

THE LANGUAGES IN THE SCHRAEDER RANGES

John Tonson

Summer Institute of Linguistics

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1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1 Conducting the Survey

The language survey in the Schraeder Ranges of the Ramu Sub-Province, Madang Province was conducted by the author and other members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics between 28 April and 1 May, 1975.¹ The word lists from the survey area were obtained both during the survey and at different times throughout April and May.

Language material was obtained from speakers representing all the main villages in the Waibuk area, which was the primary interest of the survey. However, for the purpose of comparison, word lists were also elicited from speakers in the Kobon area, representing different villages at a number of places near the border between the two groups. Language data was elicited through Pidgin and, on occasion, with the help of Kobon speakers who were able to communicate with the Waibuk people. The word list used was the S.I.L. Standard Word List consisting of 190 words, phrases and sentences. Two complete lists were taken in the Waibuk language and one in the Kobon language. For the most part, a list of between 50 and 100 words was obtained.

A list of 70 words in the Aramo language was also elicited although from a Waibuk speaker. However, this appears fairly reliable, as the differences noted for a number of words show consistent sound correspondences between the two languages.

1. The survey was made possible by a grant from the Papua New Guinea Research Fund of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The team wishes to express their appreciation to the Officers at Simbai who gave assistance and information on the area, especially Mr. Steve Robins (A.D.O.) and Mr. Neil Gore-Brown (Patrol Officer). Most of the word lists were elicited by Lyle Scholz (S.I.L.) who works among the Karam people; Copies are available from the Technical Studies Department, Ukarumpa, E.H.P.. An additional Kobon word list, that of the major dialect, was obtained from John Davies (S.I.L.).

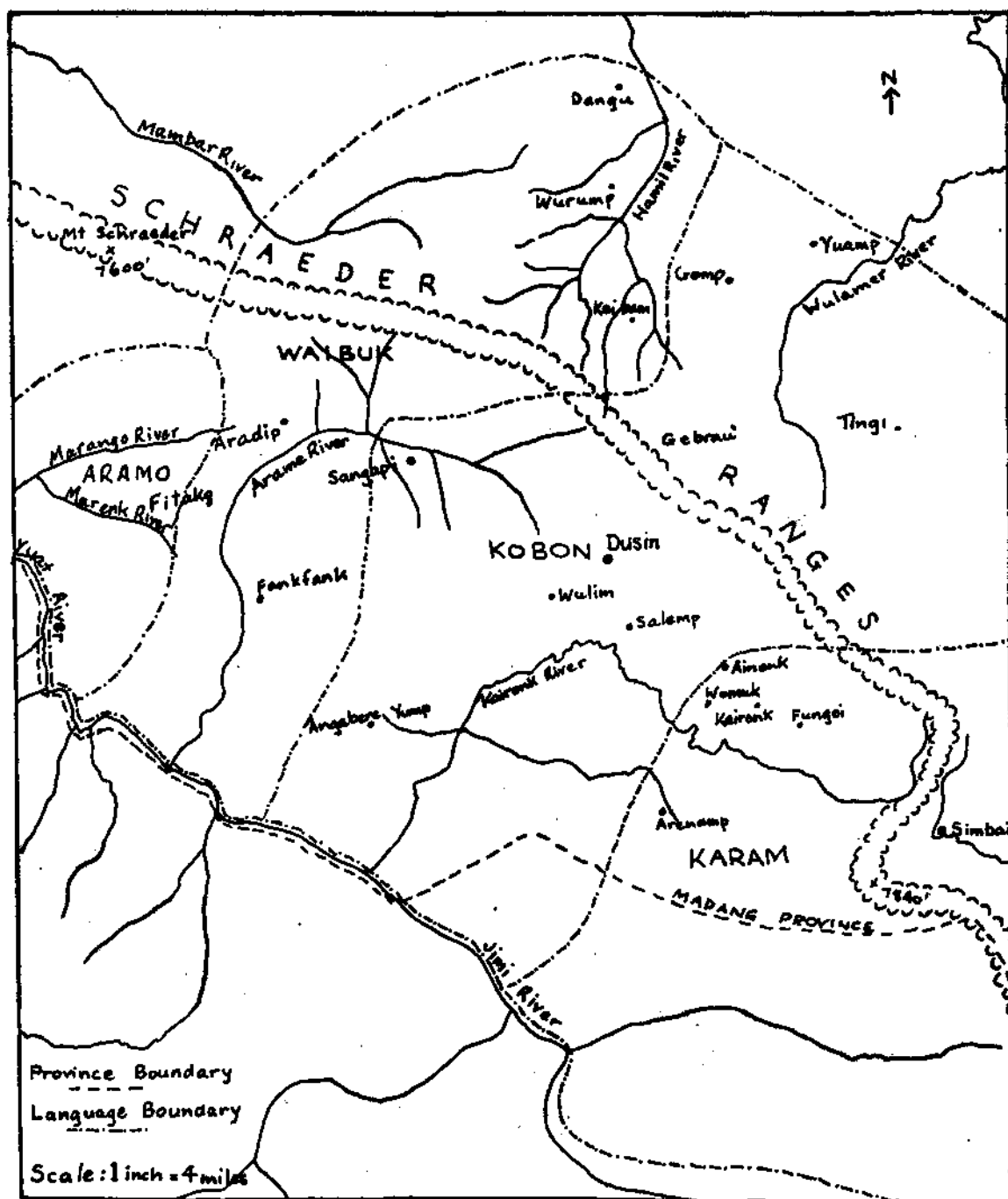
1.2 Language Names and Geographical Positions

The Waibuk people have variously been referred to as Kobon number two, Taman, Wiyaw, Wiyabik, Wuiabuk, Waibuk and Wiabi. The government at Simbai is presently using the second to last name which was obtained from a policeman who patrolled in the area. John Davies, the S.I.L. linguist among the Kobon people has reported that the people of Gebrau use the last name to refer to the people of Keibam and adjacent areas. The other four names are obsolete so we have chosen as most convenient the term Waibuk. According to the same policeman mentioned above, the northern half of the language area has the name Waibi, while the southern half is called Wowona. The people themselves do not seem to have a name for their language but do have names for distinct geographical areas or for the ridges on which they live.

The Waibuk language group is situated west of and adjacent to the Kobon language group and is northwest of the Kaironk valley. The people live along the Arame River, in the Sangapi valley and southwards, and along the Hamil River and its tributaries. It is thought that the people living along the Mambar River further to the northwest may also be Waibuk speakers.

Aramaue is the name of the group west of the Waibuk, according to D.C. Laycock (1973:54). Aramo is the name given by the Waibuk speaker from whom the word list was elicited, so this spelling and name is used in this paper. These people live along the Mareng and Marongo Rivers.

Map A is based on the official government map of the Ramu Sub-Province plus maps used by the Officers at Simbai Patrol Post. The region of the survey being west and north of the Kaironk and Jimi Rivers respectively has not been accurately mapped. On earlier maps the rivers are not named, and in fact, it appears that the rivers now known as the Arame and Marongo were considered to be the same. The



Map A

Arame begins in a range west of Dusin, flows roughly west for about six miles, turns southwest near Aradip and then from Fitako on runs southwards to the Jimi River. The Arame is a fast-flowing river, deeply embedded between steep sides of the valley and is separated from the Marango and Marenk Rivers by a range of about 8000 feet above sea level. The Marango River begins west of the Arame in a range behind Aradip and flows west into the Yuat which the Jimi becomes north of the Gai River. The Marenk starts in the ranges west of Fankfank and joins the Marango not far from the Yuat. The Mambar River is also not named on the official government map. It is a tributary of the Keram River.

It can be seen that like the Kobon and Karam people, the Waibuk live along quite separate river valleys on both sides of the Schraeder Ranges. This kind of distribution is found in other Papua New Guinea areas so is not an unusual pattern. The whole region is very rugged with many peaks throughout over 7500 feet above sea level. In the Waibuk area the altitude falls below 4000 feet only in the very north and south. Dangu is 2500 feet and Fankfank is 3650 feet. Most of the people live between 4500 and 6200 feet. In the Aramo area the people also live in the higher areas. There were no signs of habitation in the lower reaches of either the Arame or Marango Rivers.

1.3 Population

The approximate populations of the language groups in the Schraeder Ranges are as follows:

Aramo	300
Waibuk	1000
Kobon	3910
Karam	14,000

According to the July 1974 census, approximately 600 Waibuk speakers lived in the Arame River area while in the Hamil River area there were about 300. The number of people around the Mambar River area was not known.

The population is very scattered, living not in sizeable villages but in hamlets of 2-6 houses or in solitary dwellings often quite a distance from any other. In an area of approximately 140 square miles the population density of the Waibuk group is about 7 per square mile. The Kobon area has an area of approximately 240 square miles with a population of about 16 people per square mile.

The population figures taken in the Waibuk area are as follows:¹

Fankfank	195	Aradip	170
Fitako	120	Dangu	170
Aradip	170	Keibam	105
		Sangapi	90
		Total	850

Population figures in the Kobon area are as follows:

Angabere	180	Ainonk	300
Yump	162	Gomp	147
Yahl	148	Keibam	34
Sangapi	190	Gebrau	452
Wulim	158	Gubaine	274
Wowo	347	Tingi	134
Salemp	490	Dundulim	153
Sanguvak	552	Fainjur	189
		Total	3910

Population figures for that part of the Karam group included in the Schraeder Census are as follows:

Arenamp	263	Kaironk	641
Ainonk	280	Bilum	366
Womuk	623	Fungoi	424
		Total	2597

1. There are figures for Keibam and Sangapi villages in both the Waibuk and Kobon areas because members of the two groups had their names recorded at the same places. Likewise there are two different figures for the population at Ainonk which is a border village between the Kobon and Karam areas. These figures are thus only approximations.

1.4 Early and Present Contacts

Patrol officers and linguists first entered the Waibuk area at different times in 1963. A government patrol now goes through the area once or twice a year. Rest houses have been built at each of the main hamlets and the people have cut tracks suitable for travel by motorbike in good weather. It is possible in dry weather to travel hoped that the circle back through Fankfank and Angabere will be completed eventually. The nearest airstrip to the Waibuk area is at Dusin, 8 hours walk from Aradip. There is a good site for building an airstrip at Fitako, 1½ hours further south but there are hardly enough people living in the locality to make airstrip construction a feasible proposition.

As there are no local Councils, the government appointed offices of Luluai and Tultul are still important. There are also others who exert some authority on behalf of the Simbai Patrol Post. There are no trade stores, schools or medical aid posts. Only those who go into the Kobon or Karam areas are able to obtain articles from the trade stores at Dusin and Simbai or medical treatment from Dusin, Salemp and the hospital at Simbai.

The Aramo area was contacted by a patrol led by P.J. Kraehenbuhl in 1972 and since then contact with the government has been minimal.

1.5 The People

Compared to typical highlanders the Waibuk people are generally not as stocky, but seem slightly taller. The people wore G-strings, the males with cloth, the females with layers of string. No European clothing was worn except that a few young men wore trade store belts around their hips. The men had the nose pierced below the septum, often with a small piece of bamboo through it. Quite a number of people had small holes at the front of the nose, a few of the older ones having splinters stuck in the holes to keep them open for festi-

val decoration. The young men of about 14-16 wore a black net bag over their heads, probably as part of their initiation into manhood. Some men and a few women wore a hat of bark cloth which looked a little like a turban.

A typical house was a long turtle-shaped low-roofed dwelling made of pandanus leaf and comprising 7 or 8 rooms with a corridor connecting at least some of these. The people often live in dwellings near their gardens and spend very little time at the main hamlet. Typical highland food is grown up to an altitude of about 6500 feet. At lower elevations (2500-4000 feet) much more tropical fruit is available than at higher altitudes.

2. LINGUISTIC SITUATION

Comparison between languages in this paper is computed in terms of the percentage of cognates (or shared basic vocabulary). The method used is that followed by Chowning (1969:18) who identified items as certain cognates, probable cognates, or non-cognates and then in calculating the percentages "counted two probable cognates as the equivalent of one certain one". The languages are then grouped according to the classification proposed by Swadesh (1955). Languages sharing between 28% and 81% of their basic vocabularies are said to belong to the same language family. Those sharing between 12% and 28% belong to the same language stock. And those sharing between 4% and 12% belong to the same language phylum. A micro-phylum comprises those sharing between 7% and 12%.¹

1. Some variation in these stated percentages would not cause any significant difference to the grouping of the languages mentioned in sections 2.3 and 2.5.

2.1 The Waibuk and Aramo Languages

The cognates between the Waibuk and Aramo languages in the following word list are marked by asterisk (*) for certain cognates and by plus (+) for probable cognates.¹

	<u>Waibuk</u>	<u>Aramo</u>	
1. <i>hair</i>	yent ^y əpan	id ^y əga	
2. <i>head</i>	yət ^y əmat ^y	idogə	
3. <i>mouth</i>	ant ^y əmal	at ^y əmolu	*
4. <i>nose</i>	haŋant ^y	haŋat ^y i	*
5. <i>eye</i>	məmaŋk	məmet ^y əmak	*
6. <i>neck</i>	kali ^y ənt	tuk ^ə wa	
7. <i>belly</i>	hambuwamp/wat ^h	wot ^h ə	*
8. <i>skin</i>	wəñ	wəñi	*
9. <i>knee</i>	hawmai/hamaŋ	həmañ	*
10. <i>man</i>	naɱbə	nopa	*
11. <i>woman</i>	maŋ	moga	*
12. <i>bird</i>	yawaf	yawt ^h ə	*
13. <i>dog</i>	wañə	wonyə	*
14. <i>(he) bites</i>	ambuwa	apəsa	+
15. <i>(he) sits</i>	hɤamde mende	həm dəda	*
16. <i>(he) stands</i>	ambələ mende	wələmə	+
17. <i>(he) lies down</i>	haləmə mende	yəhone moməga	
18. <i>(he) walks</i>	dumende	bədowa	*
19. <i>road</i>	anəmbi	diya	
20. <i>stone</i>	hɤəŋk	ləga	*
21. <i>big</i>	dip	məndəga	
22. <i>small</i>	wəɪ	wot ^y əpe	+
23. <i>fire</i>	hɤən pin	hawi niogəpa	
24. <i>smoke</i>	hɤən hawəmp	hawi mukiya	
25. <i>ashes</i>	hɤən hawi	ɤiapa mugañə	
26. <i>(his) car</i>	hɤəment ^y	hɤəment ^y i	*

1. Numbers 162 to 170 include the pronouns which are given in section 2.4 along with the Kobon and Karapa pronouns. Numbers 128, 129 and 187 to 190 are taken from a list of the northern dialect.

	Waibuk	Aramo	
27. (his) tongue	alembəŋ	aləpəŋi	*
28. (his) tooth	ant ^y əmaŋk	at ^y əmage	*
29. (her) breast	kaw	kawə	*
30. (his) hand	yɪmaŋk	yɪmage	*
31. (his) foot	yəməs	yəmage	*
32. sun	naiyə	səda	
33. moon	hɪfawən	towən	*
34. star	gupe	gupe	*
35. cloud	kumi/munt ^y ə	mad ^y eyi	*
36. rain	hɪfuwə	yuwa	*
37. water	hɪʔambə	gə	
38. tree	bɪ	məna	
39. root	(bɪ)kəndəl	kədələ	*
40. leaf	(bɪ)bana	hʌna	+
41. meat	yuwə	iswok ^ə	
42. fat	pant ^y	pad ^y i	*
43. egg	ment ^y	məd ^y i	*
44. he eats	nəməne	nəmomok	*
45. he gives (it)	nənələ	nələməgəp	*
46. he sees	nənʊŋgula	komegəp	
47. he comes	nəhaumənde	bʌdomegəp	
48. louse	yɪm	yɪma	*
49. one	paŋəmp	yohta ?	
50. two	mas	yəndəm	
51. (his) back	hang ^y ləm/hand ^y əl	had ^y ələ	*
52. (his) shoulder	hɪʔəŋgebent ^h /hɪʔakəpat ^h	htakewədə	*
53. (his) forehead	mai ^y unk/mik ^w at ^h	mayguwet ^h i	*
54. (his) chin	and ^y əbələ	ait ^y əmage	*
55. (his) elbow	yɪnəŋgələ	yɪtəgoli	*
56. (his) thumb	mament	-	
57. (his) leg (calf)	yəment ^y	yəment ^y i	*
58. (his) heart	ment ^ə maŋk		

	<u>Waibuk</u>	<u>Aramo</u>
59. <i>(his) liver</i>	mæban	
60. <i>(his) bone</i>	yent ^h	
61. <i>(his) blood</i>	hañ	
62. <i>horn</i>	-	
63. <i>feather</i>	pane	
64. <i>wing</i>	wubet ^y	
65. <i>claw</i>	angal ^y	
66. <i>tail</i>	hambed ^y al ^y	
67. <i>boy</i>	haulul ^y	
68. <i>girl</i>	haulolul ^y	
69. <i>baby</i>	hagiyai	
70. <i>old man</i>	nʌmbenom	
71. <i>old woman</i>	launom	
72. <i>person</i>	nʌmbe	
73. <i>father</i>	at ^y e	
74. <i>mother</i>	mam	
75. <i>brother</i>	nʌmbəhet ^h	
76. <i>sister</i>	nelonen	
77. <i>name</i>	yɪmp ^h	
78. <i>pig</i>	han	
79. <i>cassowary</i>	toiye	
80. <i>wallaby</i>	-	
81. <i>flying fox</i>	mauwal ^y	
82. <i>rat</i>	dʌyu	
83. <i>frog</i>	hau	
84. <i>snake</i>	kas	
85. <i>fish</i>	kombesal ^y	
86. <i>taro</i>	kʌm	
87. <i>sugarcane</i>	hamenæn	həniyent ^ə
88. <i>yam</i>	hʌbeɪ ^y	
89. <i>banana</i>	hamelē ^y	
90. <i>sweet potato</i>	k ^w oi	

	<u>Waibuk</u>	<u>Aramo</u>
91. <i>bean</i>	wopəl	
92. <i>axe</i>	yu	
93. <i>knife (bush)</i>	yuamban	
94. <i>arrow (spear)</i>	yɪmʌ	
95. <i>net bag</i>	yaŋk	
96. <i>house</i>	hɪram	
97. <i>earth (ground)</i>	mʌŋgʌ	
98. <i>sand</i>	dʲɪmi	
99. <i>mountain</i>	anaŋ	
100. <i>wind</i>	handai	
101. <i>vine</i>	nʌŋk	
102. <i>stick</i>	saw ^ə	
103. <i>bark (tree)</i>	wəñ	
104. <i>seed (for planting)</i>	bʌmaŋk	
105. <i>tobacco</i>	tʲokwe	
106. <i>morning</i>	puwe	hrok ^ə ma
107. <i>afternoon</i>	siɾa	kogma
108. <i>night</i>	tʲɪtʲəbeɾə	
109. <i>yesterday</i>	hapuwap	
110. <i>tomorrow</i>	tuwelaw ^ə	
111. <i>white</i>	apele	
112. <i>black</i>	pī	
113. <i>yellow</i>	yeɾego	
114. <i>red</i>	pasagule	
115. <i>green</i>	kəmkeɾ	
116. <i>good</i>	waiya	
117. <i>bad</i>	aŋkwaɾa	
118. <i>long</i>	məl	
119. <i>short</i>	medʲəyip	
120. <i>heavy</i>	kʌmɛɾə	
121. <i>light</i>	piyawɪha	
122. <i>cold (water)</i>	ɪntʲəɾa	

	<u>Waibuk</u>	<u>Aramo</u>
123. <i>warm, hot (water)</i>	pab ^ə ha	
124. <i>old</i>	manduep	
125. <i>new</i>	yongemp	
126. <i>many</i>	məŋk ^ə	
127. <i>all</i>	məŋk ^ə	metepə
128. <i>this</i>	ñək mende	
129. <i>that</i>	yeŋak mende	
130. <i>what?</i>	nahenahena	
131. <i>who?</i>	hane	
132. <i>when?</i>	mende ɛŋepwe	
133. <i>where?</i>	waik hane	
134. <i>round</i>	anan hanəg	
135. <i>wet (clothing)</i>	hŋambe mende	
136. <i>dry (clothing)</i>	watəp	
137. <i>full</i>	wenem wele	
138. <i>not</i>	--	
139. <i>three</i>	mas akopaŋk	
140. <i>four</i>	hangauk mas (twice)	
141. <i>five</i>	mament	
142. <i>ten</i>	hŋak ^ə pət ^h	
143. <i>yes</i>	yaw ^ə	
144. <i>no</i>	mendaŋe	kamdana
145. <i>he says</i>	nun hamənt ^ə paw ^ə	
146. <i>he hears</i>	nun nengule	
147. <i>he knows</i>	" "	
148. <i>he drinks</i>	nun nemene	
149. <i>he sleeps</i>	nun hemene	
150. <i>he kills</i>	nun panem weleke mende	
151. <i>he dies</i>	nun yondon weleke kam mende	
152. <i>it burns</i>	hŋen pin nenge	
153. <i>it flies</i>	ambele duwe	
154. <i>he swims</i>	nun hrap mendina	

	<u>Waibuk</u>	<u>Aramo</u>
155. <i>he runs</i>	nʊŋ anan hənənə	
156. <i>he falls down</i>	nʊŋ kupənələ	
157. <i>he hits</i>	nʊŋ həpəl nəŋənə	
158. <i>he catches</i>	apu pəm ⁿ dələmənək	
159. <i>he coughs</i>	nʊŋ nəməpələ	
160. <i>he laughs</i>	nʊŋ yimond ^ə	
161. <i>he dances</i>	nʊŋ haw wəfə mēndak	
171. <i>he is hungry</i>	nʊŋ kiyapələ	kiyaləp *
172. <i>he eats sugar cane</i>	nʊŋ hamənənə nəməndə	
173. <i>he laughs a lot</i>	nʊŋ yimo wə mēndələ	
174. <i>one man stands</i>	nambə bal ^ə sa mēndələ	
175. <i>two men stand</i>	" mas mēndə bal ^ə sa	
176. <i>three men stand</i>	" haŋŋok mas pan bal ^ə sa mēndə	
177. <i>(the) man goes</i>	nambak dumta	
178. <i>(the) man went yesterday</i>	nambə paŋəm diyana	
179. <i>(the) man will go tomorrow</i>	" hola dina	
180. <i>(the) man eats (the) yam</i>	" həpəl wek nəmə	
181. <i>(the) man ate (the) yam yesterday</i>	" həpəl pəpai nəməne	
182. <i>(the) man will eat (the) yam tomorrow</i>	" həpəl pəwai nəməne	
183. <i>(the) man hit (the) dog</i>	" wənə pale	
184. <i>(the) man didn't hit (the) dog</i>	" wənə məmal ^ə pale	
185. <i>(the) man hit (the) little dog</i>	" wənə wələ paləne	
186. <i>(the) man gave (the) dog to (the) boy</i>	" wənə ha nəlene	
187. <i>(the) man hit (the) dog and went</i>	" kein pakol kelələp ^ə	
188. <i>(the) man hit (the) dog when (the) boy went</i>	" nagenə duwan ^ə nambə kein ^ə paləne	
189. <i>(the) man hit (the) dog and it went</i>	" nambə kein ^ə pale mən duw ^ə	
190. <i>(the) man shot and ate (the) pig</i>	" han ^ə pələ nəməne	

Phonetic features of Waibuk and Aramo include voiced and voiceless labial, alveolar, and velar stops; voiced and voiceless labial fricatives, and palatalized alveolar stops and nasals in labial, alveolar, alveopalatal, and velar positions. There are also the oral continuants [w], [y], fricative [s], laterals [l], and [l̥], and complex sound [hʃ]. Aramo also makes frequent use of [g], where [ŋk] is used in Waibuk as it is in Kobon and Karam. The main vowel sounds used are [i], [ɪ], [e], [ə], [ʌ], [a], [u], [ʊ], and [o].

2.2 Dialect Differences within the Waibuk Language

Waibuk can be considered to have three dialects: Southern, Central, and Northern; the former being on the southern side of the Schraeder Ranges, the latter two on the northern side.¹ The Southern dialect is the major one, comprising about 60% of the population. The measure of mutual intelligibility is not known but would be fairly high. The Southern dialect has 86% cognates with both the other two dialects and the Central dialect has 88% cognates with the Northern. Numbers 51-53 of the preceding word list illustrate cognates between dialects. Examples of dialect differences follow:²

	<u>Southern</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Northern</u>
<i>dog</i>	wañə	kein	keyin
<i>smoke</i>	hawəmp	nəŋk	awap
<i>foot</i>	yəməs	ngal	yəmbeñ
<i>sun</i>	naiyə	səndə	sətʌ
<i>(he) bites</i>	ambuwa	hau	hauwan
<i>(he) lies down</i>	haləmə	hem ^ə	hem ^ə mak
<i>father</i>	at ^y ə	m ^b aw	bo ^u
<i>sister</i>	nəlonən	mənt ^h	mant ^h

1. The three dialects might be more appropriately called Central, Northern (1), and Northern (2). However, the names used seem more convenient.

2. The Central and Northern words for dog, sun, he bites, and father are cognates with Kobon.

2.4 Comparisons in the Karam Stock

The following comparative list of words show some of the main sound correspondences in the four languages of the Karam stock; where there is a cognate with Gants this is also included.

	12. <i>bird</i>	26. <i>ear</i>	27. <i>tongue</i>	28. <i>tooth</i>
a. Aramo	yawt ^h ə	hřemənt ^y i	alepoñi	(at ^y ə)mage
b. Waibuk	yawəř	hřemənt ^y	aləmbəñ	(ant ^y ə)maŋk
c. Kobon	yauř	hrimint ^h	alamp ^h	meŋk ^h
d. Karam	yageř	tument	aləmp	meŋk ^h
e. Gants			aləmpa	(maka)mañ

30. <i>hand</i>	33. <i>moon</i>	34. <i>star</i>	39. <i>root</i>	43. <i>egg</i>
a. yɪmage	towənʌ	gupe	kədəl ^ə	məd ^y i
b. yɪmaŋk	hřawən	gupe	kəndəl ^ř	maŋk
c. ñɪmaŋgʌ	hɾaŋʌn/haŋaŋ	gabi	k ^h əndəl ^v	maŋgʌ
d. ñɪn mbəp	tagən	gap	kəndi	maŋgi
e.			kəndi	mañ

46. <i>perceive</i>	48. <i>louse</i>	55. <i>elbow</i>	56. <i>thumb</i>	58. <i>heart</i>
a. koməgəp	yɪma	yitəgolə	-	-
b. nʊŋgʊla	yɪm	yɪnangʊla	mament	mənt ^ə maŋk
c. nɪŋamp ^h	man	ñɪnəŋgɔɪ	mamʊnt ^h	məndʌmaŋgʌ
d. nəŋəmp	yɪman	ñɪnkəŋgəm	mamʊnt	mentəmaŋgi
e.	yiman			mənday-mañ

77. <i>name</i>	96. <i>house</i>
a. -	-
b. yɪmp ^h	hřam
c. hɪmp ^h	hřam/ham/tam
d. yɪmp	kořəp
e.	

A comparison of the pronouns in the Karam stock follows.

	<u>Aramo</u>	<u>Waibuk</u>	<u>Kobon</u>	<u>Karam</u>
<i>I</i>	dana	neŋ	yant ^h	yənt
<i>thou</i>	mana	naŋk	neb	nənt
<i>he</i>	yihadana	nuŋ	nəbe	nunt
<i>we two (excl.)</i>	nagega	anəmbəhoŋk	hol	t ^y əR
<i>you two (")</i>	yihota	anhaŋkmas	k ^h ale	n ^y əR
<i>they two (")</i>	yəndəm	"	məhau	n ^y ɪR
<i>we (pl. excl.)</i>	yəndemu	anəmbant	hon	t ^y un
<i>you (" ")</i>	yəndemo	anket ^y	k ^h ale	n ^y ɪmp
<i>they (" ")</i>	-	-	-	kik

2.5 Lexicostatistical Overview

The following chart shows the percentage of cognates between four languages of the Karam stock, three languages of the Ramu Sub-phylum, and six languages either related to or members of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock.¹

1. Narak is the language centred around the Jimi River Patrol Post and formerly called Gandja; Medipa is the language otherwise known as Hagen. See McElhanon (1971:123). Biwat is a member of the Yuat Family.

CHART C

	Arafundi	Biwat	Rao	Pinai	Aramo	Waibuk	Kobon	Karam	Gants	Maring
Arafundi		10	5	3	4	6	8	7	3	4
Biwat	10		6	3	2	2	4	4	1	1
Rao	5	6		0	1	3	3	4	2	0
Pinai	3	3	0		8	9	8	9	0	2
Aramo	4	2	1	8		62	23	18	4	8
Waibuk	6	2	3	9	62		35	19	5	8
Kobon	8	4	3	8	23	35		46	8	17
Karam	7	4	4	9	18	19	46		17	19
Gants	3	1	2	0	4	5	8	17		11
Maring	4	1	0	2	8	8	17	19	11	
Narak	2	4	0	7	7	8	15	14	13	42
Enga	3	2	0	65	3	1	2	3	3	6
Medlpa	5	3	0	7	4	4	5	6	11	9

Members of the Karam stock have an average of 4% cognates with the three members of the Ramu Sub-phylum given in Chart C, so the link with this group of languages is very small. When compared with Maring and Narak, however, there is an average of 12% cognates and with Gants an average of 8½%. When compared with Enga and Medlpa, the Karam stock has an average of 2% and 5% cognates respectively. According to Wurm (1962:11, 12), Karam itself has an average of 10% to 15% shared basic vocabulary with the E.N.G. Highlands stock. Therefore the figure for the whole of the Karam stock would probably be less than 10%. On this basis the Karam stock would be regarded as a member of the East New Guinea Highlands (Micro) Phylum. More recently Wurm (1971:551, 559) has, on other grounds, regarded the Karam stock as belonging to the E.N.G. Highlands Stock rather than to that micro-phylum.

Pinai, the other isolate in the region covered by this study, appears to be very closely related to Enga (65%). This relationship is computed on the basis of a list, the reliability of which is un-

certain. Only 40 words could be compared with the other languages involved from the S.I.L. standard word list.

The language relationships as deduced from Chart C follows.

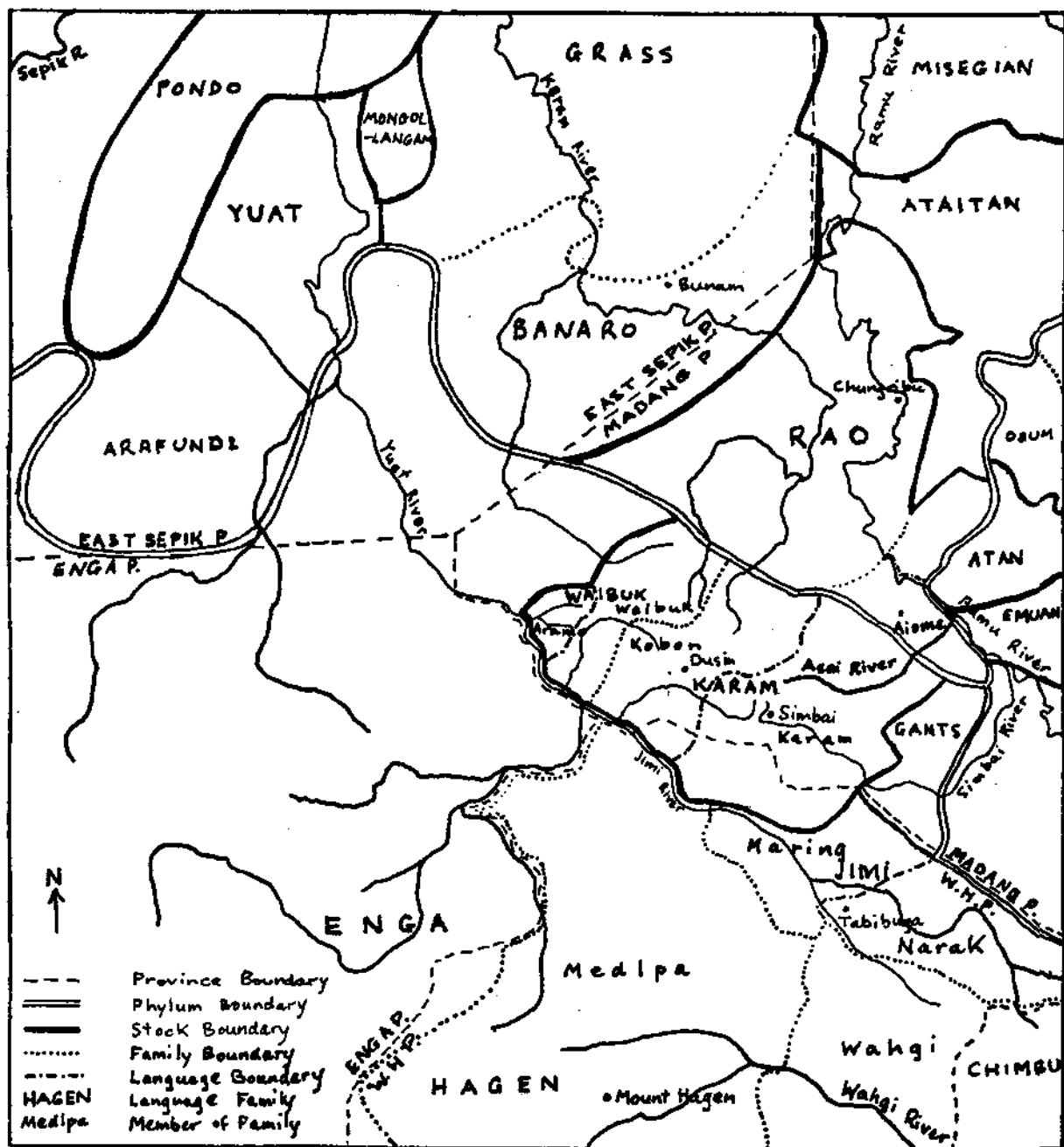
<u>Stock</u>	<u>Family</u>	<u>Language</u>
Karam	Karam	Karam Kobon
	Waibuk	Waibuk Aramo
Gants	Gants	Gants
E.N.G. Highlands	Jimi	Maring Narak Kandawo
	Enga	Enga Pinai Ipili
	Hagen	Medlpa Aua Gawigl
	Etc.	

Map B shows the relative geographical positions of all the language families mentioned in the preceding chart.

2.6 Use of Pidgin and Neighbouring Languages

Pidgin is well known among the Karam and Kobon people, but is not so well known among the Waibuk. The extent to which Pidgin is spoken in the Waibuk area seems to vary depending upon the distance of villages from the main routes between Kobon and Waibuk territory. Those who know Pidgin best would include men who are village leaders appointed by the Government or those who make trips to the Karam area to buy at trade stores or for other purposes.

There appears to be some bilingualism among the Waibuk and Kobon people living close to each other, but the exact extent of this is not known. The Aramo people know only a little Pidgin but it seems that they can communicate with the Waibuk people. This indicates some bilingualism between the two groups.



Map B

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