Language Strand

Unit 2: The Nature of Language

Supplementary Module 2.4
Language Ecology

An Introduction to the Ecology of PNG Community Languages

Student Support Material

Acknowledgements

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Unit outline

Unit	#	Modules
Unit 2 **The Nature of Language**	1	Language Families (Core)
	2	Spoken and Written Language (Core)
	3	Language Structure (Core)
	4	**Language Ecology** **(Optional)**

Icons

 Read or research

 Write or summarise

 Activity or discussion

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Part A: An Introduction to the Ecology of PNG Community Languages

Prerequisites

An Introduction to the Ecology of PNG Community Languages (3.3a) is the first of two modules on the topic of Language at Home and at School, within Unit 3: Language as Social Practice.

The module explores the interrelationship between PNG languages and their linguistic, cultural and physical environments, and explores issues related to the sustaining of PNG's unique linguistic and cultural diversity.

To gain the most benefit from module LA 3.3a, students should have studied Unit 2, modules 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3; and Unit 3, modules 3.1 and 3.2.

In addition to completing the exercises in this material, you will be required to keep a Reading Journal to record responses to the readings: a summary of key ideas, reflections, and your developing ideas (personal theories) about the relationship between culture and learning, at home and at school.

Introduction: Language Ecology

Just as environmental systems depend on the interrelatedness of biological things to survive (eg water, soil composition, plant growth), so language systems also require specific cultural environments to survive. Language is one part of culture. Culture is made up of bodies of knowledge, ideas about the world and the things in it, and ways of behaving, understanding and communicating. A culture contains more information than can be known by any individual member of the culture. Different people know different things depending on the way their society is organised and where hey fit in. In a similar way language is an essential part of transferring cultural knowledge and understandings within and between social groups. When we talk about language ecology we mean the relationship between language and the social and physical environments it is used in. Maintaining a language, then, is more than writing it down, it requires the maintenance of culture and its linguistic system. To study language ecology is to explore how a culture maintains its language.

This module is an introductory look at the role of language as a cultural tool in PNG communities. In this discussion we will explore concepts of language diversity, language shift, language maintenance, language renewal, and ecology, dialects and language varieties, community genres and how these concepts relate to education and its role in *language development.*

Language Diversity

Languages are dynamic and adaptable systems of communication reflecting activities and changes in social and physical environments. In PNG where the number of languages is high and the number of speakers low, there are many questions regarding PNG's multilingual situation and how it developed, questions also, regarding the future of these many languages and their communities. The terms 'language maintenance', 'language shift', 'language death' 'language renewal', all refer to the 'health' of languages and their environments.

PNG's unique language diversity represents a particular 'ecology of languages' where languages and dialects are characterised by word borrowing and switching in a context where most people are multilingual. That this diversity has been purposefully maintained is argued by Laycock:

> The causes of this linguistic differentiation lie in the Melanesian attitudes to language. It would not be good if we all talked the same; we like to know where people came from. In other words, linguistic diversity is perpetuated as a badge of identification. Language is used to maintain social groupings at a small and meaningful level. (p14) (in Muhlhausler, P (1996) *Linguistic Ecology: Language Change and Linguistic Imperialism in the Pacific Region*, Routledge, London.)

The issue of just how many languages there are in PNG is a complex one. While there is agreement that there are many, there is no agreement on the exact number.

Based on figures from 1981, Lynch reports: that there are 750 languages spoken in PNG (1998:34) that there are problems identifying some languages as separate languages because of the way dialects are chained together in some regions of PNG, suggesting that one language may have many dialects.

Nekitel reports that in 1988 the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) reported that there were 750 languages, in 1989, 869 languages, in 1992, 867 languages, in 1998, 854 languages. Nekitel argues that these numbers are probably inflated and may be closer to earlier figures, as a result of the difficulty linguists have of determining the status of a language, whether it is a dialect or a distinct language. In the reading below by Nettle and Romaine you will see reference to PNG having 1000 languages.

Included in this module as **Appendix 1**, is a list of PNG languages complied by Barbara Grimes in 1992 for the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and reproduced in Nekitel (1998). Please refer to this list at the back of the module as you complete the following exercises.

Exercises

1. *Locate your language(s) in the **Languages of Papua New Guinea List** (Appendix 1). Look at the number of speakers and consider whether your language is at risk of 'dying'. If the name of your language is not found in this list then it may have a different name or may not be listed. Compare your language with other language groups and discuss with colleagues.*

2. *Count up the numbers of languages in the different provinces and decide which provinces are the most linguistically diverse. Discuss how this diversity might impact on vernacular education in schools.*

After doing these exercises you should now have an increased awareness of how many languages there are in PNG, how they are spread throughout the country, and how many speakers there are in the different languages.

It would be an important research activity to determine how multilingual your college is, and to determine not only the number of languages spoken, but also what variations exist in the same language.

Exercise

1. *Fill in the **Language Survey** and collate the information (by question) on large sheets of paper and display on the wall. Discuss the findings.*

LANGUAGE SURVEY

Name: _____ Age:_____ Sex:_____

Place of Birth: Village _____District _____ Province_____

1. What was the first language you learned as a child? _____

2. What language do you parents speak most at home? _____

3. What languages do you use?

Language(s) Used: (write the names of Tok Ples languages you use)	When	Do you think this language is being maintained or lost	How well do you speak		
			Fluent	Fairly well	A few words
Tok Ples 1_____					
Tok Ples 2_____					
Tok Pisin					
Hiri Motu					
English					
Other					

4. When you are **at home**, which language would you most likely speak

at the market: _____

to a small child: _____

with an older adult: _____

with friends: _____

with people from a neighbouring village: _____

5. What language do you use most of the time **at college** when you think about

academic matters: _____

personal, private matters: _____

family matters: _____

6. Does your Tok Ples have a written alphabet? _____ If **yes**, how was this alphabet developed? If **no**, should an alphabet be developed and why?

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. Where possible, complete this word list for your Tok Ples (Name of Tok Ples _____). Compare your list with friends in your language group. Are all words the same? Are there any differences in spelling? If so, why do you think spellings are different?

I		Woman		One	
You		Man		Two	
we		Boy		Three	
Them		Girl		Four	
Here		Bird		Five	
There		Tree		Ten	
Head		Listen		Twenty	
Hand		Talk		Red	
Leg		Learn		Blue	
Feet		Look		Green	
Funeral		Come		Fire	
Singsing		Go		Betel Nut	

8. Give an example of an expression or word in your Tok Ples which is not used anymore. Say why you think this change has happened.

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. Which languages do you sometimes mix when speaking? Why do you mix them?

_____

_____

_____

_____

The Language Survey should have helped you see the extent of PNG's language diversity as it is reflected in the population of students in your class. You should note how many students are only bilingual (speak two languages fluently), how many are multilingual (speak more than two languages fluently). You also should have some idea of how this diversity is surviving. For example: How many students speak their Tok Ples fluently?; How many students noted differences in the same language they spoke with other students?; How many students indicated that their Tok Ples was being maintained or being lost?

These are small indicators of bigger issues, the issues of language maintenance, death or loss. With the loss of language comes the loss of local knowledge, loss of links with the past, loss of personal and cultural identities.

Reading 1, below, is a section from a book called Vanishing Voices – What do you think the title refers to? Study the reading carefully and answer the questions that follow.

🕮 *Reading 1: Vanishing voices - the ecology of language*

New Guinea is the second largest island in the world and contains over 1000 languages-about one-sixth of the world's total. We will focus on Papua New Guinea, the country which occupies the eastern half of the island of New Guinea, and some 600 associated islands, the largest of which are New Britain, New Ireland, and Bougainville. This country, with 13.2 percent of the world's languages, but only 0.1percent of the world's population and 0.4 percent of the world's land area, is an outstanding hotbed within an ocean of diversity.

Babel in Paradise: Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea is perhaps the most biolinguistically diverse country in the world. Geographically speaking, it consists of a great crest of mountains, jutting from the sea to altitudes over 15000 feet, surrounded by slopes and valleys. The terrain is extremely rugged with mountains and fast-flowing rivers, which have long cut the interior of the country off from outsiders. Port Moresby, located on the southern coast in what used to be the territory of Papua, is probably the most poorly located capital city in the world. It is situated in a sparsely populated area on the periphery of the country, cut off from the highlands, where most of the people live, and not connected by road to any other urban area in the country. Many villages have no road or river links with other centres and some can be reached only by walking for up to two weeks.

Over 80 percent of Papua New Guinea's land area is covered by forests. It is home to one of four significant rain forest wildernesses remaining on the planet. There is also an incredible wealth of some 22000 plant species, 90 percent of which are found nowhere else in the world. The forests are home to over 200 kinds of mammals, 1500 species of trees, and 780 different birds, including go percent of the world's spectacular Bird of Paradise, the country's national emblem. There are 252 different

reptiles and amphibians, including huge saltwater crocodiles. The greatest diversity of corals in the world is found off the south coast at Port Moresby.

Forest resources are vital in sustaining the livelihood of the country's 4 million inhabitants, who live between and astride the mountain ridges, in an area the size of France. These people speak an astonishing number of different languages - 860 according to one recent estimate. The overall ratio of languages to people is thus only about 1 to 5000. If this ratio were repeated in the United States of America, there would be 50000 languages spoken there.

Even within this small country, however, there is an uneven distribution of languages to people. The ten largest indigenous languages belong to the large groups of the interior highlands; they have from 30,000 to 100,000 speakers, and between them they account for nearly one-third of the population. Perhaps 80 percent of the languages have fewer than 5,000 speakers, and as many as one-third have fewer than 500. This distribution does not appear to be a recent development, resulting from a depopulation of small groups. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that the extremely small scale of language groups has been a stable phenomenon for some time. Papua New Guinea is thus a perfect laboratory for understanding how linguistic diversity evolves.

Although human habitation of the island of New Guinea extends back some 40000 years, recorded history is very recent and in some cases goes back only a few decades. It was the last major land area in the world to be colonized by European powers and almost all regions have a history of contact of less than a century.

New Guinea was originally peopled by many different waves of migrants, whose prehistory is largely unknown. Linguists generally recognize two major groupings among the languages: Austronesian and non-Austronesian (or Papuan). The Austronesian languages clearly constitute a family. The relationships among the non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages are less clear, and the label is best seen as a cover term for perhaps a couple of dozen of distinct families. Figure 4.2 shows the distribution of the Austronesian languages, and the 26 Papuan families identified by linguist William Foley. Most linguists agree that the coastal distribution of most of the Austronesian languages indicates the later arrival of their speakers compared to speakers of the non-Austronesian languages.

Typologically speaking, the languages are also diverse. As far as word order is concerned, for instance, we can find examples of SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, and OSV. In fact, the only word order not attested is OVS, which is vanishingly rare across the world. In addition, there are examples of noun classifier systems-for example in Papuan languages such as Abu' with its 19 classes - and many other interesting and unusual linguistic features.

The peoples of New Guinea are mainly settled villagers living in a subsistence economy. Their productive activities vary according to the zone they inhabit on the island's extraordinary vertical ecology. The extreme highlands have an alpine climate, with widespread frost. There, an intensive agriculture based on the sweet potato has developed over the last few hundred years. This highly productive system has given rise to a local population boom, and the highlands support large, dense groups with large languages, as we have seen. Highland groups are constrained from spreading downward, however. The competitive advantages of the sweet potato over other plants decline with decreasing altitude, and lower down, endemic malaria, which is

absent from the relatively cool highlands, is a powerful check on population growth and aggregation.

The coastal lowlands and the intermediate areas known as the highland fringe consist of pockets of rainforest, swamps, and grassland. The population is low and thinly spread, making a living from mixed farming, fishing, or from gathering forest sago palm, depending on the local conditions. It is in these areas that the really extraordinary diversity of languages is to be found. The basic unit of social organization is a local group-a village or hamlet-which occupies and works a common territory. Local groups number from 50 to a few hundred people, and there are many cases of local groups with a unique language. Elsewhere, a language may be shared between a few local groups, giving a language population of at most a few thousand.

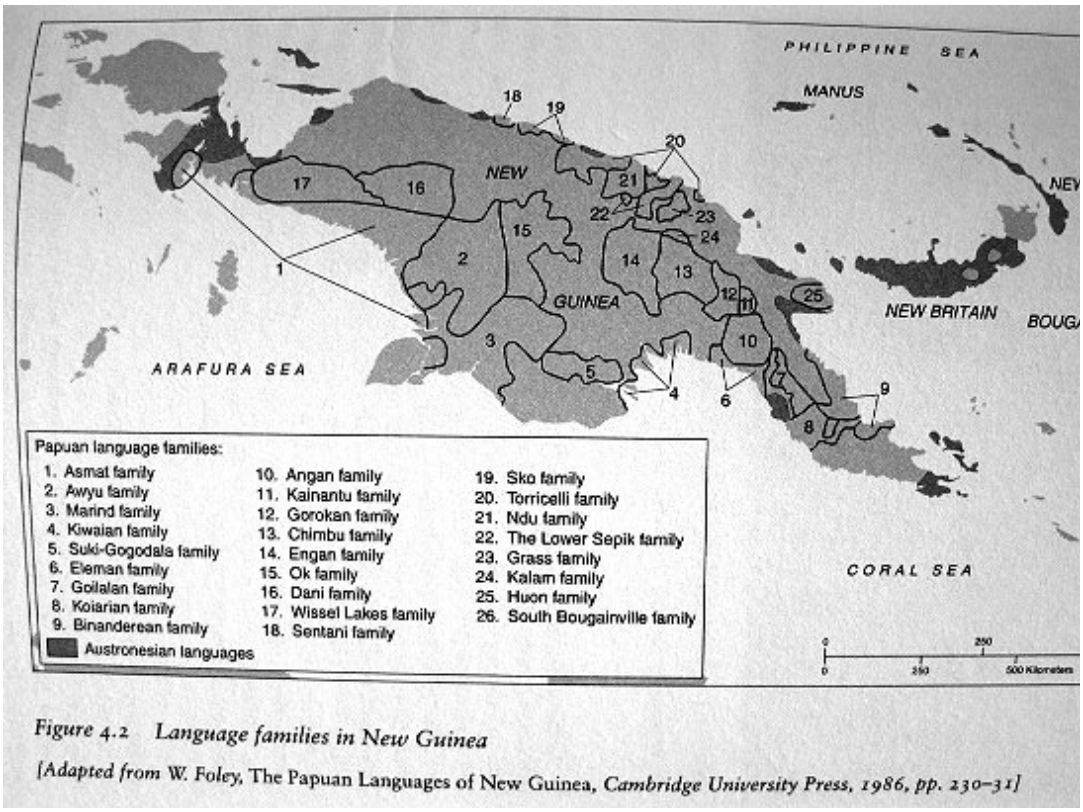

Figure 4.2 Language families in New Guinea

[Adapted from W. Foley, The Papuan Languages of New Guinea, *Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 230–31]*

These groupings, though small, are economically productive. As most of New Guinea is warm and wet at all seasons, food production is continuous throughout the year. Gardens growing a wide variety of crops are planted every year, and after a few months, begin to yield a small food harvest every day. A garden will produce for several years, by which time the next one has been cleared and planted and is productive. Local groups are therefore very self-sufficient; the Marine of the highland fringe, for example, produce 99 percent of their diet by horticulture, and, despite numbering only 200, have no need to import food. For a lowland group, the Kubo, a recent study showed that the system of banana farming was so reliably productive that it would have been possible for a single household to be completely self-sufficient.

Why are there so many languages?

We now turn to the question of why so many languages should have evolved in the lowlands and highland fringe. One important factor is provided by the ecological setting we have just described. The continuous productivity of the ecosystem allows

very small groups of people to be self-sufficient if they choose. Furthermore, malaria and other diseases, and the need to fallow land, encourage disaggregation of population. These factors certainly facilitate fragmentation into small groups. However, they are not the whole picture.

One might imagine that, given the mountainous terrain and potential for self-sufficiency, New Guinean linguistic diversity came about because the peoples were physically isolated from each other. It now seems that this was not entirely so. Though self-sufficient in staples, local groups engaged in extensive and enthusiastic trade with other goods. Shells moved up from the coast, and feathers down from the interior. Stone tools, pottery, and salt moved from their centres of origin through long chains of supply and were made available throughout the country.

These types of trade were often accompanied by festivals and other ceremonial occasions, in which huge quantities of prestige goods were exchanged, often across language boundaries. These served to cement alliances between local groups, which would often combine in warfare. Warfare in Papua New Guinea seems to have been endemic, if not particularly destructive, and those who could command the greatest networks of alliances tended to fare best.

As well as goods, people crossed language boundaries in order to marry, as, like small societies everywhere, New Guinean groups had difficulty supplying spouses from among their own. The social system over all was very fluid; when local groups were defeated in war, they might disperse into allied or neighbouring groups, where they assumed cultural membership. Conversely, groups would also fission as they became large and unwieldy, and either disease, politics, or depletion of resources caused stress.

There was thus a constant flow of interaction between local groups. This interlinkage is best illustrated by the fact that most people spoke several languages. As well as the vernacular of their local group, many people, especially men, would know the languages of one or two neighbouring groups, or perhaps a language that had come to have wider currency around their valley or coastline. The extent of this multilingualism varied. Where language groups were large, as in the highlands, only those in the border areas tended to be multilingual. Where groups were small, everyone was effectively in a border area and knowledge of multiple languages was universal. In the lowland village of Gapun, studied by Don Kulick, the average number of languages understood by men over 40 was five: the vernacular, a lingua franca, and three or so of the other local languages. From another part of the country, the island of New Britain, linguist Bill Thurston relates how he was left in the company of a six-year-old while the village men went off to look for wood to cut for flooring. The boy brought plants collected from the vicinity and told Thurston the name of each in four different languages.

Speaking foreign languages was not only routine, but a source of prestige, and influential men would use them in rhetorical and verbal arts. Boys would be sent out for periods to neighbouring groups to pick up the language, so that they might later have skills as mediators and orators. The extent of endemic multilingualism in Papua New Guinea is interesting and important, for it forces us to rethink the reasons why distinct languages persist. We might, naively, have supposed that the diversity was solely a product of sheer physical isolation, and that new roads or trade routes would therefore be bound to make it go away. But traditional multilingualism shows that people did in fact have access to languages of wider communication, had they wanted

to adopt them. Diversity did not, however, disappear before European contact. The extensive interaction meant that many languages borrowed words and structures from each other. The residual differences, though, were maintained and even accentuated. Contact between groups, in the words of Gillian Sankoff, led "not to levelling but to heightened consciousness of and pride in difference." The boundaries were fuzzy, in the sense that people moved across them, and many villages had affiliations on both sides. This shows that they were the product not of nature, but of human action, and, as Terence Hays points out in a recent article on Papua New Guinea, "if it is people, as much as 'Nature,' that create, maintain, and ignore boundaries, we need to know why, and under what circumstances. "

We might adopt a naively economistic perspective on human behaviour and assume that people will always adopt the most widespread language of those they are exposed to, since this will be the most useful in terms of exchanging information and services with the largest number of people. If people persist with a small language, it is perhaps because alternatives are not available, or the cost of acquiring them is for some reason too high. Such a perspective is clearly wrong, because it ignores the cultural value of a language to its users.

Much of the struggle for success in human social life has been, and remains, about achieving good standing in a close-knit local community. Many forms of human behaviour, from gift-giving to gossiping to joining religious or secular associations, aim at precisely this. Such activities have often been portrayed by economists as quaint or irrational leftovers from some primitive mentality, as when development theorists berate tribesmen for blowing all their hard-won surpluses on huge feasts. However, such activities only appear irrational if the economic perspective we adopt is unrealistically narrow.

For most of human history, a person's access to resources, help in times of need, and ability to attract a spouse and produce a family have all depended on the ability to command favourable social relations within a local group. This has become rather unclear in contemporary Western societies, where work and resources are allocated mainly through specialized institutions (firms, backed up with money, for example), which for most people are quite distinct from their friends and families. It was not always thus, however, and in descriptions of New Guinean societies one sees very clearly how one's position within a clan and in the eyes of other clans was all-important in forming and protecting one's household. This was not just a social nicety; it was a matter of survival.

We need to recognize, then, that human beings hold social as well as financial capital. Being a respected part of a strong community is a form of capital which under many circumstances will be more useful than goods or chattels. In Papua New Guinea, this seems to have been particularly important. The societies were basically egalitarian, though there were influential "big men" whose special status was more marked in the larger highlands societies. Such men would go out of their way not to accumulate stocks of personal economic capital. They would instead use wealth to create networks of social obligation among their allies, with gifts, loans, and hospitality. This is most dramatically illustrated in the periodic pig festivals of the highlands and highland fringe, where thousands of pigs would be slaughtered and their meat distributed to all and sundry in a single, ritually charged episode of apparent wealth destruction. In these episodes, big men were trading concrete economic capital for social capital among their group, and at some level, it was probably quite rational.

The idea of social capital brings us back to language and the benefits of local varieties. Using the form of speech of a locality is a way of tapping into the social network of that area. It shows that one belongs, that one is committed, and it engenders solidarity with others. Observational studies show that bilinguals (or those who command several varieties of the same language) will switch to the more local form whenever they are trying to invoke the solidarity of the local team. This can be seen very clearly whenever a populist politician adopts different accents when campaigning in a working-class area or speaking at a dinner for business leaders. Mainstream politicians have to try to maximize their solidarity with everyone, and one's success at obtaining the cooperation and esteem of one's peers is heavily dependent on having the right form of speech with which to address them.

Language is, to adopt the terminology of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, a form of symbolic capital that may be as valuable in its way as are concrete goods. The traditional New Guinea situation makes sense from this perspective. Larger languages were available to be learned at minimal cost. Indeed, many people knew them already. However, people were concerned to maximize their social capital within their immediate surroundings. It was, after all, the local group's territory on which people farmed, the local group who defended the common territory, and the local group within which one's family had to exist. There was a great incentive to maintain, alongside any regional languages used for trade, a form of speech peculiar to one's local group, which was used within it and which correlated with a commitment to it. As William Foley puts it, vernaculars were the "indispensable badge of a community's unique identity." This factor may well be enough to account for the maintenance of so many languages.

In his work among Selepet speakers, Ken McElhanon relates how villagers in one community decided at a meeting that they would be different from other Selepet-speaking villages by adopting a new word (*bunge*) for "no" to replace their usual word (*bia*) shared by all Selepet speakers. Other researchers report similar phenomena from other small communities showing how language is used as a way of marking distinctive local identities.

Traditional Papua New Guinea has been described as a country of *egalitarian bilingualism*. In other words people had access to several languages, but there was no overall hierarchy. For most people, foreign languages had their uses, but the vernacular (the tok ples, or "speech of [this] place," as it is known in Papua New Guinea's most widespread language, Tok Pisin) was the language of choice in local settings. People would have been able to expand their potential networks of communication by shifting to more use of lingua francas, but there would have been costs in terms of local solidarity if people opted out of the tok ples altogether.

Similarly, people could have increased their involvement in the wider economy, but there was little incentive to do so. The local gardens reliably provided for most basic needs. Specialist goods such as stone tools and pots were obtained through intergroup trade, but there is a limit to how many of these one wants. In general, the range of goods and services available outside the local groups was not sufficient to entice people to enlarge the scale of marketing and economic specialization. Such integration has costs and risks as well as benefits, and they were probably better off with local self-sufficiency, supplemented by intermittent intergroup alliances and exchange.

Viewing the country at a macroscopic scale, then, Papua New Guinea a few hundred years ago probably represented an example of what Bob Dixon has recently called a *linguistic equilibrium*. This means that the number of languages was roughly constant, and no one group or its language was rapidly expanding at the expense of another. The equilibrium is more a property of the whole country than of individual languages. There would always have been linguistic entrepreneurs at the boundary between groups, who perceived that one grouping was more desirable than another, and who started a trend of shift from one tok ples to the next. There are many historical examples of such shifts, which in small groups can happen very fast. On the other hand, new languages would from time to time be born as people … established new settlements. There was, however, probably no overall trend of increase or decrease in the number of languages. The highland languages were much larger and grew more quickly than those below, but they were prevented from expanding down and annexing the lowlands by malaria and the different ecological conditions.

Lower down, the balance of costs and benefits in local autonomy and self-sufficiency was favourable to that in aggregation and specialization; the social value of each tok ples was greater than the economic value of a language of wider communication. The possibility for linguistic homogenization was always there, but people had no good reason to pursue it. The coming of Europeans with their languages punctured this equilibrium.

The case of Papua New Guinea is really a perfect example of the idea that all human domains are interconnected. The extraordinary distribution of languages cannot be explained by facts of a linguistic nature.

Rather, we had to understand both the ecological background, which favoured small, self-sufficient, scattered local groups, and the cultural environment, in which a preference for local social capital kept a large number of local languages very much alive. Any change in either the cultural or biological environment could mean a dramatic change in the language map.

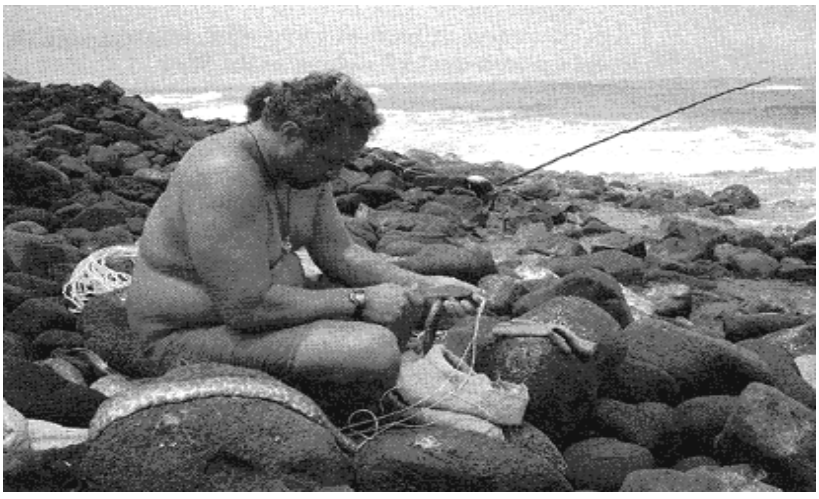

Figure 3.2 Hawaiian fisherman with pole made from 'ohi'a set between rocks and eel for bait [Courtesy of Charles Langlas]

Centuries before there were marine biologists and scientific methods of classifying fish and other marine life, Pacific Islanders were passing on orally their accumulated

knowledge about the behaviour of each of hundreds of varieties of fish. According to some scientists, Hawaiians probably knew more about the fish of their islands when Captain Cook first arrived in 1778 than scientists know today. Indeed, many Hawaiians have now forgotten more of that local knowledge accumulated and handed down orally over the past 2000 years than western scientists will ever learn. American author Charles Nordhoff, resident for a time in Tahiti, where he fished nearly daily for eight years with local fishermen in the early decades of this century, wrote in a similar vein that the islanders' knowledge of fish was encyclopaedic and much in need of documentation.

Like many people living intimately with the sea and dependent on it for their living, island languages are rich in words, proverbs, and metaphorical expressions relating to marine life. Tahitians, for instance, called a restless person a *tunahaavaro* (a species of eel). A person who is difficult to find is termed an *ohua* (a species of fish that hides under a rock). Long forgotten fish names are still preserved in stories, myths, and proverbs. In Hawaiian, for instance, one of the largest categories of proverbs concern fish, fishermen, and fishing activities, such as *Aia a kau ka i'a i ka wa'a, mana'o ke ola*, meaning "one can think of life after the fish is in the canoe." Palauans say a person who is hard to wake up *bad el wel* ("sleeps like a turtle"). Many such expressions have little or no meaning to today's younger generation who have grown up eating canned fish bought from supermarkets.

Some of the Pacific languages also have a secret or special vocabulary or protocol used at sea that is different from that used on land. In Palauan, for instance, *tekoi l'chei* ("words of the lagoon") can be hurled by anyone, regardless of rank, at someone who does not measure up to traditional standards. On land, such a reproach by a person of lower status would not be tolerated.

What does it matter if Pacific islanders are no longer able to name hundreds of fish and Dyirbal speakers, hundreds of plants or many varieties of eels? …

Such reports about the existence of hundreds of names for fish or plants often surprise speakers of English and other European languages, many of whom have stereotypes about languages spoken by small groups of people like the Dyirbal. One commonly heard myth is that such languages have only a few hundred words. The question of thinking in so called primitive cultures was one that engaged many anthropologists in the earlier part of this century. It came as a rude shock to many that the languages spoken in small remote villages could be so intricate and complicated. In the nineteenth century some linguists thought that the Indo-European languages represented the apex of human evolution, and took their wide spread as evidence of "survival of the fittest" rather than as accidents of history. Colonial governments and missionaries commonly used their beliefs about the inferiority of indigenous languages to justify replacing them with European languages such as French or English.

Extracted from' Vanishing Voices: Languages Nettle', D & Romaine, S (2000) 'The Extinction of the World's Languages', OUP New York (pp80-89; 56,57).

Exercises

These questions can be answered individually, in class groups or as a whole class.

*1. What answer does **Reading 1** give to the question: "Why are there so many languages?"*

*2. From **Reading 1**, what does the expression 'egalitarian bilingualism' mean? Do you think it exists today?*

3. Why do you think the social value of Tok Ples was traditionally so high?

4. What have anthropologists found out about 'primitive languages' that has caused them to see them as important?

5. Read the following sections, **Language as Memories** *and* **Language as Identity** *and list some things that are lost when a language is lost?*

Languages as Memories

Languages are a storehouse of human knowledge and experience gathered over time, they are memories. Just as 'books are memories of literate cultures, human languages are memories of human inventiveness, adaptation and survival skills.'

The surface layers of this memory are words. Underlying them are much older layers such as classification systems, grammar structures and strategies for obtaining, negotiating and transmitting knowledge.

Word lists reflect what people know and the importance of a concept to a particular culture. Mulhausler observes that

> … the names for different kinds of trees in a language spoken in New Guinea can be regarded as a strong indication of the speaker's botanical knowledge, a fact explained by the growing ranks of ethnobotanists. When consulting one of the few reasonably comprehensive dictionaries of a Papuan language, Lang's (1975) Enga dictionary, … the compiler lists a number of tree names for known species, such as the following:
>
> … the Enga names for plants and plant parts are those that this particular culture has identified as being of use as foods, medicines, building materials and so forth. The Enga dictionary contains a long list of entries naming plants that fall into this category, a small sample of which follows:
>
> tree bark (used as rope): light wood *angewane (P), wanepa*

tree bark (used as string): *enambo, komau, kotale*

tree bark (used in leprosy cure): *dilay*

tree (used for throwing stick): *kongema*

tree (where possums are found): *mina*

tree (seeds eaten): *ambea manga, keta, tapae, waima, yombuta*

tree (seeds used for hair dye): *milya*

tree (wood used for spears): *mandi*

tree (used for arrows): *mama, yupi*

tree (used for arrows/bows): *black plum (?) kupi, mima*

tree (used for clubs): *kulepa*

tree (used for drums): *laiyene*

Knowledge of these plants is now considerably threatened as the Enga become dependent on foods imported in tins and containers, as their children have to attend government schools where they are expected to acquire non-traditional knowledge (which leaves little time or opportunity to acquire the full traditional knowledge), and as the habitat of much of the indigenous fauna and flora is destroyed to give way to coffee plantations and gardens in which introduced food plants are grown, to roads, to towns and to airstrips.

Studies of many other languages of the New Guinea area point to very much the same development. Thus, with regard to the domain of colours and dyes, Senft (1992) reports the following changes in Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islands:

> Another linguistic change is observed in connection with the manufacturing of so-called 'grass skirts'; it affects Kilivila colour terms which undergo important processes of language change. As noted elsewhere, Western chemical dyes were easily available to Trobriand Islands women in 1983. These dyes have now completely replaced traditional natural dyes that were prepared from certain plants. This has resulted in the loss of the traditional knowledge of folk-botany with respect to the dyeing of skirts. In consequence, the folk-botany terms that were used to refer to the respective colours of these natural dyes are dying out now. (p. 72)

Languages as Identities

PNG's linguistic diversity and the high incidence of multilingualism and dialect variation are central to both community and individual identity construction. Nettle and Romaine assert that evidence of high levels of interaction between communities and people speaking several languages suggests that PNG's language diversity is less an outcome of geographical isolation and more a product of social and cultural factors.

> …traditional multilingualism (in PNG) shows that people did in fact have access to languages of wider communication, had they wanted to adopt them… The extensive interaction meant that many languages borrowed words and structures from each other. The residual differences though were maintained and even accentuated. Contact between groups, in the words of Gillian Sankoff, led "not to levelling but to heightened consciousness of pride in difference". The boundaries were fuzzy, in the sense that people moved across them, and many villages had affiliations on both sides. This shows that (language diversity) (was) the product not of nature, but of human action.'
>
> *(Nettle & Romaine 2000:86)*

Today most communities access several languages and language varieties. The implication of this is that at an individual level many school children have access to more than one local language or dialect which connect them with different domains of activity and which are markers of identity. On a national level, terms like 'egalitarian bilingualism' and 'linguistic equilibrium' have been used to describe PNG's linguistic identity. The role of vernacular literacy and education in impacting upon that identity while not clear at this point, is, however, certain to be significant.

In multilingual settings languages require the influence of other languages in order to be sustained, much borrowing of words and grammatical structures goes on.

These observations have important implications for how languages are described, how they are chosen as languages of instruction, and how PNGs multilingual identity is sustained through education. In a recent visit to East Sepik I visited Passam Elementary school and Boiken Primary school an hour apart, in the Duo language area. I noticed a number of lexical and phonological distinctions in the ways children counted and spoke in Duo language. A related issue is the naming of the language. Duo was the name given to me by the teachers, students and parents I spoke to from these areas, however, some linguistic records refer to the language as Boiken or Tuo language. In addition, seven dialects of this language have been identified and 5 sub-dialects. There is evidence of a high degree of word borrowing from neighbouring languages such as Nagum and Yangoru. Following Muhlhausler, Mufwene (2000) argues that 'knowledge of more than one language by the same speaker makes one linguistic system part of the ecology for the other, just as knowledge of competing structural features, if the same language used by other speakers, makes them part of the ecology for the speaker's own features.'

The distinctions between Passam and Boiken varieties of Duo are important to maintaining distinctive local identities. To treat Duo as 'one' language and standardise its vocabulary would risk giving status to one variety and not the other, altering the linguistic ecology of the area. Boiken is on the boundary with another language group (Yarapos) and shares words not available to Duo speakers at Passam. Such circumstances are common in PNG and the challenge to developing curriculum which supports local and national linguistic ecologies is significant. The answer seems to be to resist pressures to teach and accept only one variety of a language, and to encourage acceptance of different vocabulary, spellings, and pronunciations as they reflect local patterns of oral use.

Reflection Exercises

1. PNG has 850 or so languages - it is possible to provide literacy to 90% of the population through 300 languages. Should every language be translated?

2. What criteria should be used to choose a language of instruction?

3. The next section explores issues underpinning literacy development and the difficulties of developing written alphabets (orthographies) and their impact on language diversity. Read them carefully noting the main ideas.

Language Ecology and the impact of literacy

The idea of language ecology is important in two ways:

Firstly, just as environmental systems depend on biological interrelatedness to survive, language systems are products of specific cultural environments, to preserve a language is then more than writing it down etc, but requires the preservation of the culture and its linguistic reference points (its social and physical environment).

Secondly in multilingual settings (such as PNG) languages reportedly require other languages to be sustained, as much borrowing of words and grammatical structures goes on. Muhlhausler reports that in PNG, particularly in the highlands, what is found is not distinct languages but long chains of interrelated dialects and languages with no clear internal boundaries. This suggests that to translate such 'languages' someone must impose artificial boundaries between them. This being the case, the risk of disrupting the language ecology and language connections between groups is very real. This disruption may lead to language shift (a change in the way language is used, and in the words and grammar of the language), or even language death, the eventual distinction of a language as it is replaced by a more dominant language.

In discussing whether language ecologies are preserved through the introduction of vernacular literacy, Muhlhausler quotes Day (1985), "While the creation of a writing system has helped to preserve the Hawaiian language, it may have helped kill it as a spoken language."

The impact of literacy on oral language communities and language ecologies is significant. It cannot be assumed that literacy will protect a language from the kinds of changes that may lead to its loss. This is because oral languages are sustained and maintained through oral language use and development, not through written language.

Spoken language and written language are different as shown in these examples.

- In South America legal action is pending regarding the reliability in court of written transcripts of vernacular languages. In translating from spoken to written language, meanings change rendering the written version less reliable than the spoken version.
- The field of orthography (alphabet) development is subject to ongoing criticism because oral communities often do not recognise their language and

> its sound system, after it is written down. Some communities for whom orthographies have been developed have not been able to understand or use their orthographies because speech and sound patterns do not reflect the way the language is used.

Muhlhausler, P (1996) 'Linguistic Ecology: Language Change and Linguistic Imperialism in the Pacific Region', Routledge, London.

Selecting and encoding a language

Language *selection* occurs when authorities agree to use a language for a particular purpose, for example, in education. For language selection to be successful, the role of the communities is important. Selection of a language or a variety of that language must be consistent with the attitudes, beliefs, and values of community members. Community members may not agree with decisions made by authorities, especially if they have had little input into those decisions.

Encoding a language, or *codification* usually takes place after linguists have acquired basic knowledge about a language, and can then decide how the oral words and grammar are best represented in writing. This process often takes years. Some linguists, however, working with members of a local language group, can make the transition to writing within several months, provided they are working with languages close to others they already know. In this way a basic orthography is developed to prepare written materials. An orthography, however, is not a language, it is a system of letters and symbols used to express language.

Once an orthography is developed, words and sentences are constructed using the grammar of the local language, a process of *standardisation* begins where the use of the language is checked for correctness with the language community. In some cases communities may not reach agreement over the written use of the language and despite refinements to the written form, may not be accept it. The written form may represent one dialect or more than one.

But linguists must do more than just encode a language. Transmitting a knowledge of how a language is used in its environment, when and by whom is more important to the goals of sustaining language diversity and cultural identity. Languages differ in their functions and complexity according to place, time, speaker etc. In PNG, young adults use language differently to adults. Some aspects of language may not be acquired until adulthood because young adults have not yet experienced the situations of the adult world. Children and young people speak differently form adults, and in different ways – they may mix and switch between languages.

As Fette notes,

> "When we talk about language, we often fall back on the ways linguists have chosen to describe it - in terms of discrete entities defined by standard grammars, standard dictionaries, standard phonologies and the like. But that does not really capture what language is. The closer you look at people's linguistic behaviour, the less 'standard' it becomes.'

(Fettes, M. 'Stabilizing What? An Ecological Approach to Language Renewal', 1997)

Problems of standardisation

For the purposes of converting a language into a written form and standardising it, linguists often treat the language as if it were a system that does not change developing letters that correspond to sounds in the language. While language has systemic features, in its use, it is a social/cultural construction, continually changing and responding to the environments it is used in. No two storytellings are ever the same. For example, story tellers or singsing dancers, will respond to the mood of their audience and the circumstances of the storytelling/singsing, words and sounds will change.

Mulhausler identifies 'strings of language' ie the existence of language chains throughout some PNG highlands areas. This presents linguists interested in developing vernacular literacy in local languages with a particular problem of standardisation. Babaljil and Pensalfini – draw our attention to the challenges of language standardisation in an environment of language diversity. Particularly 'in situations of a dialect continuum (language chains) where a set of closely related dialects are spoken among a given linguistic community'. They argue that

> … the development of educational materials requires making choices of what dialect or sub-dialect to represent as 'the standard'. Representing all dialects equally, though an admirable goal, may for a variety of reasons not be feasible. Nonetheless choices involved in standardisation can result in alienation and divisiveness among several small communities in need of solidarity and cooperation … standardisation is one of the major contributing factors in the actual decline of linguistic diversity…' (1996:3).

(Papers on Language Endangerment and the Maintenance of Linguistic Diversity, The MIT Working Papers in 'Linguistics' Vol 28, ed Bobaljik, JD & Pensalfini, R)

Language shift

The primary cause of language shift is 'environmental change'. Shifting from traditional lifestyles results in changes to language(s). This is not to suggest that traditionally societies did not change, it does suggest that the *kinds* of change that societies experience will have a greater or lesser impact on their languages. Certainly language diversity (the number of languages) and diversity within a language (the range of words, expressions, and functions for which a language is used) is altered. Societies that rely on their physical environment for survival and who experience disruption to that environment lose cultural knowledge and skills – eg vocabulary for plants and animals, medical, agricultural and marine knowledge. In a recent TV documentary on pig husbandry Huli methods of raising pigs was compared with modern methods. The Huli's close relationship with their pigs was demonstrated in the way the pigs assisted in the garden by turning and loosening the soil, by fertilising the ground, eating weeds, etc, and the owners assisted the pigs by pulling grass to build large nests for female pigs to use to give birth to their young. This was contrasted with the way piggeries operate in the modern world where pigs are kept in enclosures with no opportunity to dig or move around; being fed on manufactured feed to fatten them up; separated from their young at birth; controlled feeding of their young, resulting in less healthy pigs … The point here is that in the area of animal

husbandry much can be learned from the Huli, while they continue to practice these ways of rearing pigs. They have a language for pig rearing which will be lost if their pig husbandry techniques are lost. As environments and societies change so do languages.

Reflection Exercises

1. Language change and language shift is ongoing. What is your view on the way languages are standardised when put into written form?

2. Does standardisation maintain a language or contribute to its loss? Discuss your view.

Types of Languages

Cappell (1969) suggests that there are two main types of PNG languages based on how verbs and nouns are used and developed in a language. Some languages have complicated verb systems with many tenses and moods (ways of telling, directing, asking, commanding, etc) and speakers of these languages spend much time talking in sequences of events, paying little attention to talking about or describing the people or objects in the events. These languages are classified by Cappell as 'event-dominated' languages because people are more concerned with using language to accomplish and communicate a range of actions (speech acts) than describing or identifying the objects, people or things in those actions. It appears from Cappell's work that most languages in PNG are event-dominated, or at least show a strong leaning towards this kind of language structure and use. Here is an example from Kate language, from the Finschhafen area:

josa sape jangere fofo I rumi-tsi vise-hefau eme
crabs eels their places this high-tide run-remove having-done
fofo-jengi behe-ra opa fai-o vefu-pie rumi-tsi
places-their vacating water surface-to when-they-have-come-up tide
dzange-jeni dzatara-me ting-ko fe-ra fo-pie hone-ra
Eyes-their when-it-bites shore-to having-come as-they-stay having-seen
li-kone he a sivi ro-jofa-ra ja-ko bandengne-ra
house-from drag- and fishnets having-taken-them stick-to having-tied
opa me na-o hebatsi ke-ra japе-jopa-pene he a
water surface-to having-blocked-the-way as-we-hunt-them drag- and
sivi-ko hufare-me ha-ra ting-ko hongke-pene

fish-nets-to when-they-go-in having-gone shore-to when we pour-them-out

nge-e-ka

they-continue-to-lie.

In simplified English this would read:

When the tides comes in it drives crabs and eels out of their places. They leave their places and come up to the surface of the water. When the tide stings their eyes they come to the shore and stay there. When we see this happening, we take our dragnets and fishnets from the houses and tie them to sticks. We block the way and hunt the crabs and eels to the nets. When they go into the dragnets and fishnets we go to the shore and pour them out and there they lie.

> 'In such an utterance only one main verb is found and that is at the end (nge-e-ka); everything elase is expressed by an elaborate set of participles whose full intricacy cannot be literally expressed in the translations given here, and which cannot be literally translated into English. The whole interest of the utterance lies apparently in what happened, when and how it happened, rather than in the people or object involved or the place of occurrence. Such a language may properly be termed 'event dominated'.

The second classification Cappell uses is 'object dominated'. Object dominated languages have complex noun systems with many suffixes (word endings) to indicate whether the object is single, dual or plural. Parts of speech which are connected to the name use the same suffixes. Most attention in the language is focussed upon the nature of people and objects which are richly described. The Baining language spoken in the mountains behind Rabaul and in the area around Gaulim is an example of an object dominated language.

For example: a xwar-ka = man; a xwara-em = short thick set man; a xwara-it = tall thin man; a xwatka aa bumki = the man's knee; a xwata ara a bum = the men's knees.

On a visit to Gaulim elementary school I noted the following words being taught in Uramat tokples (a Baining language) teaching children the correct form of the number 'one' to use when talking about different things.

Sagak: to talk about one river or mountain or yam

Sagakt: to talk about one coconut or mango seed

Sagini: to talk about one single small thing

Sagom: to talk about one short or fat thing

Sagos: to describe something once

Sagit: to talk about one flat thing

Sagir: to talk about one taro

Saget: to talk about one stick or leg or something long and straight

Sagage: to talk about one coin

This is an example of an object dominated language because each of these words is a particular expression related to speaking about one object. There is no equivalent system in English. In English we would probably use the same word ‘a’: a river, a mango seed, a stick to indicate the single thing. English does not have a different word to express the same number for different objects. This is why Uramat is an object dominated language, it is very concerned with objects and things and has many different words to tell a listener how many things are being talked about.

Cappell suggests that some PNG languages fall between these two types. That they may be both event and object dominated languages. And some others may not emphasise one feature over another.

Why is this important?

Language learning

One reason this is important is because, when teaching local languages it is important for teachers to understand where the emphasis is in the language. For example, to support learning ways of speaking in event dominated languages, a teacher could focus on the different ways actions are expressed in the language and pay particular attention to the various kinds of verbs and tenses used in different situations.

In object dominated languages where there are different names for things and ways of introducing and describing people and things, it is important to understand these patterns in order to identify appropriate elements which must be learned.

Another reason for knowing these things is that children bring a knowledge of these features of their language to school and will often assume that English has similar ways of saying things. This will influence the way English is learned and understood.

Summary Exercises

1. List some things you can do to sustain your language?

2. With other students, summarise in point form what you think are the main points of this module.

Appendix 1: Languages of Papua New Guinea List

List extracted from Nekitel, O (1998)' Voices of Yesterday, Today & Tomorrow', UBSPD, India (pp90-106).

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
		Zero speakers	
1	Getmate	West New Britain	0
2	Kanjet	Manus	0
3	Karami	Gulf/Western	0
4	Karore	West New Britain	0
5	Mulaha	Central	0
6	Ahi	Morobe	0
		5 or less speakers	
7	Laua/Labu	Central	1 in 1987
8	Bina	Central	2 in 1970
9	Guramalum	New Ireland	4 in 1987
10	Ouma	Central	4 in 1970
11	Uruava	North Solomons	5 in 1977
12	Yoba	Central	2 in 1970
		6-10 speakers	
13	Makolkol	East New Britain	7
14	Sene	Morobe	10
15	Taap	Morobe	10
16	Lae	Morobe	10 in 1978
		100 or less speakers	
17	Ak	Sandaun	83
18	Arawum	Madang	75
19	Ari	Western	80-100
20	Atemble	Madang	65
21	Bagupi	Madang	58
22	Bepour	Madang	57
23	Bikaru	East Sepik	100
24	Bilakura	Madang	34
25	Bulgebi	Madang	52
26	Dorro	Western	80
27	Dumun	Madang	42
28	Faita	Madang	57
29	Hermit	Manus	20
30	Gapun	East Sepik	74
31	Gorovu	East Sepik	50
32	Iteri	Sandaun	90
33	Kalamo	Western	100(?)
34	Karawa	East Sepik	44
35	Kawacha	Morobe	30
36	Kowaki	Madang	31
37	Likum	Manus	100
38	Mawak	Madang	31
39	Mindiri	Madang	93
40	Moere	Madang	56
41	Mosimo	Madang	58
42	Musan	Sandaun	75
43	Papi	Sandaun	75
44	Piame	Sandaun	100
45	Pyu	Sandaun	100
46	Samosa	Madang	94
47	Som	Morobe	88
48	Sumariup	East Sepik	65
49	Tennis	New Ireland	49
50	Turaka	Milne bay	35
51	Unserdeutsch	East New Britain	100(?)
52	Usu	Madang	93
53	Vehes	Morobe	100
54	Yabio	Sandaun	100

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
55	Yapunda	Sandaun	69
56	Yarawata	Madang	98
		101-500 speakers	
57	Agala	Western	300
58	aimele	W/ Southern Highlands	500
59	Ainbai	Sandaun	110
60	Akrukay	Madang	191
61	Alatil	Sandaun	125
62	Ama	East Sepik	400
63	amaimon	Madang	366
64	Amal	East Sepik	388
65	Amto	Sandaun	230
66	Arop	Sansaun	330
67	Asas	Madang	333
68	Awun	Sandaun	384
69	Bahinerno	East Sepik	400
70	Baibai	Sandaun	271
71	Baimak	Madang	441
72	Bainapi	Western	400
73	Bam	Morobe	393
74	Bariji	Oro	256
75	Bauwaki	Oro/Central	378
76	Biaka	Sandaun	454
77	Binumarien	Eastern Highlands	300
78	Bisis	East Sepik	395
79	Bisorio	East Sepik	230-280
80	Bitara	East Sepik	256
81	Biyom	Madang	379
82	Bo/po	Sandaun	175
83	Bogaya	Western	300
84	Bongu	Madang	415
85	Bonkiman	Madang/Morobe	250
86	Bosilewa	Milne bay	350
87	Bragat	Sandaun	335
88	Budibud	Milne bay	170
89	Bun	East Sepik	194
90	Bunabun	Madang	498
91	Burui	East Sepik	150
92	Busa	Sandaun	307
93	Changriwa	East Sepik	498
94	Chenapian	East Sepik	187
95	Danaru	Madang	115
96	dangal	Morobe	365
97	daonda	Sandaun	135
98	Degenan	Madang	358
99	Dengalu	Morobe	140
100	Doga	Milne Bay	200
101	Dogoro	Oro	119
102	Domu	Central	482
103	Duduela	Madang	469
104	Dumpu	Madang	261
105	Eitiep	East Sepik	394
106	Elepi	East Sepik	149
107	Elu	Manus	216
108	Finungwa	Morobe	469
109	Fiwaga	Southern Highlands	300
110	Forak	Madang	163
111	Gabutamon	Madang	302
112	Gal	Madang	224
113	Ganglau	Madang	154
114	Garuwahi	Milne Bay	225
115	Gira	Madang	275
116	Gitua	Morobe	483
117	Guiarak	Madang	131
118	Gumalu	Madang	271
119	Gumasi	Milne Bay	250

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
120	Guwot	Morobe	398
121	Hagahai	Enga/East Sepik	300
122	Humane	Central	438
123	Igana	East Sepik	114
124	Ipiko	Gulf	200
125	Isabi	Madang	280
126	Itutang	East Sepik	220
127	Jilim	Madang	409
128	Kalan	Madang	322
129	Kaiep	East Sepik	150(?)
130	Kambaira	Eastern Highlands	135
131	Kamnum	East Sepik	377
132	Kamula	Western	400
133	Kandas	New Ireland	480
134	Kaningra	East Sepik	327
135	Kanum	Western	320
136	Kare	Madang	384
137	Kauwol	Western	500
138	Kinalakna	Morobe	219
139	Kis	East Sepik	216
140	Kolwat	East Sepik	450
141	Koliku	Madang	300
142	Kolom	Madang	209
143	Kominimung	East Sepik	328
144	Konai	Western	400
145	Kopar	East Sepik	229
146	Korak	Madang	205
147	Koro	Manus	400
148	Krisa	Sandaun	347
149	Kware	W/ Southern Highlands	400(?)
150	Langam	East Sepik	254
151	Latep	Morobe	220
152	Latoma	East Sepik	150
153	Lemio	Madang	175
154	Lenkau	Manus	250
155	Lilau	East Sepik	449
156	Loniu	Manus	460
157	Magori	Central	200
158	Malalamal	Madang	341
159	Malas	Madang	220
160	Male	Madang	393
161	Mamaa	Morobe	198
162	Mandi	East Sepik	162
163	Mapena	Milne Bay	274
164	Maralango	Morobe	171
165	Marimba	East Sepik	300
166	Mari	East Sepik	120
167	Matepi	Madang	238
168	Matukar	Madang	219
169	Mawan	Madang	269
170	Mebu	Madang	319
171	Medebur	Madang	429
172	Minanibai	Gulf	300
173	Miu	West New Britain	394
174	Misim	Morobe	251
175	Mitang	Sandaun	484
176	Miu	West New Britain	394
177	Mokerang	Manus	200(?)
178	Momare	Morobe	374
179	Monumbo	East Sepik	459
180	Mondropolon	Manus	300
181	Mongol	East Sepik	338
182	Moresada	Madang	197
183	Munit	Madang	345
184	Munkip	Morobe	137
185	Murupi	Madang	301

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
186	Musak	Madang	355
187	Musom	Morobe	139
188	Mutuum	Western	400
189	Mwatebu	Milne Bay	166
190	Nake	Madang	173
191	Nane	Manus	300
192	Nauna	Manus	130
193	Nawaru	Oro	190
194	Nekgini	Madang	430
195	Neko	Madang	315
196	Nenaya	Morobe	315
197	Ngala	East Sepik	136
198	Ngariawan	Morobe	367
199	Niksek	East Sepik	398
200	Nimo	East Sepik	413
201	Ningera	Sandaun	250
202	Nuguria	North Solomons	200
2-3	Nukumanu	North Solomons	200
204	Okro	Manus	200
205	Onabasulu	Southern Highlands	433
206	Onjab	Oro	160
207	Ouwenia	Eastern Highlands	349
208	Ouwiniga	East Sepik	222
209	Panim	Madang	152
210	Parawen	Madang	429
211	Papapana	North Solomons	150
212	Pasi	Sandaun	161
213	Paynamar	Madang	150
214	Pei	Sandaun	208
215	Peremka	Western	299
216	Piu	Morobe	130
217	Ponam	Manus	420
218	Puari	Sandaun	371
219	Pulabu	Madang	116
220	Rapting	Madang	332
221	Rerau	Madang	235
222	Rocky peak	Sandaun	275(?)
223	Roinji	Madang/Morobe	227
224	Romkun	Madang	389
225	Rouku	Western	350
226	Saruga	Madang	129
227	Sausi	Madang	495
228	Sengo	East Sepik	300
229	Sengseng	West New Britain	453
230	Sepa	Madang	268
231	Sepen	Madang	428
232	Sera	Sandaun	432
233	Seta	Sandaun	155
234	Setaman	Sandaun	200
235	Seti	Sandaun	113
236	Siboma	Morobe	270
237	Sihan	Madang	314
238	Sileibi	Madang	259
239	Siliput	Sandaun	263
240	Silopi	Madang	140
241	Simog	Sandaun	270
242	Sinagen	Sandaun	208
243	Sinaki	Milne Bay	326
244	Sinsauru	Madang	476
245	Sirak	Morobe	145
246	Songum	Madang	326
247	Sonia	W/ Southern Highlands	409
248	Suramin	Sandaun	145
249	Tao-suamato	Western	500
250	Takuu	North Solomons	250
251	Tate	Gulf	266

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
252	Tauya	Madang	347
253	Turubu	East Sepik	50
254	Tomu	Western	300
255	Tuwari	Sandaun	122
256	Ukuriguma	Madang	134
257	Umeda	Sandaun	200
258	Unank	Morobe	465
259	Urapmin	Sanduna	394
260	Wab	Madang	142
261	Walio	Sandaun	142
262	Wamas	Madang	135
263	Wampur	Morobe	360
264	Wanambre	Madang	489
265	Watakataui	East Sepik	160
266	Wataluma	Milne bay	190
267	Watam	Madang	376
268	Weliki	Morobe	200
269	Wutung	Sandaun	410
270	Wogamusin	East Sepik	368
271	Yabong	Madang	370
272	Yalu	Morobe	593
273	Yambiyambi	East Sepik	500
274	Yagawak	Morobe	492
275	Yagomi	Madang	137
276	Yangulam	Madang	180
277	Yau	Sandaun	140
278	Yelogu	East Sepik	230
279	Yerakai	East Sepik	390
280	Yimas	East Sepik	350
281	Yis	Sandaun	489
282	Yoidik	Madang	266
		501-999 speakers	
283	Abasakur	Madang	761
284	Agi	Sandaun/ East Sepik	670
285	Aiku	Sandaun	819
286	Aiome	Madang	751
287	Aion	East Sepik	857
288	Akolet	West New Britain	954
289	Andra-Hus	Manus	810
290	Anem	West New Britain	500-600
291	Anemewake	Oro/Central	650
292	Angoya	Gulf	900
293	Anor	Madang	574
294	Anuki	Milne Bay	542
295	Appal	Madang	548
296	Arafundi	East Sepik	733
297	Aramba	Western	602
298	Aruek	Sandaun	614
299	Asat	Madang	659
300	Auhelawa	Milne bay	935
301	Awar	Madang	572
302	Barim	Morobe	915
303	Bemal	Madang	700
304	Bilbil	Madang	700
305	Biliau	Madang	800
306	Binahari	Central	770
307	Bipi	Manus	530
308	Bosngun	Madang	717
309	Bouye	Sandaun	520
310	Bulu	West New Britain	566
311	Dahating	Madang	946
312	Domung	Madang	634
313	Doromu	Central	841
314	Doura	Central	800
315	Ere	Manus	800
316	Gaikundi	East Sepik	700

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
317	Ginuman	Milne bay	775
318	Gizra	Western	700
319	Gnau	Sandaun	980
320	Gusan	Morobe	794
321	Idi	Western	900
322	Igora	Milne Bay	880
323	Ikobi-mena	Gulf	650
324	Isebe	Madang	913
325	Ivori	Gulf	800(?)
326	Jimajima	Milne bay	542
327	Kalokalo	Milne bay	722
328	Kalou	Sandaun	820
329	Kamasau	East Sepik	787
330	Kamberataro	Sandaun	687
331	Kele	Manus	600
332	Kenati	Eastern Highlands	640
333	Kesawai	Madang	538
334	Kewieng	Madang	820
335	Koguman	Madang	943
336	Komutu	Morobe	510
337	Konomala	New Ireland	800
338	Kumukio	Morobe	552
339	Kwale	Central	2000
340	Kwato	Madang	900
341	Kwomtari	Sandaun	900
342	Laeko-libaut	Sandaun	538
343	Leipon	Manus	650
344	Lesing-Atui	West New Britain	929
345	Lou	Manus	600
346	Lukep	Morobe	591
347	Mala	Madang	769
348	Manem	Sandaun	400
349	Mari	Madang	806
350	Mawae	Oro/Morobe	943
351	Megiar	Madang	859
352	Midsivindi	Madang	809
353	Miriam-Mir	Western	700(?)
354	Miyak	East Sepik	548
355	Moikodi	Oro	571
356	Mok	West New Britain	626
357	Morafa	Madang	672
358	Morawa	Central	755
359	Morigi	Gulf	700
360	Muniwara	East Sepik	826(?)
361	Musar	Madang	684
362	Nagarige	North Solomons	550(?)
363	Nakama	Morobe	983
364	Ningil	Sandaun	525
365	Nomu	Morobe	807
366	Ogea	Madang	500
367	Omati	Gulf	800
368	Osum	Madang	577
369	Pahi	Sandaun	578
370	Pak-tong	Manus	970
371	Papitalai	Manus	520
372	Penchal	Manus	550
373	Pondoma	Madang	597
374	Rawo	Sandaun	506
375	Rempi	Madang	592
376	Saep	Madang	584
377	Sakam	Morobe	510
378	Saniyo-hiyowe	East Sepik	644
379	Sauk	Morobe	605
380	Seimat	Manus	600
381	Sialum	Morobe	642
382	Sirasira(?)	Morobe(?)	601(?)

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
383	Siroi	Madang	700
384	Sori-harenan	Manus	570
385	Suganga	Sandaun	700
386	Sukurum	Morobe	990
387	Tami	Morobe	904
388	Tanguat	Madang	506
389	Taltil-butam	East New Britain	826
390	Tiang	New Ireland	791
391	Tirio	Western	950
392	Tomoip	East New Britain	700
393	Tonda	Western	600
394	Torau	North Solomons	605
395	Torielli	East Sepik/Sandaun	953
396	Tumeleo	Sandaun	675
397	Ufim	Morobe	550
398	Urimo	East Sepik	835
399	Utu	Madang	583
400	Valman	Sandaun	700
401	Wadaginan	Madang	546
402	Wanap	Sandaun	769
403	Wandabong	Madang	517
404	Wasembo	Morobe	586
405	Wiaki	Sandaun	561
406	Yaben	Madang	702
407	Yade	Sandaun	600
408	Yamap	Morobe	670
409	Yambes	East Sepik	860
410	Yareba	Oro	750
411	Yauan	Sandaun	550
412	Yaul	East Sepik	814
413	Yega	Oro	900
414	Yekora	Morobe	674
415	Zenang	Morobe	873
416	Wiaki	Sandaun	561
		1000-9999 speakers	
417	Abua	Sandaun	4545
418	Abu	Madang	2400
419	Abu'arapesh	Sandaun/ East Sepik	5000
420	Aeka	Oro	2000
421	Agob	Western	1100
422	Alamblak	East Sepik	1500
423	Amanab	Sandaun	4000
424	Amele	Madang	5300
425	Ambasi	Oro	1200
426	Ampeeli-Wojokeso	Morobe	2388
427	Andarum	Madang	1084
428	Angaatiha	Morobe	1000
429	Anggor	Sandaun	2565
430	Angoram/Pondo	East Sepik	6200
431	Anjam	Madang	1300
432	Ankave	Gulf	1600
433	Arapesh Bumbita	East Sepik	2353
434	Are	Milne Bay	1231
435	Aria	West New Britain	1165
436	Arifama-Miniafia	Oro	2147
437	Arinua	Sandaun	1872
438	Arop	Madang	2200
439	Arove	West New Britain	2200
440	Au	Sandaun	5000
441	Aunelei	Sandaun	2206
442	Awiyana	Eastern Highlands	6500
443	Avau	West New Britain	6000
444	Awa	Eastern Highlands	1789
445	Awin	Western	8000
446	Baining	East New Britain	6000
447	Bali-Vitu	West New Britain	8718

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
448	Baluan-Pam	Manus	1000
449	Bamu	Western	4400
450	Banaro	Madang/ East Sepik	3000
451	Banoni	North Solomons	1000
452	Bao	West New Britain	1105
453	Barai	Oro	3000
454	Bargam	Madang	4000
455	Bariai	West New Britain	1500
456	Barok	New Ireland	1878
457	Baruga	Oro	1051
458	Baruya	Eastern Highlands	6000
459	Bau	Madang	1787
460	Beami	Western	4200
461	Bebeli	West New Britain	1050
462	Beli	Sandaun	1453
463	Bembi	East Sepik	1854
464	Biangai	Morobe	1400
465	Biem	East Sepik	1455
466	Bima	East Sepik	1259
467	Bimin	Sandaun	2000
468	Binandere	Oro	3300
469	Bine	Western	2000
470	Biwai	East Sepik	1642
471	Boanaki	Milne Bay	1700
472	Boazi	Western	1962
473	Bohuai	Manus	1400
474	Bohutu	Milne Bay	1065
475	Bola	West New Britain	7533
476	Borei	Madang	2000
477	Bosavi	Southern Highlands	2000
478	Botin	Madang	7000
479	Breri	Morobe	1100
480	Buang	Morobe	6666
481	Bukawa	Morobe	9694
482	Buna	East Sepik	12059
483	Bunama	Milne Bay	1500
484	Bungain	East Sepik	2451
485	Burum-mindik	Morobe	7000
486	Bwaidoka	Milne Bay	5382
487	Chambri	East Sepik	1700
488	Daga	Milne Bay	6000
489	Dami	Madang	1495
490	Dawawa	Milne Bay	1700
491	Dedua	Morobe	5000
492	Dia	Sandaun	1880
493	Dimir	Madang	1700
494	Diodio	Milne Bay	1200
495	Dobu	Milne Bay	8000
496	Dom	Simbu	9832
497	Duau	Milne Bay	6050
498	Duna	W/Southern Highlands	11000
499	Edawapi	Sandaun	3800
500	Eivo	North Solomons	1200
501	Elkei	Sandaun	1427
502	Etoro	Southern Highlands	6000
503	Mussau	New Ireland	3651
504	Faiwol	Western	4500
505	Fas	Sandaun	1597
506	Fasu	Eastern Highlands	1200
507	Foi	Gulf/S Highlands	2800
508	Gaina	Oro	1130
509	Gaktai	East New Britain	1000
510	Galeya	Milne Bay	1876
511	Gants	Madang	1884
512	Gapapaiwa	Milne Bay	2000
513	Garus	Madang	2107

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
514	Gedaged/Bel	Madang	2764
515	Gende	Madang	8000
516	Gidra	Western	1800
517	Gimi	West New Britain	3697
518	Girawa	Madang	4003
519	Gobasi	Western	1400
520	Guhu-Samene	Morobe	6289
521	Hahon	North Solomons	1300
522	Hakoa	Simbu	6868
523	Harua	West New Britain	1339
524	Harusi	Madang	1000
525	Hewa	Enga/Sandaun	2147
526	Hinihon	Madang	1100
527	Hote	Morobe	3000
528	Hula	Central	3250
529	Hunjara	Oro	4300
530	Lamalele	Milne Bay	2800
531	Igom	East Sepik	1082
532	Ikundun	Madang	1047
533	Inal	Morobe	1500
534	Induna	Milne Bay	6000
535	Inoke-Yate	Eastern Highlands	8000
536	Ipili	Enga	7764
537	Irumu	Morobe	1300
538	Iwam	East Sepik	3000
539	Kabadi	Central	1500
540	Kairi	Gulf	1000
541	Kairuru	East Sepik	3507
542	Kalial	West New Britain	5625
543	Kamba	Madang	1020
544	Kanasi	Milne Bay	2000
545	Kandawo	Western Highlands	4000
546	Kanite	Eastern Highlands	8000
547	Kapriman	East Sepik	1450
548	Kara	New Ireland	4800
549	Karkar-Yuri	Sandaun	1200
550	Kasua	Southern Highlands	1200
551	Kate	Morobe	6125
552	Katiati	Madang	3286
553	Kaulong	West New Britain	3000
554	Kela	Morobe	2145
555	Kerewo	Gulf	2200
556	Keriaka	North Solomons	1000
557	Kibiri	Gulf	1100
558	Kilmeri	Sandaun	2200
559	Kire	Madang	2000
560	Koiali Mtn	Central	1700
561	Kobon	Madang	4671
562	Koiar grass	Central	1800
563	Koita	Central	3000
564	Kol	East New Britain	4000
565	Kombio	East Sepik	2545
566	Koomira	North Solomons	1562
567	Korafe	Oro	4200
568	Kosena	Eastern Highlands	2000
569	Kosorong	Morobe	1175
570	Kovai/Umboi	Morobe	4500
571	Kove	West New Britain	3000
572	Kukuya	Milne Bay	1230
573	Kumai	Simbu	3938
574	Kuni	Central	2400
575	Kunua	North Solomons	2500
576	Kuot	New Ireland	1000
577	Kurti	Manus	2300
578	Kwasenegn	East Sepik	6008
579	Kwoma	East Sepik	2865

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
580	Kyenele	East Sepik	1000
581	Labu	Morobe	1600
582	Lamogai	West New Britain	1000
583	Lavatibura-Lamusong	New Ireland	1308
584	Lele	Manus	1300
585	Lembena	Enga	4000
586	Level-Ndrehet	Manus	1160
587	Lihir	New Ireland	6000
588	Lindrou	Manus	3000
589	Maia	Madang	2500
590	Maiani	Madang	2496
591	Maisin	Oro	1800
592	Maiwa	Milne Bay/Oro	2500
593	Makarim	Sandaun	1500
594	Maleu-kilenge	West New Britain	5000
595	Malol	Sandaun	3330
596	Mamusi	East New Britain	6000
597	Managalasi	Oro	5000
598	Manam	Madang	6500
599	Manabu	East Sepik	2058
600	Mandak	New Ireland	3000
601	Mandara	New Ireland	2500
602	Mangap	Morobe	2200
603	Mangsing	West/East New Britain	1500
604	Mape	Morobe	5117
605	Maria	Central	2105
606	Maring	Western Highlands	8000
607	Mauwake	Madang	2000
608	Mehek	Sandaun	4027
609	Mengen	East New Britain	8400
610	Mianmin	Sandaun	2200
611	Mikarew	Madang	8000
612	Mindik	Morobe	2078
613	Mongi	Morobe	6000
614	Morima	Milne Bay	3186
615	Muyuw	Milne Bay	3000
616	Mumeng	Morobe	6600
617	Mekmek	East Sepik	1038
618	Meramera	West New Britain	1561
619	Mesem	Morobe	1800
620	Miani	Madang	1500
621	Migabac	Morobe	1050
622	Minavega	Milne Bay	1400
623	Murik	East Sepik	1476
624	Mutu	Morobe	1642
625	Nagane	Simbu	1000
626	Nagovisi	North Solomons	5000
627	Nahu	Madang	5400
628	Nali	Manus	1800
629	Nalik	New Ireland	2618
630	Nambu	Western	2000
631	Namia	Sandaun	3500
632	Nankina	Madang	2500
633	Nara	Central	7627
634	Narak	Western Highlands	5000
635	Nek	Morobe	1500
636	Nent	Madang	2000
637	Nete	Enga	1000
638	Ngaing	Madang	1101
639	Ngalum	Sandaun	8000
640	Nimi	Morobe	1381
641	Nimowa	Milne Bay	1100
642	Ninggerum	Western	4000
643	Nobando	Madang	2277
644	Nokopo	Madang	1669
645	Nomane	Simbu	4645

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
646	Notsi	New Ireland	1600
647	Nuk	Morobe	1009
648	Numanggang	Morobe	2274
649	Oksapmim	Sandaun	7000
650	Omie	Oro	1100
651	Ono	Morobe	5400
652	Pagi	Sandaun	1100
653	Pare	Western	2000
654	Patep	Morobe	1700
655	Patpatpar	New Ireland	6000
656	Pawai	Simbu	4000
657	Pele-Ata	West New Britain	1900
658	Pinai	Enga/Madang	1500
659	Podopa	Gulf	3000
660	Pulie-Rauto	West New Britain	2000
661	Purari	Gulf	7000
662	Ramoaaina	East New Britain	8600
663	Rao	Madang	3340
664	Rawa	Madang	7138
665	Roro	Central	8000
666	Rotokas	North Solomons	4320
667	Salt	Simbu	6500
668	Samberigi	Southern Highlands	3125
669	Samo-Kubo	Western	2900
670	Saposa	North Solomons	1200
671	Sawos	East Sepik	9000
672	Selepet	Morobe	7000
673	Sewa Bay	Milne Bay	1516
674	Siar	New Ireland	2500
675	Sillsili	Morobe	1199
676	Simbari	Eastern Highlands	3000
677	Sio	Morobe	3500
678	Sissano-Arop	Sandaun	4866
679	Siwai	North Solomons	7200
680	Solos	North Solomons	3200
681	Sowanda	Sandaun	1100
682	Sua	Simbu	4290
683	Suain	Sandaun	1369
684	Suau	Milne Bay	6795
685	Suena	Morobe	2272
686	Suki	Western	2000
687	Sulka	East New Britain	1900
688	Sumau	Madang	2509
689	Sursurunga	New Ireland	3000
690	Tabrosk	East Sepik	1300
691	Tai	Madang	1000
692	Tangga	New Ireland	4976
693	Tanggu	Madang	3000
694	Tagula	Milne Bay	2000 (?)
695	Taupota	Milne Bay	2700
696	Telefol	Sandaun	4800
697	Teop	North Solomons	5000
698	Tifal	Sandaun	3200
699	Tigak	New Ireland	6000
700	Timbe	Morobe	11000
701	Tinputz	North Solomons	3900
702	Titan	Manus	2400
703	Tobo	Morobe	2230
704	Tubetube	Milne Bay	2000
705	Tungak	New ireland	10000
706	Uisai	North Solomons	1060
707	Ubir	Oro	1000
708	Umanakaina	Milne Bay	2400
709	Urat	East Sepik	6000
710	Uri	Morobe	2500
711	Urigina	Madang	1404

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
712	Urim	East Sepik	3200
713	Usan	Madang	1400
714	Usino	Madang	1630
715	Uvol	East New Britain	4200
716	Vanimo	Sandaun	1395
717	Waffa	Morobe	1060
718	Wagawaga	Milne Bay	1165
719	Wagi	Madang	1500
720	Wala	Western	1000
721	Wampar	Morobe	5150
722	Wamsak/mende	Sandaun	3180
723	Wantoat	Morobe	7316
724	Wapi	Enga	1000
725	warapu	Sandaun	2991
726	Waris	Sandaun	2160
727	Watut	Morobe	1223
728	Wedau	Milne Bay	3000
729	Weri	Morobe	4163
730	Wogeo/Uago	East Sepik	1237
731	Wam/Wom	East Sepik	4885
732	Wuvulu-Aua	Manus	1000
733	Yabim	Morobe	2084
734	Yagwoia	Morobe	9000
735	Yahang	Sandaun	1182
736	Yakamul/Ali	Sandaun	2118
737	Yenta	Morobe	2154
738	Yau	Morobe	1700
739	Yaweyuha	Eastern Highlands	2000
740	Yei	Western	1000
741	Yele	Milne Bay	3300
742	Yessan-Mayo	East Sepik	1200
743	Yili	Sandaun	2134
744	Yupna	Morobe	7000
745	Zia	Morobe	3400
746	Zimakani	Western	1500
747	Zuhuguho	Eastern Highlands	6000
		10000 or more speakers	
748	Adzera	Morobe	20675
749	Agarabi	Eastern Highlands	16000
750	Alekano	Eastern Highlands	16103
751	Ambulas	East Sepik	44000
752	Arapesh Southern	East Sepik	11000
753	Arapesh Buki	East Sepik	10304
754	Angal Heneng	Southern Highlands	55000
755	Asaro	Eastern Highlands	30000
756	Benabena	Eastern Highlands	20315
757	Boikin Yangouru	East Sepik	40000
758	Buin	North Solomons	18000
759	Chuave	Simbu	23107
760	Dadibi	Simbu	10000
761	Dobu	Milne Bay	108000
762	Enga	Enga	238000
763	Ewage-Notu	Oro	12000
764	Fove	Eastern Highlands	16655
765	Fuyuge	Central	15000
766	Gadsup	Eastern Highlands	13000
767	Gimi	Western Highlands	22463
768	Gogdola	Western	10000
769	Golin	Simbu	51105
770	Halia	North Solomons	14000
771	Hamtai	Gulf	40000
772	Huli	Southern Highlands	70000
773	Iatmul	East Sepik	12000
774	Imbo Ungo	Western Highlands	16000
775	Kaman-Yagaria	Eastern Highlands	50000
776	Kaeti	Western	10000

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
777	Kalam	Madang	15000
778	Kangel	Western Highlands	60000
779	Kate	Morobe	86000
780	Keopara	Central	16423
781	Kewa	Southern Highlands	40000
782	Kilivila	Milne Bay	22000
783	Kiwai	Western	15800
784	Komba	Morobe	12235
785	Kuanua	East New Britain	80000
786	Kuman	Simbu	71731
787	Kunimaipa	Central	11000
788	Kwanga	East Sepik	13305
789	Kyaka	Enga	15368
790	Mekeo	Central	12000
791	Melpa	Western Highlands	130000
792	Menya	Morobe	15000
793	Misima-paneati	Milne Bay	12000
794	Miyemu	Western Highlands	23000
795	Motu	Central	15000
796	Nabak	Morobe	12000
797	Nakanai	West New Britain	13000
798	Nasioi	North Solomons	10000
799	Nii	Western Highlands	13000
800	Nissan/nehan	North Solomons	15000
801	Nembi	Western Highlands	20000
802	Olo	Sandaun	12000
803	Orokaiva	Oro	27000
804	Orokolo	Gulf	13000
805	Petats	North Solomons	10000
806	Siane	Eastern Highlands	25000
807	Sinagoro	Central	12026
808	Sinasina	Simbu	50079
809	Sus	Milne Bay	20795
810	Tairora	Eastern Highlands	13291
811	Takia	Madang	12000
812	Tauade	Central	11000
813	Tawala	Milne Bay	10000
814	Toaripr	Gulf	23000
815	Umbo Ungu	WHP	23000
816	Usarufa	Eastern Highlands	13000
817	Wahgi	Western Highlands	60000
818	Waskia	Madang	12000
819	Wiru	Southern Highlands	15292
820	Yonggom	Western	17000
		Number of speakers not known	
821	Alai	Sandaun	No information
822	Bibasa	Western	No information
823	Bothar	Western	No information
824	Guriaso	Sandaun	No information
825	Haku	North Solomons	No information
826	Haroi	Western	No information
827	Imbanga	West New Britain	No information
828	Imbinis	Sandaun	No information
829	Isi	Sandaun	No information
830	Itaem	Sandaun	No information
831	Kaikovu	Madang	No information
832	Katinja	Enga	No information
833	Koromira	North Solomons	No information
834	Mataru	Madang	No information
385	Moewehafen	West New Britain	No information
836	Moromiranga	Madang	No information
837	Nemeyam	Western	No information
838	Oganibi	Western	No information
839	Ossima	Sandaun	No information
840	Palik	West New Britain	No information
841	Selau	North Solomons	No information

Number	Language	Location	Speakers
842	Taga	Madang	No information
843	Uageo	(?)	No information
844	Wagumi	Western	No information
845	Zanofil	Western	No information
		National or regional languages	
846	Tokpisin	All PNG	2050000 (1980)
847	Hiri Motu	Southern Region	250000 (1980)
848	English	All PNG	50000 (L1)(1987)
		Church Lingua Francas	
1	Dobu	Milne Bay	8000(L1)+100000(L2)
2	Kate	Morobe	6125(L1)+80000(L2)
3	Petab	North Solomons	2000(L1)+8000(L2)
4	Suau	Milne Bay	6795(L1)+14000(L2)
5	Kuanua	East New Britain	60000(L1)+20000(L2)
6	Wedau	Milne Bay	2000(L1)+5000(L2)
7	Yabem	Morobe	2084(L1)+60000(l2)

Exercise Language Survey

Name: _____ Age:_____ Sex:____ College Year: (1 or 2) ____

Birth place: Village _____ District _____ Province_____

Mother's Village _____ District _____ Province_____

Father's Village _____ District _____ Province_____

1. What was the first language you learned as a child? _____

2. What language do your parents speak most often at home? _____

3. What languages do you use?

Language Used (write the names of any Tok Ples language you use)	Who with	Where	How well do you speak		
			Fluently	Fairly well	A few words
Tok Ples _____					
Tok Ples _____					
Tok Pisin					
Hiri Motu					
English					
Other					

4. How many other people at college speak your Tok Ples? (males)_____(females)_____

5. When you are at home, which language would you most likely speak
   at the market: _____
   to a small child: _____
   with an older adult: _____
   with friends: _____
   with people from a neighbouring village: _____

6. What language do you use most of the time when you think about
   academic matters: _____
   personal, private matters: _____
   home matters: _____

7. Does your Tok Ples have a written alphabet? _____ If so, how was this alphabet developed? If not, should one be developed and why?

_____
_____
_____

8. List any dialects of your Tok Ples ? Give an example of a dialect difference you know of.

_____
_____
_____

9. Complete this word list for your Tok Ples (Name of Tok Ples _____)

I	Woman	One
You	Man	Two
we	Boy	Three
Them	Girl	Four
Here	Bird	Five
There	Tree	Ten
Head	Listen	Twenty
Hand	Talk	Red
Leg	Learn	Blue
Feet	Look	Green
Funeral	Come	Fire
Singsing	Go	Betel Nut

10. Give an example of something in your Tok Ples which has changed and say why.

_____
_____
_____

11. Which languages do you sometimes mix when you speak at home, at college?

_____

12. As a parent what languages will you want your children to speak, read and write? Why?

_____
_____

In Tok Ples, write a brief story or song you heard when you were a child, who told you?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Write the story in English

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____