S.A. Wurm (ed.), <u>Austronesian Languages (New Guinea Area
Languages and Language Study</u>, vol. 2). Pacific Linguistics,
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0. INTRODUCTION

This volume is the second in a three-volume series on the languages

of the New Guinea (NG) area -- i.e., the languages of modern Papua New Guinea

and Irian Jaya.[1] The first volume (Wurm 1975) was largely concerned with the

Papuan or Non-Austronesian (NAN) languages of the area, and was recently

reviewed in this journal by Lang (1976b). The third volume in the series,

which contains articles largely sociolinguistic in nature, is expected to

appear during 1977.

This second volume is essentially a state-of-the-art discussion of

the Austronesian (AN) linguistic scene in the NG area. In view of the

large number of languages in the area, and the relatively small amount of

information available on most of them, it is not surprising, as Grace (p.65)

points out, that

> "the final word is far from being said on the historical
> relations of the Austronesian languages of the New
> Guinea area or on their typological characteristics. ...
> what has been done appears quite modest alongside what
> remains to do."

Readers of this volume should thus <u>not</u> expect to find a clear overall

picture of the nature of the NG area languages and their genetic

classification within the wider AN context. This task is beyond any

linguist working in the AN field today. What the reader <u>should</u> expect of

·a volume such as this is a clear, up-to-date summary of the history of

research into, and our current knowledge of, the nature and relationships of the AN languages of the NG area. In large part the present volume succeeds in this task, and to that extent it is an invaluable reference book.

In writing this review, I have attempted to approach the task from the point of view of the non-specialist. I will thus try to assess how well the volume fills the needs of, say, a linguist specialising in the NAN languages of the NG area, or one working on AN languages of other regions. Thus I will not concern myself with points of detail, but rather with features of more general interest. In the succeeding sections I will examine the organisation of the volume, its contribution to the classification of the NG area AN languages, and the notion of mixed languages and Papuan substratum.

I. ORGANIZATION

The main body of the volume comprises twenty-six articles, arranged in five sections, as follows:

1) one article, by Capell, on the 'general picture' of the AN languages in the NG area (pp.3-52);

2) eleven articles on the history of research into the languages -- one general article, by Grace, and one article on each of the ten 'regions' into which the NG area has been divided (of which more below) (pp.53-231);

3) one article, by Capell, on the features of the NG area AN languages as compared with other AN languages of Melanesia (pp.233-282);

4) ten articles, one on each of the ten regions, discussing the present state of knowledge of the individual AN 'groups' in

that region (pp.283-523);

5) three articles, by Capell, Dutton, and Wurm, on so-called
'mixed languages' (pp.525-674).

For the purposes of section 2, on the history of research, and
section 4, on the individual AN 'groups', the NG area is divided into ten
regions. These regions are listed below, together with the authors
responsible for them; in all cases except one, the same author wrote both
the history and the current-state papers for the same region.

Sepik Provinces	Laycock
Madang Province	Z'graggen
Morobe Province	Hooley
Eastern part of south-east mainland Papua	Dutton
Western part of south-east mainland Papua	Taylor (history) Pawley (current-state)
Milne Bay Province	Lithgow
New Ireland Province	Beaumont
New Britain Provinces	Chowning
Bougainville (now North Solomons) Province	Lincoln
Admiralty Islands Area	Healey

There are two regions which are omitted. The AN languages on the
Northern Province -- Arifáma-Miniafia, Ubir, and Maisin[2] -- are not
specifically included within any of the regions, although they are
cursorily mentioned in Lithgow's otherwise detailed discussion of the Milne
Bay languages, and also come under examination from a different point of
view in Capell's article on mixed languages. More curiously, there is no
section on the twenty or so AN languages of Irian Jaya. Certainly, they
are mentioned in passing in Capell's and Grace's general articles, but it

is surprising that they receive no separate treatment.

In general, the other regions roughly represent linguistic regions, in the sense that the boundaries between regions usually coincide with subgroup or family boundaries. Where they do not, the overlap has usually been well handled by the authors concerned; for example, Tolai is discussed by Beaumont rather than by Chowning, for although it is located in New Britain, its closest genetic connections are in New Ireland. Laycock, Z'graggen, Hooley, and Chowning also adequately cover what connections there are between the languages of their respective regions, and most other authors pay some attention to the external relationships of the languages in their region. It is thus strange to find that south-eastern mainland Papua has been divided into eastern and western sections. The languages in both these regions belong to the same family, Central Papuan (Pawley 1975, this volume), and in fact Pawley (pp.301-319) covers part of the ground covered more specifically by Dutton (pp.321-333).

One other feature which might well irritate the general reader is the separation of the history-of-research article for each region from the corresponding current-state article. For each of the ten regions, we are led up to the present day in section 2, but do not discover the present-day situation until section 4, some two hundred pages later.[3] This obviously involves a certain amount of repetition, and one wonders why this kind of organization was adopted in place of one where, in a single article, a discussion of the history of research into the languages of a particular region formed a prelude to the presentation of the current picture. Grace's article on the general history of linguistic research in the NG area is an excellent overview, but it is extraordinarily brief, and one presume that the inclusion of ten regional histories caused him to restrict what might

otherwise have been a more detailed survey of research in the area since
1615.

In this context, one might also question why sections 1 (on the
'general picture' of AN languages in the area) and 3 (which compares features
of the NG area AN languages with those of other AN languages of Melanesia)
were not combined. Both of these articles by Capell are concerned with the
phonological and grammatical features of the AN languages of the area, and
I feel that a less disjointed and repetitive general picture would have been
given had a single article been written.

The main body of the volume is preceded by two dedications (both by
the then Governor-General, Sir John Guise), a preface and an introduction
by Wurm, and both summary and detailed tables of contents -- a useful aid
for the reader. Following the final article are biographical notes on the
fourteen authors involved, and four indexes -- language and tribal names;
geographical names; authors and personal names; and names of institutions.
Bibliographies are provided at the end of each article. While this
procedure does involve some repetition, it is a more convenient format for
the reader interested in one particular region.

2. CLASSIFICATION

2.1. General Remarks,

The articles in this volume are largely concerned with the classifi-
cation of the NG area AN languages. Many of them are based on work previously
published elsewhere, and for this reason do not give as much of the data upon
which the classifications were based as perhaps some readers would have liked.
However, substantially new statements are made regarding the languages of
Bougainville (by Lincoln), the Admiralty Islands (Healey),[4] and the Milne
Bay region (Lithgow). Lexicostatistical tables, sound correspondences with

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Proto-Oceanic (POC), lists of words illustrating these correspondences, and grammatical data of varying degrees of brevity are given for most of the regions in the area.

All contributors have attempted to show the families -- and often also subfamily relationships -- which are represented in their regions. Two areas are of particular interest in this regard. Lincoln (p.431) has now shown that a total Bougainville subgroup (including all the AN languages of Bougainville, plus Mono-Alu in the Shortlands, but excluding the Polynesian (PN) outliers Nukuria, Nukumanu, and Takuu, and also the isolate Nehan (Nissan)) is "weakly supported" by lexicostatistical evidence, although no qualitative lexical, phonological, or grammatical innovations can as yet be produced to justify the entire grouping.

The other area of interest is Milne Bay. Lithgow (pp.448ff.) suggests that, on lexicostatistical grounds, the forty languages of the Milne Bay Province form twelve 'families' belonging to a 'Papuan Tip Cluster'.[5] However, a glance at his lexicostatistical tables, which appear to be the sole basis for the classification, show a similar kind of chaining relationship as Lincoln demonstrates for Bougainville and Tryon (1976) for the northern New Hebrides. In addition, many of Lithgow's percentages seem very high for languages of supposedly different families: for example, we find Dobu and Duau sharing 54% cognates, Gumasi and Dobu 47%, Sud Est and Nimowa 44%, Are and Taupota 40%, and so on -- yet in each case the two languages concerned are assigned to different families. I propose that his data on pp.450-451 support only a single family (which I will call the Papuan Tip Family). This family appears to have two subgroups:

   1) a southeast subfamily, containing the Sud Est and Nimowa
      languages, and probably also Misima;

2) a northwest subfamily, with two subgroups:

   a) a coastal group, containing Lithgow's Are, Taupota, and
     Kakabai 'families', as well as Ubir and Arifama-Miniafia
     of the Northern Province (see p.471);

   b) an island group, containing his Kilivila, Duau, Dobu, Suau,
     and Bwaidoka 'families', as well as the Gumasi language.

2.2. Summary of Classifications Proposed.

A major defect in the volume's discussion of the AN groups in the
NG area is the absence of any summary of the classifications proposed by
the various contributors, and the lack of any overall picture of the known
or suggested interrelationships of the various AN families in the area, or
of their position within such wider groupings as the Oceanic subgroup.
Capell (p.272) lists a 'New Guinea subgroup' as one of the subgroups of a
'Western Oceanic group', but this proposal is unsatisfactory for a number
of reasons. Firstly, Capell treats 'Western Oceanic', containing members
in the northern and southern New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Santa Cruz, the
Western Solomons, and all the languages of the NG area, as a group
coordinate with Eastern Oceanic (EO); this hypothesis, however, would be
rejected by most Austronesianists. Secondly, the internal subdivisions of
the NG subgroup appear to be defined not genetically, but by a combination
of geographical and typological factors, and while in some cases the
groups so defined approximate genetic groups, in other cases they do not.
Finally, no indication of intermediate connections between various member
groups of the NG subgroup is given.

In the absence of a general overview of the NG area AN families,
I have given a list of the various contributors' proposals below for the
convenience of those attempting to relate one region to another. The

composition of each family is usually exactly as given in the volume, with
the major exception of the Milne Bay languages, which have been arranged as
restructured below. I have also indicated in the appropriate place possible
wider connections between families that are proposed by one or more of the
contributors. However, more recent suggestions are left until the next
section.[6]

1. SARMI COAST FAMILY (Irian Jaya).

    Tarpia, Bongo, Anus, Sobei.

2. JAYAPURA BAY FAMILY (Irian Jaya).

    Tobati, Ormu, Kayupulau.

3. SEPIK-MADANG FAMILY (Sepik & Madang Provinces).

    Western subfamily: Sera, Sissano, Tumleo, Ali, Ulau-Suain.

    Eastern subfamily: Kairiru,Kaiep, Kis, Wogeo, Bam, Sepa, Manam,
                        Medebur.

4. SIASI FAMILY (Madang, Morobe, and New Britain Provinces).

    Astrolaban subfamily: Mindiri, Biliau, Wab.

    Islands subfamily:

       BELAN GROUP: Gedaged, Bilibil, Takia, Megiar, Matukar, Ham.

       VITIAZAN GROUP: Arop, Roinji, Malalamai, Barim, Gitua, Lukep,
                       Malasanga, Mangap, Nenaya, Sio, Tami, Tuam-Mutu.

       BARIAI GROUP: Kove, Kilenge, Kaliai, Bariai, Maleu.

    Gulf subfamily: Bukaua, Yabim, Kela, Labu, Numbami
        (=Siboma), Iwal (=Kaiwa).

5. ADZERA FAMILY (Morobe Province).

    Lower Watut subfamily: Dangal, Maralango, Silisili.

    Markham subfamily: Onank, Mari, Wampur, Adzera, Sirasira.

    Musom subfamily: Musom, Sirak.

Guwot.

Sukurum.

Wampar.

6. BUANG FAMILY (Morobe Province).

   Central Buang, Manga Buang, Mumeng, Piu, Vehes.

7. HOTE-YAMAP FAMILY (Morobe Province).

   Hote, Yamap.

8. ADMIRALTIES FAMILY (Manus and Sepik Provinces).

   Wuvulu-Ninigo subfamily:

   WUVULU ISOLATE: Wuvulu-Aua.

   NINIGO GROUP: Seimat, Kaniet.

   Manus subfamily:

   NORTHWEST ISLANDS GROUP: Hermit, Sori/Harengan, Ponam, Andra-Hus,

                             Leipon, Loniu, Sisi/Bipi.

   SOUTHEAST ISLANDS GROUP: Baluan-Lou-Pam, Pak/Tong, Penchal,

                             Lenkau, Nauna.

   EAST MANUS GROUP: Titan, Papitalaï, Nali, Nane, Ere-Lele-Gele'-

                      Kuruti, E, Okro.

   WEST MANUS GROUP: Lindrou, Mondropolon, Likum, Levei-Tulu, Bohuai.

(Note: Healey gives other interpretations of the data, but this proposal

   by Blust seems the most satisfactory).

9. KIMBE FAMILY (New Britain).

   Melamela, Maututu, Vele, Ubae, Bileki, Xarua, Bola, Bali-Vitu.

Chowning (p.379) feels that there are

   "more remote connections between the Kimbe languages and
   those of eastern Oceania ... although the evidence ...
   does not justify any special grouping."

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Since the composition of the EO subgroup is itself undergoing review (Pawley 1977), it may be some time before the exact position of these languages is known.

10. SOUTH NEW BRITAIN CLUSTER (New Britain).

Chowning (p.377) tentatively suggests that the following four families may belong together in a wider grouping:

    Arawe family: Arawe, Moewehafen.

    Lamogai family: Longa, Mok, Aria, Lamogai, Pulie, Rauto.

    Whiteman family: Miu, Kaulong, Sengseng, Bao, Karore, Kapore,

                  Mangseng.

    Mengen family: Uvol, Kakuna, Mamusi, Poeng, Orford, Longeinga.

11. TUMUIP ISOLATE (New Britain).

    Tumuip.

12. NEW IRELAND FAMILY (New Ireland and East New Britain).

    St. Matthias subfamily: Emira-Mussau, Tenis.

    Northern New Ireland subfamily: Lavongai, Tigak, Kara, Nalik, Notsi,

                         Tabar.

    Madak subfamily: Madak, Lavatbura-Lamusong.

    Patpatar-Tolai subfamily: Barok, Patpatar, Siar, Sursurunga,

        Konomala, Kandas, Duke of York, Tolai, Lihir, Tangga.

13. POLYNESIAN (North Solomons Province).

    Nukuria, Nukumanu, Takuu.

(Note: These three languages are Polynesian Outliers, and as such are members of the EO subgroup).

14. NEHAN ISOLATE (North Solomons Province).

    Nehan (=Nissan).

15. <u>BOUGAINVILLE FAMILY</u> (North Solomons Province).

    <u>Buka subfamily</u>: Solos, Petats, Halia.

    <u>North subfamily</u>: Hahon, Timputz, Teop.

    <u>West subfamily</u>: Banoni, Piva.

    <u>East subfamily</u>: Uruava, Torau, Mono-Alu.

    Saposa.

    Papapana.

16. <u>SOUTHEAST PAPUAN CLUSTER</u> (Central and Milne Bay Provinces).

    Pawley (1975, and also p.305 of this volume) suggests that the following two families may form a wider grouping:

    <u>Central Papuan family</u>:

      WESTERN SUBFAMILY: Mekeo, Roro, Doura, Gabadi, Kuni, Lala.

      MOTU ISOLATE: Motu.

      EASTERN SUBFAMILY: Sinagoro, Hula, Keapara, Aroma, Magori.[7]

    <u>Papuan Tip family</u>:

      SOUTHEAST SUBFAMILY: Sud Est, Nimowa, Misima.

      NORTHWEST SUBFAMILY:

        <u>Coastal Group</u>:

          Ubir.

          Arifama-Miniafia.

          Are subgroup: Are, Doga, Gabobora, Paiwa, Boanaki, Wataluma.

          Taupota subgroup: Wedau, Kukuya, Taupota, Garuwahi, Tawala.

          Kakabai subgroup: Kakabai (=Igora), Dawawa.

        <u>Islands Group</u>:

          Gumasi.

          Kilivila subgroup: Budibud, Kilivila, Muyuw.

Duau subgroup: Duau, Tubetube, Bunama, Kurada, Mwatebu.

Dobu subgroup: Dobu, Sewa Bay, Mollma, Galeya, Bosilewa.

Suau subgroup: Suau, Sinaki, Bohutu, Wagawaga.

Bwaidoka subgroup: Bwaidoka, Iduna, Diodio, Kalokalo, Yamalele, Fagululu.

2.3. Recent Restatements.

Various linguists have, at different times, suggested different groupings of languages in Irian Jaya, the Sepik, Madang, and Morobe Provinces, and parts of New Britain. The most recent work in this area has been done by Lincoln (1976a, 1977c), Ross (1977), and Bradshaw (1977). The main thrust of their proposals is that the Sepik-Madang and Siasi families, as defined above, should be discarded, and that the languages in this area are in fact interrelated as follows:

SIASI CLUSTER

North Coast Group:

SEPIK-MADANG FAMILY:

Siau subgroup: Sera, Sissano, Tumleo, Ali, Ulau-Suain.

Kairiru subgroup: Kairiru, Kaiep, Terebu.

Manam subgroup: Wogeo, Kis, Bam, Manam, Sepa, Medebur.

RAI FAMILY:

Belan subgroup: Meglar, Matukar, Takia, Gedaged, Bilibil. Ham.

Astrolaban subgroup: Mindiri, Biliau, Wab.

Roinji.

Nenaya.

Sio subgroup: Sel, Malasanga, Barim, Sio, Mangap, Maleu, Kilenge.

Bariai subgroup: Malalamai, Gitua, Tuam-Mutu, Bariai,

Kaliai, Kove.

Huon Family: Tami, Yabim, Numbami, Kela, Iwal.

Bradshaw (1977) proposes that Labu be removed from Hooley's Siasi family,

and reallocated to the Adzera family. He also suggests that the Hote-Yamap

family

"will, I suspect, turn out to be unusually conservative Buang
or, perhaps, highly Buangised Siasi languages." (Bradshaw 1977:5).

Ross (1977) has tentatively proposed that the Sarmi Coast and Jayapura

Bay languages may well belong within a wider grouping with the redefined Siasi

languages. More work needs to be done, however, before this claim can be

substantiated.

2.4. The SOV/SVO Isogloss.

One other feature of the concern with classification is the many criticisms

levelled at Capell's division of the NG area languages into two groups, based

largely on syntactic criteria and, especially, on preferred word order. Capell

(1969) classed as AN1 those languages with SOV word order and postpositions, and

as AN2 languages with SVO word order and prepositions.   In Capell (1971)

he reversed his labels: SVO became AN1 and SOV became AN2.

It may have been this reversal of designation which fixed this division

even more firmly in the minds of a number of Austronesianists; certainly,

many of the contributors to this volume are at pains to point out that

Capell had made the reversal without explanation,[8] and are critical of the

AN1/AN2 dichotomy as a valid genetic hypothesis. Hooley, for example, says

that

"at least for the Morobe Province the classification of the
Austronesian languages into AN1 and AN2 groups is inconsistent,
and not particularly helpful." (p.337).

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Lincoln (1977c:1) has also shown recently that, for the Rai family,

> "other kinds of subgrouping evidence sometimes contradict
> rather than support subgrouping based on syntactic type
> (SVO vs. SOV)."

It is Capell's use of _genetic_ terms (like 'subgroup') to describe

typologically distinguished groups of languages that may have given rise

to this confusion. On p.6, Capell states that

> "it seems desirable to mark these two _subgroups_ AN_1 and
> AN_2 respectively." (Emphasis mine).

Despite this confusing use of terminology, however, Capell does on one

occasion at least state that the AN1/AN2 dichotomy represents a _typological,_

and not a genetic, distinction:

> "The dichotomy does not represent a genetic feature of
> a group of languages all pointing back to a common
> ancestor or one source of any kind. It is rather a
> retention of prior NAN language characters. ..." (p.8).

The reader should thus treat with extreme care any statement suggesting

that word order is a defining characteristic of genetic groupings.

Parenthetically, it might be more useful, in view of Capell's reversal

of the labelling of the two types and the subsequent confusion it has caused,

if linguists spoke in future of the SVO and SOV languages; I for one have

always found the terms AN1 and AN2 most confusing.

3.   'MIXED' LANGUAGES AND PAPUAN SUBSTRATUM

Discussion of the SVO/SOV dichotomy brings us to another prominent

topic in this volume: the idea of the NG area AN languages being 'influenced'

by Papuan languages, or containing a Papuan 'substratum', or -- in its most

extreme form -- the idea of certain languages being 'mixed'. In section 5

of the volume, Capell discusses two specific cases of mixed languages: the

languages of the Flores area of Indonesia, and the case of Maisin and some

of its neighbours in the Northern Province. In that same section, Dutton

examines the case of Magori and other similar languages in Southeast Papua, while Wurm takes a further look at the Reef Islands-Santa Cruz (RSC) languages.

The possible presence of mixed languages in the Melanesian area has long been a matter of interest and debate.[9] Perhaps the best-known adherents of the view that many Melanesian languages are mixed are Ray and Capell, who believe that AN languages in Melanesia were strongly influenced by Papuan languages -- so strongly, in fact, that in many parts of Melanesia pidgin languages arose as a result of prolonged contact between AN- and Papuan-speaking Melanesians (Ray 1926, Capell this volume). These pidgins were thought to be AN-based, and were the ancestors of many of the present-day Melanesian languages. The so-called 'Pidginization Hypothesis' attributes any lexical, grammatical, or phonological feature not identifiable as AN to the Papuan source language or languages; for example:

> "In the noun phrase, then, Maisin has a type of
> 'declension' that is quite NAN." (Capell,p.556).

Critics of this hypothesis -- and there have been many[10] -- have argued against it on a number of grounds. Some have pointed out that, although Capell and Ray assign features of AN languages which are not attributable to Proto-AN or POC to the influence of Papuan substratum, such features in most cases do not occur in the modern neighbouring Papuan languages, and thus do not provide any evidence of pidginisation, but merely of change.

Others have asserted that languages do not mix. The weaker version of this argument derives from classical comparative linguistics, and is tantamount to saying that, since the family-tree model does not allow a

language to have two or more ancestors, then mixed languages cannot occur.

A stronger argument is presented by Biggs (1972). He argues that

> "the continuing linguistic tradition of a language
> cannot be broken" (Biggs 1972:144),

and that, given a situation where a speaker of A is bilingual in B, and where language A has borrowed heavily from language B, that speaker will nevertheless always know what language he is speaking at any one time.[11]

Capell's views on the idea of language-mixing are worth quoting at this point. Like the classical comparativists, he denies the double-ancestor theory (a theory which some of his critics nevertheless impute to him):

> "neither the writer [i.e., Capell] nor any other
> linguist has ever claimed that a language has
> two co-equal ancestors!" (p.528).

> "The writer agrees that the idea of a language be-
> longing simultaneously to two different families
> is to be rejected. Even a so-called 'mixed language'
> has a single parent language." (p.529).

However, he goes on to define what he believes a mixed language to be. As well as having a single ancestor,

> "such a language also has an invader, and when the
> balance of relationship to the original mother
> tongue -- the true ancestor -- is outweighed by
> the invader's contribution in lexicon and structure,
> it is right to speak of a mixed language." (p.529).

This definition, however, makes it impossible to determine the original genetic connection of a mixed language. Consider the following case:

AN family A   Papuan family X

        /\   /\
       / \   / \
      B   C   Y   Z
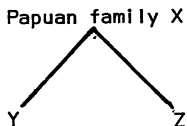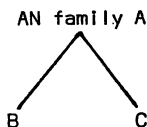
Imagine that, in the course of its development, the AN language C has been so 'invaded' by the Papuan language Y that its lexical and structural relationship to its AN ancestor A is 'outweighed' by its relationship to Y -- i.e., it looks more like a member of Papuan family X than of AN family A; then Capell says that such a language is a mixed language. But how are we to know this? How are we to deduce that it was originally a member of AN family A? How can we distinguish it genetically from a Papuan language Z which has been influenced to some extent by an AN language, but which is still obviously a member of Papuan family X? Capell's definition of a mixed language, in its present form, must be abandoned.

The articles by Dutton and Wurm in this section of the volume give us better insight into how we can go about classifying these problematical languages, and, in passing, allow us to retain the useful concept of a 'mixed language'.

Dutton's excellent article on Magori, Ouma, Yoba, and Bina near the Central and Milne Bay provincial border is an important contribution. These languages were generally thought to be Papuan -- though with some features borrowed from AN languages -- until Dutton's work in the area showed clearly that they are AN, though deeply influenced by the neighbouring Papuan language, Magi (Mailu):

> "these languages were originally Austronesian most closely
> related to languages west of their present position.
> Through time they have come to superficially resemble non-
> Austronesian languages ... because of the number of lexical
> items that have been borrowed from these languages."
> (pp.623-624; emphasis mine).

What is also significant about Dutton's study is his survey of the socio-cultural, historical, and economic background of the speakers of these languages. He clearly demonstrates how both the people and their languages came to be invaded (to use Capell's term) by neighbouring Magi speakers,

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while showing at the same time the underlying Austronesianness of their language.

Wurm's article is a detailed analysis of the origins of certain lexical and grammatical features of the RSC languages, which, though not located in the immediate NG area, are another notorious example of a group of Pacific languages whose classification has long been in doubt. He concludes that the RSC languages are Papuan, though heavily influenced by some AN language or languages:[12]

> "the Reef Islands-Santa Cruz Family languages and dialects show a number of typological characteristics commonly met with in Austronesian languages, and at the same time contain several non-Austronesian features which seem rather basic in nature and unlikely to be subject to easy borrowing. Features of the verb structure are good examples of this, and the formal similarities between pronouns and certain suffixes in Reef Islands-Santa Cruz Family languages with equivalent forms in other East Papuan Phylum languages also constitute evidence in this direction. ... Most of the Austronesian features in the Reef Islands-Santa Cruz Family languages and dialects are surface features which may be subject to relatively easy borrowing." (pp.669-670; emphasis mine).

Both Dutton and Wurm are suggesting, I think, that no matter what changes might take place in a language as a result of external influence -- and these changes have been far-reaching in both the Magori and RSC cases -- there is a basic 'core' of a language which is relatively impervious to external influence, and which is thus a reliable indicator of its genetic relationship. This 'core' contains structural elements, though not necessarily the forms which manifest these elements, and certainly not the lexicon. Thus Wurm maintains that the RSC languages, for example, have a Papuan 'core' because they contain, inter alia, subject, tense, and number-of-object suffixes to verbs, as well as a sentence-medial/sentence-final distinction in verbs -- all Papuan, but not AN, features, and all belonging to a class of 'core' features which are impervious to borrowing.

How does this redefined view of a mixed language apply to the third case-study in this section -- the case of Maisin and its neighbours in the Northern Province?[13] Capell concludes that Maisin is

> "very definitely a case in which a true mixture has taken place" (p.571),

and he also notes that

> "the paucity of the AN material is noticeable; the 'mixed' nature of the grammars of these languages,[i.e., Maisin and others in the vicinity]stands out clearly to a student coming from insular Melanesia, and by way of contrast with the southern members of this group -- a geographical group only -- the still smaller AN content of Maisin is enough to put it on the NAN side of the scales." (p.573).

If I interpret Capell correctly, Maisin at least was originally NAN, though having been 'invaded' by some AN language or languages, it is now mixed.[14]

Maisin has a history of classification at least as chequered as that of the RSC languages. In 1911, Strong classified it as AN, while Ray (1911), using the same data, classified it as Papuan. Capell (1943) confirmed Ray's view -- substantially the view he holds in this volume -- while Dutton (1971, also p.623 of this volume) tentatively supports Strong. My own view (Lynch 1977) is that Maisin is basically AN -- in other words, it has an AN 'core' -- although it shows a certain amount of grammatical resemblance, and considerable lexical similarity, to some neighbouring Papuan languages.

Capell uses the term 'mixed language' rather liberally in this volume. He notes, for example, that

> "all these AN$_2$ [i.e., SOV] languages would be candidates for being classed as 'mixed'."(p.269; emphasis mine).

Pawley, however, speaks of these languages only as having undergone a certain amount of Papuan influence:

> "Whereas in POC SVO was the preferred order in transitive sentences, it is SOV in the Central Province. The change

> to SOV order, usual in New Guinea Oceanic languages, has been plausibly attributed to the influence of Papuan languages. A residue of POC word order exists in the obligatory placement of subject and object pronouns immediately before and after the verb." (p.310).

I agree with Pawley that many NG area AN languages, especially those with SOV order, show considerable Papuan influence.[15] I nevertheless feel that the term 'mixed language' can be usefully retained to refer to a language that has been influenced by an unrelated language -- or by a language of another subgroup of the same family -- to such an extent that it superficially resembles languages of this other family or subgroup, but that it still retains a structural 'core' which indicates its ultimate genetic connection.

4. CONCLUSION

Despite the various defects mentioned earlier, this volume is an essential reference work for anyone who has more than a passing interest in the AN languages of the NG area. It is clearly printed and remarkably free of typographical errors,[16] and contains a considerable amount of raw linguistic data as well as excellent bibliographies. Unlike many large volumes of its kind, which are out of date by the time they are published, it contains an up-to-the-minute survey of the area. Professor Wurm has produced yet another valuable addition to the literature.

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1. I am grateful to Tom Dutton, Pete Lincoln, Malcolm Ross, Gillian Sankoff, and Andrew Taylor for comments on an earlier draft of this paper. They should not be held responsible, however, for any errors or for any of the views expressed.

2. Whether Maisin is in fact a member of the AN family will be discussed in section 3 below.

3. Further, the regions are treated in a different order in section 4 from that in which they occur in Section 2.

4. Healey is the only linguist who has not carried out extensive fieldwork in the region about which he is writing; his article is "written on the basis of library research and correspondence" alone (p.359).

5. A term first used by Dyen (1965).

6. I have given names to some families left unnamed by certain contributors. I have also chosen to use the term "cluster" to refer to a group of families related at some higher level.

7. And other languages spoken near Magori, about which little is yet known -- see Dutton's article, section 4.5.2.

8. On p.48 of the volume Capell explains why he reversed the labels:

   "The first ordering was made when only New Guinea languages were under consideration, and the differences of two sub-groups within New Guinea were the only matter of consideration. When the whole of the AN areas were included, the SOV + postposition languages are obviously in the minority and the reverse ordering seemed preferable."

9. In addition to the authors represented in this volume, see Lang (1976a) for a discussion of Gabelentz' ideas.

10. See especially the comments on Capell (1962) and, more recently, Laycock (1973) and Lincoln (1976b).

11. I do not wish to enter into this debate in the present review. It is worth pointing out, however, that Biggs (1972:145) does allow that dialects can mix. It might also be mentioned that pidgin languages are seen by at least some linguists as being mixed languages.

12. Lincoln (pers. comm.) holds the reverse view: that the RSC languages are basically AN, with Papuan influence. His projected fieldwork in the area may well result in a continuation of the debate.

13. I exclude the fourth case-study, Capell's discussion of the Flores languages, since I am not familiar with the languages of that region.

14. Exactly which languages are being referred to is unclear. I take it
    that Capell feels that Maisin and probably Arifama-Miniafia and Ubir
    are truly mixed, while the "southern members" -- presumably Lithgow's
    Are and Taupota gi ips -- are less mixed.

15. I do not agree with Capell (p.278), however, when he says that
    "Dempwolff himself found a Papuan substratum in Sa'a". Capell's
    reference to Dempwolff does not justify this interpretation. Dempwolff
    (1937:193) <u>does</u> say:

    > "Ein hellfarbiger Volksstamm von einheitlicher Sprache hat
    > vor vielen Generationen die Inselwelt des stillen Ozeans
    > kolonisiert. Wo er eine dunkelfarbige Bevölkerung antraf,
    > hat er sie mit seiner Kultur und Sprache beeinflusst und
    > auch von ihrer Kultur und Sprache vieles aufgenommen."

    This is a long way from suggesting the existence of a Papuan <u>substratum</u>.

16. There are a few occasional lapses -- most notably confusion between
    <u>n</u>, <u>ñ</u>, and <u>ŋ</u> in a number of places.

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