan (Samoa)
Sampantabil
Sampit
Sampori (Mokmer)
Samsam
Sanana
Sanaroa
Sandwich Island = Hawaiian
Sangali
Sanggar
Sanggau (Sanggaukapulas)
Sanggil
Sangi = Sangirese
Sangiang
Sangihě = Sangirese
Sangir = Sangirese
Sangirese (Sangi, Sangihě, Sangir)
Sangke
Sangkwep
Santa Ana = Owa
Santa Anna = Owa
Santa Catalina = Owa
Santo (Espiritu Santo), *see also* East Santo
Santo Bay
Sao = Thao
Saonek
Saparua
Sapolewa (Basa Sapolewa)
Sapondralis
Saposa
Saprek
Sapudi-Kangean
Sapulot
Saputan
Saran
Sarang
Sarangani Manobo
Sarawai = Sĕrawai
Sarebas = Saribas
Sarhe (Sahe, Sake)
Sariba
Saribas (Sarebas)
Sarmi
Saroa = Tarova
Saruyan
Sasak
Sasak Balinese
Sasak Sumbawa
Sasar
Satawal (Satowal)
Satowal = Satawal
Sau, *see also* Thao
Sauh (Biratak)
Saumanganja
Saunulu
Sausu (Ta'a Dolo)
Sauvein
Savann
Savu = Hawunese
Savusavu
Sawabwala (Sawabwara)
Sawabwara = Sawabwala
Sawai
Saweli
Sawi
Sawu = Hawunese
Sawunese = Hawunese
Sazek = Seediq
Sea Dayak = Iban
Seba (Sewa)
Sebiribiri
Seboda
Sebojo
Sebop = Sibop
Seboyau = Sabuyau
Sebuan = Cebuano
Sedek = Seediq
Sedeq = Seediq
Seedeg = Seediq
Seedek = Seediq
Seedik = Seediq
Seediq (Sazek, Seedek, Seedik, Sedek,

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Sedeq, Seedeg, Shedekka)
Segaan = Bintulu
Segaar = Sekar
Segai
Segama
Segan = Bintulu
Segu (Sek)
Seho (?)
Sek = Segu
Sĕkah
Sekaju
Sekar (Segar)
Sekhwan = Southern Tsou
Seko (?)
Selajar = Salayar
Selaru (Slaru)
Selau
Sĕleah Darat
Seleo (Seliu)
Seliu = Seleo
Selo
Selung = Moken
Selvasan
Semambu
Sĕmĕndo
Semobi
Senahu
Senga = Sengga
Sengga (Senga, Sisingga)
Sengseng (A-Sengseng)
Seniang
Sennah (Bionah, Sermah)
Sentah (Biotah)
Sepa = Nutetu-Sepa, Wanami-Sepa
Sepakan
Ser = Sio
Sera = Sio
Serambau = Serambo
Serambo (Serambau)
Seran (Basa Seran)
Serawai (Sarawai, Seraway)
Serbodjadi
Serian = Sadong
Serin = Sering
Sering (Dayak Sering, Serin)
Sermah = Sennah
Sermata
Serua
Seruawan (Basa Seruawan)
Serui
Serui-Laut
Sesake
Sesayap
Sesivi
Seti (Basa Seti)
Sewa = Seba
Seyu = Rai
Shao = Thao
Shedekka = Seediq
Shibukun = Sibukun
Shimo Sansha
Shimopaiwan (Ka-paiwan-an)
Shkaro = Skaro
Shkayau = Skayau
Shortland = Mono
Si Djundjung
Sia = Torau
Siakaiana = Sikayana
Siakaianua = Sikayana
Sialum
Siang
Siar = Gedaged
Siasia
Siassi
Siau
Siberut
Sibo = Mandegusu
Sibop (Sebop)
Sibucoon
Sibuian
Sibukon = Sibukun
Sibuku
Sibukun (Shibukun, Sibukon, Sivukun)
Sibuyau

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Sichule = Sichulese
Sichulese (Sichule, Sikhule, Wali Banuah)
Sideia = Siraya
Sideis = Siraya
Sidin (Siding)
Siding = Sidin
Sidondo (Edo)
Siduan
Sie (Sorng, Sorung)
Sierra Madre Dumagat
Sigabac
Sigalang
Sigap
Sigi (Idja)
Sihan
Sihánaka
Sihoang
Sihong
Sika
Sikabaluan
Sikaiana (Siakaiana, Siakaianua, Sikayana, Sikiana)
Sikakap
Sikayana = Sikaiana
Sikiana = Sikaiana
Sikka (Sikkanese)
Sikkanese = Sikka
Silabu
Siladja = Salayar
Silajara = Salayar
Silanganen
Silen (Basa Silen)
Silipan (Alimit, Gilipan)
Silungkang
Simalegi
Simalungun = Simelungun
Simalur = Simalurese, Simulul
Simalurese (Leng banó, Simalur, Simeuloë)
Simbakong
Simberi
Simbo = Mandegusu
Simbuku
Simeloengoen = Simelungun
Simelungun (Simalungun, Simeloengoen, Timur)
Simeuloë = Simalurese
Simsim
Simulul (Simalur)
Sinaketa
Sinaki
Sinan (Dayak Sinan)
Sinaugolo (Sinaugoro) = *Ikega
Sinaugoru = Ikolu
Sindjai
Sinesip
Sing
Singangan
Singasinga (Vasengasenga)
Singhi (Bisingai)
Singkarak
Sinkan
Sinohoan (Daido, Ido, Idore'e)
Sinolon
Sinongko = Soroako-Karongsi-Sinongko
Sintang Malay
Sio
Sio (Ser, Sera)
Siokun
Siong = Siung
Sira
Siraya (Sideia, Sideis)
Sirhë
Siriba
Sirik = Bruit
Sisano (Sissano, Aissano)
Sisi
Sisingga = Sengga
Sisiulu
Sissano = Sisano
Sisyaban = Sarrua
Siung (? = Siong)
Sivo
Sivukun = Sibukun

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Skarang
Skaro (Shkaro)
Skayau (Shkayau)
Sko (?)
Skofro (?)
Slakow
Slaru = Selaru
Small Nambas
Snabi Watubela
Soahuwe (Base Soahuwe) = Uli
Sobei
Sobojo
Soeloe = Sulu
Sólasso
Solles
Solo
Solog = Sulu
Solok = Sulu
Solor = Solorese
Solorese (Solor)
Somosomo = Somu Somu
Somu Somu (Somosomo)
Sonder
Songosor = Sonsorol
Sonilu
Sonsol, *see also* Sonsorol-Tobi
Sonsorol (Songosor)
Sonsorol-Tobi (Kodogubi, Lord North Island, Sonsol, St. Andrew Island)
Soolo = Sulu
Soow Huhelia
Sor
Sorae (Malo)
Sorendidori
Sori, *see also* Sori-Harangan
Sori-Harangan (Harengan, Sori)
Sorng = Sie
Soroako-Karongsi-Sinongko (Nahina)
Sorol
Sorrido
Sorsogon
Sorung = Sie
Sou
Souaou
South Butung = Butonese
South Haruku = Latu
South West Bay
South Yasawa
Southern Bunun = Ibaho
Southern Ivatan (Sabtang)
Southern Tsou = Kanakanabu, Saarua, Tsou
Sowek
Speng
Sqolyeq
Squally Island = Emira
Srui (?)
Stang (Dayak Stang)
Star Harbour
Storm Island = Emira
Strand-Bare'e = Tora'u Ba'u
Suain (Sueïn)
Suam
Suau, *see also* Daui
Subano = Subanun
Subanon = Subanun
Subanun (Subano, Subanon)
Subi
Sud Est = Tagula
Sueïn = Suain, Ulau-Suein
Sufrai = Tarpia
Sugbuhanon = Cebuano
Sugu = Suhu
Suhaid
Suhu (Sugu, Sura)
Suisha = Thao
Sula
Sulamata
Sulu (Joloano, Soeloe, Solog, Solok, Soolo, Suluk, Tawsug)
Sulu-Jolo = Joloano
Sulu-Kalibugan = Kalibugan
Sulu-Lutanga = Lutanga
Sulu-Moro = Moro

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Sulu-Samal = Samal
Suluk = Sulu
Sumadel = Lubuagan-Sumadel
Sumba = Sumbanese
Sumbanese (Sumba), *see also* East Sumbanese
Sumbawa = Sumbawanese, *see also* Sasak Sumbawa
Sumbawanese (Sumbawa), *see also* Sasak Sumbawa
Suměněp
Sumite
Sumoun (Sumun)
Sumpo (Dayak Sumpo)
Sumun = Sumoun
Sunda = Sundanese
Sundanese (Basa Gunung, Basa Sunda, Sunda)
Sundei
Supat-Kubu
Supiori
Sura = Suhu
Surabaja
Surigaonon (Surigawnon)
Surigawnon = Surigaonon
Sursurunga
Susulu
Su'u Rodo
Suwawa
Swit
Szeak-Bagili

Ta'a Doë = Dolage
Ta'a Dolo = Sausu
Taa
Ta'adjio = Kasimbar
Ta'am
Tabar
Tabataba = Tambatamba
Tabati = Tobati
Tabay = Bezanozáno
Tabenu
Tabojan (Tabuyan)
Tabojan Tongka
Taboro
Tabukan
Tabulahan
Tabun
Taburuasa
Tabuyan = Tabojan
Tachaban (Patsaval, Patsavan)
Tadianan
Tadje = Petapa
Tadjio = Kasimbar
Tado = Lindu
Tae
Taë = Balangnipa, Binuang
Ta'e = Sadang
Taêmi = Tami
Taena = Macassarese
Tagabili
Tagacola = Kalagan-Tagacola
Tagakaolo (Calaganes, Kagayan, Saka, Tagkaolo)
Tagal
Tagalaged = Bilaan
Tagalog
Tagáydan
Tagbanua (Tagbanwa)
Tagbanua, Central (Apurawano)
Tagbanwa = Tagbanua
Tagula (Sud Est)
Tahatsin = Tohatchi
Tahitian
Tahuata
Tahulandang
Tai
Taiai (Sairakis)
Taifasy (Antaifasy)
Taihyo (Bonotsek, Mekbengetseq)
Tai-I = Ariari
Taikaku
Taimanambondro (Antaimanambondro)
Taimoro (Antaimorona)

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Taiof
Taioh
Taipi
Taisaka (Antaisaka)
Tai-Swo
Taiyal = Atayal
Takä
Takamakau = Taramakau
Takaroa
Takia
Takonan
Takoto = Tatakoto
Taku = Nahoa
Taku (Mortlock Is., Ta'u, Tauu)
Takwa
Tala (Basa Tala, Basa Wemale), *see also* Nutetu-Tala
Talamakau = Taramakau
Talang
Talaud (Talaut)
Talaut = Talaud
Taliabo
Talifugo (Barran)
Talili
Talise
Taliwang
Talo
Talumpa (Tenteria)
Taluti (Basa Taluti)
Tamado'wan = Tamaroan
Tamako
Taman = Toman
Tamari (Tsaovali)
Tamaroan (Northern Bunun, Tamado'-wan, Tamaroau)
Tamaroau = Tamaroan
Tamatam
Tambahoaka (Antambahoaka)
Tambatamba (Tabataba, Tarikukuri)
Tambe'e (Ajo)
Tamboki
Tambunan
Tambunwa
Tambuoki = Laiwui, Laki
Tambus
Tami (Taêmi)
Taminugedu
Tamoan = Tamuan
Tamǫip = Tomoip
Tamoriki = Maewo
Tampassuk Dusun (Tempazuk)
Tampur
Tamsui
Tamuan (Tamoan)
Tamungkolowi (Dompa)
Tana = Tanna
Tanabili = Atago
Tanah (Bahasa Tanah) (?)
Tanah Datar
Tanah Kunu
Tanahmerah
Tanala (Antanala)
Tanalána
Tananda
Tanay
Tandai
Tandia (?)
Tandianan = Pulá
Tandjo'u (Togia, Togian, Una-Una)
Tandroy (Antandroy)
Taneanu
Tanema
Tanga
Tangao
Tangarere
Tangdulanen
Tangǫa
Tanimbar (Tenimbar), *see also* Atnebar
Tanjong
Tankárana
Tankay
Tanna (Tana)
Tanoriki = Lotora
Tanosy (Antanosy)

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Tansa
Taokas = Saisiyat
Taonita
Taorara = Arosi
Tapah
Tapangû
Tapanuli
Taparon (Tavalon)
Tapung
Tara = Parigi
Tarakan
Taramakau (Takamakau, Talamakau)
Tarang = Belagar
Taratara
Tarawa = Gilbertese
Tare'e
Tareīn = Karassau
Tarera
Tarfia = Tarpia
Tarikukuri = Tambatamba
Tarobi
Taroko
Taromak = Dainan
Taromaki = Dainan
Tarova (Saroa)
Tarpia (Sufrai, Tarfia)
Tarrawai
Tarụng
Tasariki = Tasiriki
Tasi = Halia
Tasimboko
Tasiko (Hikaura), *see also* Tasiko-Lewo
Tasiko (Lemaroro)
Tasiko-Lewo (Lemaroro, Tasiko)
Tasing = Tjampalagian
Tasiriki (Tasariki)
Tasman
Tasmate
Tasobi
Tassai
Tatakoto (Takoto)
Tatau
Ta'u = Taku
Taui = Manus
Tauit = Itawi
Taulil (Tulil)
Taumako (Duff)
Taunita, *see also* Losiara-Taunita
Taupota = Wedau
Taura (Lauru, Rauru)
Tauran (Ami, Amis, Nataoran)
Tauu = Taku
Tavalavola
Tavalon = Taparon
Tavara
Taveuni
Taviak
Tavola
Tavua
Tawaelia (Baria)
Tawaīli
Tawan
Tawi
Tawsug = Sulu
Tawuaalongi
Tayabas
Tayal = Atayal
Te Motu = Deni
Tebakang = Sadong
Teduray = Tiruray
Tega
Tĕgal
Tegnu
Tegua
Teii
Tekel (Teqel)
Tela'a
Teluk-Betung
Tembung Pasisir
Temogun (Tenom Murut)
Tempazuk = Tampassuk Dusun
Temuadn
Tena = Macassarese
Tench (Emus)

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Tengara
Tĕnggĕr = Tenggerese
Tenggerese (Tengger)
Tenggilan
Tenimbar = Tanimbar
Tenom Murut = Temogun
Tenteria = Talumpa
Teop (Tiob, Tiop)
Tepa
Tepazaka
Teperoi
Teqel = Tekel
Terebu
Termanu (Pada)
Ternate
Tetepari
Teterei = Biliau
Tettum (Tetum)
Tetum = Tettum
Te'un
Tewara (Uama)
Tfuea (Chibora, Tfuya, Tsuihwan, Tufuja)
Tfuya = Tfuea
Thao (Chuihwan, Sao, Sau, Shao, Suisha)
Thikobia = Ngelelevu-Cikobia
Thio = Haragure
Three Hills Island = Emãae
Thuanga = Bondé, Nyua
Thyo = Haragure
Ti
Tiadje = Tomini
Tialo = Tomini
Ti'ara = Bada-Besoa
Tiaro
Tibolal
Tidong (Tidung)
Tidung = Tidong
Tigak = Omo
Tigwa Manobo
Tihoru
Tihulale (Bahasa Tihulale, North Haruku)
Tikipi
Tikopia
Tilamuta
Timol = Vaikenu
Timor = Timorese
Timor Malay
Timorese (Timor, Timurese)
Timputs = Timputz
Timputz (Kurtachi, Kurtatchi, Timputs, Tinputz), *see also* Wasoi
Timu = Pidië
Timur = Simelungun, *see also* Timor
Timurese = Timorese
Tina (Tino)
Tingalan
Tingar Sibop = Tinjar Sibop
Tinggian (Itneg, Tingyan)
Tinglayan
Tingou
Tinguan = Tinggian
Tinitanes = Babuyan
Tinjar Sibop (Tingar Sibop)
Tino = Tina
Tinombo (Ampibabo, La'udje)
Tinputz = Timputz
Tintogomo
Tiob = Teop
Tio'or
Tiop = Teop
Tipasaka = Kiposaka
Tipun = Chipon
Tiron
Tirurai = Tiruray
Tiruray (Teduray, Tirurai)
Tito
Tjam = Cham, Yakamul
Tjamoro = Chamorro
Tjapalulu
Tjempalagian (Tasing)
Tjenrana (Andian)
Tjirebon (Cheribon)

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Tjirerau
Tjudun
Tlukko = Iboho
To Sada
To Wadu
Toa Ba'ita = Toabaita
Toabaita (Malu, Malu'u, To'a Ba'ita, Toqabaita)
Toala
Toba
Tobaku (Ompa)
Tobati (Enggros, Engros, Tabati)
Tobi (Kodogubi, Lord North Island), *see also* Sonsorol-Tobi
Toboali
Tobordi
Toboroi
Todjo
Toga
Togia = Tandjo'u
Togian = Tandjo'u
Togla
Tohatchi (Tahatsin)
Tokelau (Union Islands)
Tokovul = Tokubun
Tokubun (Tokovul, Tokuvul)
Tokukau-Asin = Western Ifugao
Tokunu
Tokuvu = Tokubun
Tolai = Gunantuna
Tolav
Tole'e
Tolitoli (Gage, Tontoli)
Tolo
Tolokiwa
Tolou = Tondano
Tolour = Tondano
Toloweri
Tomadio
Toman (Taman)
Tombulu
Tomini (Dondo, Tiadje, Tiola)
Tomoip (Tamoip, Tumoive, Tumuip)
Tompakewa = Tontemboan
Tompaso
Tomuala
Tona (Kongadavanu)
Tondano (Tolou, Tolour)
Tong
Tongan
Tongareva = Tongarevan
Tongarevan (Penrhyn, Tongareva)
Tongo
Tongoa
Tonsawang
Tonsea
Tonsini
Tontemboan (Tompakewa)
Tontoli = Tolitoli
Toolaki
Topimeda
Toqabaita = Toabaita
Toradja
Toradja Sadang = Sadang
Torai
Torau
Torau (Gieta)
Torau (Gieta, Sia, Torua)
Tora'u Ba'u (Strand-Bare'e)
Tordukana = Maga
Tormu
Toro = Pangkumu
Toro Hairiu
Toro Kaenga
Toro i Wai
Torua = Torau
Tosai
Touaorou = Kapone
Trangan
Treng (? = Tring)
Tring = (?) Treng
Tringgus
Triton Bay
Trobriand = Kiriwina

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Truk = Trukese
Trukese (Truk, Rouk, Ruk)
Trusan (Murut Trusan)
Tsabakano = Chabakano
Tsala'avus = Raisha
Tsalisen = Rukai
Tsaovali = Tamari
Tsa'ovo'ovol = Naibun
Tsa'ovo'ovul = Naibun
Tsarisen = Rukai
Tsia
Tsibatabai = Dios
Tsienimbalala
Tsimana
Tsimihéty
Tsoa-qatsilai = Kachirai
Tsonari = Banoni
Tsoo = Tsou
Tsou (Northern Tsou, Tsoo, Tsuo, Tsnou, Tsu'u, Tsu-u), *see also* Southern Tsou
Tsuihwan = Tfuea
Tsuo = Tsou
Tsuou = Tsou
Tsu'u = Tsou
Tsu-u = Tsou
Tuam (Tuom)
Tuamotu = Tuamotuan
Tuamotuan (Paumotu, Paumotuan, Tuamotu)
Tuaran
Tuauru = Kapone
Tubbia (Dayak Tubbia)
Tubetube
Tubi (Ade)
Tubuai (Austral Islands)
Tufuja = Tfuea
Tuga = Gubinengo
Tugauanon
Tukangbesi
Tukudede
Tukuran
Tulambatu (Hileo)
Tulil = Taulil
Tulon = Halia
Tulu
Tumanao = Balud
Tumleo
Tumoive = Tomoip
Tumuip = Tomoip
Tuna = Gunantuna
Tundjung
Tungkal Ilir-Kubu
Tungkal-Kubu
Tunong
Tuo (?)
Tuom = Tuam
Tupua = Utupua
Turetea = Turateya
Turateya (Turatea)
Tureia
Turije'ne' = Badjo
Tutong
Tutunohan
Tuwang
Two-Peak Mountain Dialect = Bileki
Tyamuhi = Camuki

Ualan = Kusaie
Uama = Tewara
Uapu
Uaresi = Varisi
Ubach = Jawe
Ubae
Ubian
Ubili = Meramera
Ubir
Ubiri = Kubiri
Udai = Mamudju
Udjir
Uea = Uvean
Uean = Uvean

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Uën (Ouen)
Ugana
Ugele
Ugi
Uhei Kachlakin (Basa Uhei Kachlakin)
Uiga = Wiga
Uki = Bulanga-Uki
Ukit
Ulau Sueïn
Ulaua = Ulawa
Ulawa (Uraba, Ulaua)
Ulay
Uldrau
Uleai = Woleai
Ulfola
Uli (Basa Soahuwe)
Ulia = Woleai
Ulias
Ulim
Ulithi (Mackenzie Island, Uluthi)
Ulrata
Ulu
Ulu Ati (Katibas)
Ulu Labuk Dusun
Ulu Lako-Kubu
Uluthi = Ulithi
Uma
Uma Aria = Pipikoro
Uma Baloi (Balui)
Uma Blubo (Uma Blubo')
Uma Pagong
Uma Poh
Uma Suling
Umalasa (Nda'u)
Umar
Umboi (Rook Island)
Umirey Dumagat = Baler
Umre
Unale
Una-Una = Tandjo'u
Unde = Lole
Unde'e = Lalaeo
Undup
Unea
Uniawa
Uni = Kuni
Uni Uni = Kuni
Unian Islands = Tokelau
Upi, *see also* Mountain Upi
Upunuhu = Mantauran
Ura
Uraba = Ulawa
Urada = Duau
Urada
Urasi
Ureparapara
Uripiv
Uru
Uruava
Utaha (Ifo)
Utan
Utuangnirin
Utukwawa
Utupua (Tupua?)
Uvea = Wallis, Western Uvea
Uvea, Eastern = Wallis
Uvea, Western = Western Uvea
Uvean = Wallis, Western Uvea
Uvol (? = Lote)

Va Sengasenga
Vagena (Wagina)
Vagena
Vagua
Vahitahi
Vaikenu (Timol)
Vaitupu = Ellice
Vakuta
Valoka
Valpay
Valuga = Volow
Valuva = Volow
Valuwa = Volow
Vangunu

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Vanikolo = Vanikoro
Vanikoro (Vanikolo)
Vanimo (?)
Vanualava
Vao
Vaqtuna = Kokopo
Varise = Varisi
Varisi (Uaresi, Varese, Varise, Warisi)
Vas'chi
Vasengasenga = Singasinga
Vasi
Vatrat
Vatuna
Vaturana = Vaturanga
Vaturanga (Vaturana)
Vazimba
Veisale = Veisali
Veisali (Veisale, Visale)
Vekavekala
Velaviuru
Vele (Ouka, Vere)
Venan
Vere = Vele
Veverau
Vezo (Antaifiherenana)
Vialo (?)
Vikol = Bikol
Vila = Mele
Viru (Kuvilana)
Virulata
Visale = Veisale
Vitu, East = Garowe
Vitu (Witu)
Viviru
Vlavolo
Volov = Volow
Volow (Valuga, Valuva, Valuwa, Volov)
Vonum = Bunun
Vorimo
Vuatom = Gunantuna
Vuatuna
Vuda
Vula = Bula'a
Vulavu = Bugotu
Vunmarama (Vunmarana, Vunmarara)
Vunmarana = Vunmarama
Vunun = Bunun
Vuras (Avreas, Vureas)
Vureas = Vuras

Wabo
Wabudori
Wadap-Laut
Wadibu
Waelulu (Basa Waelulu)
Waesama
Waesisi (Eastern Tanna, Napuanmen, Weasisi)
Wafordori
Wagap
Wagawaga
Wagina = Vagena
Wagipa
Wahai = Waherama
Waherama (Wahai)
Waholibang-Dinanglaën
Wai = Wailu
Waidjelu
Waidjewa (Weidjewa)
Waigeo
Waigon
Wai'lil
Wailu (Aje, Ajiē, Ajië, Houaïlou, Houailun, Wai)
Waima = Maiva
Waimaha
Waimdra
Wain
Wain (Naba', Waing)
Wainanana
Waing = Wain
Waisamu
Waitina
Waiwerang (Andonara)

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Wajamli
Wajewa
Wajgaj
Wakade = Wakde
Wakasihu
Wakde (Wakade)
Wakis
Wakolo-Patahuë
Wala
Wali Banuah = Sichulese
Wallis Island = Wallis
Wallis (Eastern Uvea, Ouvea, Uvea, Wallis Island)
Walurigi = Lombaha
Wamar
Wamea
Wameni = Dubea
Wamesa
Wamira
Wamoang
Wampit
Wampur = Laewomba
Wana
Wanami-Sepa = Bogia
Wanawana = Gizo
Wandama (Wandamen, Wandemmen, Wondama)
Wandamen = Wandama
Wandammen = Wandama
Wanderer Bay
Wandji
Wango
Wanigela
Wanoni Bay = Narihua
Wantji = Binongko
Wanukaka
Wanur
Warabei
Waray (Bisaya-Samar-Leyte, Samar-Leyte, Samar-Leyte-Bisaya, Samareño, Waray-Waray)
Waray Waray = Waray
Wardo
Ware
Wari
Warilau
Warisi = Varisi
Waropen (Waropin)
Waropen der Wandammenbai = Ambumi
Waropen Kai
Waropu = Arop
Warsa
Waru (Nehina)
Wasia
Wasoi (Timputz)
Watam
Watom = Gunantuna
Watota
Watu (Hina)
Watu
Watubela, *see also* Snabi Watubela
Watulai
Wawan
Wawomi
Wawoni (Naida)
Waya
Weasisi = Waesisi
Weda
Wedau (Awaiama, Awalama, Taupota)
Weidjewa = Waidjewa
Welemur
Wemale (Basa Wemale)
Wen Yai = Iai
Wersin
Wesi (Basa Esiriun, Esiriun)
West Amarasi
West Bukidnon Manobo
West Hila
West Kandavu = Nambukulevu
West Makian
West Nakanai, *see also* Bileki, Bola
West Sumbanese
Western Futuna

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Wet
Wetar
Wete
Wetoki
Wewak
Whitsuntide = Pentecost Island
Wiga (Uiga)
Wiling
Wilo Island
Winatu-Gimpu
Windesi (Windessi)
Windessi = Windesi
Winiv
Wisai
Wito
Witu = Vitu
Wiwi Rano (Nohina)
Wogea (Wogeva)
Wogeo
Wogeva = Wogea
Woi
Wolea = Woleai
Woleai (Oleai, Uleai, Ulia, Wolea)
Wolio
Wom (Woru)
Wondama = Wandama
Wo'oi
Workai
Woru = Wom
Wotu (La'edo)
Wu
Wulua
Wululi
Wuvulo = Wuvulu
Wuvulu (Popolo, Wuvulo, Wuwulo)
Wuwulo = Wuvulu

Xarua (Buluma, Garua, Mai)

Yabem (Jabêm, Jabim)
Yabob (Jabob)
Yakamul (Jakamul, Tjam)
Yakan
Yalasu
Yalo
Yamai
Yamap
Yamas
Yamat = Rimba
Yami
Yamir
Yamna
Yamur
Yap = Yapese
Yapen = Japen
Yapese (Guap, Jap, Yap)
Yasawa
Yasawa = North Yasawa, South Yasawa
Yaur
Yautefa = Yotafa
Yehen = Poai
Yeina
Yengen = Poai
Yiri
Yiringo
Yiriw
Yogad
Yoku (Enyau)
Yoria
Yotafa (Jautefa, Jotefa, Yautefa), *see also* Tobati)
Ysabel
Yuanga = Bondé
Yukan

Zabana (Jabana, Kia)
Zafin-Sorona
Zambal = Sambal
Zambales Negrito
Zia

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III. FINDER LIST OF PAPUAN LANGUAGES

Stephen A. Wurm

This list contains the names of the Papuan (or non-Austronesian) languages which have been included in the established or reported language groups in the Papuan linguistic area, or which are either well-known language isolates, or reported isolates about whose existence there is at least some small measure of certainty. Many of the very numerous alternative names existing for individual Papuan languages and groups have been included, and the seemingly most appropriate name chosen as main entry — a sometimes arbitrary decision — and the alternatives referred to the main entry (e.g. Gende; Bundi = Gende).

Only a limited number of dialects of individual languages were originally included in the list. Those entered and so designated are mostly dialects of some importance in Papuan linguistics.

To each entry, with the exception of the dialect entries and those constituting alternative names referred to main entries [and those added by the junior editor of this checklist — C.Z.], an abbreviation denoting the group to which the language in question belongs, has been added. In the case of isolates, '*is.*' has been inserted after the language name and an abbreviation of the name of the appropriate geographical area or District added after that.

The following is a list of the abbreviations used:

AF	Anga Family
BGP	Bougainville Phylum
BNG	Buna Group
BP	Bogia Phylum
BSOL	British Solomon Islands
BSP	Busa Phylum
BTF	Bamu and Turama Rivers Family
CDis	Central District
CSP	Central and South New Guinea Phylum
EHP	East New Guinea Highlands Phylum
EHDis	Eastern Highlands District
GDis	Gulf District
GF	Goliath Family
HP	Huon Peninsula Phylum
KWP	Kwomtari Phylum
LMF	Left May Family
LSF	Leonard Schultze Family
MBDis	Milne Bay District
MDis	Madang District
MoDis	Morobe District
MSP	Middle Sepik Phylum
NBr	New Britain District
NDis	Northern District
NIr	New Ireland
NPG	Nor-Pondo Group
NPP	North Papuan Phylum
NWI	Northern West Irian
RSCF	Reef Islands-Santa Cruz Family
SDis	Sepik District
SEP	South-East New Guinea Phylum
SF	Senagi Family
SHF	Sepik Hill Family
SWI	Southern West Irian
TPF	Toaripi Family
TRP	Torricelli Phylum

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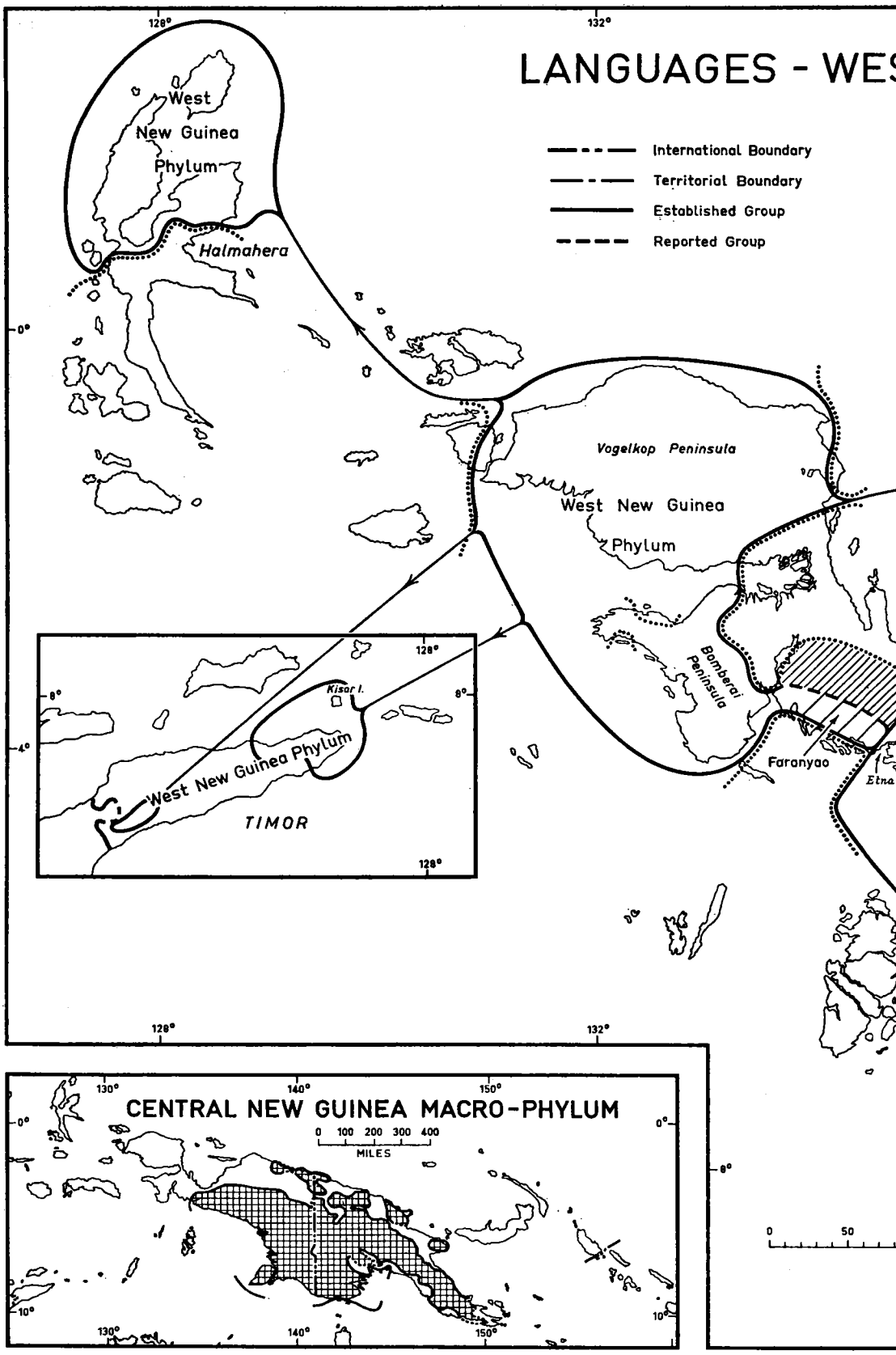

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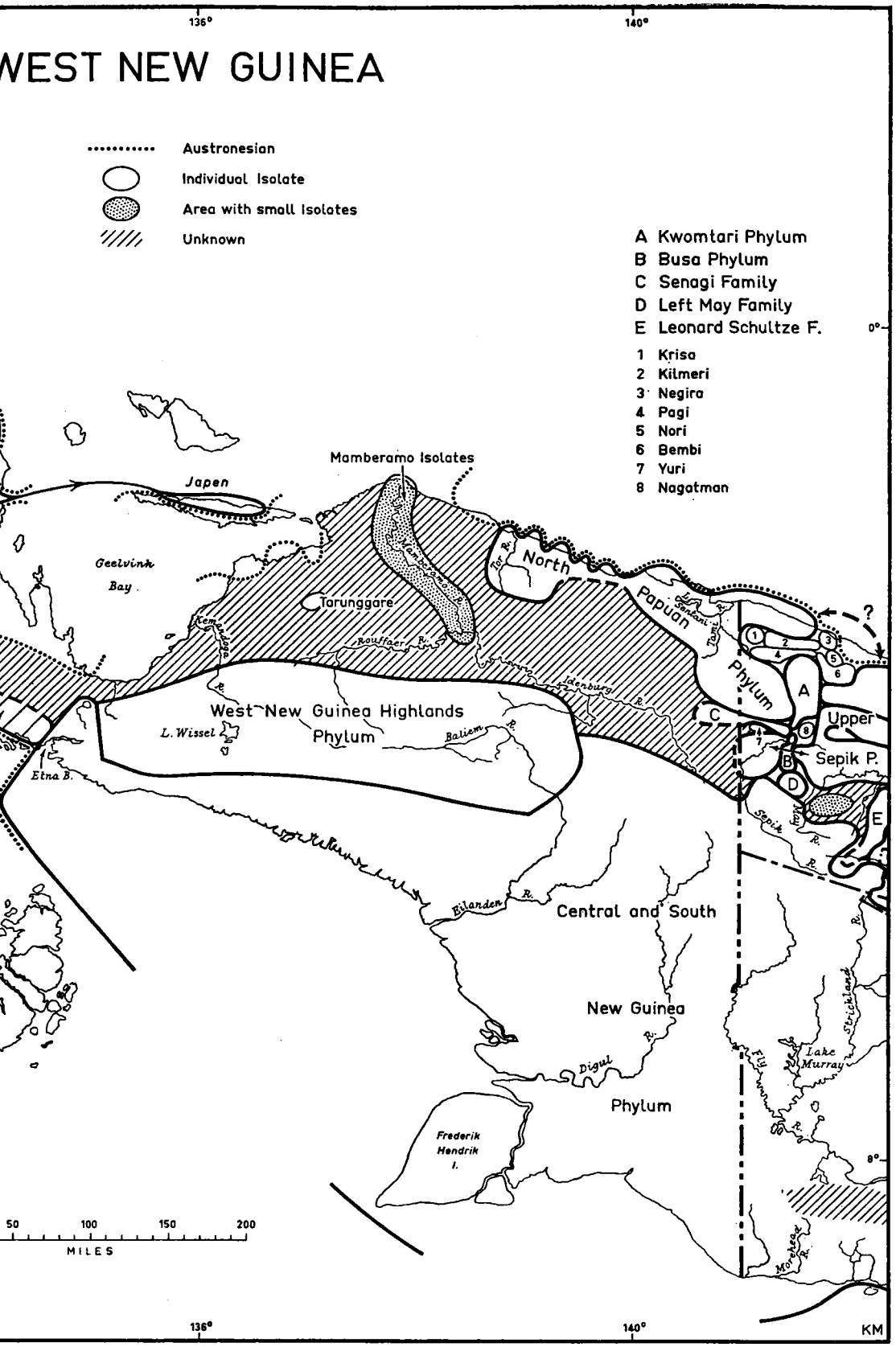

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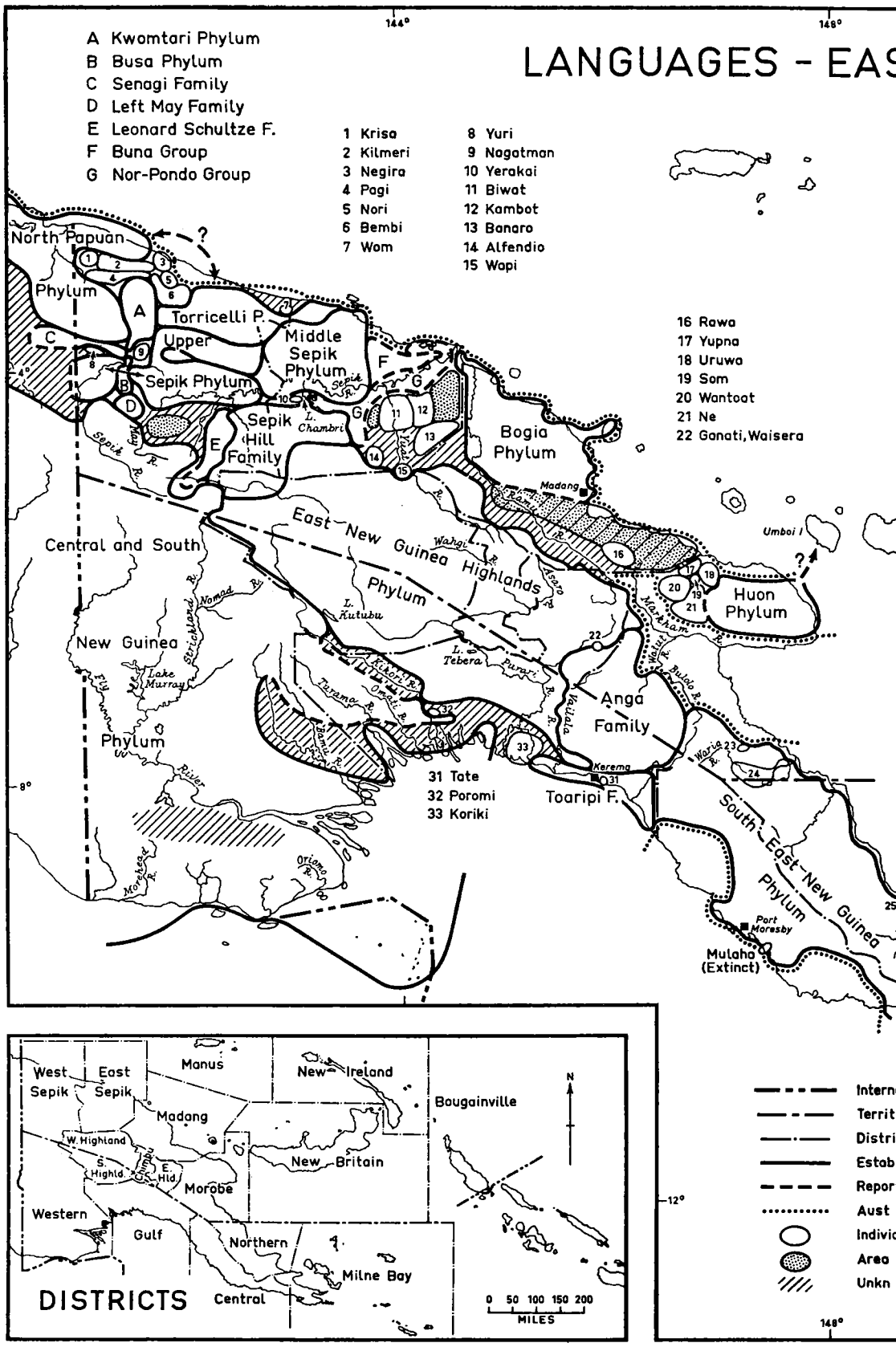

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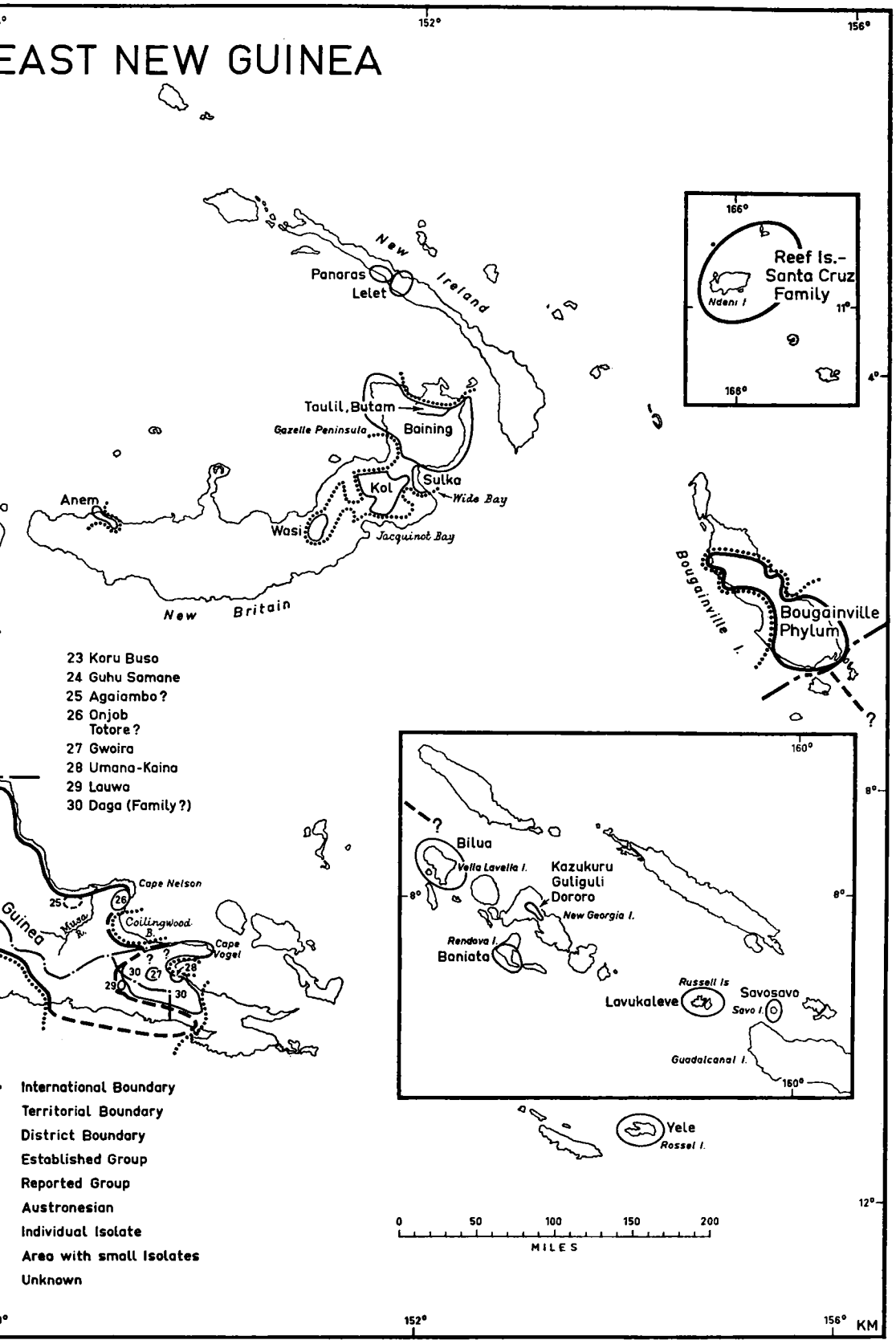

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USP	Upper Sepik Phylum
WDis	Western District
WHP	West New Guinea Highlands Phylum
WHDis	Western Highlands District
WP	West New Guinea Phylum
WWI	Western West Irian

Aarabi = Agarabe
Abau USP
Abelam (Maprik) MSP
Abia
Abui WP
Abui (Barawahing, Baruë, Western Kundu, Namatalaki)
Adaua
Adiba
Adjoria *is.* SDis
Adjoria = Watam?
Aduru
A'e = Rempi
Aeka (Aiga) SEP
Aekyom = West Awin
Afoa
Aförö
Agaiambo *is.* NDis?
Agarabe (Aarabi) EHP
Aghu (Dyair) CSP
Aghu Sub-Section CSP
Agi (Ori) TRP
Ago
Agöb (Agobd, Paswam) CSP
Agobd = Agöb
Aiau
Aibe CSP
Aiga = Aeka
Aikhe, *dia. of* Grand Valley Dani
Aiku (Menandon, Minendon, Monanda, Monandu, Umbrak-Aiku) TRP
Aiom (Aiome)
Aiome = Aiom
Aion (Aione) *is.* SDis
Aione = Aion
Aird Hills Language CSP
Ajamaru = Ayamaru
Akiapmin = Tuwari
Akium-Awin = West Awin
Akium-Pare = East Awin
Akrukai BP?
Akuna
Akuwagel = Beli
Alamblak SHF
Alatil = Aruop
Alatileru = Aru
Alaugat = Kombio?
Ale
Aleba
Alfendio (Arafundi) *is.* SDis
Alibu (Waribu) CSP
Amaimon BP?
Amal (Magaleri) USP
Amanab NPP
Amara
Ambasi (Tain-Daware) SEP
Amberbaken WP
Amele BP
Amimi
Amnat
Ampas NPP
Ampas Sub-Family
Amto BSP
Anaberg BP
Anaberg Family BP
Anamagi
Andarum BP?
Anduru
Anem (Karaiai) *is.* NBr
Anga Family (Kukukuku Family) AF
Angal Heneng = Mendi
Angaua BP?

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Angoram (Pondo, Tjimundo) NPG
Anjob = Onjob
Anor BP?
Ansus
Anu
Aomie SEP
Apaka-Abi-Aboa LMF
Apekove
Apowasi, *dia. of* Bitara
Arafundi = Alfendio
Aran
Arapesh (But) TRP
Arapesh Family TRP
Arawai
Aregerek BP
Arfak
Arini
Arinwa = Heyo
Aroya
Arso NPP
Arso Sub-Family NPP
Aru (Alatileru) TRP
Aruni
Aruop (Alatil, Lau'u) TRP
Asang *is.* MDis
Asaro EHP
Asianara = Asienara
Asienara Family (Asianara Family) WP
Asimbali
Asmat CSP
Asmat-Awyu-Ok Family CSP
Asmat Section CSP
Asowi LMF
Ata = Wasi
Atemble BP
Atsilima BGP
Au TRP
Aua EHP
Augu EHP
Aunalei = Oni, Seta, Seti
Aurama, *dia. of* Pawaia
Autu (Kamnum) USP
Auwan USP?
Auyana EHP
Auyana Sub-Family EHP
Auyu = Awyu
Avini
Awa EHP
Awa Sub-Family EHP
Awar (Nubia) BP
Awembak (Awembiak), *dia. of* Moni
Awembiak = Awembak
Awin-Pare Family CSP
Awin-Pare Section CSP
Awje = Nyao
Awju (Auju)
Awye = Nyao
Awyu Section CSP
Awyu Sub-Section CSP
Ayamura (Ajamaru) WP

Ba, *dia of* Pare
Bagasin
Bagoi *is.* MBDis
Baham (Patimuni) WP
Bahinemo (Gahom, Wogu) SHF
Baia
Baibai KWP
Baimak BP?
Baingai = Biangai
Baining *is.* NBr
Baitsi (Batse, Sigisigero) BGP
Balahaim BP?
Bamu Kiwai CSP
Bamu-Turama River Family BTF
Banara
Banaro *is.* SDis
Banata = Baniata
Bangu
Baniata (Banata, Baniatua) BSOL
Baniatua = Baniata
Banz-Nondugl, *dia. of* Wahgi
Bara EHP
Barai SEP

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Baraic Sub-Family SEP
Barau WP
Barawahing = Abui
Barbaram
Bareji SEP
Baridzi SEP
Barika CSP
Baru *is.* MDis
Barua-Wantakia AF
Baruë = Abui
Baruga SEP
Barika CSP
Basami
Batse = Baitsi
Bau BP?
Bauwaki (Bawihka, Bawaki, Keveri) SEP
Bawaipa
Bawihka = Bauwaki
Bawaki = Bauwaki
Beami CSP
Bele, *dia. of* Grand Valley Dani
Beli (Akuwagel, Mukili) TRP
Bembi *is.* SDis
Benabena EHP
Bepour BP
Berebo
Berrik NP
Biagi
Biaka KWP
Bian CSP
Biangai (Baingai) SEP
Biapim
Bibis
Bibo (Gebusi) CSP
Big Sepik = Iatmül
Bilakura (? Parawen) BP
Bileki
Bilua *is.* BSOL
Bimi = Bimin
Bimin (Bimi) CSP
Binahari (Nemea) SEP
Binandere SEP
Binandere Family SEP
Bine (Kunini, Masingara, Masingle) CSP
Binumarien EHP
Bisis SHF
Bitara SHF
Bitmusan
Biwat (Munduguma) *is.* SDis
Biyom EHP
Boadji = Boazi
Boana = Ne
Boazi (Boadji, Bwadji), *dia. of* Kuni
Boazi-Zimakani Section (Kuni-Zimakani Section) CSP
Bóbale
Boëng
Bogadjim MDis
Bogia Phylum (Madang) BP
Boiken MSP
Boka
Bokondini, *dia. of* Western Dani
Boli = Bori
Bomai = Boumai
Bomberai Stock WP
Bonerif NPP
Bongu MDis
Bori (Boli)
Borumessu *is.* NWI
Bosavi CSP
Boskien = Dimir
Bosngun BP
Bougainville Phylum BGP
Boumai (Bomai) = Elu
Bouye (Buiye) USP
Bragat TRP
Breenugu = Mamiap-Ariap
Breri BP?
Buang
Buari
Bugi
Bugilai
Buiamanambu MSP
Buin (Rugara, Telei, Terei) BGP

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Buin Family BGP
Buiye = Bouye
Bula'a
Bumbita Arapesh (Muhiang) TRP
Buna BNG
Buna Group BNG
Bunabun (Bunubun) BP
Bunak WP
Bundi EHP
Bundi = Gende
Bungain
Buniki, *dia. of* Bamu Kiwai
Bunubun = Bunabun
Burum HP
Burumai
Busa BSP
Busa Phylum BSP
But = Arapesh
Butam *is.* NBr
Bwadji = Boazi

Caga = Enga
Central and South New Guinea Phylum CSP
Central and South New Guinea Stock CSP
Central Dani Sub-Family WHP
Central Family BP
Central Family EHP
Central Family HP
Central New Guinea Macro-Phylum
Central Sub-Family (Mikaru Family, EHP)?
Chachat
Chamberi = Chambri
Chambri (Chamberi) NPG
Changriwa *is.* SDis
Chenapian USP
Chimbu (Kuman, Kumanugu) EHP
Chimbu Sub-Family EHP
Chirima
Chuave (Tjuave) EHP

Daba = Kubo
Dabe NPP
Daburu
Daga (Dimuga) *is.* MBDis
Daga Family? MBDis
Dagala
Dagoda WP?
Daiomoni
Damerakaram
Damwapa
Dangga
Dani = Ndani
Daonda NPP
Daruoloia
Dauwa, *dia. of* Dem
Dea CSP
Debepare
Dedele
Dedua (Deduae) HP
Deduae = Dedua
Dem WHP
Demenggong
Demta NPP
Dera NPP
Dia
Dibiasu CSP
Dibiri, *dia. of* Bamu Kiwai
Digoeleesch = Kowan
Dimir (Boskien) BP
Dimuga = Daga
Dirou
Djanggu NPP
Doda, *dia. of* Grand Valley Dani
Dodinga, *dia. of* Tobelo
Doga
Dom EHP
Domori (Doumori), *dia. of* Southern Kiwai
Domuna (Dumuna) *is.* MDis
Dororo *is.* BSOL
Dorro (Keraki) CSP
Doumori = Domori

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Driafleisuma = Mehek
Dugene CSP
Dumu (Kai-Iri, Rumu) CSP
Dumuna = Domuna
Dumut Sub-Section CSP
Duna EHP
Duvera
Dyair = Aghu

East Awin (Akium-Pare) CSP
East-Central Family EHP
East Huon Stock HP
East New Guinea Highlands Phylum EHP
East New Guinea Highlands Stock EHP
East Vogelkop Stock WP
Eastern Family EHP
Eastern Family HP
Eastern Family BP
Eastern Sub-Family (Mikaru Family, EHP)
Eastern Trans-Fly Family = Oriomo River Family
Ebe
Edagen
Edawapi
Eitiep TRP
Eivo BGP
Ekagi = Kapauku
Ekagi-Woda-Moni Family WHP
Ekari = Kapauku
Elema
Elimbari EHP
Elkei (Olkoi) TRP
Elu (Boumai, Bomai), *dia. of* Mikaru
Emerum BP?
Enga (Tsaga) EHP
Enga Sub-Family EHP
Enggipiloa = Enggipulu
Enggipulu, *dia. of* Uhunduni
Epai
Era River, *dia. of* Northern Kiwai
Erap = Ne
Erawa = Rawa
Eribu = Eriku
Eriku (Eribu), *dia. of* Oksapmin
Erok = Korappun
Etna Bay WP
Ewage = Notu
Ewiatanga

Faiwol (Faiwolmin) CSP
Faiwolmin = Faiwol
Falamiin
Faranjao = Faranyao
Faranyao (Faranjao) WP?
Fas KWP
Fas Stock KWP
Fasu CSP
Faur
Fimaga, *dia. of* Foi
Foe = Foi
Foi (Foe, Kutubu) EHP
Foja NPP
Foraba
Foran BP
Fore EHP
Fore Sub-Family EHP
Forowang
Frederik-Hendrik Island Family CSP
Frigano Jate = Yagaria
Fuyuge SEP

Gabiano SHF
Gadsup EHP
Gadsup Sub-Family EHP
Gafuku = Gahuku
Gahom = Bahinemo
Gahuku (Gafuku) EHP
Gahuku Sub-Family EHP
Gaima
Gaina SEP
Gaj = Gants

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Gaktai (Mali), *dia. of* Baining
Gal BP?
Galela WP
Galeva *is.* MBDis
Galu (Metru, Sinagen) TRP
Gamai BP
Gamai = Gamei
Gambadi
Gamei (Gamai) BP
Gamsungi
Ganati *is.* EHDis
Gandja (Ganja, Kandawo) EHP
Ganglau *is.* MDis
Ganglau = Pasa?
Ganja = Gandja
Gants (Gaj) EHP
Gapun *is.* SDis
Garamudi
Garus BP
Gaugutianap, *dia. of* Oksapmin
Gawa
Gawanga (Kwanga) MSP
Gawigl (Gawil, Kauil) EHP
Gawil = Gawigl
Gawir, *dia. of* South-East Marind
Gebi
Gebusi = Bibo
Genagane = Nagane
Gende (Bundi, Iwam) EHP
Gende Sub-Family EHP
Gesoa, *dia. of* Wabuda
Gewaduru
Gidra (Oriomo) CSP
Gijara
Gilawa
Gimi EHP
Gira *is.* MDis
Girara
Giri BP?
Giumu
Gizra CSP
Gnau TRP?
Goari = Kerewa
Gogodala (Gogodara) CSP
Gogodala Family CSP
Gogodara = Gogodala
Goilala Family SEP
Goliath (Tapiro?) GF
Goliath Family GF
Golin
Gorge Dani, *dia. of* Grand Valley Dani
Gorima
Gorora
Gorovu *is.* SDis
Gosisi
Grand Valley Dani WHP
Greater Dani Family WHP
Gresi NPP
Guhu-Samane (Mid-Waria) *is.* MoDis
Guliguli *is.* BSOL
Gumasi
Gumbi *is.* MDis
Gumine EHP
Guntabak
Gurumbu
Gwamak
Gwoira *is.* MBDis

Hagari
Hagen (Medlpa, Moglei) EHP
Hagen Sub-Family EHP
Haira
Halopa (Nobanob, Nupanob) BP
Harahu
Hatam = Hattam
Hattam (Hatam)
Hewa (Kewa) SHF
Heyo (Arinwa, Lolopani, Ruruhip) TRP
Hibaradai
Hiwi
Hofaga
Hoiyevia
Huaruha *dia. of* Pawaia

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Hube HP
Huli (Huliduna) EHP
Huliduna = Huli
Huli Sub-Family EHP
Hunjara (Koko) SEP
Huon Peninsula Phylum HP
Huon Penunsula Stock HP

Iaibu, *dia. of* Mulaha
Iatmül (Big Sepik) MSP
Ibele, *dia. of* Grand Valley Dani
Ibu WP
Ibukairu EHP
Ifigi, *dia. of* Foi
Igom BP
Iha (Kapaur) WP
Iha Family WP
Indinogosima = Mehek
Iniai = Lemben
Ipikoi *is.* GDis
Ipili EHP
Iria (Kambrau, Kamrau) WP
Irumu *Is.* MoDis (HP?)
Isam = Pagu
Isimara
Itakwaia
Ittik NPP
Itutang BP?
Iui
Iwainu, *dia. of* Northern Kiwai
Iwam USP
Iwam = Gende (*different from* Iwam USP)
Iwoer = Iwur
Iwur (Iwoer) CSP

Jabi = Yabi
Jabijufa = Yabiyufa
Jahadian Family = Yahadian Family
Jani
Jaour = Yaur
Jaqai = Yaqay
Jate = Yate
Jei = Yey
Jelmek = Yelmek
Jimajima *is.* MBDis
Jimi Sub-Family EHP
Jupei

Kabola
Kaeti (Kati, Muyu, Noub, Nub) CSP
Kafa, *dia. of* Foi
Kagi
Kaian = Kayan
Kai-Iri = Dumu
Kaimba *is.* SDis
Kairi CSP
Kairi = Dumu
Kairui WP?
Kaitero
Kajupulau
Kakiru, *dia. of* Bitara
Kalabra WP
Kalabra Family WP
Kalp (Urim) TRP
Kaluiwa
Kamáng
Kamano EHP
Kamano Sub-Family EHP
Kamasa AF
Kamasau
Kamba = Komba
Kambaira EHP
Kamberataro SHF
Kambia, *dia. of* Wahgi
Kamboi Ramboi = Koassa
Kambot *is.* SDis
Kambrau = Iria
Kamnum = Autu
Kamoro CSP
Kamoro-Sempan-Asmat Family CSP
Kampong Baru (Yaban?) WP
Kamrau = Iria

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Kamtuk NPP
Kamura
Kandawo = Gandja
Kandep-Aruni-Karintsu, *dia. of* Enga
Kaningra SHF
Kaniran = Mairasi
Kanite (Kemijn Jate) EHP
Kanum CSP
Kapau AF
Kapauku (Ekagi, Ekari) WHP
Kapaur = Iha
Kapore
Kapriman (Wasare) SHF
Karaiai = Anem
Karam EHP
Karam Family EHP
Karami BTF
Karas WP
Karawa USP
Kare BP?
Karintsu
Karima
Karon WP
Karufa
Karukaru
Kasere CSP
Kâte HP
Kati = Kaeti
Katiati BP?
Kativa
Ka'u WP
Kauil = Gawigl
Kauwerawet *is.* NWI
Kawacha AF
Kawam
Kawél (Limbur)
Kawol CSP
Kayan (Kaian) BP
Kayik (Menandon, Wanap) TRP
Kazukuru *is.* BSOL
Keai
Kedir
Keherara
Keigana (Keijagana Jate) EHP
Keijagana Jate = Keigana
Kelong
Kemba
Kemiju Jate = Kanite
Keraki = Dorro
Kerema TPF
Kerewa (Goari), *dia. of* Northern Kiwai
Keriaka BGP
Keseraua
Ketekerua
Ketu-Ono
Keveri = Bauwaki
Keuru
Kewa EHP
Kewa = Hewa
Kewah EHP
Kewapi = Kewa
Kezo
Kiamerop NPP
Kiari EHP
Kiben, *dia. of* Grand Valley Dani
Kibene (Kiberi?) CSP
Kiberi CSP
Kibiri = Kiberi
Kikori River Family CSP
Kilmari = Kilmeri
Kilmeri (Kilmari, Krisa?) *is.* SDis
Kimaghama CSP
Kinalakna HP
Kiruru
Kiwai Family CSP
Klader
Koassa (Kamboi Ramboi) *is.* NWI
Kobon EHP
Kofena
Koiari SEP
Koiari Family SEP
Koiari-Manubara-Yareba Stock SEP
Koiaric Sub-Family SEP

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Koita (Koitapu) SEP
Koitapu = Koita
Kokila
Koko = Hunjara
Kol (Kole) *is.* NBr
Kolana
Kole = Kol
Komasau BNG
Komba (Kamba) HP
Kombio (Alaugat?) TRP
Komelom
Komonggu = Komunku
Komunimung BP?
Komunku (Komonggu), *dia. of* Siane
Konda WP
Konmak
Kopar = Watam
Kopo-Moniya CSP
Konua
Korafi = Korape
Korak BP
Korape (Korafi, Kwarafe, Okeina) SEP
Ḳorappun (Erok) GF
Korefa = Koreipa
Koreipa (Korefa), *dia. of* Siane
Koriki (Namau) *is.* GDis
Koriko SEP
Koroko = Valman
Koromira, *dia. of* Nasioi
Kororo
Koru Buso *is.* MoDis
Kosena, *dia. of* Ayuana
Kosorong HP
Kotogüt CSP
Kotoi
Kowaki BP
Kowan (Digoeleesch) CSP
Kramang = Kui
Krisa *is.* SDis
Krisa = Kilmeri?
Kuanga BP
Kuangsu = Kwansu
Kubira
Kubo (Daba) CSP
Kui (Kramang)
Kuiwai
Kukukuku Family = Anga Family
Kukuya
Kuma
Kumamba
Kuman = Chimbu
Kumanugu = Chimbu
Kumukio HP
Kuni CSP
Kuni-Zimakani Section = Boazi-Zimakani Section
Kunimaipa SEP
Kunini = Bine
Kunjip, *dia. of* Wahgi
Kunjip
Kuno, *dia of* Wahgi
Kunua BGP
Kunua-Keriaka-Rotokas-Eivo Stock BGP
Kup-Minj, *dia. of* Wahgi
Kusa
Kutubu = Foi
Kwale SEP
Kwanga = Gawanga
Kwansu-Bonggrang (Kuangsu) NPP
Kwarafe = Korape
Kwatewa
Kwenbung
Kwerba NPP
Kwesten NPP
Kwoma (Washkuk) MSP
Kwoma Family MSP
Kwomtari KWP
Kwomtari Family KWP
Kwomtari Phylum KWP
Kwusaun, *dia. of* Boikin
Kyaka EHP

Laganyan

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Lagaria
Laiap, *dia. of* Enga
Lakahia
Lambau = Ramfau
Langama = Langimar
Langimar (Langama) AF
Langtup
Laral, Abui
Laro LMF
Lauisaranga = Aruop
Laumbe = Lavukaleve
Lau'u = Aruop
Lauuna
Lauwa (Lawa) *is.* CDis
Lavukaleve *is.* BSOL
Lawa = Lauwa
Left May Family LMF
Lelet
Lemben (Iniai) EHP
Lemben Sub-Family EHP
Leonard Schultze Family LSF
Lepu
Liba
Lilau (Ngaimbom) BP
Limbur = Kawél
Loda WP
Lollobatta
Lolopani = Heyo
Lou (Torricelli) TRP
Lowland Ok Sub-Section CSP
Lugitama = Pahi
Lumu

Madang = Bogia Phylum
Madik WP
Madiri
Madole (Modole) WP
Mae (Wabag), *dia. of* Enga
Magaleri = Amal
Magi EHP
Mâgobineng HP
Magori ?
Mahigi BTF
Mahigi
Mai = Siliput
Maibrat
Maiheari
Mai-hea-ri *is.* GDis
Mailu SEP
Maimai Family TRP
Maimai Stock TRP
Maipang (Ngaing, Sor) *is.* MDis
Maipani, *dia. of* Bamu Kiwai
Maipua
Mairasi (Kaniran) WP
Mairasi Family WP
Maisin *is.* MBDis
Makadai
Makarim
Makarub (Mikarew) BP
Makasai WP
Makiara
Makleu = Maklew
Maklew (Makleu) CSP
Makolkol
Makunabeïn
Malala BP
Malas BP
Malek
Mamda
Mali = Gaktai
Mamiap-Ariap (Breenugu) *is.* SDis
Mamisu
Managalasi (Manugulasi) SEP
Manambu MSP
Manaü *is.* NWI
Mander
Mandi BNG
Maneao *is.* MBDis
Maneta
Mangga
Mansibaber WP
Mansim
Mantembu WP

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Manter NPP
Mantion (Mantion-Manikion) WP
Mantion-Manikion = Mantion
Manubara SEP
Manubara Family SEP
Manugulasi ± Managalasi
Manukolu
Manwatan
Mape HP
Mapi = Yaqay
Mapia
Mapoga
Maprik = Abelam
Maramuni, *dia. of* Enga
Marapka
Mari SHF
Marigl
Marind-Anim
Maring (Yoadabe-Wotoare) EHP
Masegi
Masimasi
Masingara = Bine
Masingle = Bine
Mataru
Mawai, *dia. of* Zia
Mawak BP
Mawan BP?
Mawata, *dia. of* Southern Kiwai
Mawes
Mayo (Yesan-Mayo) USP
Medlpa = Hagen
Me'ek = Mehek
Mehek (Driafleisuma, Indinogosima, Me'ek) USP
Mekwei NPP
Menandon (Minindon) = Aiku, Kayik, Nambi, Wiaki
Mende = Seim
Mendi (Angal Heneng) EHP
Mendi Sub-Family EHP
Menggwei = Menkwei
Menkwei (Menggwei) NPP
Menyanya = Yagwoia
Menye AF
Mer = Miriam
Merani
Metomka Kati
Metru = Galu
Mianmin CSP
Middle Sepik Phylum MSP
Middel Sepik Stock MSP
Midik
Midsivindi BP?
Mid-Waria = Guhu-Samane
Migaba HP
Mikarew = Makarub
Mikaru EHP
Mikaru Family EHP
Mikud CSP
Mindik HP
Mindivi BP?
Minendon (Menandon) = Aiku, Nambi, Kayik, Wiaki
Mirei
Miriam (Mer) CSP
Mis
Misdao
Miso'ol
Misol = Miso'ol
Miso'ol (Misol)
Mitak CSP
Mitang = Nambi
Mobab *is.* MDis
Modan
Modole = Madole
Mogao
Moglei = Hagen
Moi (Waipu) WP
Moibiri *is.* MBDis
Moie BP?
Moi-Karon Family WP
Moira BP
Molof NPP
Momale HP

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Mombum CSP
Momolili HP
Monanda = Aiku
Monandu = Aiku
Mongol, *dia. of* Kaimba
Moni WHP
Monumbo BP
Monumbo Family BP
Mor WP
Moraid WP
Moraori (Morari) CSP
Morari = Moraori
Morehead River Family CSP
Morigi *is.*
Morip = Ndani
Morotái
Morubanmin, *dia. of* Umairof
Mosana
Mosimo (Yaben?) BP
Mot *is.* MDis
Motuna = Siwai
Mountain Arapesh TRP
Mountain Koiari SEP
Mountain Ok Sub-Section CSP
Mubi, *dia. of* Foi
Mugil (Saker) BP
Mugim
Muhiang = Bumbita Arapesh
Mukili = Beli
Muku
Mulaha *is.* CDis
Munduguma = Biwat
Muniwara BNG
Mur *is.* MDis
Murik (Nor) NPG
Murisapa (Murusapa) BP
Muritaka
Murusapa = Murisapa
Musa
Musak BP?
Musau
Mutum CSP
Mutum Family = Tirio Family
Muyu = Kaeti

Nabak HP
Nafri, *dia. of* Sentani
Naga HP
Nagane (Genagane) EHP
Nagatman *is.* SDis
Nagovisi (Sibbe) BGP
Nagramadu
Naho=Nahu
Nahu (Naho) *is.* MDis?
Naiyama
Nakiai *is.* SDis.
Nakwi-Mumupra-Aukot LMF
Naltje (T-Valley) GF
Namaina
Namatote
Namatalaki = Abui
Namau = Koriki
Nambi (Menandon) TRP
Namie (Nemia, Watalu) MSP
Nangamp
Narak EHP
Nasioi BGP
Nasioi Family BGP
Nasioi-Nagovisi-Siwai-Buin Stock BGP
Naumik
Nausaku
Nawp *is.* MBDis
Nayura
Ndaga
Ndani (Dani, Morip, Oeringoep)
Ndau (Sofala) *is.* MDis
Ndeni
Ndom CSP
Ndu Family MSP
Nduga WHP
Ne (Erap, Wain) *is.* MoDis (HP?)
Neferipi CSP?
Negira *is.* SDis
Neko *is.* MDis

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Neme
Nemea = Binahari
Nemia = Namie
Neneba
Nenium
Neo RSCF
Nerigo
Ngaimbom = Lilau
Ngaimbom
Ngaing = Maipang
Ngala (Swagup) MSP
Ngalik-Nduga Sub-Family WHP
Ngalum CSP
Nihamber = Seim
Nii EHP
Niinati Kati
Nimboran NPP
Nimboran Family NPP
Nimo-Wasuai LMF
Ninggirum CSP
Ningil (Ral) TRP
Njao NPP
Njao = Nyao
Nobanob = Halopa
Nomane EHP
Nomu HP
Nondiri EHP
Nondugl
Nor = Murik
Nori *is.* SDis
Nor-Pondo Group NPG
North Central Huon Stock HP
North Halmahera Family WP
North Ngalik WHP
North Papuan Phylum NPP
North-West Marind CSP
Northern Family HP
Northern Kati CSP
Northern Kiwai CSP
Northern Santa Cruz RSCF
Northern Sub-Family (Mikaru Family, EHP)
Notu (Ewage) SEP
Noub = Kaeti
Nub = Kaeti
Nubia = Awar
Nupanob = Halopa
Nusa
Nyao (Awye, Njao) NPP

Obi AF
Oehoendoeni = Uhunduni
Oeringoep = Ndani
Oeringoep *dia. of* Western Dani
Ofim
Oirata WP
Oiwa
Ok Family = Ok Section
Ok Section (Ok Family) CSP
Okaudi
Okeina = Yega, Korape
Oksapmin CSP?
Olango
Olkoi = Elkei
Olo (Orlei, Wape, Wapi) TRP
Ondoro
Onele TRP
Oni (Aunalei) TRP
Onjob (Anjob) *is.* NDis
Ono HP
Ono-Ketu, *dia. of* Siane
O'oku
Oraiiu
Ori = Agi
Oriomo = Gidra
Oriomo River Family (Eastern Trans-Fly Family) CSP
Orlei = Olo
Ormu
Orokaiva SEP
Orokolo TPF
Oropai, *dia. of* Bamu Kiwai
Orovaika
Oser CSP

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OsumB P?
Oyana EHP
Pagei = Pagi
Pagi (Pagei) *is.* SDis
Pagona
Pagu (Isam) WP
Pahi (Lugitama, Wansum) USP
Pai LSF
Paiawa = Paiwa
Paiela
Paiwa (Paiawa, Payawa), *dia. of* Guhu-Samane)
Palei Stock TRP
Paloko, *dia. of* Enga
Panaras *is.* NIr
Pandai
Panim
Para BP?
Parawen = Bilakura?
Parb CSP
Pare (Pari) CSP
Pare-Samo-Beami-Bosavi Family CSP
Pari = Pare
Pasa (Ganglau?, Siroi) *is.* MDis
Paswam = Agöb
Patimuni = Baham
Pauwi *is.* NWI
Pavaia = Pawaia
Pawaia (Pavaia) EHP
Payawa = Paiwa
Paynamar BP?
Pediwang
Peleata = Wasi
Pem
Pepeha BTF
Pepeha
Peran
Peremka (Semariji-Gambadi) CSP
Pesechem = Peseghem
Peseghem (Pesechem), *dia. of* Western Dani
Piame SHF
Pirupiru, *dia. of* Bamu
Pisa CSP
Pisirami
Pole, *dia. of* Kewa
Polopa EHP
Pon
Pondo = Angoram
Pondoma BP?
Porome = Poromi
Poromi *is.* GDis (or CSP?)
Poroporo *is.* SDis
Potoia
Pue *is.* MBDis
Pukamigl-Andegabu, *dia. of* Wahgi
Pumani
Puragi WP
Puragi Family WP

Ral = Ningil
Ram Family USP
Ramfau (Lambau), *dia. of* Siane
Rao BP?
Raua = Rawa
Rawa (Erawa) *is.* MDis
Reef Islands Language RSCF
Reef Islands-Santa Cruz Family RSCF
Reef Islands Sub-Family RSCF
Reiwo = Yapunda
Rempi (A'e) BP
Rewa = Tagula
Riantana CSP
Riguina
Ro EHP
Romkuin BP?
Rotokas
Rugara = Buin
Rumu = Dumu
Rurihi'ip = Yahang
Ruruhip = Heyo

Saberi NPP
Sahu (Sahu'u) = Waioli

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Sahu'u = Sahu
Sakabu
Saker = Mugil
Salt EHP
Samalek
Samariup SHF
Samberigi
Sambu = Seim
Samenai
Samo CSP
Samo (Supe) LMF
Samo-Kubo-Bibo Sub-Section CSP
Sangke NPP or TRP
Sanio SHF
Santa Cruz Family RSCF
Santa Cruz Sub-Family RSCF
Saoeweri-Hablifoeri *dia. of* Valley Dani
Saparan
Saroa
Saruga BP?
Sau, *dia. of* Enga
Sau EHP (*different from* Sau, *dia. of* Enga)
Savosavo *is.* BSOL
Saweh
Sawi *is.* MDis
Sawos (Tshwosh) MSP
Seboda
Seim (Mende, Nihamber, Sambu, Womsak) MSP
Seko (Sekou) = Sko
Sekou = Sko
Selepet HP
Semariji-Gambadi = Peremka
Sempan CSP
Senagi SF
Senagi Family SF
Sene HP
Sentani NPP
Sentani Family NPP
Sepen BP?
Sepik Hill Family SHF
Seramina
Sesa EHP
Seta (Aunalei) TRP
Setaman CSP
Seti (Aunalei) TRP
Setiali SHF
Sewan
Sialum HP
Siane EHP
Siane Sub-Family EHP
Siaute
Sibbe = Nagovisi
Sibil CSP
Sidjuai *is.* NWI
Sigisigero = Baitsi
Sikube
Siliput (Mai) TRP
Simbari AF
Simeku BGP
Simog NPP
Simori, *dia. of* Kapauku
Sinagen = Galu
Sinasina EHP
Sinfoe
Singen
Sira
Siroi = Pasa
Sirunki, *dia. of* Enga
Sisiani, *dia. of* Bamu Kiwai
Siwai (Motuna) BGP
Sko (Seko, Sekon) NPP *or* TRP
Sko Family NPP *or* TRP
Skofro NPP
Skofro Sub-Family NPP
Sofala = Ndau
Sogero, *dia of* Wabuda
Sohur = Yaqay
Sokorok
Som *is.* MoDis
Songu
Sor = Maipang
South-East Marind CSP

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South-East New Guinea Phylum SEP
South-Eastern Santa Cruz RSCF
South Ngalik WHP
South Vogelkop Stock WP
South-West Huon Stock HP
South-Western Santa Cruz RSCF
Southern Arapesh TRP
Southern Family HP
Southern Kati CSP
Southern Kiwai CSP
Southern Sub-Family (Mikaru Family, EHP)
Sowanda NPP
Sua
Suambe
Suaru BP
Suena (Yema) SEP
Sui (Kol *is.* NBr)
Suki (Wiram) CSP?
Sulka *is.* NBr
Sumariup SHF
Sumau BP?
Sumur
Sunggum *is.* MDis
Supe = Samo
Suwaira
Swos
Swagup = Ngala
Syaka (Tchak), *dia. of* Enga
Syiagha CSP

Tabare
Tabaru WP
Tabriak NPG
Tabu NPP
Tagota CSP
Tagula (Rewa)
Tahari
Tain-Daware = Ambasi
Tairora EHP
Tairora Sub-Family EHP
Takar
Tama Family USP
Tamaya
Tami Stock NPP
Tanah-Merah NPP
Tanahmerah WP
Tandia
Tanggu = Tanggum
Tanggum (Tanggu) BP
Tanggum Family BP
Tanguat BP?
Tanjuamu
Tapari
Tapiro = Goliath?
Taraha
Tarangap, *dia. of* Oksapmin
Tarfia (Tarpia)
Tarifuroro
Tarpia = Tarfia
Tarunggare *is.* NWI
Tate (Tati) *is.* GDis
Tati = Tate
Tauade SEP
Taulil *is.* NBr
Tchak = Syaka
Tekin, *dia. of* Oksapmin
Telefol CSP
Telei (Terei) = Buin
Tembagla, *dia. of* Hagen
Terei = Buin
Ternate WP
Tevi
Tidore WP
Tifal CSP
Timbe HP
Timor-Alor Stock WP
Timori = Timorini
Timorini, *dia. of* Western Dani
Tirio CSP
Tirio Family (Mutum Family) CSP
Tjimundo = Angoram
Tjuave = Chuave

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Toaripi TPF
Toaripi Family TPF
Tobati (Yotafa)
Tobelo WP
Tobelo-Boëng, *dia. of* Tobelo
Tobelo-Gamsungi, *dia. of* Tobelo
Tobo HP
Toga
Tóloliku
Tomaoip
Tor
Tori Aikwawakai *is.* NWI
Torricelli = Lou
Torricelli Phylum (Wapei-Palei Phylum) TRP
Totore *is.* NDis
Tsaga = Enga
Tshwosh = Sawos
Tsia = Zia
Tugutil
Tumara = Tumaru
Tumaru (Tumara) BNG
Tumleo
Tumu
Turama and Kikori Rivers Family = Kikori River Family
Tureture = Turituri
Turituri (Tureture), *dia. of* Southern Kiwai
Turu
Tutang BP?
Tuwari (Akiapmin) LSF
T-Valley = Naltje

Uberi
Ufien BP
Uhunduni WHP
Uitai BGP
Ulingan BP
Umairof SHF
Umana-Kaina *is.* MBDis
Umbrak-Aiku = Aiku
Unguna = Yabi
Upper Sepik Phylum USP
Upper Sepik Stock USP
Upper Tedi CSP
Upper Tor Family NPP
Urada
Urakin = Urat
Urama, *dia. of* Northern Kiwai
Uramot
Urat (Urakin, Wasepnau) TRP
Urawa *is.* MoDis (HP?)
Uria NPP
Urigina BP?
Urim = Kalp
Urimo BNG
Uruwa
Usino BP?
Usurufa EHP
Utakwa
Utakwava
Utu BP
Uturupa

Vailala TPF
Valman (Koroko) TRP
Vanambere BP
Vanimo NPP *or* TRP
Vaskia = Waskia

Wab *is.* MDis
Wabag = Mae
Waboda = Wabuda
Wabuda (Waboda) CSP
Wadaginam BP?
Wadewinda
Waffa EHP
Wagamb
Wagarabai CSP
Wagarindem NPP
Wagimuda BP
Wahgi EHP
Wahgi Sub-Family EHP

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Waiiemi CSP?
Waima
Wain = Ne
Wain *is.* MoDis (HP?)
Waioli (Sahu) WP
Waipu = Moi
Waisera *is.* EHDis
Wajokeso-Ampale AF
Waka, *dia. of* Enga
Wale-Tarua, *dia. of* Enga
Waliam
Walio LSF
Wam = Wom *is.* SDis
Wamai
Wamberan
Wambon CSP
Wamiu
Wamolâ HP
Wanam GF
Wanap = Kayik
Wanggom CSP
Wanja = Wanya
Wano WHP
Wansum = Pahi
Wantakia
Wantoat (Wantoat-Arawa-Wâpu) *is.* MoDis (HP?)
Wantoat-Arawa-Wâpu = Wantoat
Wanuma BP?
Wanya (Wanja, Wina?) NPP
Wape, *dia. of* Enga
Wape = Olo (*different from* Wape, *dia. of* Enga
Wapei Family TRP
Wapei-Palei Phylum = Torricelli Phylum
Wapi *is.* WHL
Wapi = Olo
Wapi, *dia. of* Enga
} *different languages*
Wapu
Warasai USP (Mayo)?
Warembori *is.* NWI
Wariadai *dia. of* Bamu Kiwai
Wariadai
Waribu = Alibu
Waris NPP
Waruna CSP
Wasare = Kapriman
Waseda
Wasepnau = Urat
Wasera = Wosera
Washkuk = Kwoma
Wasi (Ata, Peleata) *is.* NBr
Waskia (Vaskia, Watakatowi, Woskia) BP
Watakataui SHF
Watakatowi = Watakataui
Watalu = Namie
Watam BP
Wele = Weri
Wembi (Yeti) NPP
Wemta
Wena, *dia. of* Pawaia
Wengbit, *dia. of* Oksapmin
Wenke
Weri (Wee) SEP
Weridai
West Awin (Aekyom, Akium-Awin) CSP
West Central Family EHP
West New Guinea Highlands Phylum WHP
West Papuan Phylum WP
West Wapei Family TRP
Western and Central Stock BP
Western Dani WHP
Western Family BP
Western Family HP
Western Family EHP
Western Kundu = Abui
Western Sub-Family (Mikaru Family, EHP)
Wiakei = Wiaki
Wiaki (Menandon, Wiakei) TRP
Wina = Wanya?
Wiram = Suki

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Wiru EHP
Wiru Sub-Family EHP
Wissel Lakes-Kemandoga Family WHP
Wissel Lakes-Kemandoga Stock WHP
Woda (Wodani, Wolani) WHP
Wodani = Woda
Wodo, *dia. of* Grand Valley Dani
Wogamusin USP
Wogeo
Wogu SHF
Wogu = Bahinemo
Wohia
Wolani = Woda
Wom (Wam) *is.* SDis
Womsak = Seim
Wosera (Wasera), *dia. of* Abelam
Woskia = Waskia
Wovanga
Wululi
Wutong NPP *or* TRP

Yaban = Kampong Baru?
Yaben BP
Yaben = Mosimo?
Yabi (Unguna), *dia. of* Kapauku
Yabio LSF
Yabiyufa (Jabijufa, Yaviyufa) EHP
Yabura
Yaganon *is.* MDis
Yagaria (Frigano Jate) EHP
Yagwoia (Menyanya, Yeghuye) AF
Yahadian (Jahadian) WP
Yahadian Family (Jahadian Family) WP
Yahang (Rurihi'ip, Ya'unk) TRP
Yaimas
Yakamul
Yakiba BP
Yamafi
Yambes TRP
Yamna
Yandapu-Taro-Muritaka, *dia. of* Enga
Yani
Yankowan
Yapunda (Reiwo) TRP
Yaqay (Jaqai, Mapi, Sohur) CSP
Yaqay-Marind-Boazi Family CSP
Yaqay-Marind Section CSP
Yarani
Yareba SEP
Yareba Family SEP
Yate (Jate) EHP
Yau TRP
Yauagepa BNG
Yaugang *is.* MDis
Yaugiba
Ya'unk = Yahang
Yaur (Jaour)
Yautefa
Yaviyufa = Yabiyufa
Yega (Okeina) SEP
Yega of Gona SEP
Yeghuye = Yagwoia
Yei
Yekora SEP
Yele *is.* MBDis
Yelmek (Jelmek) CSP
Yelmek-Maklew Family CSP
Yelogu MSP
Yema = Suena
Yengoru, *dia. of* Boikin
Yenimu CSP
Yerakai *is.* SDis
Yeripa AF
Yesan-Mayo = Mayo
Yeti = Wembi
Yey (Jei) CSP
Yey-Kanum-Moraori Stock CSP
Yil TRP
Yimas NPG
Yis TRP
Yoadabe-Wotoare = Maring
Yoidik BP
Yonggom CSP
Yotafa = Tobati

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Yufayufa
Yupna *is.* MoDis (HP?)
Yuri *is.* SDis

Zia (Tsia) SEP
Zimakani-Baegwa CSP

Andaman Island Languages

Aka-Bea-Da = Bea
Akar-Bale = Balawa
Andaman Family
Andaman Stock

Ba, *dia. of* Great Andaman
Balawa (Akar-Bale), *dia. of* Great Andaman
Bea (Aka-Bea-Da), *dia. of* Great Andaman
Bojigyab = Puchikwar

Cari, *dia. of* Great Andaman

Great Andaman (Northern Andaman)

Järawa
Jeru, *dia. of* Great Andaman
Juwoi, *dia. of* Great Andaman

Kede, *dia. of* Great Andaman
Kol, *dia. of* Great Andaman
Kora, *dia. of* Great Andaman

Northern Andaman = Great Andaman

Önge

Puchikwar (Bojigyab), *dia. of* Great Andaman

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

SUTAN TAKDIR ALISJAHBANA (1908–) is at present Rector of the Universitas Nasional, Djakarta. He was formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 1963–68, Professor of Indonesian language, literature, and culture at the Universitas Nasional and for Indonesian language at the IKIP (Paedagogical Institute) in Butusangkar (Sumatra), Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (1959–61) and visiting senior scholar at the Institute of Advanced Projects of the East-West Center in Honolulu (1961–62). He has published five novels, a collection of his own poetry, and essays on language problems, besides several anthologies of poetry and prose. During the Japanese occupation, he was Head of the Indonesian Language Office for the coining of modern terminology and for the determination of a grammar. His book of Indonesian grammar (*Tatabahasa Baru Bahasa Indonesia*) first published in 1948, is still the one most used (37th edition). He has published and edited the magazines *Poedjangga Baroe* (The New Writer, 1933–42), *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia* (The Builder of the Indonesian language, 1948–58), and was Chief Editor of the government magazine *Pandji Poestaka* (The Flag of Literature, 1930). His main interest at present is cultural and social philosophy. He has published in this field *Values as integrating forces in personality, society and culture* and *Indonesia: Social and cultural revolution.* In linguistics, his preoccupation is with what he calls 'language engineering'; his essay, *The failure of modern linguistics in the face of linguistic problems of the 20th century* has been reprinted several times.

THOMAS S. BARTHEL (1923–), a native of Berlin, studied social anthropology under Thurnwald and American archaeology under Termer, and received his doctorate at the University of Hamburg. His main fields of interest are primitive writing systems, especially the 'Talking Boards' of Easter Island (where he did fieldwork in 1957–58) and Maya hieroglyphic writing, dealt with in a monograph and many articles. Since 1959, he has been Professor of Ethnology at the University of Tübingen and Director of the newly founded Ethnological Institute. He has recently started a research project on Ancient Peruvian writing systems.

BYRON W. BENDER (1929–) received degrees in linguistics from Indiana University

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and spent a total of eight years as adviser on language matters to the Director of Education of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Since 1964 he has been on the faculty of the University of Hawaii, where he is now Professor and Chairman of the Department of Linguistics, and Managing Editor of *Oceanic Linguistics*. His research has centered on the Marshallese language and on comparative Micronesian linguistics.

BRUCE G. BIGGS (1921–) took University of New Zealand degrees at Auckland University College (now University of Auckland) before proceeding to Indiana University where he earned his doctorate. He has held positions at the University of Auckland, the Institute of Advanced Projects of the East-West Center, and the University of Hawaii. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of New Zealand and was for some years Editor of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.

J. DONALD BOWEN (1922–) did his undergraduate work at Brigham Young University, has graduate degrees from Columbia University and the University of New Mexico. He has had appointments at Duke University, the Foreign Service Institute, and the University of California, Los Angeles, where he is now Professor of English. From 1958–63 he was Co-Director of the Philippine Center for Language Study, a project devoted to language research, service, and teaching in the Philippines. His research interests and publications have been in Spanish linguistics, contrastive analysis, teaching materials for Spanish, Tagalog, and English, and methodology of teaching English as a second language.

ARTHUR CAPELL (1902–) was educated at North Sydney Boys' High School and took his first degree at Sydney University in 1922 and his M.A. in 1931. He had meanwhile taken up the study of Oceanic linguistics and received his Ph.D. in this subject in London in 1938. He then began fieldwork in Australia and in 1944 took up a position in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney. He has carried out extensive fieldwork in Australia, New Guinea, the British Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, and was the only non-American member of the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology expedition, working in Palau in 1947. He became the first Reader in Oceanic Linguistics at the University of Sydney in 1949. He retired in 1967 and is now working privately in writing up the results of his fieldwork. He has produced a number of books and articles on various aspects of Oceanic and general linguistics.

ERNESTO CONSTANTINO (1930–) did his undergraduate work at the University of the Philippines. He attended Cornell University, the University of Michigan, and Indiana University receiving his Ph.D. degree from the last institution. In 1964 he did research work at Yale University on a Guggenheim fellowship. He was a Senior Specialist at the Institute of Advanced Projects of the East-West Center from September 1967 to April 1968. He is Professor of Linguistics and Chairman of the Department

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of Oriental Languages and Linguistics at the University of the Philippines. He has been doing intensive research work on the Philippine languages and dialects and has collected extensive data from about 300 Philippine dialects in two research projects which are financed by the University of the Philippines. His main interest is the grammatical and lexical comparison of the Philippine languages and dialects.

ISIDORE DYEN (1913–) is Professor of Malayo-Polynesian and Comparative Linguistics at Yale University where he has been on the faculty since 1942. His degrees are from the University of Pennsylvania. His publications deal with the reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian, the classification of the Austronesian languages, the structure of Indonesian, comparative lexicostatistics, and general comparative linguistics. He participated in the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (1947) and in the Scientific Investigation of Micronesia (1949). He has been awarded grants or fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Tri-Institutional Pacific Program, the National Science Foundation, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and the American Institute for Indian Studies. In 1965 he served as Vice-President of the American Oriental Society.

JOHN L. FISCHER (1923–) studied anthropology as an undergraduate and graduate student at Harvard University, where he received his doctorate in 1955. He has held teaching positions at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and Tulane University, where he is currently Professor of Anthropology. His principal field research has been conducted in the Caroline Islands, New England, and Japan. His publications include articles on folklore, expressive language, sociolinguistics, and language change, as well as more strictly anthropological subjects.

JAN GONDA (1905–), a native of Gouda, The Netherlands, received degrees in classical, Indian and Indonesian philology from the Universities of Utrecht and Leiden; he earned his Ph.D. degree at Utrecht University. His publications include works on Indian, Indo-European and Indonesian linguistics, Vedic and Sanskrit philology, syntax, stylistics, semantics, history of words, and the relations between language and culture (especially religion).

GEORGE W. GRACE (1921–) took degrees from the Université de Genève and Columbia University. Since 1964 he has been Professor of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii. His publications are mostly in the field of Oceanic linguistics. He is Editor of the journal, *Oceanic Linguistics.*

JOSEPH H. GREENBERG (1915–) did his undergraduate work at Columbia University and received his doctorate in anthropology from Northwestern University. He has taught at the University of Minnesota and Columbia University, and is currently on the faculty of Stanford University. His chief fields of interest have been African ethno-

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logy, African linguistics, and general linguistics. He is the author of a general work on the classification of African languages (*Languages of Africa*) and edited a volume on language universals based on the work of a conference supported by the Social Science Research Council (*Universals of language*). He has twice been a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. He has been elected to the National Academy of Sciences and is currently director of a project of The National Science Foundation. He was until recently Chairman of the West African Linguistics Society, and has received a Haile Selassie I prize for African research.

ANDRÉ G. HAUDRICOURT (1911–) was born in Paris. First an agricultural engineer, he became interested in problems of the origin of cultivated plants, the history of agrarian techniques, and then in phonology and comparative studies of the languages of Indochina. In 1939 he entered the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in the Botanical Division, and in 1945 transferred to the Linguistic Division. He was with the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Hanoi in 1948–49, and has conducted fieldwork in New Caledonia on three occasions in 1959, 1962–63, and 1966. He has been Director of Research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique since 1960, and Chargé de Conférences at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (IVème Section 1965–70; VIème Section since 1970).

K. J. HOLLYMAN (1922–) is a New Zealander who took his degrees at Victoria University of Wellington and the University of Paris. A member of the French staff at the University of Auckland since 1953, he has been Professor of French in the Department of Romance Languages there since 1966. In 1958, with Bruce Biggs, he founded the Linguistic Society of New Zealand, and has edited its publications during most of its existence. His publications and research are in the fields of medieval and modern metropolitan French, overseas regional French in the Indo-Pacific area, and certain Melanesian and Polynesian languages in New Caledonia and the Loyalty and Wallis Islands.

HENRI LAVONDÈS (1926–) served for seven years as Professor of Letters in a Secondary School System. He entered l'O.R.S.T.O.M. in 1957, as an ethnologist. After three years in Madagascar, where his time was devoted to the study of the social structure of a community on the western coast, he was appointed to the O.R.S.T.O.M. Center of Papeete where he is preparing a work on the oral folklore of the Marquesas Islands.

DONALD C. LAYCOCK (1936–) is an Australian scholar who came to the study of Australian and Oceanic languages after an initial interest, and degree, in English and Germanic philology. After a year spent as a research assistant in Australian aboriginal languages at the University of Adelaide, he joined the Australian National University for postgraduate work, and obtained his doctorate there for a description of a family of Papuan languages in New Guinea. Following an academic year of lecturing in

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linguistics and anthropology in the United States, at Indiana and Northwestern Universities, he returned to a permanent staff position at the Australian National University in 1964. In 1969 he was appointed Senior Fellow at that University. He has undertaken fieldwork in Australia and New Guinea, and is currently interested both in Melanesian Pidgin and in the taxonomy of, and socio-linguistic questions concerning, the Papuan languages of New Guinea, on which he has published a monograph and a number of articles.

HOWARD P. MCKAUGHAN (1922–) did his undergraduate study at UCLA and his graduate work in linguistics at Cornell University. He is currently Professor of Linguistics and Associate Dean of the Graduate Division, University of Hawaii. From 1946 through 1961 he was a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, directing the program in the Philippines 1954–61. He has also done linguistic fieldwork in Mexico and New Guinea, the latter associated both with S.I.L. and with the NSF supported Micro-Evolution Studies project of the University of Washington. He is currently directing a project to develop lessons, reference materials, and practical vocabularies for eight Philippine languages — a cooperative effort of the University of Hawaii and Peace Corps.

GEORGE B. MILNER (1918–) was educated at the Collège Classique Cantonal, Lausanne, Switzerland; Manchester Grammar School; Christ's College, Cambridge. In 1940 he received his B.A. (Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos) in French and German; and he obtained his M.A. in 1947. He has had graduate training in phonetics and linguistics (1946–48), and in social anthropology (1952–54), at the University of London. He did four years of fieldwork in the Western Pacific and received his Ph.D. in social anthropology, London. Since 1964, he has been Reader in Oceanic Languages, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. He was Honorary Secretary to the Conference on Linguistic Problems of the Indo-Pacific Area, London, 1965, and an editor (with Eugénie J. A. Henderson) of its proceedings, published as *Indo-Pacific linguistic studies*. His main interests at the present time are the Melanesian and Polynesian languages and problems of the structure of meaning, and of interpretation in linguistics and anthropology, with special reference to homonyms and metaphors.

GEOFFREY N. O'GRADY (1928–) was born at Adelaide, South Australia, and in his early twenties lived at Wallal in the northwest of the continent, where he learned to speak Nyangumarda fluently. He took degrees at Sydney University and Indiana University. Subsequently, as the recipient of a National Science Foundation grant, he undertook a comparative study of the Nynugic Group of the Pama-Nyungan Family of Australian languages. He later received a Canada Council grant which is being used at his home institution, the University of Victoria, in furthering studies of the languages of the Pacific Northwest.

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ALEXANDRA RAMSAY (1942–) attended Bennington College, Vermont, and received her B.A. from Indiana University in anthropology and linguistics (Sigma Xi). After graduate work at Indiana in Hungarian language and culture under an NDEA Fellowship, she then attended Stanford University where she earned an M.A. in social anthropology. She has done fieldwork with Hungarian immigrants in America, and has written on *Anthropology and communication* and *Culture change* for the University of Georgia's elementary and junior high school Anthropology Curriculum Project. She is co-editor, with T. A. Sebeok, of *Approaches to animal communication* (1969).

THOMAS A. SEBEOK (1920–) is a native of Budapest who has lived in the United States since 1937. After studying literary criticism, anthropology, and linguistics at the University of Chicago, he earned his doctorate at Princeton University in Oriental languages and civilizations. He has been a member of the Indiana University faculty in Linguistics since 1943, since 1967 with the rank of Distinguished Professor. He also serves as Chairman of the University's Research Center for the Language Sciences. He has held fellowships from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (1958–59) and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (1960–61), where he was also Senior Post-doctoral Fellow of the National Science Foundation (1966–67). In 1964, he was Director of the Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America which he currently serves as Secretary-Treasurer. He organized and, until 1963, was Chairman of the Committee on Linguistic Information. Beginning 1968, he became Editor-in-Chief of *Semiotica.*

BONIFACIO P. SIBAYAN (1916–) is a native of the Philippines and received his undergraduate education in that country. He earned an M.A. and a Ph.D. at the University of Michigan under a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship and a Philippine Center for Language Study scholarship. He has also held a Fulbright/Smith-Mundt scholarship. He has taught in the public schools and colleges of the Philippines and has lectured on applied linguistics at the University of the Philippines. He is director of the Language Study Center (Philippine Normal College) which he founded in 1962 and in recognition of the important role of the Center in Philippine education, The Ford Foundation awarded generous grants in 1964 and 1967 for research in linguistics and language teaching. He is also Dean of the Graduate School of the Philippine Normal College. During the 1967–68 academic year he was a visiting professor in the Department of English, University of California, Los Angeles under the sponsorship of The Ford Foundation and UCLA. At UCLA he inaugurated a seminar on the social and educational role of English as a second language.

TUTOMU SUGIMOTO (1927–) received his doctorate from Waseda University where he is presently Professor specializing in Japanese linguistics, especially historical study of

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the modern Japanese languages. He has published ten books and many articles, the most recent one being an *Historical grammar of Japanese* (1971).

GREGORY J. TRIFONOVITCH (1936–) is a native of Palestine who has lived in the United States since 1953. He received his B.A. degree in anthropology from Wheaton College (Illinois) and did work towards his Ph.D. in linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania. He taught English as a second language at the University of Pennsylvania and for the United States Trust Territory Government of Saipan, Mariana Islands. From 1964 to 1967 he supervised the teaching of English in the Trust Territory and conducted several teacher training programs for the Trust Territory and the Peace Corps. During 1967 and 1968 he was Acting Assistant Professor in the English Language Institute, University of Hawaii, and in the fall of 1968 moved to the East-West Center, Honolulu, where he is presently a Senior Program Officer with the Culture Learning Institute.

EUGENIUS M. UHLENBECK (1913–) was born in The Netherlands where he received his academic training at the University of Leiden. During the last two years of his stay in Indonesia (1939–48) he taught general and Indonesian linguistics at the University of Indonesia, Djakarta. In 1950 he was appointed Professor of Javanese Language and Literature at the University of Leiden and in 1958 also Professor of General Linguistics. His publications are mainly in the fields of Javanese descriptive linguistics and general linguistics. He is co-editor of *Lingua*. From 1962 till 1964 he was President of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in The Hague (now in Leiden). In 1953 he was visiting professor at the Linguistic Institute held in Bloomington, Indiana. In 1965–66 he was Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Stanford, California.

CLEMENS L. VOORHOEVE (1930–) studied linguistics at the University of Leiden, The Netherlands, where he received his doctorate in linguistics. He is a Fellow in Linguistics at the Australian National University and is engaged in linguistic research into the Papuan languages of New Guinea.

STEPHEN A. WURM (1922–) received his doctorate at Vienna University and has held teaching and research posts at Vienna University, The Central Asian Research Centre (associated with St. Antony's College, Oxford University), Sydney University and the Australian National University where he is now Professor of Linguistics and in charge of the University's extensive research program in Oceanic linguistics. His major research interest has centered on the Papuan and Australian, and formerly also the Turkic languages, and he has published widely in these fields.

CHARLES A. ZISA (1938–) received a B.S. in foreign service, and an M.S. in linguistics (thesis: *Reduplication in Samoan*) from Georgetown University. He has taught

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English phonology and structure in an English to New Canadians teacher-training program of the Ontario Provincial Government. From 1961 to 1970 he was with the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C., where, as a Research Associate in the Language Information Network and Clearinghouse System (LINCS), he worked on language sciences indexing-tool development (language names component) and various statistical and functional studies for the professional community. He is currently Lecturer in Linguistics at the University of Guelph, Ontario. He has produced a coded list of world language names which is being readied for publication. His main interest is in Polynesian and general Pacific area studies.

LUCIA HADD ZOERCHER (1942–) was graduated with high distinction from Indiana University with honors in English in 1965 (Phi Beta Kappa). She has held editorial and research assistantships in that institution's Research Center for the Language Sciences and was Assistant to the Director of the 1964 Linguistic Institute. In 1966 she was Assistant to the Director of Mouton & Co., The Hague, and, during 1967, Assistant Editor in the English Language Teaching Department of Oxford University Press, London. From 1968 to 1970 she was employed by the Center for Applied Linguistics (Washington, D.C.). She is a freelance editor, with experience in Great Britain, the Netherlands, the United States, and Canada.

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