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Recognizing Nalögo and Natügu as separate languages: Code-splitting in ISO 639-3

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Without recognition as a separate language, a linguistic variety is invisible on the international stage, including that of language documentation and language development. This paper illustrates the open process for changing the ISO 639-3 code set, by discussing a code split initiated by Boerger. It delineates the criteria by which Nalögo [nlz] and Natügu [ntu] came to be recognized as distinct languages, each with its own code. These two varieties represent opposite ends of a dialect continuum on Santa Cruz Island in the Solomon Islands, which was originally represented by a single code [stc]. We provide the lexical, textual, and sociolinguistic evidence used to address the three criteria for categorizing separate languages in ISO 639-3: lack of mutual intelligibility, lack of a common literature, and separate ethno-linguistic identities. The textual evidence is an interlinearized written text of the same story, authored by the same person, in both Nalögo and Natügu, and published here for the first time. It is supplemented by wordlists in both languages. Natügu has already received considerable language development, and as a result of this split Nalögo is now positioned to receive further language development attention from both the Solomon Islands government and NGOs, thereby contributing toward the Nalögo community's own language development goals.

Key words: Nalögo [nlz], Natügu [ntu], EGIDS, Solomon Islands, Santa Cruz, dialect continuum

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

The Solomon Islands are located east of Papua New Guinea and northeast of Australia. In this article we focus on two linguistic varieties in the easternmost Temotu Province of the Solomon Islands. These are Nalögo [nlz] and Natügu [ntu], which together with Engdewu [ngr], a related language, are spoken on Santa Cruz Island. A fourth member of the group, Äiwoo [nfl], is spoken on the nearby Reef Islands, and together the four languages comprise the Reefs-Santa Cruz languages (RSC).

We have two main purposes for this article: (1) presenting the textual and sociolinguistic evidence used to argue successfully for Nalögo to receive its own ISO 639-3 language code separate from Natügu and (2) publishing the first full interlinearized texts to be made publically available in either of these languages. We hope that as a result of having its own ISO code Nalögo will receive further attention both from outside linguists and from organizations within the Solomon Islands. This is particularly important as the Solomon Islands moves toward vernacular education, in that only those varieties with supportable claims to being languages will be targeted for such development (Solomon Islands Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development 2010). Furthermore, Nalögo speakers have repeatedly expressed a desire for such development in their language (Boerger 2007:148) and have begun producing vernacular materials. Another possible outcome of linguistic attention to Nalögo relates to its being one of four RSC languages. It could provide critical data for historical reconstruction in the family, leading to an increase in our knowledge about settlement patterns in the Pacific.

The language names *Nalögo* and *Natügu* both mean "our (1+2AUG) language" in the two respective languages. The *Natügu* term has been in use for many years. Boerger thought she coined the neutral term *Nalögo* in parallel with it, but was uncertain whether this term would be acceptable to the language community. However, manuscripts she received from Bibö and Nonia villages in the Nalögo-speaking area had "Nalögo" written on the cover, so *Nalögo* may well have come into use in the community before Boerger's use of it. This confirms the local preference for what to call their language, which has the advantage of not tying it to a particular village name, Nea, which has been done in the past. The third language of Santa Cruz, Engdewu, has been previously cited in the literature as Nagu or Nanggu, after the largest village which speaks it. A name change to Engdewu has the support of speakers and is under consideration by the ISO 639-3 body; it is expected to be approved. Therefore, we use it jointly with Nagu in this article, with one language name or the other in parentheses.

Early in 2009, based primarily on less formal accounts of the evidence presented in detail here, two languages of Santa Cruz which previously shared the ISO code [stc] were split and assigned separate ISO codes—Nalögo [nlz] and Natügu [ntu]. This supports the Nalögo-speaking[2] community's desire to have their own printed literature separate from that of Natügu, in that they can now legitimately point to the language as a distinctive of their cultural identity and argue for vernacular education efforts to include them.

In the rest of this article, we convey the linguistic basis for recognizing Nalögo as a language. While we lay no new groundwork with regard to definitions of language and dialect, our arguments do have implications with respect to linguistic varieties within a dialect continuum. Section 2 discusses how the languages spoken on the island of Santa Cruz have been categorized by scholars over the past 45 years, including field data from Boerger's 1994 perceptual dialect survey and argumentation against some of Simons' (1977) conclusions. In Section 3 we present the three criteria used for assigning an ISO 639-3 code to a language, since these are the standards we address in arguing that Nalögo is a separate language. Then in sections 4 through 6 we address each of the three ISO criteria with regard to data from Nalögo and Natügu. Section 7 reviews our conclusions, as well as offering further hypotheses about why our conclusions differ from Simons (1977). Appendix A is a table of abbreviations. Appendix B

contains a parallel interlinearized text of the same story written in both Nalögo and Natügu by the same speaker,[3] and provides some of the linguistic data from which we argue in the other sections. Appendix C provides wordlists from both languages on the basis of which cognate percentages are calculated.

1.1 Language context

Nalögo is one of three related languages on the island of Santa Cruz, which together with Äiwoo, in the Reef Islands, make up the Reefs-Santa Cruz languages. Significant long term language development work has been done in Natügu leading to an EGIDS (Lewis and Simons 2010) level 5 'written,' while Nalögo and Äiwoo both rate a 6a 'vigorous,' and Engdewu has a level 7 'shifting' (Boerger et al 2012).

Table 1. EGIDS numbers relevant to Santa Cruz situation

Expanded **G**raded **I**ntergenerational **D**isruption **S**cale (adapted from Fishman 1991)			
Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child–bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child–bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children	Definitely Endangered

All the languages in the Solomon Islands are under strong pressure from Pijin as shown in section 6.2 which demonstrates its increase according to census data statistics. It is therefore important to identify linguistic varieties which are separate languages, so that documentary work can be done before there is significant language loss, and so that data is available for future efforts in descriptive and conservationist linguistics (Boerger 2011:231).

2. CATEGORIZING SANTA CRUZ LANGUAGES

The island of Santa Cruz is relatively small—roughly ten miles by thirty miles, with most inhabitants clustered in areas on the northwest, southwest and southeast coasts. Wardhaugh (2010:43) says, "When a language is recognized as being spoken in different varieties, the issue becomes one of deciding how many varieties and how to classify each variety," and that is the issue we tackle here. Scholars have by no means been in agreement about how many languages are represented on the island of Santa Cruz, with published proposals numbering between two and seven. This is due in part to a

dialect continuum, also called a dialect chain, which encompasses most of the linguistic varieties present on the island. A dialect continuum is described by Wardhaugh as follows:

> What you have is a continuum of dialects sequentially arranged over space: A, B, C, D, and so on. Over large distances the dialects at each end of the continuum may well be mutually unintelligible, and also some of the intermediate dialects may be unintelligible with one or both ends, or even with certain other intermediate ones. In such a distribution, which dialects can be classified together under one language, and how many languages are there? (2010:42)

Table 2 shows how six scholars group the Santa Cruz languages over time, with some represented more than once as their positions changed. The table is an adaptation of a similar table from Simons (1977:6), which adds Boerger's (2007) position.[4] As can be seen in Table 2, Davenport through Boerger recognize just one basic variety of Nagu (Engdewu), giving some consensus among the scholars. Only Hackman first splits and then merges them. Others who initially merged them, made a split in their later analyses. The number of languages proposed by each scholar runs along the top of the table, with the scholars and their proposed divisions in the rows under that.

Table 2. How scholars have categorized the languages of Santa Cruz Island

7 lgs	*6*	*4*	*3*	*2*	*3*	*3*	*2*	*3*
Hackman 1970	*Hackman 1970*	*Hackman 1968, 1975*	*Davenport 1962*	*Voegelin& Voegelin 1965*	*Wurm 1970*	*Wurm 1969, 1972*	*Simons 1977*	*Boerger 2007*
Neo	Neo	TöMotu	NW	NW-SCentral	Namba-kaengö	Namba-kaengö	Santa Cruz	Natügu
Malo	Malo							
Namba-kaengö	Namba-kaengö	North						
Mbaengö	Mbaengö	SW			Nea	Nea		Nalögo
Nea	Nea							
Nooli	Nanggu	Nanggu	SCentral		Nanggu	Nanggu	Nanggu	Nagu
Nanggu			SE	SE				

2.1 Hackman

Let us briefly examine each analysis in turn. Hackman (1970) lists seven Santa Cruz languages, then says in the text (Hackman 1970:102) that probably Nooli (spelled Noole on the map) and Nanngu could both be subsumed under Nanggu. All of Hackman's language names are also village names, except for Nambakaengö, which refers to a region along the western side of Graciosa Bay. Neither Nalögo speakers nor Natügu speakers previously had lexical items referring to their languages. The name *Natügu* was proposed by a linguist working with the group and *Nalögo* was formed in parallel with it. It is common for people to label the variety they speak in relation to where it is spoken. In 1968 and 1975, Hackman reduces the number of Santa Cruz languages by pairing mutually-intelligible dialects based on proximity, resulting in four languages, rather than the six or seven of his 1970 work. The language labels again describe where they are spoken, this time using English directional terms, a village name, and a Santa Cruz vernacular[5] word *tömotu* 'island' for the two varieties spoken on the islet of Temotu Neo.

2.2 Davenport

Davenport, who lived on Santa Cruz doing anthropological fieldwork in the early 1960s, has spent more time in situ than any of the scholars cited except Boerger. It is not surprising then that his analysis as far back as 1962 recognizes three languages, just as Boerger (2007) does. There are several discrepancies between the two analyses, the major one being whether Nea village patterns with Natügu (NW) as Davenport suggests or Nooli (S Central), which is Boerger's position. In support of Boerger, it should be noted that the author of the texts in our study is from Nea and speaks Nalögo as his first language and Natügu was acquired later. Davenport argued that the varieties at opposite ends of this dialect continuum which are not mutually intelligible should be recognized as separate languages—the argument that we also make here.

2.3 Voegelin and Voegelin

The Voegelins accepted Davenport's dialect continuum classification, but said that by definition all varieties in such a continuum had to be considered dialects of a single language, leaving them with a division into only two Santa Cruz languages. Their position is counter to conventional practices regarding dialect continua. For example, the fourteen recognized languages of the island of Malaita in the central Solomon Islands (Lewis 2009) are said to form one large dialect chain, in which each language is mutually intelligible to speakers of languages on either side geographically, but not to those varieties further away (Karen Ashley, personal communication). This claim is accepted by linguists who live and work in the country and is deducible from the cognate percentages in Tryon and Hackman (1983:474-477) in conjunction with Lichtenberk (2010) and others regarding how North Malaitan languages having been variously grouped and categorized as dialects and languages at different points in time.

Similarly, it is said that a historically a dialect continuum ran along the coast from the north of France to the south of Italy in which adjacent varieties are mutually intelligible, but those further away are not (Wardhaugh 2010:42). While the exact dialect boundaries in such continua are somewhat fuzzy (Heeringa and Nerbonne 2001:399), speakers can identify the major language of which their variety is a dialect, and no one today claims that French and Italian are the same language (Wardhaugh 2010:42). The Voegelins, then, did not allow for the possibility that varieties within a dialect continuum could be separate languages, nor did they consider whether there might be other factors, such as those we address below, to support Davenport's analysis positing three languages.

2.4 Wurm

Wurm did extensive studies of the Reefs-Santa Cruz (RSC) family. His two analyses represented in Table 2 differ from each other only in whether Nooli belongs to Nalögo (Nea) or Nagu (Nanggu/Engdewu). Of all the analyses represented in Table 2, Wurm's and Boerger's are closest, with the only difference being whether Mbaengö belongs to Nalögo (Nea) as Wurm posits, or to Natügu (Nambakaengö) as Boerger posits. It is certainly a transitional variety both linguistically and geographically. It may be, in fact, that Mbaengö village shares features with each of the languages in question.

2.5 Simons

For the past thirty-five years, only two languages have been recognized on Santa Cruz, based primarily on Simons (1977). He recognized Nagu [ngr] and what he called *Santa Cruz*, which included both *Natügu* and *Nalögo*, with their former combined code [stc]. The categorization of Natügu and Nalögo as one language often made it necessary in the literature to indicate that the Santa Cruz language has two primary varieties, sometimes called Northern and Southern Santa Cruz. These are called Natügu and Nalögo in the current paper, but as one sees from even the limited data in Table 2, both have had numerous labels. Simons (1977:15-16) concluded that one vernacular literature could serve both Nalögo and Natügu and suggested that the Natügu variety spoken in Bënwë village, Graciosa Bay, would be comprehended by the greatest number of people.

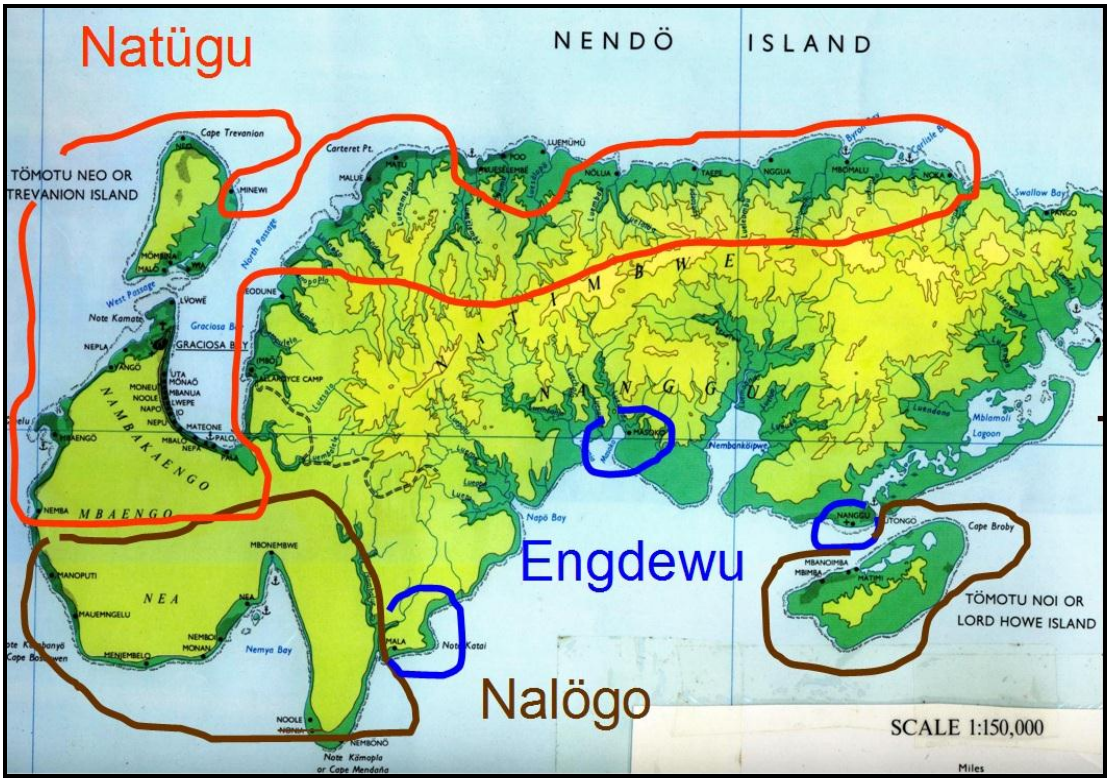
> The reason for the different conclusion lies in the criterion of mutual intelligibility. Both Davenport (1962:402) and Wurm (1969:52) cite informant opinion of where intelligibility between dialects ended as giving support for their division of the dialect chain running from the north coast to Nooli into two languages...I use the term 'mutual' to mean only that there is two-way understanding. It in no way implies that the understanding in both directions is equal...For the purposes of our testing, a dialect was considered to be intelligible to a listener if the listener understood the main points of the test story, even though he may have missed many of the specific details (Simons 1977:7, 8).

In the sections that follow, we will argue that this definition of intelligibility is too broad, in that it includes people who really cannot follow a spoken or written discourse. Our contention is that both the language situation has changed in the intervening thirty-five years and some factors and assumptions in the original survey like the less restrictive definition of mutual intelligibility which only requiring that the basics of a story be understood skewed the results toward the conclusions reached by Simons. Whatever the cause, there is considerable evidence indicating that Nalögo should have its own ISO code indicating its status as a separate language, not merely as a dialect of Natügu (Boerger 2007:127).

2.6 Boerger

The language groupings and boundaries, as we understand them, are represented on the map in Figure 1. Natügu has some 5,000 speakers centered primarily on the northwestern portion of the island, particularly along the shore of Graciosa Bay, as outlined in red. Engdewu, spoken mainly in the southeastern portion of the island and outlined with three small, blue circles, is listed in a recent census (DeBruijn and Beimers 1999) as having only 210 speakers. The southwest coast of the island along with the southeastern settlements are inhabited by the 1,500 speakers of Nalögo, as shown in the two larger brown circles.

Figure 1: Indigenous languages of Santa Cruz Island [6]



2.6.1 *Boerger's 1994 perceptual dialect survey*

The language boundaries on the map are due in large part to a perceptual dialect survey conducted by Boerger in late using variations of three of the five techniques for perceptual dialectology developed by Preston in the 1980s (1999:xxxiv). The techniques used by Boerger were to ask respondents to: a) relate varieties on a map, b) categorize varieties based on degree of difference, and c) interact with each other in open-ended conversations about the language varieties.

The respondents in the survey included five male community leaders, all but one of whom were in the oldest of three age groups in the population. The men were from different villages in the dialect continuum and they were asked to group together relevant villages on the island which they consider to have the same or very similar linguistic patterns. Then based on degrees of difference they were asked to label each group of villages according to the central or dominant village of the group, in order to distinguish it from groups on either side. Finally, the respondents were asked to discuss their opinions, especially regarding places they diverged, and then, if possible, to reach consensus. It was through their input that it became clear that the north coast settlements should not be included in the dialect continuum itself, since they were settled by members of individual villages along the continuum.

The results of that perceptual dialect survey are presented here for the first time, since they are pertinent to the general discussion, and can also serve as a reference point approximately halfway between Simons (1977) and Boerger (2007) as shown in Table 2. The consensus thinking of the men interviewed resulted in 13 main Santa Cruz varieties and is presented in summary form in Table 3. It is

striking how closely these 1994 groupings match the divisions found by Hackman (1970) in his discussion of census data from nearly 25 years earlier. All seven of the divisions he proposed are present, and are marked with asterisks in Table 3 for comparison.

Table 3. **1994 perceptual dialectology results**

Dialect groupings of NATÜGU			
marker village	*member villages*	*N. coast settlements*	*geographical region*
BALO	Palë Nepa		Graciosa Bay, *Nambakaengö, NW
NEP	Mateone		
LVEPÄ	Yâ Naban Napö		
BËNWË	Nööle Mönëu Mönaö Nou Uta	Mëtü Mënöpne' Taepe	
*MALO	Lwovë Wia Bänö		Neo Island
*NEO	Neba Maglälo	Nölwa	
VÄNGË	*Baengö	Namâ Nokë	Western
NEMBA			
Dialect groupings of NALÖGO & NAGU			
marker village	*member villages*	*SE Noi Is. settlements*	*geographical region*
MANOPUTI			SW
BANYÖ	Noipä Mönan		
*NEA	Neboi Bönebwö		
*NOOLE	Nebön Nonia	Bibö etc.	S. Central
*NAGU (Engdewu)	Nabëlue Baemawa Masoko		SE

After the interviewees had made their linguistic groupings, a leader from Noole, in the Nalögo geographical area, was asked to say which villages or groups of villages could easily understand the Bënwë dialect of the Natügu geographical area. His reply, which had consensus from the others, is the basis for the dialect and language divisions assumed by Boerger in her work. He advanced the opinion that the dialects in the Nalögo group might possibly be able to understand Natügu (Bënwë dialect), but

that these varieties are considerably different, and most of the comprehension comes from interaction with people from Graciosa Bay, what Simons refers to as "learned intelligibility." The Noole elder thought that the younger people, who have had less interaction with Natügu speakers, would have difficulty understanding it.

The Noole speaker also reported that because of Noole's close proximity to and interaction with Nagu speakers, Noole speakers are able to comprehend Nagu (Engdewu) fairly well, and many Nagu speakers also comprehend the Noole dialect fairly well, which probably explains why Hackman and Wurm viewed them as one variety. But this is also learned intelligibility. One sees from the map two places where the language boundaries in brown and blue touch, demonstrating a potential for regular contact between Nagu (Engdewu) and Nalögo speakers, while there is no such contact point between (Nagu) Engdewu's blue and Natügu's red lines, making learned intelligibility between them less common.[7]

The major difference between Hackman (1970) and the 1994 survey is that the men Boerger worked with divided Nambakaengö into four sub-dialect groupings, while Hackman had only one. The reality of these four sub-dialects became evident in Boerger's language development work with speakers of all four sub-dialects represented on the Natügu Language Project team. For example, the team was trying to decide how to spell a noun meaning 'effect' which was pronounced slightly differently from another noun meaning 'instance.' Bënwë had been chosen as the target dialect, based on Simons' (1977) research, and was found to be generally acceptable to Natügu speakers. But with regard to these two words, the Bënwë dialect deviated from the other three dialects along Graciosa Bay, two of which were southeast of Bënwë and one of which was north of it. That is, speakers on either side of Bënwë agreed with each other, but not with the Bënwë speakers. The result was to go with the other three sub-dialects of the Bay, rather than Bënwë, such that 'effect' was spelled *nöwö* and 'instance' was spelled *nëwö* in the standardized publications the team produced. For Bënwë dialect speakers the meanings are flipped.

Boerger's dialect survey respondents also labeled the Vängë variety with the (M)Baengö label, rather than vice versa as in Hackman, and they had a further split, in Natügu, with Nemba village being assigned its own variety. Within Nalögo they had four, rather than two, basic groupings, arrived at by additions of the Manoputi and Banyö varieties. That gave a total of 13 dialect groupings, rather than the seven reported by Hackman. However, at no point did the men claim that these were all separate languages.

These groupings are also consistent with patterns found by Simons (1977:12-13). His study correlated all the villages of Santa Cruz with one of fourteen representative wordlists, to find which one was closest to their variety. Taped tokens representing thirteen villages were played in other villages to determine levels of inter-dialectal comprehension. When the settlement villages are excluded from the data, both the wordlist data and the comprehension data show a continuum from the villages at the bottom of Graciosa Bay westward, then southward around the west end of the island to the point of Cape Mendana in the south. This differs from Simons' hub analysis, which included the settlement villages, as we discuss in section 2.6.2 below.

2.6.2 *The Santa Cruz dialect continuum*

As noted in the discussion above, Nalögo and Natügu have been analyzed as representing opposite ends of a dialect continuum (Davenport 1962:402, Simons 1977:15, Boerger 2007:127). Simons' study shows a number of discontinuities when his data for both the north and the southeast coasts of the island are examined more closely, because rather than being distinct varieties in their own right, the varieties spoken in these areas correspond to other varieties of Natügu. Boerger's 1994 sources said that the relevant villages[8] on the north coast of the island were all settled by villagers from elsewhere on the island in relatively recent history. This explains the discontinuity Simons reports regarding the dialect varieties there. These historically recent settlements, then, should be analyzed as outside the basic dialect continuum, and are therefore treated separately, as settlement villages, in the next-to-the-last column of Table 3. Once we exclude the north coast villages from the chain, then the chain could more properly be said to extend from Palë on Graciosa Bay and tracking along the coast in a westward direction, swinging southward and eastward to eventually end at Nonia, just south of Noole, on the southern coast at the tip of Cape Mendana.

Boerger's interviewees claimed that the language spoken in Mëtü, also on the north coast, was originally closer to the dialect of Neo[9] village on the island of Tömotu Neo, but has more recently become very similar to the Bënwë dialect of Graciosa Bay. On the south side of the island, Nalögo speakers, probably from the Noole-Nonia area, also settled the islet of Temotu Noi in the southeast relatively recently. The major village there is Bibö, which was seen to pattern with the Noole dialect in Simons' survey (1977:13).

Our analysis then would exclude from the continuum these relatively recent settlements, in the northern and southeastern coastal villages, which were part of Simons' (1977:26-27) survey. While Nokë village in the northeast is geographically furthest from Noole of the villages studied, according to our sources, the speakers there pattern with the west coast Vängë dialect because the village was settled by people from the area around Vängë village. But, in the tape tests Simons did, the Bënwë village variety was used to represent Nokë. However, since Bënwë and Vängë are mutually intelligible, it is not surprising that Vängë-like speakers in Nokë told Simons they could understand all the varieties from Nokë to somewhere toward the end of the Natügu territory or even into the Nalögo area.

Given the Natügu-Nalögo dividing line which we propose runs between the villages of Nemba and Manoputi, it is revealing that half of Simons' six respondents said the villages from Nokë at the eastern end of the north coast to Nemba on the west coast comprised one language. These are the villages included within the red boundary for Natügu in the map above. And this also correlates with divisions made by speakers Boerger interviewed in the course of her twenty years on Santa Cruz. Meanwhile the other three of Simons' six respondents included the Nalögo-speaking areas along with Natügu as being one language. It is possible that the latter respondents had an "us-them" distinction in mind, in that Nalögo and Natügu are certainly more like each other than either of them is to English or Pijin—the languages known by those conducting the survey. We address this in more detail in section 6.2.

In Simons' (1977:15) analysis of the Santa Cruz dialect chain, he says, "Lwowa (Lwovë) is the central hub in the pattern of dialect chains, with chains going off to the north, south, east, and west away from it." But he does not discuss how this pattern may have emerged or argue for it, except from shared vocabulary. Such an analysis does not take into account the history and settlement pattern of Lwovë, which would reveal that this village is historically not likely to have been a linguistic hub. For example, before Simons' 1977 survey, i.e. before independence from Great Britain in 1978, Lwovë served as the government station for what would later become Temotu Province. This administrative center had moved to Lata, about a mile away, by the time of Simons' study. During its season as the government station, Lwovë became a crossroads where many speakers met and interacted. Such interactions, then, could partly account for the high levels of shared vocabulary between Lwovë and other dialects.

But another factor, which also mitigates against Lwovë as a hub, is that that village itself is a settlement village, inhabited primarily by people with roots in Malo village, across the channel, on Tömotu Neo. Boerger lived in Lwovë in 1987, and observed that Lwovë did not function like other villages on the island. Rather than there being any village-focused activity, the activity in Lwovë seemed to be more outward focused. During the daytime the village almost completely emptied out, with some workers going up to Lata, and the rest paddling across to Malo, presumably to work in family gardens already established there.

A final factor making Lwovë an unlikely hub is the relative isolation of the Lwovë-Malo-Neo linguistic varieties. For speakers from Graciosa Bay to travel to Vängë, for example, it is not necessary for them to go through any of the Lwovë-Malo-Neo villages to reach it. As a result of this relative isolation, the Malo dialect appears to be more linguistically conservative than the dialects on Graciosa Bay, in that it preserves phonological and lexical features which have changed or been lost in the Bay dialects, presumably as a result of their more frequent interactions with other dialects and languages.

3. WORKING DEFINITIONS OF DIALECT AND LANGUAGE

As the Yiddish linguist Max Weinreich[10] so aptly puts it, "A shprakh iz a dialekt mit an armey un flot," that is to say, "A language is a dialect with an army and a navy." This characterization serves to highlight the powerlessness of many vernaculars spoken today. The debate as to the proper distinction between a language and a dialect depends on the purposes for making the distinction, who is making the distinction, and which of multiple possible factors are considered in making the distinction, and how those factors are weighted. There is often an appeal to mutual intelligibility—that speakers of a language can understand each other's speech while those of other languages cannot. Haugen states that "laymen naturally assume that these terms [language and dialect]…refer to actual entities that are clearly distinguishable and therefore enumerable" (1966:922). But this is clearly not the case, as Romaine (2000:2) says, "Any variety is part of a continuum in social and geographical space and time. The discontinuities that do occur, however, often reflect geographical and social boundaries and weaknesses in communication networks."

We have seen that there is a lack of consensus regarding how to distinguish between languages and dialects on Santa Cruz Island, including how to label them. And in fact, we ourselves resort to talking

about groupings of villages as representative of a particular linguistic variety and sub-dialects in the more uniform speech on Graciosa Bay. The realities are much more nuanced than a mere distinction between dialect and language. And at the same time, it can be useful to be able to categorize some varieties as languages, which warrant further study, especially in light of language endangerment. Another illustration which highlights the difficulties of categorization is the English language. In descriptive studies of English, one must distinguish which variety (dialect?) of English is in focus—British English, Indian English, American English...etc. And are we talking about an abstract conceptualization or an actual speech community?

Dialects differ from languages in that they are linguistic variations which rarely impede comprehension. "Every language is characterized by variation within the speech community that uses it. Those varieties, in turn, are more or less divergent from one another. These divergent varieties are often referred to as dialects" (Lewis 2009). The question remains as to what degree of variation is significant enough to result in classification as a language rather than as a dialect.

A "one size fits all" consensus is unlikely to emerge soon with regard to how to distinguish varieties of a language and to what depth. For the purposes of this paper, we do not attempt to resolve any of these issues on a global scale. Instead, we address the three criteria which have been established for making modifications to the ISO 639-3 language codes as reflected in the links from the home page for Part 3 of the ISO 639 family of standards, i.e. the representation of names of languages, found at http://www.sil.org/iso639-3/default.asp.

On that website is a link to this one http://www.sil.org/iso639-3/submit_changes.asp, which describes what was required for splitting Natügu and Nalögo. Of the six types of changes possible, number five, on page two, is the category for splitting a code element into two or more new codes. The instructions there read:

> "For this part of ISO 639, judgments regarding when two varieties are considered to be the same or different languages are based on a number of factors, including linguistic similarity, intelligibility, a common literature (traditional or written), a common writing system, the views of users concerning the relationship between language and identity, and other factors. The following basic criteria are followed:
>
> Two related varieties are normally considered varieties of the same language if users of each variety have inherent understanding of the other variety (that is, can understand based on knowledge of their own variety without needing to learn the other variety) at a functional level.
>
> Where intelligibility between varieties is marginal, the existence of a common literature or of a common ethnolinguistic identity with a central variety that both understand can be strong indicators that they should nevertheless be considered varieties of the same language.

> Where there is enough intelligibility between varieties to enable communication, the existence of well-established distinct ethnolinguistic identities can be a strong indicator that they should nevertheless be considered to be different languages."

We assign shorter labels to these three criteria for being considered separate languages: lack of mutual intelligibility, lack of a common literature, and distinct ethnolinguistic identities. In section 4 we discuss each of the three criteria set out above in relation to Nalögo and Natügu, showing why literature in Natügu is not suitable for Nalögo speakers.

4. CRITERION #1: LACK OF MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY

4.1 Natural vs. learned intelligibility

Simons (1977:8) makes the distinction between natural intelligibility based on how closely related the varieties are as opposed to learned intelligibility based on language contact. But for our purposes only natural intelligibility is relevant, since "inherent understanding" is the basis for the first ISO 639-3 criterion. This makes sense since there are inequalities in speakers' exposure to non-native varieties. For example, it appears that the subjects giving Simons' wordlists and interviews were primarily men (1977:9), and some of them were also said to be church and community leaders. On Santa Cruz, men in leadership have greater exposure to people and languages from other parts of the island than the average villager does; and men generally have more freedom of movement than women do. On that basis, we posit that the subjects in Simons' study may have skewed his findings toward higher levels of learned intelligibility than were actually present in the general population.

4.2 Nalögo speaker

In an effort to determine whether or not speakers of Natügu and Nalögo understand each other, we turn to Mr. Saemon Greenleaf Meabö, the author of the texts presented in this article. He is a 91-year old inhabitant of Santa Cruz Island, who grew up in Nea, normally considered the prestige village among those whose first language is Nalögo. He still has relatives there with whom he has periodic contact. Meabö was a school teacher during the first half of his career, until he retired from teaching at age 55. He has lived in a number of places on Santa Cruz and elsewhere in the Solomon Islands. His wife is from Graciosa Bay, where Natügu is spoken, and they live in her village. Over the years, Meabö learned to speak Natügu, in addition to his native Nalögo, and can read and write both varieties. The fact that he needed to learn Natügu in order to adequately communicate with speakers on Graciosa Bay is evidence that he perceives these two varieties as separate languages, as does the fact that he provided two versions of the story in Appendix B—one in each variety, without needing to question exactly what was meant by reference to the two varieties. They are clearly distinct in his mind.

4.3 Cognate and non-cognate vocabulary

Given that the two varieties were distinct in Meabö's thinking, just prior to leaving Santa Cruz in 2006, Boerger asked him for some texts in Nalögo for comparison with Natügu. He provided five pairs of stories; one story from each pair was written in Nalögo and one in Natügu. One of these pairs, *M(w)engalu (I)Nibü Nöâ,* 'M(w)engalu is killed by a wave,' is included as Appendix B and provides data in support of our claims.

Assuming that the Nalögo texts would be relatively transparent, since the two varieties had previously been classified as mutually comprehensible dialects of a single language (Simons 1977), Boerger did not ask for glosses for the Nalögo text. For in spite of the perceptual dialectology results in 1994, she expected glossing to be fairly straightforward based on her knowledge of Natügu and of linguistics. However, it was only when keyboarding the sets of handwritten texts after having left the country that she realized the similarities were less pronounced than she had previously thought. Her subsequent examination and comparison of the texts confirmed Boerger's increasing conviction that the varieties were indeed not mutually intelligible, even based on cognate levels, just as the 1994 survey had implied. Demonstrating this fact more concretely motivated this article.

In selecting which of the five stories to present, we chose the one which was among the shortest and which seemed to have the most cognate vocabulary, thus making it easier to gloss. That accounts for why a cursory glance at the texts of the two stories may produce doubts regarding these being separate languages, in that a quick comparison reveals a number of shared lexical items, and it is clear that the languages are related.

Table 4 demonstrates the high number of identical lexical items found in the *M(w)engalu* text which are shared by Natügu and Nalögo. These are not limited to one part of speech, but include nouns, verbs, adverbs, and articles.

Table 4. **Nalögo and Natügu identical vocabulary from texts**

Nalögo	Natügu	Gloss	Part of Speech	Line #
nöâ	*nöâ*	'wave'	noun	01
kë-dü	*kë-dü*	'one' 'a'	article	02
ëvë	*ëvë*	'always'	adverb	23
të-kabo=ng	*të-kabo=ng*	'they.shouted'	verb-inflected	05
wö-tö=pe'-mü	*wö-tö=pe-mü*	'swim in'	verb-inflected	15
dötü=de	*dötü=de*	'his name'	noun-possessed	02
dötwö	*dötwö*	'neck'	noun	07
ä	*ä*	'and'	conjunction	21

Similarly, in addition to sharing identical vocabulary, Nalögo and Natügu also have cognates that are phonetically and semantically similar. Some cognates from the *M(w)engalu* text are listed in Table 5. A formal reconstruction is planned to establish correspondences between Natügu based on Boerger (forthcoming), Nalögo, and Engdewu (Nagu), which is being documented and described by Vaa (forthcoming).

Table 5. **Nalögo and Natügu cognate vocabulary from texts**

Nalögo	Natügu	Gloss	Part of Speech	Line #
pedo	*peto*	'bush'	noun	15
ibë-tä	*bë-tä*	'died'	verb	22
âbwü	*ëbü*	'day'	noun	02

mwagö	*badö*	'with'	preposition	03
bwëite=de	*këte=de*	'his friends'	noun-possessed	03
mwëli	*mëli*	'time'	noun	06
ibowi-tä	*boi-tä*	'very long'	verb	06
meipwë	*mepë*	'shore'	noun	08-09
imünâ	*mnâ*	'stay'	verb	10
pwöla	*pöla*[11]	'sea'	noun	12
âpwülë	*öplë*	'stone'	noun	20

Countering these similarities, and based just on data from the parallel texts of this study, we have also found a number of differences between the varieties, which were also noted by Simons (1977:32): the words for 'man,' 'one,' and 'big' as listed in Table 6. Note however, that the Nalögo word for 'stone' *oplë* recorded by Simons and given by Meabö in the wordlist in Appendix C, are different from the Nalögo word *âpwülë* used by Meabö in the text in 2006. There are any number of possible explanations. But since the retired school teacher who wrote both of the *M(w)engalu* texts is an experienced writer, our confidence in the accuracy and consistency of his spelling is reasonably high.

Table 6. **Nalögo and Natügu diverging vocabulary from texts**

Nalögo	Natügu	Gloss	Part of Speech	Line #
üngö	*nâblo*	'man'	noun	02
iköle=pe'	*mölë=pe*	'enough'	verb	14
kalö	*kölëu*	'wait'	verb	17
nü-vöte	*na-esë'*	'one'	verb	17
ipwë	*etu*	'big'	verb	20

To supplement the data from the texts, Boerger also collected wordlists for comparing Nalögo and Natügu, starting with a Swadesh 200-wordlist. These wordlists are included as Appendix C. While further refinement of these is reserved for future fieldwork when more comparative research is planned, the current lists are sufficient for indicating cognate levels. The word pairs in the two languages in Appendix C are annotated as follows: *Y* indicates, 'Yes, the words are obvious cognates,' such as those in Table 4 and Table 5 above. *N* indicates, 'No, the words are definitely not cognate.' And *D* indicates, 'The words are different enough to not be recognized as cognate by speakers of the other variety.' Two further annotations used only a few times are *B* for borrowings and *S* for cognates where some shift in meaning has occurred in one of the varieties.

There are 217 total token pairs tabulated, with a 60% cognate rate using only the tokens which speakers of both languages would readily acknowledge as the same or similar. This increases to 75% when including the words which are cognate from a linguist's viewpoint, but which are different enough to not be quickly understood by speakers of the other variety.

Our results correlate with Simons' data (1977:6), while the conclusions we draw from those results do not, primarily based on our differing definitions of "mutual intelligibility." The study by Simons (1977:17,

27) was based primarily on the Swadesh 100 word list and on short autobiographical recordings taken in representative villages. The recordings were then played in other villages to determine how much speakers of other varieties were capable of understanding them, with understanding divided into categories of full, partial, sporadic, and none. Understanding was logged if the listener understood the main points, but missed some details (1977:8)—that is, for both full and partial understanding.

He concluded that they could be considered one language, but we are arguing for two. Even so, we would agree, and speakers of all three varieties on Santa Cruz would confirm, that based on vocabulary alone there is a closer genetic relationship between Nalögo and Natügu than either of them has to Nagu (Engdewu). Similarly, it is difficult to determine whether Nagu's (Engdewu) being more similar to Nalögo than Natügu is a result of genetic relationship, or rather the more regular contact between Nagu (Engdewu) and Nalögo speakers than either has with Natügu speakers, due to their geographical closeness.

4.4 Divergent inflectional morphology and syntax

Another significant difference between Nalögo and Natügu is their divergent inflectional morphology and syntax. Natügu verbal inflections are categorized in a minimal and augmented system as illustrated in Table 7 (Næss and Boerger 2008:188, van den Berg and Boerger 2011:230). Given the differences in just the pronominal enclitics, it would be easy to see that speakers of these two varieties would have difficulty tracking participant referents in a story. One significant difference is in the secondary clitics of column B, where *=gö* signals first person augmented in Natügu, but third person augmented in Nalögo, as in Table 8.

Table 7. Natügu pronominal morphology

	A	B	C	D	E
MINIMAL	Set I	Set II	Free accusative pronouns	Free dative pronouns	Possessive pronominal enclitics
1	*=ä*	*=nge*	*ni=nge*	*ba=nge*	*=nge*
1+2	*=ki*	*=gi*	*ni=gi*	*ba=gi*	*=gi*
2	*=ü*	*=m(ü)*	*ni=m(ü)*	*ba=m(ü)*	*=m(ü)*
3	*=le (A,O)* *=Ø (S)*	*=de*	*ni=de*	*ba=de*	*=de*
AUGMENTED					
1	*=kö*	***=gö***	*ni=gö*	*ba=gö*	*=gö*
1+2	*=ku*	*=gu*	*ni=gu*	*ba=gu*	*=gu*
2	*=amu*	*=mu*	*ni=mu*	*ba=mu*	*=mu*
3	*në-...=lö (A)* *në- ...=ng(ü) (S)*	*në-...=dö*	*ni=dö*	*ba=dö*	*=dö*

For Natügu, the forms in column A occur as subjects of transitive and intransitive clauses, except in the third person where *=Ø* is the minimal form for S (subject of an intransitive), *=le* for A (subject of a transitive) and O (object). This parallels the third person augmented forms of column A, but which

shows a split only between A and S. We call these set I enclitics. The enclitics in column B are used elsewhere, such as 1) subjects in applicative derivations; 2) subjects of passive clauses; 3) objects when set I is present as subject (van den Berg and Boerger 2011). These are set II enclitics. Both types are signaled by a subscript of either I or II on the relevant morpheme in the interlinearized Natügu text of Appendix B.

The set of parallel Nalögo forms in Table 8 was elicited from the author of the texts. We have not attempted a thorough analysis to determine their distribution, but assume that they will be found to be rather similar to their Natügu counterparts.

Table 8. **Nalögo pronominal morphology**

	A	B
minimal	Set I	Set II
1	*=la*	*=nu*
1+2	*=ki*	*=gi*
2	*=lü*	*=mwü*
3	*=te* *=Ø intr*	*=de*
Augmented		
1	*=lom*	*=gom*
1+2	*=ko*	*=go*
2	*=lam*	*=mwi*
3	*lë...=tö* *lë-...=ngü*	***=gö***

Such differences between the two varieties are not limited to individual words and inflectional morphology, but extend into the sentence level. See the following examples from line 24 where (1) represents Nalögo and (2) represents Natügu. Note, too, the number of question marks in the Nalögo text which are unfamiliar to Boerger in spite of having spent over twenty years working on Natügu. These are certainly not mutually intelligible, except through frequent contact.

(1) Nalögo:

Nöâ	kä	i-pwë=Ø	döngâ	te-lë-twë=ngü,	igâ=de	lâ,	i-vö-nibü=Ø	lepölë.
wave	SUBR	PR-big=3MIN	must?	NEG?-3AUG-take=3AUG	???	DEM	DETR-kill=3MIN	people

'They must not take a big wave, that ?? kills people.'

(2) Natügu:

Kä	tü-mâ=amu	nöâ	kä-etu	bëkü	twë=amu,	muöde	a-bë=Ø	nâblo.
SUBR	RL-see=2AUG$_I$	wave	SUBR-big	PROH	take=2AUG$_I$	for	CAUS-die=3MIN$_I$	men

'When you see a big wave, don't take it, because it makes men die.'

The differences in both vocabulary and word order are evident in just these two sentences. The Natügu sentence places the verb before the direct object; the Nalögo sentence puts the direct object first. This difference may be merely stylistic, since based on simpler sentences the word order for both varieties is VSO in transitive clauses. While not all the comparable sentences are this diverse in their structure, the differences above are worth noting. See also the full text of the story in both languages for further clause level comparisons.

4.5 Phonology

In addition to differences in vocabulary, Natügu has borrowed orthographically and perhaps phonologically from Nalögo. Boerger (2007:132) lists [$^{n}d^{j}$] as part of the Natügu inventory, noting that it only occurs in borrowings from other RSC languages or English. Compare the consonant inventories of the two languages in Table 9 following the analysis in Boerger et al (2012). While Natügu does have C+labial forms, these are analyzed as sequences, rather than single phonemes. Further study may suggest other possible phonological borrowing between the two languages, though in light of their degree of relatedness these will almost certainly be difficult to identify with certainty. It is clear that speakers of the two languages do have contact and that these related languages are bound to continue to affect each other.

Table 9. Consonant inventories of Natügu and Nalögo

Natügu				Nalögo							
p	t		k	p^{w}	p	p^{j}	t^{w}	t		k^{w}	k
^{m}b	^{n}d		^{ŋ}g	$^{m}b^{w}$	^{m}b			^{n}d	$^{n}d^{j}$		^{ŋ}g
m	n		ŋ	m^{w}	m			n	n^{j}		ŋ
v	s				v			s			
	l							l			
w		j		w					j		

Given the discussion provided throughout section 4, the first criterion for establishing Nalögo as a separate language from Natügu has been met. The two languages are not mutually intelligible, and they exhibit significant differences both structurally and lexically, despite the number of cognates and other similarities they share.

5. CRITERION #2: LACK OF A COMMON LITERATURE

The second ISO 639-3 criterion for establishing status as a language states that despite marginal intelligibility, the presence of common or shared literature in a third variety understood by the two under consideration would be sufficient to establish that the two varieties are differing dialects of a common language. Regarding the Santa Cruz situation, the three language varieties there do share a common set of folk stories in their oral tradition, but none serves as the standard which the other two can understand. In workshop contexts with speakers of Natügu and Nalögo it has been clear that neither the spoken nor written forms of the language are mutually comprehensible (Boerger 2007, Boerger et al 2012). At the same time, an increasing amount of new material has been printed in Natügu, including a

reading primer (Bck et al 2004), a graded reader (Boerger 2002), a Natügu-English/English-Natügu word list (Boerger and Boerger 2005), and the Natügu New Testament with Psalms and Ruth 2008).

To date, though, speakers of Nalögo have no printed literature available in their own language. While the Natügu materials have been made available throughout the island of Santa Cruz, they do not satisfy Nalögo speakers' desire for their own literature because their comprehension of the Natügu materials is inadequate (Boerger 2007:148). In spite of being "just on the verge" of grasping it, and in spite of regular contact between the varieties, the Nalögo speakers still cannot reliably comprehend either spoken or written Natügu. This counters Simons' hypothesis (1977:8-23) that the contact provided by geographic proximity, church festivals, and intermarriage provides sufficient exposure for speakers of the two varieties to achieve learned intelligibility in each other's varieties.

The absence of printed material in Nalögo and speakers' desire to have it satisfies the second criterion regarding lack of a common literature. For in spite of its availability in Natügu, Nalögo speakers are still pursuing steps to produce similar material themselves (Boerger 2007:148).

6. CRITERION #3: DISTINCT ETHNOLINGUISTIC IDENTITIES

The third criterion for ISO 639-3 states that the presence of a shared ethnolinguistic identity is indicative of a shared language. We take this to mean that the speakers of the two varieties under consideration share a cultural background and linguistic history, and that they therefore consider themselves one people. Here we have the weakest argument for separating the varieties, since as is clear from the previous sections, the speakers of Nalögo and Natügu share both a cultural background and a linguistic history, and they all live on the small island of Santa Cruz. In spite of that, we argue below that Nalögo and Natügu qualify as separate languages even under this criterion. One reason relates to the complexity of the question regarding whether they consider themselves as one people or not.

6.1 Wantok or not

Throughout most of Melanesia, one finds the concept of *wantok*. The word exists in the pidgins of both the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, and literally means *one talk*. The concept would literally refer to people who speak the same language. However, modern day semantics are more complicated. The use of *wantok* creates a lexicalized insider-outsider dichotomy similar to those found in other cultures.[12] In Melanesia, the people one includes under the umbrella of *wantok* expands in concentric circles, moving outward from one's home, with the concept of *home* changing with it. So, on the island of Santa Cruz, within neighboring villages, *wantok* identifies just one's own relatives to the exclusion of other speakers of the same language. But in relating island-wide, it distinguishes Nalögo speakers from speakers of Engdewu or Natügu. When Santa Cruz people relate to Temotuans from other islands, all speakers of a Santa Cruz language are considered *wantoks* as opposed to those from other islands. Moving further from home, a Santa Cruz person in the national capital, Honiara, would consider anyone from Temotu Province a *wantok*, especially should it come to a point of conflict with other Solomon Islanders.

Moving even further from home, a Solomon Islander located elsewhere in Melanesia would consider anyone else from the Solomons to be a *wantok*, since they would share Solomon Islands Pijin as a

language. But, the concept can be even bigger, such that a Melanesian living in a non-Melanesian country would then consider any other Melanesian or even another Pacific Islander to be a *wantok.* All this serves to convey that there are times when Nalögo and Natügu speakers categorize themselves as having one identity, and other times when they view themselves as two separate groups.

6.2 Census data

Simons (1977:9) says that speakers at opposite ends of the dialect chain told him that they both spoke the same language, even though the cognate percents between those varieties was only 59%, which is comparable to the 60% rate we found for words speakers would agree are cognates. But at the same time, the Solomon Island Census data in 1976 made a three way distinction between the indigenous varieties spoken on Santa Cruz Island. For census purposes, when comparing themselves to other speakers on the same island, the Nalögo and Natügu speakers did not represent themselves as belonging to one group, but to two, as shown in the census data in Table 10. Our hypothesis, mentioned above, is that compared to Simons, a native speaker of English and an expatriate, the speakers at the opposite ends of the chain saw themselves as being *wantoks*, while in the census survey when comparing themselves with each other regarding which Santa Cruz language they spoke, they made a distinction that they were not *wantoks*.

Table 10. **First language census data with ISO codes and spellings**

Language	1976	1999	ISO 639-3
Nalögo	1,045	1,541	nlz
Natügu	1,658	4,085	ntu
Nagu	238	206	ngr
Äiwoo	3,961	7,926	nfl
Pijin	1,527	20,038	pis

Note that while each village along the dialect chain may show slight variation from its neighbors on either side, in verbal reports to Boerger there has been considerable consensus among inhabitants of the island regarding where major breaks in the linguistic varieties occur, such that most Natügu speakers can name the last village along the chain whose speakers they can easily comprehend, and vice versa for Nalögo speakers. For census purposes then, neither group had a problem in 1976 or in 1999 indicating which language they speak.

There is no standard variety outside of Nalögo and Natügu, nor is there a suggestion that one of them is the standard and the other a regional variant. In fact, the names Nalögo and Natügu themselves are a sign of separate identities, since both words mean 'our (1AUG) language' in their respective languages. Likewise, as noted previously, Meabö's ability to distinguish the languages in order to tell the stories in both varieties, gives credence to the idea that these are generally perceived as separate linguistic entities. In summary then, while Nalögo and Natügu speakers share a culture, their spoken varieties are sufficiently diverse that they consider themselves to have separate languages.

7. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The primary goal of this paper has been to present the arguments used in support of the subsequently approved split in the ISO 639-3 codes allowing for Nalögo to be record as a separate language from Natügu. Evidence was given in response to three criteria: mutual intelligibility, common literature, and ethnolinguistic identity. Nalögo and Natügu are not mutually intelligible; speakers must either know both languages, or Solomon Islands Pijin in order to communicate. While the two languages do have considerable cognate vocabulary, this is due more to their common past rather than to present day cohesion. Differences can be found both on the lexical and phrasal level to justify establishing them as different languages. This is further confirmed by the fact that stories can be conveyed in both Nalögo and Natügu. There is no common printed literature between the languages, and the shared cultural stories are not mutually comprehensible when told orally. While the amount of printed literature in Natügu has been increasing, Nalögo speakers still lack any printed literature of their own and have expressed a desire to write and record materials in their language. Finally, there is a clear distinction of identity between speakers of Nalögo and Natügu, in that they distinguish their languages from each other for census purposes.

These findings are significant because they represent a departure from the findings of Simons (1977), who used somewhat different parameters and definitions in concluding that Nalögo and Natügu were sufficiently mutually intelligible to allow for one printed literature to serve both varieties. Simons (1977:7) reports that new roads were built between 1965 and 1977, which connected the central and southern parts of the island with Graciosa Bay and the provincial capital in Lata. He suggests the roads were responsible in part for the mutual intelligibility levels he found between Nalögo and Natügu. He says, “All of this has led to an increase in the amount of contact between Santa Cruz peoples which, in turn, has apparently led to an increase in the intelligibility between distant dialects.”

In a relatively static situation, this might have been the result. But Simons did not predict the dramatic rise in Pijin as a first language, as indicated in Table 10 above. In 1976, one year before Simons’ paper, first language speakers of Pijin numbered only 1,527, but by 1999 that number had grown to 20,038. So rather than having a passive understanding of other languages in the region, speakers over the past twenty-some years have used Solomon Islands Pijin instead (Boerger 2007:129).

The increase in speakers of Pijin as a first language has been accompanied by a related increase in the use of Pijin as a language of wider communication. Recall that Simons’ conclusions are based on a definition of mutual intelligibility which includes comprehension based on contact, while the working definition for this paper includes only natural intelligibility. We think that Simons is correct in that the roads have increased the frequency of person to person contact, but that this has not had the effect of increasing vernacular language to language contact, because rather than speaking Nalögo or Natügu, people on Santa Cruz now use Pijin to communicate with each other.

We probably would have disagreed with Simons even in 1977 about how to define what was sufficient, since he describes intelligibility as “a potential for full communication, even though extra effort and interchange might be required to attain it.” Whether or not there was sufficient mutual intelligibility in

1977 to indicate a possible shared literature, either by his definition or that of criterion #1 in section 4, is now a moot point. Rather, it is critical to recognize that the earlier passive understanding of each other's languages based on contact is becoming a thing of the past, and that one must now go out of one's way to gain exposure to languages other than one's home language and Pijin. In marriages between speakers of different languages it is more and more common in the villages for the children to learn only Pijin and the village language, but not the language of the parent who is out of his or her native context. In Honiara, the national capital, children commonly may not learn to speak either of their parents' languages, when these languages are different, and often even when they are the same.

These observations about the increased influence of Pijin on Santa Cruz are supported by Emerine (2009) and Hoover (2008), who did six weeks of fieldwork in mid-2008 under Boerger's research permit, while residing in the (Nagu) Engdewu-speaking village of Baemawa, represented by the western-most blue circle on the Santa Cruz language map above. They conducted interviews, collected wordlists, and made field observations to uncover the cause(s) of language loss revealed by the 1999 census data. Emerine posits that in the past two generations, Engdewu has been progressively been being replaced by Pijin, due primarily to Pijin's use in the school arena. She says that parents recognize the loss, but "many believe the kids will just 'pick up' the language." Hoover (2008) noted that due to couples' no longer learning each other's languages, Pijin has also become the default language in many homes, but that in spite of that Engdewu was still frequently used in social contexts. She also observed a significant amount of code switching between Engdewu and Pijin, with Engdewu as the matrix language. Their research contributes to a consideration of the present day language situation in the Reefs-Santa Cruz family (Boerger et al 2012).

As seen in the census figures of Table 10 above, the increase in Pijin as a first language was dramatic during the period from 1976 to 1999. There was also a noted increase in the use of Pijin as a language of wider communication both in the schools and between speakers of different languages, as the Engdewu findings corroborate. Since the Solomon Islands Ministry of Education has determined to move forward with vernacular education, the status of Nalögo as a language has implications for education in the Nalögo community (Solomon Islands Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development 2010). Based on having its own ISO 639-3 code, Nalögo speakers can advocate for government and NGO resources to be assigned to them for language maintenance and educational activities. Language maintenance is warranted there, in that the 1999 census results show a growth of only 500 speakers of Nalögo in the 23 years between 1976 and 1999. A growth of 1,000 new speakers would have been necessary to keep pace with Natügu and Äiwoo, which both doubled in the same period.

Taken altogether, then, the factors discussed in this article provide an explanation for the discrepancy between Simons' 1977 survey results categorizing the varieties as one language and our position that the varieties called Nalögo and Natügu actually warranted their recent categorization as separate languages according to ISO 639-3 standards.

Appendix A: Abbreviations Used

ABBR	meaning	comments
1	1st person	
1+2	1st & 2nd person	me+only you [=MIN] OR me/us+you(many) [=AUG]
2	2nd person	
3	3rd person	
ACC	accusative base	to which person/number markers are added
APPL	applicative	adds an oblique argument to the verb
AUG	augmented	parallels plural, but 1+2 occurs in minimal or augmented
CAUS	causative	
CONJ	conjunction	refers to all three conjunctions – and, but, or
DEM	demonstrative clitic	four such clitics in Natügu; analysis incomplete for Nalögo
DETR	detransitivizer	decreases valence of verb; may be used for habitual actions
DIR	directional	Pdir personal, Gdir geometric, Udir unpaired
GDIR	geometric directional	up/down, in/out
IMP	imperative	
INTJ	interjection	
INTS	intensifier	
IRR	irrealis	action is potential
MIN	minimal	parallels singular; 1+2 occurs in both minimal and augmented
NEG	negative	
NMLZ	nominalizer	makes all kinds of verbs into nouns
PCLF	possessive stem	9 ways to classify nouns in relation to possessor and purpose
PDIR	personal directional	toward or away from deictic center
PFV	perfective	
PL	plural	can mark plurality of nouns, but not mandatory
PR	predicative	marks word as a predicate
PREP	preposition	
PRF	perfect	action or initiation of action or state, depending on other TAM markers, is complete
PROH	prohibitive	
QNT	quantity	
QUOT	quotative	
RL	realis	
SG	singular	
SUBR	subordinator	particle used at several levels but always subordinates
TRNS	transitivizer	implies verb acts on object even if not stated
UDIR	unpaired directional	
UNSP	unspecified	
VOC	vocative	

Appendix B: Parallel Texts in Nalögo and Natügu (Meabö 2006)

KEY:
\ref # line number for corresponding lines of two texts
\nlz Nalögo, glossed by Boerger based on knowledge of Natügu
\ntu Natügu
\gl gloss line
\f free translation
See discussion of Table 7 regarding pronominal subscripts.

(1)
\nlz Mwengalu I-nibü Nöâ
\ntu Mengalu nibü Nöâ
\gl Mengalu PR-kill wave
\f M(w)engalu is killed by a wave.

(2)
\nlz Kë-dü âbwü kë-dü kâ= nüngö dötü=de Mwengalu,
\ntu Kë-dü ëbü kë-dü kâ= nâblo dötü=de Mengalu,
\gl UNSP-QNT.SG day UNSP-QNT.SG DEM4= man name=3MIN$_{II}$ M(w)engalu
\f One day a man named M(w)engalu,

(3)
\nlz lë-ö-twë=ngü mwagö bwiëte=de nöâ,
\ntu në-ö- twë=ngü badö këte=de nöâ.
\gl 3AUG$_{I}$-DETR-take=3AUG$_{I}$ with friend-3MIN$_{II}$ wave
\f went surfing with his friends.

(4)
\nlz **[13]
\ntu Në-abötë-lvë=pe=lö në-ö-twë-kö=dö nöâ
\gl 3AUG$_{I}$-happy-about=PRF-3AUG$_{I}$ NMLZ- DETR-take-NMLZ-3AUG$_{II}$ wave
\f They were happy about surfing,

(5)
\nlz ä jâ=të-kabo=ngü.
\ntu ä sâ=të-kabo=ngü.
\gl CONJ PFV=3AUG.RL$_{I}$-shout-3AUG$_{I}$
\f and they shouted.

(6)
\nlz Lë-ö-twë-kö=gö nöâ mwëli i-bowi-tä=Ø,
\gl NMLZ- DETR-take-NMLZ-3AUG wave time PR-long-very=3MIN
\f Their surfing had been for quite a long time,

\ntu Mëli boi-tä=Ø kä në-ö-twë-ti=lö nöâ,
\gl time long-INTS=3MIN$_{I}$ SUBR3AUG$_{I}$-DETR-take-TRNS-3AUG$_{I}$ wave
\f When it had been quite a long time that they surfed,

(7)
\nlz ä dötwö=de[14] tü-vesapë=Ø
\gl CONJ neck=3MIN RL-satisfied=3MIN
\f and it was satisfying.

\ntu ëbë dötwö=dö tü-esapä=Ø
\gl then neck-3AUG$_{II}$ RL-satisfied=3MIN$_{I}$
\f then they were satisfied.

(8) \nlz kâ= ni=gö tü-wö-tö-mü=Ø meipwë
\gl DEM4= ACC=3AUG RL-swim-DIR-DIR=3MIN shore
\f Each of them, he swam in to shore,

\ntu kâ= ni=dö në-ö-twë-ngö nöâ, tü-wö-tö-mü=Ø
\gl DEM4= ACC=3AUG$_{II}$ NMLZ- DETR-take-NMLZ wave RL-swim-GDIR-PDIR=3MIN$_{I}$
\f Each of them taking a wave, he swam in,

(9) \nlz tü-vë-lë=Ø namwe.
\gl RL-go-DIR=3MIN singlehouse
\f he went up to the singlehouse.

\ntu tü-vë-dë=Ø madäi mepë.
\gl RL-go-GDIR=3MIN$_{I}$ singlehouse shore
\f he went up to the singlehouse on shore.

(10) \nlz Lë-atëkü-tö-pwü=ngü meipwë ayökö; i-münâ-täpwö Mwengalu
\gl 3AUG-gather-DIR-DIR-3AUG shore all PR-stay-only Mwengalu
\f They all gatherd in on shore; only Mwengalu remained.

\ntu Në-ataküti-tö-mü=ngü mepë amölä ngö=dö; mnâ-täpwë M.
\gl 3AUG$_{I}$-gather-GDIR-PDIR-3AUG$_{I}$ shore all PCLF1A=3AUG$_{II}$ stay-only M.
\f All of them assembled on shore; only Mengalu remained.

(11) \nlz natü jâ=tü-tu=Ø më lë-kabo-ngö.
\gl voice PFV=RL-stand=3MIN PREP NMLZ-shout-NMLZ
\f A voice was raised in shouting.

\ntu Dötwö=de tö-esapä-ka=Ø.
\gl neck=3MIN$_{II}$ NEG-satisfied-not.yet=3MIN$_{I}$
\f He wasn't satisfied yet.

(12) \nlz Mwëli ö=de kä i-boi-tö=pe'-m=de pwöla,
\gl time his SUB PR-long-DIR=PRF-DIR-3MIN sea
\f When he had been in the sea a long time,

\ntu Mëli kä boi=pe=le =kâ në-ö-twë-kö=de nöâ
\gl time SUBR long-PRF=3MIN$_{I}$ =DEM4 NMLZ-DETR-take-NMLZ=3MIN$_{II}$ wave
\f When his surfing had gone for a long time,

(13) \nlz jâ të-küle-pë-me bwiëte=de,
\gl PFV 3AUG.RL-call-DIR-DIR? friend-3MIN
\f his friends shouted (to him),

\ntu këte=de-ngü =kâ të-ö-pi-pä=pe-bë=lö kä,
\gl friend=3MIN$_{II}$-PL =DEM4 3AUG$_{I}$.RL-DETR-say-GDIR=PRF-PDIR=3AUG$_{I}$ SUBR
\f his friends they said to him,

(14) \nlz "Mwengalu e, i-köle=pe'=Ø lë-ö-twë-gö-mü nöâ,
\ntu "Mengalu e, mölë=pe=Ø në-ö-twë-kö-mü nöâ,
\gl M(w)engalu VOC, PR-good=PRF=3MIN$_{I}$ NMLZ- DETR-take-PCLF-2MIN wave,
\f "Hey, M(w)engalu, that's enough of your surfing,

(15) \nlz wö-tö=pe'-mü=Ø, tü-vë=pe'=ko pedo."
\ntu wö-tö=pe-mü=Ø, tü-vë=pe=ku peto."
\gl swim-GDIR=PRF-PDIR=3MIN$_{I}$ RL-go=PRF=1+2AUG$_{I}$ bush
\f swim on in, we're going to the bush."

(16) \nlz A' i-vö-piö-tö-pü=de badö bwiëte=de-ngü nge,
\gl CONJ PR-DETR-say- DIR-DIR-3MIN PREP friend=3MIN-PL QUOT

\ntu A' ö-pi-tö-mü=le më këte=de-ngü kä,
\gl CONJ DETR-say-GDIR-PDIR=3MIN$_{I}$ PREP friend=3MIN$_{II}$-PL SUBR
\f But he said to his friends,

(17) \nlz "E kalö nü-twë-tä-pâ-pw=(l)a dü nü-vöte."
\ntu "E kölëu na-twë-tä-mou-bë=o dü na-esë'."
\gl INTJ wait IRR-take-INTS-again-PDIR=1MIN$_{I}$ QNT.SG IRR-one
\f "Hey, wait, I want to take just another one more."

(18) \nlz I-vë-bwö=Ø jâ tü-twë-tö=pe'-m=de kâ= nöâ kä i-pwë=Ø,
\gl PR-go-DIR=3MIN PFV RL-take-DIR=PRF-DIR=3MIN DEM4= wave SUBR PR-big=3MIN
\f He went, he took this big wave.

\ntu Ëbë kë-dü kâ= nöâ kä etu-tä-pä-bë=Ø
\gl then UNSP-QNT.SG DEM4= wave SUBR big-INTS-GDIR-PDIR=3MIN$_{I}$
\ntu sâ=tü-twë-tö=pe-mü=le.
\gl PFV=RL-take-GDIR=PRF-PDIR=3MIN$_{I}$
\f Then there was a really big wave he took in.

(19) \nlz Kä i-twë-lö-pü=de=le
\ntu Kä twë-tö-mü=le=le
\gl SUBR PR-take-GDIR-PDIR=3MIN$_{I}$=3MIN$_{II}$
\f When he took it in,

(20) \nlz dotü töpwapwan gö=de i-tubö-tö=Ø be âpwülë kä i-pwë=Ø
\gl piece timber PCLF=3MIN PR-crash-DIR=3MIN PREP stone SUBR PR-big=3MIN
\f a piece of his (surf)board crashed into a big stone,

\ntu nâtü töpapa sâ=de wä-ki-tä-tö=Ø më öplë kä etu,
\gl piece timber PCLF3=3MIN$_{II}$ crash-UDIR-INTS-GDIR=3MIN$_{I}$ PREP stone SUBR big
\f a piece of his (surf)board crashed right into a big stone,

(21) \nlz ä netelë=de i-lu-glâ-tö kë-dü dotü=de töpwapwa =kâ
\ntu ä lomö=de lu-blâ-tö kë-dü nâtü töpapa =kâ
\gl CONJ chest=3MIN$_{II}$ PR-pierce-jump-GDIR UNSP-QNT.SG piece=3MIN timber =DEM4
\f and his chest, a piece of that wood pierced it,

(22) \nlz ä i-bë-tä-pnë=Ø.
\ntu ä bë-tä=pnë'=Ø.
\gl CONJ PR-die-INTS-immediately=3MIN$_{I}$
\f and he died immediately.

(23) \nlz Nü-yâ=Ø ëvë be dötwö kä-lë-ö-twë-ëvë=ngü nöâ nge,
\ntu na-yâ=Ø ëvë më dötwö kä-në-ö-twë-ëvë=ngü nöâ kä,
\gl IRR-stay=3MIN$_{I}$ always PREP neck SUBR-3AUG$_{I}$-DETR-take- always-3AUG$_{I}$ wave SUBR
\f Surfers (lit. those who habitually take waves) must always remember,

(24) \nlz Nöâ kä i-pwë=Ø döngâ te-lë-twë=ngü, igâ=de lâ, i-vö-nibü=Ø lepölë.
\gl wave SUBR PR-big=3MIN must? NEG?-3AUG-take=3AUG ??? DEM DETR-kill=3MIN people
\f They must not take a big wave, that ?? kills people.

\ntu Kä tü-mâ=amu nöâ kä etu bëkü twë=amu, muöde a-bë=Ø nâblo.
\gl SUBR RL-see=2AUG$_{I}$ wave SUBR big PROH take=2AUG$_{I}$ for CAUS-die=3MIN$_{I}$ men
\f When you see a big wave, don't take it, because it makes men die.

(25) \nlz Nü-yâ=Ø ëvë be dötwö Mw. =kâ tü-abölö=de nöâ kä i-pwë=Ø,
\gl IRR-stay=IMP always PREP neck Mw. =DEM RL-disrespect=3MIN wave SUBR PR-big=3MIN
\f Always remember Mwengalu who disrespected the big wave,

\ntu Na-dâpä-pwë=Ø Mengalu. Äpübölö-ngö=de nöâ kä etu
\gl IRR-keep-just=IMP Mengalu disrespect-APPL=3MIN$_{II}$ wave SUBR big
\f Just remember Mengalu. He disrespected the big wave;

(26) \nlz i-twë=le ä i-nibü=le ni=de pwöla.
\ntu twë=le, ä nibü=le ni=de.
\gl PR-take=3MIN$_{I}$ CONJ PR-kill=3MIN$_{I}$ ACC=3MIN$_{II}$ [sea].
\f he took it and it killed him [at sea].

Appendix C: Nalögo and Natügu Wordlists

Cognate Key:

Y = Yes, the words are obvious cognates.
N = No, the words are definitely not cognate.
D = Words are different and not recognized as cognate by speakers of the other variety.
B = Borrowing
S = Semantic shift has occurred in one of the varieties.

#	English	Nalögo	Natügu	Cog?	Notes
1	I 1min	ni	ninge	Y	
2	you 2min	nimwü	nimü	Y	
3	he 3min	nide	nide	Y	
4	1+2 min 1+2 aug 1 aug	nigi, nigo, nigom	nigi nigu nigö	Y Y Y	
5	you (plural)	nimwi	nimu	Y	
6	they	nigö	nidö	D	
7	this	lâ	lâ	Y	
8	that	kâ	kâ	Y	
9	here	ma	möka	D	
10	there	mëgâ, mëo	mökâ	Y	
11	who	nelö, nele	neke	D	
12	what	nëkâlö, nëolö	nike	N	
13	where	delwö	dölve	D	
14	when	mweli kä	mëli kä	Y	
15	how how much	müje kä nüngâ tülvö	myä kä namu tülvö	N Y	
16	not	töko, tonlü	tö..u tötingö 'no'	D	circumfix negative
17	all	ayökö	amölä	N	
18	many	ikülu	külu	Y	
19	a, some	këdü, këdu	këdü, këdu	Y	
20	few	ipmi	pipë	N	
21	other	këble	këble	Y	
22	one	öte	esë'	N	
23	two	li	li	Y	
24	three	tü	tü	Y	
25	four	pwä	pwä	Y	
26	five	nëlvün	nëlvün	Y	
27	big	ipwë	etu	N	
28	long	ibowi	boi	Y	

29	wide	ibölë	yöyë	N	
30	thick	ive (things), yöpwibu (air, smoke)	ve (solids) öpibu (gasses, smoke)	Y Y	
31	heavy	imëlue	mölue	Y	
32	small	ito	topwë, tötäki (tiny)	N	
33	short	ibâ	möbâ	D	
34	narrow	itotaikü	totaki	D	
35	thin	ibâka, imelä	bâka, mela	Y	
36	woman old woman	olë	olvë blang	Y	
37	man (adult male) old man	nüngö	nâblo	D	
38	man (human being)	mëkâ	doa mölä leplë	D	sg. person sg. person pl. people
39	child (a youth)	obwe	doa kätopwë olvi 'teen girl' obla 'teen guy' mölä (son) inyä (daughter)	D	
40	wife	blalë	inalë	N	
41	husband	mwenalë	menalë könalë	Y	spouse
42	mother	lawle itö	läe	D	
43	father	töte, ibwü	töte	Y	
44	animal	-- [animal]	-- animol	B	
45	fish	nâ	nâ	Y	
46	bird	utâ	utâ (species) kio (chicken)	S	
47	dog	kuli	kuli	B	Polynesian
48	louse	nëwi	tökutu	D	
49	snake	nümwë ipea	më ningidoe	D N	
50	worm	nayö	nayö	Y	
51	tree	nüwâ	nounâ	D	
52	forest	nâbëkö	nëmü	N	
53	stick (of wood)	dapulö nüwâ	dapu nâ	D	
54	fruit	nöa nüwâ	nöa nounâ	D	
55	seed	otü	ötü	Y	
56	leaf	lemâ	leu	D	

57	root	dëbö	döbö	Y	
58	bark (of tree)	be	be	Y	
59	flower	nëpü	nëpü	Y	
60	grass	nabö	nabö	Y	
61	rope	nüwi	nüvi	Y	
62	skin (of a person)	be	be	Y	
63	meat (as in flesh)	nânë, neiwa	nâwö	D	
64	blood	mëpyö	mepyö	Y	
65	bone	nëadu	növö	N	
66	fat (noun)	töto	toto	Y	
67	egg	dapyö	nei	N	
68	horn	dökë	däpa'	N	
69	tail	nüglü	nüglü	Y	
70	feather (rather not down)	nëplö	nöpnö	Y	
71	hair	nëplö nawö, nüngi nawö	nüngi naö	Y	
72	head	nawö(de)	naö	Y	
73	ear	nadötü	nöadötü	Y	
74	eye	nümwë	më	N	
75	nose	nâtü	nâtü	Y	
76	mouth	naâ	nao	Y	
77	tooth (rather not molar)	ningu	nüngi	Y	
78	tongue	nalëpü	nalëpü	Y	
79	fingernail	nëköpi	dökövi	N	
80	foot	nabölë inâ	nabëlvë (sole)	Y	
81	leg	inâ	nanyâ	Y	
82	knee	naopwë	ëpö	D	
83	hand	nümü	mü	Y	hand and arm
84	wing	nabwä	nabä	Y	
85	belly	bâlö, nalia, töbwa	nelë	N	
86	guts	nëapöta	lëng bilübö, bö	N	stomach intestines
87	neck	dötwö	dötwö	Y	
88	back	nibö	nibö	Y	

89	breast	nëte'lë	lomö	N	
90	heart	---	---		
91	liver	sate pwüti	sate püti komo	B Y	of fish, Polynesian of animal
92	to drink	mwünü	mnü	Y	
93	to eat	ngu mwa	ngü mu	Y	intransitive transitive
94	to bite	mwakä	ma, makä	Y	
95	to suck	yü	yü	Y	
96	to spit	mapü	bya	N	
97	to vomit	ngüga	nguba	D	
98	to blow (as wind)	uplä	väu (s.t.) wü, äwü (wind)	N	
99	to breathe	yâmwüni	yâmini	Y	through nose
100	to laugh	yöpwale	yöpale	Y	
101	to see	mâ, obwü omnë	mâ obü		see look
102	to hear	ölalö	älö	D	
103	to know (a fact)	iklë	kölë	Y	
104	to think	ao dötwö, ivaoti dötwö	ao(ti) dötwö	Y	
105	to smell (sense odor)	tni'	tângi (also kiss) si	N	smell
106	to fear	---	mwe'lö		
107	to sleep	imwi	mwi	Y	
108	to live	ilu imnâ	lu mnâ yâ	Y	live, be alive exist, reside, stay (human) “ (non-human)
109	to die	ibwë	bë	Y	
110	to kill	iënibü	nibü abë	Y	kill cause to die
111	to fight	öta	eta ota otablö	Y	
112	to hunt (transitive)	ngümwa itna' tabâ	mwa'	Y, S	hunt hunt, fish hunt birds
113	to hit	të	të	Y	Næss & Boerger 2008
114	to cut	lë	lë	Y	*carve

		laki pwäki (chop)	laki paki	Y Y	*cut, hack, chop (e.g. of trees) *cut s.t. in hand with knife Næss & Boerger 2008
115	to split	bäpië bwëwë glüwi	bäpië plë glüwi lapië lapu osivë pesali tapu	Y D Y	*be split apart, open *split (firewood) *split/crack a solid *split (firewood w/ axe) *split s.t. with liquid inside (coconut) *split, slit (cloth, no agent) *rip or tear (cloth, paper, agent) *split or break s.t. hard and round (stone, head, coconut) Næss & Boerger 2008
116	to stab (or stick)	luplëtö	luplätö	Y	
117	to scratch (an itch)	kalwä	kayâ	D	
118	to dig	vökü küti	ökü kü	Y	
119	to swim	wö kipwü	wö, kipo	Y Y	
120	to fly	iwülâ	lvâ	D	metathesis?
121	to walk	ivë	vë pö	Y	
122	to come	vëmü	vëmü	Y	
123	to lie (as on one's side)	yöbü	yöbü mnë	Y	 recline
124	to sit	wäbu	wäbu	Y	
125	to stand	tu	tu	Y	
126	to turn (change direction)	lävlö	lälvö	Y	
127	to fall (as in drop)	itau, imwü	ta dâ	Y N	 of rain
128	to give	ka wâ	ka --	Y N	
129	to hold (in one's hand)	lowülë, mwale	lolvë, male	Y	

130	to squeeze	nibötipu	nibötio	Y	
131	to rub	wi	wi ki	Y	rub, saw
132	to wash	mwidu yâpwü	wëti kipo	N N	
133	to wipe	yâpwü	yâpü	Y	
134	to pull	yiâ, kilë	veâ, kilyë	D Y	
135	to push	te	we	N	
136	to throw	owla	ötâ	N	
137	to tie	vle	pe	N	
138	to sew	yaivlë	käsivë	N	
139	to count	velâ	ölwä	N/D	
140	to say	pi	pi	Y	
141	to sing	kö	ngö	N	
142	to play	yawe	möge	N	
143	to float	vlape	dwa	N	
144	to flow	yöle	yöle	Y	
145	to freeze	opwötö	---		
146	to swell	ivaâ ibu	vao ---	Y	
147	sun	nepi	nepi	Y	
148	moon	temë	temë	Y	
149	star	vöi	vöi	Y	
150	water	nüwe	lue	D	
151	to rain	ipmwü	tewa	N	
152	river	nüwe käiwo	lue	D	lit. ‘water (that flows)’
153	lake	däbu	däbu	Y	
154	sea (as in ocean)	pwöla	pöla dâpwe	Y	
155	salt	dâpwe dâpië	dâpwe dâpië	Y	
156	stone	oplë	öplë	Y	
157	sand	nëana teone	döta'	N	
158	dust	ëkapu	ëkapu	Y	
159	earth (as in soil)	meitë'	dötâ' däsö'	N	
160	cloud	dâbë ëbo	dâbë ëbo	Y	
161	fog	ökamöbö	ökamöbö	Y	

		nëkaö			
162	sky	bongawë	bongavë	Y	
163	wind (as in breeze)	nenü	nenü	Y	
164	snow	---	snou	B	English
165	ice	---	aes	B	English
166	smoke	ësikapu nëkanyö	ësikapu nëkanyö	Y	
167	fire	nyö	nyö	Y	
168	ashes	nübü	bü	Y	
169	to burn (intransitive)	iplâ ingâ	wou ngâ	N Y	
170	road	nëti	nëti löpëki	Y	
171	mountain	newë	newë	Y	
172	red	ipâ	pâ	Y	
173	green	imülükö	mübü	D	
174	yellow	iplâ	plâ	Y	ripe, color of ripe fruit
175	white	ipöki	pöki	Y	
176	black	iblü	blü bota'pë	Y	
177	night	bwü	nölâkäbü (bü)	Y	
178	day (daytime)	glä	nölâkängölä (lä)	Y	
179	year	nabë nëpübla nöpö läikü	*nabë nöpubla *mëngölopu *nöpö dakänëng *nabë nënü kä pölë	Y N	Most speakers have borrowed the English word yië ‘year’
180	warm (as in weather)	ipü	pü	Y	
181	cold (as in weather)	ipwötö	bao	N	
182	full	yöbu	yöbu temë yâ-atwönö	Y	
183	new	temë ötwëlëtöpë	möna	N	
184	old	blëlo bolü	blëlo kâ pnë	Y N	
185	good	iköle aikö	mölë	N	
186	bad	itüka	töka	Y	

187	rotten (as, a log)	bwämwi	mibi	N	
188	dirty	imâwü	blüki	N	
189	straight	itubü	tubü	Y	
190	round	ao-lëbwü	ao-lëbü	Y	
191	sharp (as a knife)	imalâ	malâ	Y	
192	dull (as a knife)	iblu	butu	D	
193	smooth	ilü	lü	Y	
194	wet	ibü	löpö	N	
195	dry (adjective)	iminga	mingö	Y	
196	right (correct)	itubü	tubü	--	Same as 189 ‘straight’
197	near	pe'pwö	aepë	N	
198	far	dëwlö	ölöu	N	
199	right (side)	känüngë	ötâ	N	
200	left (side)	känümâ	mâ	D	
201	at	mügo mo-o	mökâ	Y	
202	in	më bä	më -tö	Y	
203	with (accompanying)	më mi	nâdö badö -mi	N Y	2 people more than two verbal affix
204	and	ä	ä	Y	
205	if	ngânü	nëmü	N	
206	because	ngâöde	muöde	N	
207	name	dötü	dötü	Y	
208	word, N.	nalö	natü	N	

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[1] The initial version of this paper was written by Zimmerman for Boerger's *Structure of Natqgu* course as visiting assistant professor at UT Arlington during the fall of 2007. Zimmerman completed her MA in linguistics in 2009. We would like to thank Piet Lincoln, Susan F. Schmerling, Daniel Boerger, and an anonymous reviewer for comments which significantly improved the paper. As always, any errors or misinterpretations remain our responsibility.

[2] In the common orthographies, Natügu is spelled Natqgu and Nalögo is spelled Nalrgo. Vowel nasalization is represented by a straight apostrophe following the vowel symbol. Voiced stops are commonly prenasalized. The velar nasal is written with the digraph *ng*.

[3] Abbreviations used in textual glosses are found in Appendix A to allow easy reference to the story in Appendix B. We follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules http://email.eva.mpg.de/~cysouw/teaching/graz/glossing_rules_2004.pdf, but make additional reference to the *Abbreviations for Interlinear Morpheme Translation* (IMT) adopted by the Framework for Descriptive Grammars project (Comrie et al) in 1991. http://www.unm.edu/~wcroft/Papers/TypAbbrev.pdf.
The Nalögo speaker who wrote the text was ill during a short window in July 2008 when he might have given me (Boerger) more detailed glosses for the Nalögo text, so glossing has been done based on my knowledge of Natügu and a previously elicited Nalögo wordlist (Appendix C), with refinements postponed for my next proposed visit in 2015.

[4] The divisions in Boerger 2007 also agree with those in Boerger et al 2012.

[5] The word *tömotu* is a borrowing from Polynesian languages in the province, and includes the Polynesian article *te*. which has become *tö* in Natügu and incorporated into the word itself.

[6] The Santa Cruz map here was excerpted from the Santa Cruz Island map, Map series X711, prepared, printed, and published by the Lands Division of the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands. 1973.

[7] The Noole man also reported on the endangerment situation in Engdewu/Nagu. He claimed that both Nalögo speakers from Noole village and Äiwoo [nfl] speakers from the Reef Islands have settled all around the historically Engdewu-speaking villages and have intermarried with them. He told Boerger that when he is among Engdewu speakers in their own villages, they speak to other Engdewu speakers in Solomon Islands Pijin or in Äiwoo. Already in 1994 he said he thought that Äiwoo was encroaching and the Engdewu language was in danger of dying out. This is consistent with findings by Hoover (2008), Emerine (2009), and Boerger et al (2012).

[8] In addition to settlements by speakers of Santa Cruz's indigenous languages, villages on the north and far east coasts of Santa Cruz have also been settled by Äiwoo speakers from the Reef Islands, as well as by speakers of Polynesian languages from elsewhere in Temotu Province.

[9] Notes from the 1994 survey say that the language spoken in Mëtü was closer to Nea dialect. But according to Simons' 1977 study it patterned with Neo. We assume here that Simons is correct in this regard because it parallels other settlement patterns in the area. We conclude then that the *Nea* reading was either misheard or mistyped.

[10] In his writing, Weinreich attributes this quote to a student auditing his lectures, but does not provide a name. http://www.olestig.dk/scotland/weinreich.html

[11] The cognate Natügu form for 'sea' *pöla* is not in the text, but is in common daily use in the language.

[12] For example, in a variety of European Romani, *gadže* refers to a non-Gypsy, and in Hebrew and Yiddish *goy* refers to a non-Jew. In Melanesia it is the insider, rather than the outsider which has a lexical form.

[13] This line of Natügu is not represented in the Nalögo text.

[14] The Nalögo *=de* clitic appears to be in the third person minimal form, while the parallel Natügu text has an augmented form.