



# **A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Malalamai [mmt] Language Area**

Madang Province, Papua New Guinea

John Carter  
Katie Carter  
John Grummitt  
Bonnie MacKenzie  
Janell Masters

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## **Abstract**

This survey investigates vitality and language and dialect boundaries of the Malalamai [mmt] language on the eastern coast of Madang Province, Papua New Guinea (PNG). This was one of the few Austronesian languages that had not been surveyed in this area. The survey team used wordlists, observation, interviews and participatory methods in the villages of Malalamai, Bonga and Yara. Pre-existing wordlists from nearby or related Austronesian languages were compared to those elicited during the survey to calculate lexical similarities between them and the language surveyed.

Linguistically, there was virtually no difference between the villages surveyed, and comparison with other languages in the area shows that the Malalamai language is distinct. In addition, reported data indicate that Malalamai is limited to only the villages surveyed. This survey report concludes that although continued and increasing use of Tok Pisin could influence language change, current vitality is strong.

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# **1 Introduction**

The Malalamai language area is the focus of this report and includes two main villages, Malalamai and Bonga, and a smaller one, Yara. Naming this language community is problematic as the community members reject the current label as having been given them by the Australian government, but the term ‘Malalamai’ is used in this report, as detailed in section 1.3. The survey was undertaken by John Carter, John Grummitt, Janell Masters and team leader Bonnie MacKenzie from the 16th to the 24th of February, 2011.

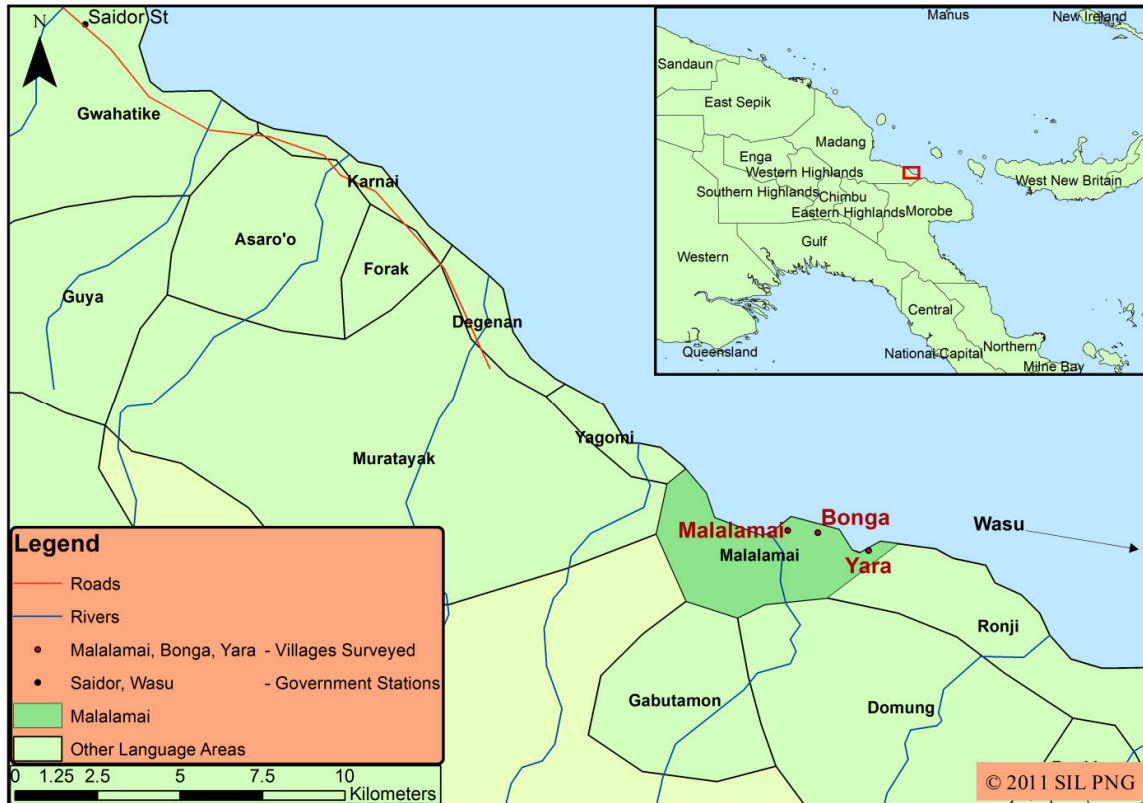
This fieldwork was made possible by the support of the PNG government, SIL-PNG, and the participation of the Malalamai language communities, to whom the survey team extends thanks.

## **1.1 Language Location**

Malalamai, Bonga, and Yara villages are located on the Rai Coast of Madang Province, about 25 kilometres southeast of the nearest government station at Saidor. The Malalamai language area is the second-to-last language area on the eastern coastline of Madang Province before reaching Morobe Province (see following maps).

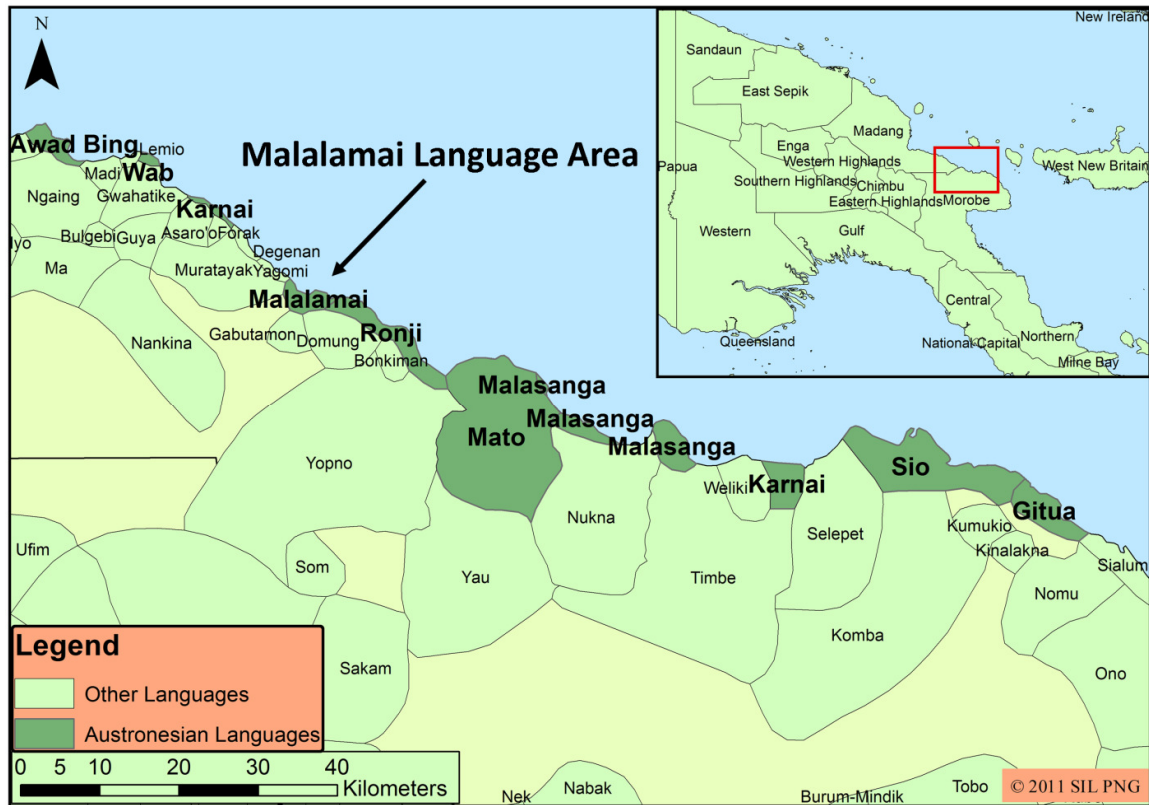
Identification of the precise geographical boundaries between languages or dialects was not one of the team’s goals, nor should any maps resulting from this survey be considered an indication of land ownership.

Map 1. Malalamai Language Area in Context



Note that while the 2000 census points given to the survey team by the PNG government include a census point for Malalamai, they do not include census points for Bonga and Yara. Bonga and Yara as represented on Map 1 are plotted by the GPS points the survey team took while there.

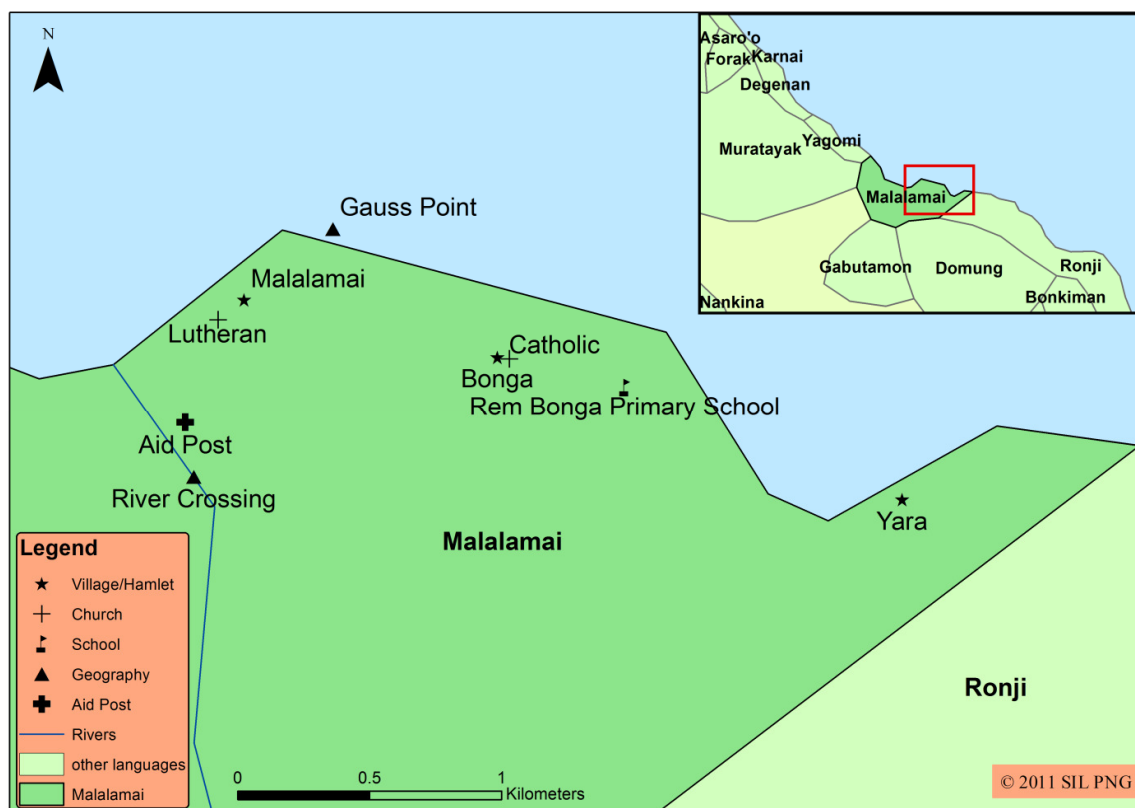
Map 2. Austronesian Languages on the Coast



Some of the changes that need to be made to the language areas shown on Map 2 are mentioned in this report. The changes are not incorporated in the map yet because more information is needed about the language boundaries in the northwest region of the map. First, the Malasanga and Karnai areas at the centre of the map need to be grouped into one and called 'Pano' (Stober, 2009). Second, Karnai is not spoken in the Karnai area that is on the coast northwest of the Malalamai area. Instead, three other vernaculars are spoken there, according to the findings of a recent sociolinguistic survey of the Mur village area (Carter et al., 2011).



Map 3. Malalamai Language Area

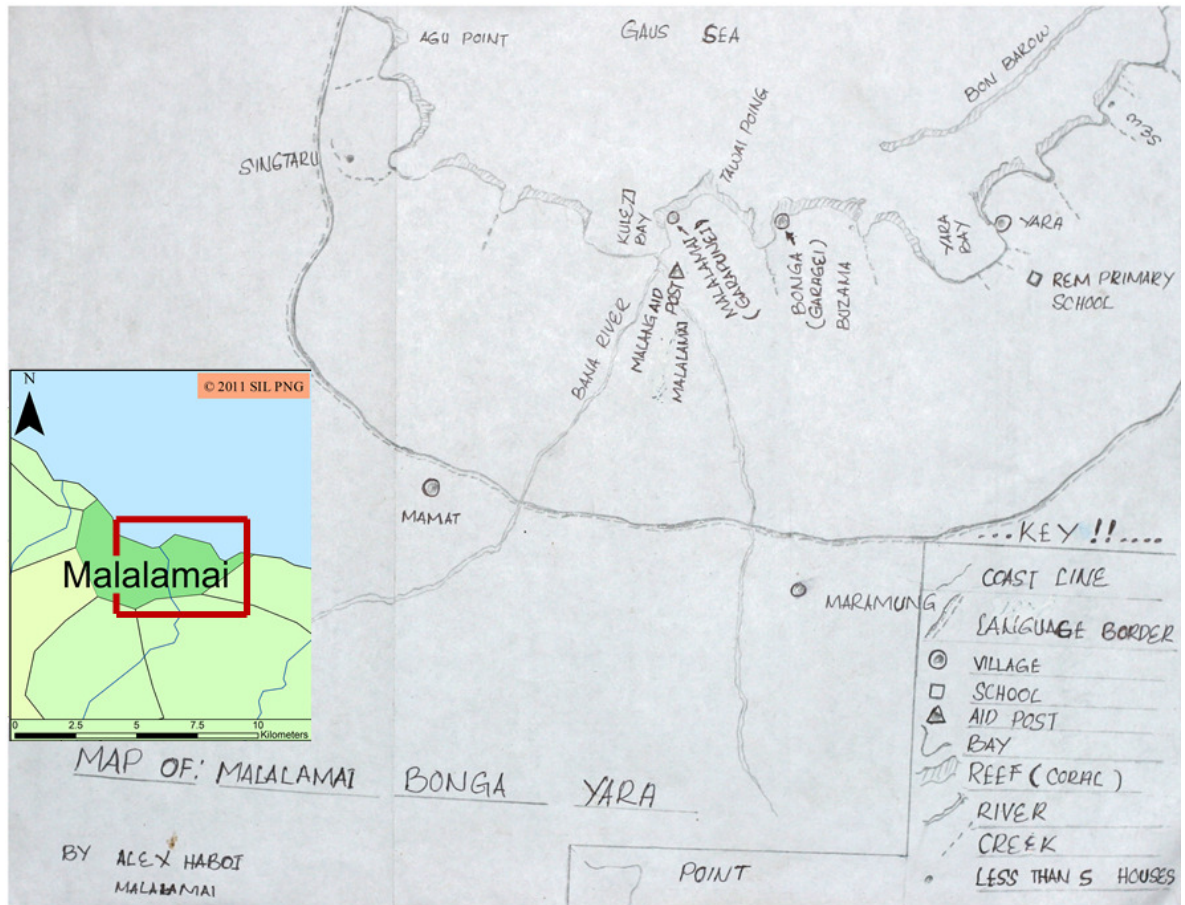


All points on Map 3 are GPS points taken by the survey team during the survey. The 2000 census included Malalamai, and the government census point for Malalamai village (not shown) falls close to our own.

The river shown on the west side of Map 3 was 10 to 15 metres across at the time of the survey in February. It was no deeper than three feet and easily crossed on foot. February is usually the rainy season, but the local people reported that it had not been raining a lot, and from the dryness of the ground we could see this was true. The depth and ease of crossing the river at other times of the year is unknown to the survey team. At the crossing point, evidence of an old road is still present, but it is generally overgrown and does not appear to have been used for some years (see Map 1 for the possible use of the road).

Part of Malalamai village is raised slightly and is no more than 25 ft above sea level, whereas Bonga and Yara are both no more than 6 ft above sea level. The villages are bordered at their rear by steep kunai grass-covered hills. Map 4 shows the villages of Mamat and Maramung; these villages are beyond the first set of hills that run along the coast.

Map 4. Malalamai Language Area - by Alex Hanoi



While using one of the questionnaires, we asked if anyone would be interested in drawing a map for us of the area. A young man took up the task eagerly, producing the detailed and artistic rendition shown in Map 4.

## 1.2 Previous Research

Detailed research has not been published about the Malalamai language area. However, broad brushstrokes covering the languages of the region have been given by Salzner (1960), Z'graggen (1976), Hooley and McElhanon (1970), Hooley (1976), and Capell (1969, 1971). Research by Ross (1988, p. 173) indicates that Malalamai is related linguistically to languages of West New Britain, notably Bariai, Kove and Lusi. All of the published research listed above was done remotely, including the more detailed study conducted by Ross (*ibid.*). Of this general information, the most useful is a description of volcanic eruptions that could explain some of the seemingly odd linguistic connections in the region. Ross (*ibid.*) mentions three major volcanic eruptions which occurred at least one hundred years ago. He says that because of these and other factors, “[c]ommunalects which are closely related historically are not necessarily geographically contiguous” (p. 163), and he concludes that “[t]he languages of the Ngero/Vitiaz Strait group remain very poorly described” (p. 160). Being able to fill in this gap in the knowledge of the region was one of the desired outcomes of this survey.

### 1.3 Language Name and Classification

The language is listed as Malalamai in the 16th Edition of *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009, p. 623), with the ISO code [mmt].<sup>1</sup> It is classified as Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Central-Eastern, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Oceanic, Western Oceanic, North New Guinea, Ngero-Vitiaz, Ngero, and Bariai. Figure 1 shows the genetic hierarchy of the language.

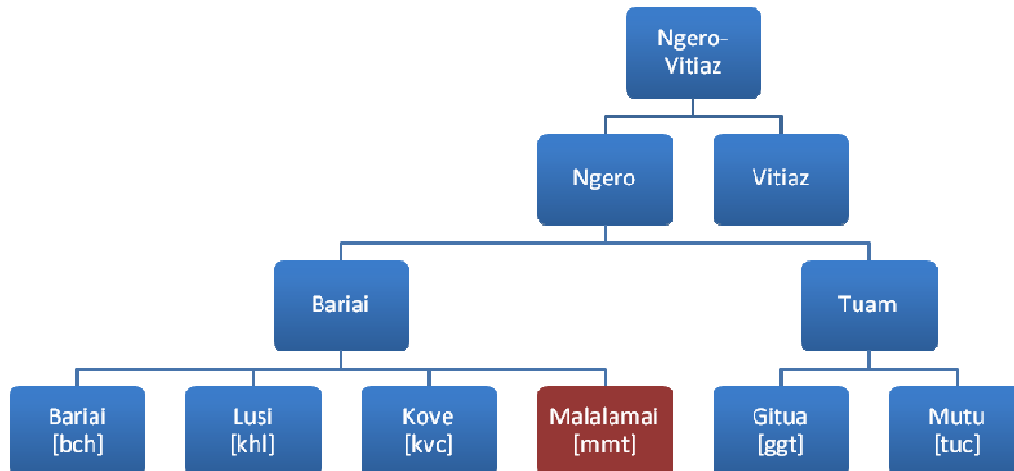


Figure 1. Languages in the Ngero-Vitiaz Group, Ngero Sub-Group

During the survey, however, speakers consistently reported that Malalamai is not the true name of the language. In Malalamai village, the residents reported that the name Malalamai was given by the Australians and does not mean anything in the language. However, the language community was unable to provide a name for the language which is agreed upon by people in the Malalamai, Bonga and Yara villages. The people of Malalamai village reported that they call themselves, their village and the language they speak *Garpunei*. The people of Bonga village told us that their village name is *Garingei* and they add the suffix *-ai* to refer to the people, calling themselves *Garingei-ai*. They include the people of Yara village in the term *Garingei-ai*; however, a man from Yara who was present said that people from Yara are *Yara-ai*. When asked if *Garingei* was a name for the language, they said it was not. The survey team also asked if there was any term which covered all three villages, and they said that they did not know. They agreed that the name Malalamai is the widely-known term used for their language and community. Because it is also used in the literature referring to the community and in the absence of an alternative proposed by the language community, we have used it in this report. For more discussion on issues of naming and identity, see section 4.3.5 below.

<sup>1</sup> The International Organization for Standardization (ISO) standard 639-3 provides standardised three letter identification codes for languages.

In Malalamai and Bonga villages, when asked for other names for the language, the people listed several that are used by other language groups. We list them in Table 1. In addition, Malamai and Melmalmai are language names used in older literature that probably refer to Malalamai [mmt]. Note that Malangai, which is a similar-sounding name, refers to a village speaking Awad Bing [bcu] to the west of Saidor.

Table 1. Names Given to Language Community by Various Groups

Name...	...used by...	...reported by...
Garpunei	Malalamai villagers	Malalamai villagers as self-referent
Som	Yagomi residents	Malalamai villagers
Kerat	People living inland	Malalamai villagers
Saum	Ronji and Gali residents	Malalamai villagers
Labuna	Sio residents	Malalamai villagers
Yat	Biliau residents	Malalamai villagers
Launa	Sio residents	Bonga-Yara villagers
Doua*	Rai Coast residents	Bonga-Yara villagers
Garingei-ai	Bonga villagers	Bonga villagers as self-referent**
Yara-ai	Yara villagers	Yara villagers as self-referent

\*We were told that this means “cousin” in the local language and is used by others who are familiar with the language and the community.

\*\*Bonga residents may include people from Yara in this name.

## 1.4 Population

Table 2 summarises the Malalamai language area population figures. These figures come from two main sources: census data and reported data.

Table 2. Population Figures for the Malalamai Language Area

Village	2000 Population (Census Data)	2011 Projection (Census Data)	2011 Population (Reported by villagers)
Malalamai	268	359	463
Bonga + Yara	280	375	400 +
Total for Language Area	548	734	863 +

The populations of the Malalamai and Bonga census units, according to the 2000 National Census, are 268 and 280, respectively (National Statistical Office, 2002). Yara was not listed as a separate census point in the 2000 Census and interviewees in Bonga said that Yara was included with Bonga in the census count. The 2000 census also lists a 1980–2000 average annual growth rate of 2.7% for Madang Province. This rate should be noted with caution because there were changes in how the census was conducted, which may have affected the totals used to calculate the growth rate. Using this growth rate, the projected 2011 populations for these census points are 359 in Malalamai and 375 in Bonga.

The projected figures based on census data are lower than the figures reported to the survey team by the language communities themselves. The local Ward member said that the 2011 population of Malalamai village is 463. Interviewees at a

community gathering in Bonga estimated that the 2011 combined population of Bonga and Yara is over 400. Of this Bonga figure, we were told that an estimated 118 consider themselves to be Yara people, despite the fact that the majority of them are living in Bonga or elsewhere. Considering all of the above data, we estimate the total population of the Malalamai language area 2011 to be around 800.

## **1.5 Goals**

The two goals of the survey were as follows:

1. Establish the language and dialect boundaries of the Malalamai language.
2. Assess the vitality of the Malalamai language.

## **2 Methodology**

### **2.1 Tools**

#### **2.1.1 Observation**

In every village, members of the survey team recorded their observations about which languages were being spoken, by whom and to whom, and in what situations. The team particularly noted what language the children used with each other and what language was spoken to the youngest children by adults, as these observations give valuable insight into language vitality.

#### **2.1.2 Sociolinguistic Interviews**

Group interviews regarding language use, language attitudes, immigration, emigration and cultural practices were completed in every village. Individual interviews with church and school leaders were used to gather information regarding language use and attitudes within churches and schools. All of these interviews were guided by standard SIL-PNG questionnaires, with the goal of assessing language vitality and boundaries and describing the overall sociolinguistic situation in the Malalamai language community.

#### **2.1.3 Wordlists**

The standard SIL-PNG wordlist (1999 revision) consisting of 170 words and 20 phrases was used in the villages of Malalamai and Bonga. These wordlists were compared to each other using the lexicostatistic comparison method described by Blair (1990, pp. 30–33). This comparison was used along with other data to determine language and dialect boundaries. For detailed wordlist methodology, see section 3.2.1.

### 2.1.4 Participatory Methods



Figure 2. The Social Connections Tool

In Malalamai village, the team trialled the use of the Social Connections Tool, designed by the team for this survey. It is based on participatory methodology (PM) and was meant to facilitate a discussion among community members about which other communities they have connections with.<sup>2</sup>

The tool began with a large stone being placed in the centre of a clearing to represent Malalamai village. Volunteers from the group used markers and squares of banana leaves to label this large stone and subsequent stones with the names of the communities they represented. The group members were asked to identify communities they felt they had connections with. Each time the group members identified another community, they placed a stone down to represent it and labelled it with the community name. They cut string and used it to link the stones, illustrating the presence of connections with those communities. They wrote labels to place along the strings to specify the kinds of connections they have with each community (e.g. marriage, trade, travel, work, and mobile phone communication). This resulted in a large diagram of stones, string and banana leaf labels showing how Malalamai village is connected with other communities.

<sup>2</sup> Participatory methodology is an approach to community development that helps people “to think and talk together in order to describe and analyze their situation, decide what to do, plan how to do it and evaluate what has been done” (Hasselbring, 2010, p. 2). The approach is intended to help “those who will benefit from activities” to have a key role in all aspects of those activities (Hasselbring, Simanjuntak and Truong, 2010).





Figure 3. Malalamai Village's Connections

Once the group members had finished adding connections, they were asked to identify and rate what they consider to be the five most important communities they have connections with. The survey team expected the diagram to reveal the group's attitudes towards the communities. The group had to decide how to define what was 'important' according to their own views. In other words, results from the tool were expected to reveal what kinds of connections the community values most.

## 2.2 Sampling

The survey team collected data in the three villages of the Malalamai language area (see Table 3). The team decided not to collect a large amount of data in Yara because residents of Bonga and Yara say that few people live in Yara and the language spoken in the two villages is exactly the same. Two visits to Yara by the team confirmed this—Yara consists of only five houses and the visits proved there was no reason to conduct additional research there. Yara residents participated in the group interviews the team conducted in Bonga.

Table 3. Interview Schedules Conducted in the Malalamai Language Area

Village Name	Time Spent	Standard Questionnaires					wordlist	social connections tool
		church	education	language use	culture	contact patterns		
Malalamai	1.5 days 2 nights	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bonga	1 day 1 night	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Yara	2 brief visits							

Respondents to group interviews were chosen based on their availability and desire to participate. For each group interview, a general invitation was extended to the community at large to participate. The team wanted participation from the largest number possible in each village so that they could most accurately represent the thoughts and opinions of each community. For individual interviews, respondents were chosen based on their availability and position of leadership in the church or school. Of those who were available, we chose those serving in the highest positions of leadership. The communities chose the spokespersons for eliciting wordlists, adhering to the criterion that they were born and raised in the village under consideration. In addition to these tools, the team members also carried out observations and informal conversations at each location. Data collection was completed by Bonnie MacKenzie, John Grummitt, John Carter, and Janell Masters.

## 2.3 Critique

### 2.3.1 Observation

Several factors contributed to the effective use of observation during the survey. First, the team's ability to stay in Malalamai and Bonga overnight increased the richness of the observations gathered. The team was able to listen to people's conversations as they carried out their morning and evening routines. It was also beneficial to have four people on the team because this increased the total number of observations made. The fact that there were two men and two women on the team meant that the team could split up and mingle with groups of men and women, respectively.

There are two factors which hindered the effectiveness of the tool. The first was a lack of opportunity to observe language use in certain key contexts. For example, while at Rem Bonga Primary School, the team was unable to observe children at play. Although the team completed an education questionnaire and observed 15 minute segments of Grade 1 and Grade 8 classes, the school day ended with an assembly shortly after this and the children went home.



The second factor was the inexperience of three of the team members. An area of observation that was especially lacking was code switching (described in section 4.2.10). There is a need for more thorough and focused observation in future to enhance the description of language use.

### **2.3.2 Sociolinguistic Interviews**

The groups and individuals who participated in interviews were enthusiastic. During group interviews, there was frequently discussion in the vernacular before a spokesperson summarised the group's response to the team. This gives the team confidence that the data collected through interviews accurately represents the beliefs, perceptions and opinions of the interviewees. It is also likely that this data is representative of beliefs, perceptions and opinions that are generally held by the respective village communities.

Lack of prior survey experience on the part of three team members caused them to miss some opportunities to clarify reported information. For example, some place names came up in the discussions that were not followed up and the team cannot find reference to them in the literature and therefore do not know where they are located. In a few cases, data related to cultural practices were discarded because the team was not sure how to interpret their meaning. Also, we could have asked additional questions about certain topics to clarify certain cultural practices. Our ability to conduct meaningful interviews will likely improve a great deal after this initial experience.

### **2.3.3 Wordlists**

Elicitation of the two wordlists collected for this survey was fairly straightforward, due to the relative simplicity of the phonology of the Malalamai language. In both villages, elicitation took place in a quiet area with few distractions. As mentioned in section 1.2, Stober had also visited the area just a few weeks previously and had collected a wordlist, so the elicitor knew what to expect prior to the survey, was able to ask clarifying questions during the survey, and was able to compare the two wordlists afterwards.

Some elements had a negative impact. One elicitee had a slightly idiosyncratic way of speaking, possibly a result of the condition of his teeth. In the other village the elicitee was fairly elderly, and the surveyor found it necessary to have the item repeated a number of times. In both situations, however, onlookers were able to help clear up any confusion. We give the Malalamai wordlists a high confidence rating.

### **2.3.4 Social Connections Tool**

The social connections tool engaged the group much more than the questionnaires. The difference in the level of participation may stem from the nature of how each tool is administered and completed. The questionnaires involve sitting and answering questions, whereas the participatory methods (PM) tool involves standing up, moving around and constructing a tactile diagram. Perhaps participants are used to physical activity being part of a discussion and therefore engaged more with the

PM tool. Another consideration is the fact that the PM tool, unlike the questionnaires, required the community to work together to accomplish a task.

Another benefit of the PM tool is the fact that the community did the work and the surveyor was free to make observations. Once the surveyor had shown the group what to do, the group worked independently, giving the surveyor opportunity to observe and take notes. This proved to be especially valuable because the PM tool, unlike the questionnaires, elicited a great deal of discussion in the local vernacular. The surveyor was free to stand to one side and ask someone to translate what key people in the group were saying in the vernacular as they constructed the diagram.

The tool created quite a lot of discussion, particularly during the final stage, which involves choosing and rating the five most important connections. The group seemed to be very engaged in the process. Again, this was in contrast to working with questionnaires where such intense discussion happened rarely.

Because the tool requires the facilitator to relinquish control to the group, it was not easy to ensure that an adequate sample of village opinion was reflected in the diagram that was created. All the work of building the diagram was carried out by the men, despite the surveyor handing materials to the women to contribute. Women did, however, speak and share their opinions as the map was constructed. The concern is that the tool might not allow for less vocal or dominant members of the community to be heard.

Once the tool had been completed, the surveyor was given permission to videorecord a community leader's descriptive summary of the diagram. This included a summary of what the diagram represented and an explanation of how the group ranked the five most important connections. The surveyor was also given permission to photograph the diagram for the team's records. One of the strengths of the tool is the way it visually represents the discussion and allows everyone to see what the group is thinking.

The team did not repeat the tool in another community on the survey due to lack of time and opportunity. Thus, the results are not representative of the language community as a whole, but only reflect the views of people in Malalamai village. As this was also the first time a PM tool was used on a survey in PNG, the team cannot fully evaluate its effectiveness at this stage.

### **3 Language and Dialect Boundaries**

Recognising that numerous linguistic and social factors influence definitions of a dialect or language, the survey team sought to delineate such boundaries in the Malalamai area on the basis of reported identification, reported comprehension and linguistic similarity. As described in section 2, these areas were examined with the use of SIL language use interviews and a standard wordlist. These tools helped the team learn about language attitudes and reported comprehension and identification, as well as to elicit words and phrases for comparison of linguistic similarity.

#### **3.1 Reported Language and Dialect Boundaries**

The people of Malalamai, Bonga and Yara villages reported that they all speak the same language, although they were not able to provide a name for that language. They also agreed that there are two varieties, one spoken in Malalamai village and

the other in Bonga and Yara villages, but the varieties hardly differ. In Malalamai village, the interviewees said that the two varieties use the same words and the meaning of the words is the same, but the pronunciation sometimes changes. In Bonga, they gave the word for “sand” as an example. In Bonga and Yara they say *sausau*, while in Malalamai they say *sasau*. In Malalamai, they gave two other examples. The word for “salt water” is *kayi* in Malalamai and *kayige* in Bonga. And the word for “squash” is *olu* in Malalamai and *tikue* in Bonga. This last example was given to show that there are a few words that are completely different between the two varieties. Nevertheless, speakers of both varieties reported that they understand the other variety well and that children can also understand it.

Malalamai villagers report that they speak the purest form of the language, although they are aware that people in Bonga disagree. In Bonga they say that Bonga and Yara are the villages where the language is spoken most purely.

### 3.2 Lexicostatistic Comparison

Wordlists were taken in the villages of Malalamai and Bonga, both in the language currently known as Malalamai [mmt]. These two wordlists were extremely close lexically at 99%.

These lists were compared to lists from four other languages: one on the mainland in Morobe Province – Gitua [ggt] – and three in West New Britain – Bariai [bch], Lusi [khl], and Kove [kvc]. The lexicostatistical similarity percentage between Malalamai and Gitua was 51% and averaged 38% for the three West New Britain languages.

#### 3.2.1 Methodology

John Carter elicited two wordlists, one in each of the villages of Malalamai and Bonga, using the standard SIL-PNG wordlist (1999 revision) that consists of 170 words and 20 phrases. The wordlists were also compared to wordlists elicited previously by individuals not on the survey team, sometimes using the 1990 wordlist. Where possible we used lists which the editors had processed and typed up, involving for some lists the removal of doublets. In some cases using this processed data resulted in a ‘NO ENTRY’ notation for particular forms. These are noted in Table 11 in appendix 6.2.

The wordlists were compared using the WORDSURV computer program to determine lexical similarity with each other and with the four wordlists described below. Where they could be identified, only the root words were compared. Words were considered to be lexically similar if they met the criteria described in *Survey on a Shoestring* (Blair, 1990, pp. 31–33), but some exceptions to Blair’s standard were made at the discretion of the surveyor, and these are described below. Table 11 in appendix 6.2 explains why some forms were not compared or which form was used in instances where more than one was available. It should be noted that where two forms were available, the form similar to others within the comparison was chosen; in one instance both forms were similar to other lists, and both were compared (item 55).

The survey team had intended to take a wordlist in the village of Yara but determined it was unnecessary once they arrived (see section 2.2 for an explanation

regarding this decision). A leader in the Yara community was present during the wordlist elicitation in Bonga, and he said that he would not have given any different forms for Yara.

### 3.2.2 Lexical Similarity Comparisons and Interpretation

The Malalamai language is currently classified as belonging to the Bariai subgroup, which includes Bariai, Lusi and Kove, which are spoken in West New Britain Province. Based on data from the survey, Malalamai has higher lexical similarity with Gitua than the West New Britain languages. The current classification takes into account more than just lexical similarity; further research will be needed to determine whether that grouping should be changed. Table 4 below shows the lexicostatistical similarity for these six wordlists. See section 4.3.5 for legends of the origins of the people which may inform these linguistic similarities.

Table 4. Lexical Similarity of Six Languages

<b>Malalamai</b>
99% <b>Bonga</b>
51% 51% <b>Gitua</b>
37% 36% 34% <b>Bariai</b>
38% 38% 35% 62% <b>Lusi</b>
38% 38% 35% 60% 83% <b>Kove</b>

During comparison, some exceptions were made to the rules laid out by Blair (1990). In particular, when an ending syllable would have caused two forms to be dissimilar – in cases where the forms were otherwise similar, and where there was some pattern to the added ending syllable – the ending syllable was ignored and the words were counted as similar. Examples of this include item 7 for Lusi, item 18 for Kove, and items 62 and 63 for both.

Lusi and Kove in particular seemed to add an [i] onto the end of many of their words, and it was generally ignored in comparison. Some examples of this trend include items 2, 8, 26, 56, 61, 74, 75, 83, 110, 112, 131, and 143.

Reduplication was ignored; that is, the word was compared as though there was no reduplication. Examples of this include items 25, 81, and 120. There was a slightly greater number of reduplications elicited in Malalamai village compared to Bonga village.

The Gitua wordlist included many instances of lengthening of vowels; approximately two-thirds of the items had at least one lengthened vowel. These included many correspondences with words in other wordlists having the same vowel, but not lengthened. These occur frequently enough that we can classify the lengthening of many of the vowels in the Gitua wordlists as regular correspondences for the purpose of lexicostatistics.

Since the Gitua wordlist was taken by a different elicitor, it is possible that stress or some other factor was incorrectly recorded as vowel length. However, it appears to make no difference to the lexicostatistics if length is considered as a separate

factor in the Gitua lists, as the percentages work out the same on either interpretation. Some regular correspondence sets were noted in similar forms. Where Malalamai and Bonga used [l], there was a tendency for Gitua to use [r], Bariai to use [d], Lusi to use [r], and Kove to use [r] or [h].

A few other characteristics should be mentioned. Prenasalization was noted in Malalamai four times – items 1 and 2 (the same word), 50, and 58. Note that in item 58, Bonga also had prenasalisation. The phones [ə] and [o] were used in Malalamai where [ɔ] was used in Bonga in three instances: items 9, 21, and 159. The phone [ɔ] occurs in both lists in items 76 and 91.

Finally, exclusions were made. Before the wordlists were compared, doublets were removed. Where something remained to be compared, these removals are not described. Where removing doublets resulted in having nothing left to compare, an explanation is included in Table 11 in appendix 6.2.

### 3.3 Conclusions

Reported, observed and lexicostatistical data are conclusive that Malalamai is a distinct language spoken in two villages, Malalamai and Bonga, and the hamlet Yara. Although people reported two dialects, lexicostatistically, the varieties used in Malalamai village and Bonga-Yara are 99% similar. The differences that can be observed in the wordlist are mainly slight differences within the words. People also reported differences in pronunciation but said that they easily understood one another.

## 4 Language Vitality

Landweer (2006, pp. 213–214) has identified three themes that impact ethno-linguistic vitality: opportunity for contact with other language groups, actual language use, and language attitudes. The data presented in the following three sections, which address these three themes, were collected with the goal of assessing language vitality.

### 4.1 Opportunity for Contact with Other Languages

When young men are initiated, they have to leave the language community as there is no *haus man* (house where men are initiated and meet for village business) in the Malalamai language area. They choose where they go. While the community do have their own *singsings* (traditional feasts including dancing and singing), such as *Eng* in Malalamai village, they said that they also help other language groups with their *singsings* if they are notified of them. One example of this was a *singsing* called *Buak* which they said is performed by men from the Malalamai area, Domung and Yagomi language communities. Each community uses its vernacular language during *Buak*.

During the Social Connections Tool, the community at Malalamai village described a vegetable cooperative that they operate. They buy garden produce from the language areas of Domung [dev] (Gabutamun, Maramung and Tapen villages), Yout Wam [ytw] (Yout village) and Yagomi [ygm], which they then sell on motorboat to Basamuk. They communicate with these language communities using Tok Pisin. The Malalamai community identified contact with other language

communities with whom they speak Tok Pisin: Ronji [roe] (Gali village) and Sio [xsi]. They also use Tok Pisin with communities further away, such as Saidor, Madang, and Basamuk. Reasons for this contact were given as shown in Table 5 below, and the community also ranked their most important connections with other communities. This included Maramung, Tapen and Gabutamon (Domung language), Saidor, Madang and Basamuk (Tok Pisin) and the language communities of Yout Wam and Yagomi.

These connections indicate that Malalamai speakers have a large number of social connections outside their language area and carry out a wide range of activities in languages other than their vernacular. However, as the community in Malalamai village rated their connection with Bonga to be the most important, these other connections may not threaten vitality of the Malalamai language as severely as they could.

Table 5. Types of connections between Malalamai village and other communities

	market	worship	marriage	funerals	school	sport	cash crops	government	health	police	training	bank	work
Gali	x												
Mato			x										
Sio	x	x											
Bonga	x		x	x									
Yara					x								
Maramung	x	x	x			x	x	x					
Tapen	x	x	x			x	x	x					
Gabutamon	x	x	x			x	x	x					
Yout	x	x	x			x	x	x					
Yagomi	x	x	x			x	x	x					
Saidor					x			x	x	x	x	x	
Basamuk					x		x						
Madang	x						x						x
Karkar Is.			x		x								
Manus Is.			x										
Lae							x						x
Umboi Is.		x	x										

#### 4.1.1 Immigration and Emigration

According to Landweer (1991), immigration is less likely to negatively impact language vitality when immigrants are proficient in the local language of their new home and no more than 10% of the population is composed of immigrants. The survey team asked detailed questions about immigration and emigration to determine whether there is a strong population base that speaks Malalamai.

Of the 463 people reportedly living in Malalamai village, villagers named 17 immigrants from other language areas. This is an immigration rate of 3.7%. The combined population of Bonga and Yara is reportedly over 400, with 20 reported immigrants. This is an immigration rate of 5%. The average immigration rate for the Malalamai language area is therefore 4.3%, meaning that 95.7% of the population is originally from the language area. There are more female immigrants than male because the cultures in the area are patrilocal and a woman traditionally moves to her husband's village. The average immigration rate of 4.3% falls well within the range mentioned above that favours vernacular language vitality.

The majority of immigrants currently living in Malalamai village learn the local language. Of the 14 women who are married in, 9 reportedly speak the vernacular and the remaining 5 use both Tok Pisin and the vernacular. Immigrant men tend to use more Tok Pisin than women do, as only one of the three currently living in the village uses the local language consistently. Another uses a mix of Tok Pisin and the vernacular and the third uses only Tok Pisin. In addition, there were two men married in from Morobe, now deceased, who reportedly spoke only Tok Pisin, although they could understand the local language. There is another man who works in Madang town who married a woman from Malalamai village. Although the man's wife and children live in Malalamai, the man himself does not speak Malalamai. The majority of the immigrants were reported to have been in the community for a long time, with the exception of seven women from the Mato and/or Ronji language areas, who have come at different times.<sup>3</sup> These women had gone to school with Malalamai speakers and were all reported as speaking the local language.

Of the 20 immigrants in Bonga and Yara, the majority use Tok Pisin. While they are in the Malalamai language area, 11 use Tok Pisin or a mix of Tok Pisin and another vernacular, 6 use Malalamai, and 2 use a mix of Tok Pisin and Malalamai.<sup>4</sup> The data do not reveal a clear correlation between length of stay in the Malalamai area and language use, as most were said to have been in the Malalamai area a long time but many still do not speak the local language. The data suggest that those from neighbouring language groups are more likely to learn the language than those from farther away. The two women from Yagomi speak the language, as do two of the three from Gali, in the Ronji area.<sup>5</sup> Ronji is a nearby Austronesian language and people from Gali go to school with Malalamai speakers, so they have an advantage in learning the language. As in Malalamai village, female immigrants are more likely to learn the local language than males, as reflected in the fact that none of the four male immigrants have learned Malalamai, while six of the sixteen female immigrants have. The percentage of immigrant women learning the local language in Bonga is lower than in Malalamai, and Bonga residents are aware of this fact. During the group interview in Bonga, the people said women who marry into Malalamai village learn the language well while those who marry into Bonga may not.

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<sup>3</sup> During the discussion, the interviewees seemed to group Mato and Ronji together.

<sup>4</sup> For one woman from Kerema, no language use data was recorded. Note that when they say Kerema, they could have meant Gulf Province in general.

<sup>5</sup> The third woman from Gali has only been in the Malalamai area for four months.

People immigrate to the Malalamai language area because of marriage. Only one exception to this was reported where one man had been adopted by a community member. In Malalamai village, the children of mixed marriages who live in the village were reported to speak Malalamai except for one family. In Bonga, the language use of the children was more mixed. There were 17 mixed marriages in Bonga for which data on children was reported.<sup>6</sup> Of these families, children of 6 were said to speak Malalamai well, children of 3 were also said to speak it, children of 7 understand it and may speak a little, and children of 1 do not know it.

One interesting observation about marriage-related immigration in the Malalamai language area is that in the past, it was taboo for a person to marry someone from the same clan. Although this taboo still exists in the minds of older people, young people have broken the rule and married within their own clans. This increases the possibility for marriages to occur within the language community.

The immigration rate in the Malalamai language area is low enough to suggest that it does not pose a threat to language vitality at this point. Vitality appears to be especially strong in Malalamai village, where the majority of immigrants learn the language. In Bonga village, vitality may not be as strong. Slightly more than half the immigrants do not speak Malalamai. Although the children of most mixed marriages can understand Malalamai, only about half of them speak it. This may be indicative of wider language use patterns in Bonga village which do not favour strong vitality.

Twice as many people are emigrating out of the Malalamai language area than immigrating in. The groups interviewed in Malalamai and Bonga villages each listed forty-two emigrants. People who emigrate from the Malalamai language area are motivated by either marriage or work. While doing the Social Connections Tool, the community in Malalamai stated that they had connections through marriage with Domung, Yout Wam, Yagomi, Karkar Island, Umboi Island, and Mato. They said they had work connections with Lae and Madang town.

Emigrants usually visit Malalamai, Bonga and Yara for Christmas and other holidays. During these visits, they speak Malalamai. Many of their children speak and understand only Tok Pisin. Others are able to understand but not speak Malalamai, and still others are learning to speak Malalamai.

Although people from the language area have emigrated to many parts of the country, they have not formed any settlement blocks.<sup>7</sup> In most cases, only a few speakers live in a particular town, the largest number being 12 speakers in Port Moresby, followed by 11 in Madang town and 10 in Lae.

Of the immigration and emigration factors described, the one that may indicate potential for decreased language vitality in the future is the fact that half of the children of mixed marriages in Bonga are not using Malalamai. However, in the language area as a whole, it is common for immigrants and their children to learn and use Malalamai. Emigration patterns do not reveal a particular draw away from the Malalamai community. People emigrate for reasons of personal preference

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<sup>6</sup> In one of these families, the husband and the wife are both immigrants, though from different areas. The husband was adopted by a man from Bonga but does not speak the language. The wife speaks the language, as do the children.

<sup>7</sup> In PNG, a settlement block is a sub-section of an urban or semi-urban community formed of immigrants from the same language group.



regarding work or marriage, and speak Malalamai when they come back to visit their home community. There is thus no strong case to be made for decreased vitality on the grounds of immigration or emigration patterns.

#### **4.1.2 Visitors to the Language Area**

The primary visitors to the Malalamai language area are Malalamai speakers who have emigrated because of marriage or work. Occasionally, a government member or church leader will visit the area and will communicate using Tok Pisin. Two of the teachers at Rem Bonga Primary School are from outside the language area, but the rest are Malalamai speakers. There are also two health workers who work at the aid post in Malalamai village. One is from Bonga and speaks Malalamai while at work and while in the community. The other is from Gabutamon and uses Tok Pisin.<sup>8</sup> Health workers from Saidor have visited the Malalamai language area to run clinics for infants and raise awareness about health issues. Thus, Tok Pisin is useful to community members for communication with visitors who are originally from outside the language area.

#### **4.1.3 Transportation**

Landweer (2006) pointed out that the language vitality of communities with easy access to a population centre where they are likely to mix with speakers of other languages on a regular basis is at greater risk than the vitality of communities with less access to large population centres (pp. 174–177). This is relevant to the Malalamai language area. The people of Malalamai village express a feeling of strong connection with Madang town. One elderly man said, “*Madang em i taun bilong mipela*” (Madang is our town). A member of the survey team asked the group, “Do you use Saidor or Wasu more?” There was brief discussion in the group, and then the *kaunsel* (a village leader) said, “*Madang tasol*” (only Madang). The question was asked a second time, and the group answered, “*Saidor – het distrik bilong ol*” (Saidor – our head district). This strong affiliation with Madang town is complemented by frequent travel to and from it by members of the language community. However, the travel is costly and time consuming, so it does not seem likely that the community’s connection with Madang will hugely impact the vitality of the Malalamai language.

#### **Road Travel**

There used to be a road to Madang, but it is not in good condition. Reportedly, cars do not travel it and nobody from the Malalamai language area uses it. Travel to and from Madang is accomplished by boat.

#### **Water Travel**

Travel by water is very common. People of all ages are continually travelling to and from Madang by motorboat. They sometimes travel to Biliau, Wasu, and Saidor, the government district station. They go to Wasu only occasionally; for example, they

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<sup>8</sup> A man from Gabutamon was listed as an immigrant in Malalamai village. His reason for being in the area was given as marriage, but it is possible that this is same man.

might go for a church meeting. People from Bonga say they go to Malalamai, Saidor and other nearby locations by canoe. People in Malalamai village say they use outrigger canoes primarily for fishing, not travel. In Malalamai village, there are four privately owned motorboats. There are three in Bonga, one of which belongs to a man from Gali, which is in the Ronji language area. Some boats act as PMVs (public motor vehicles), and the fee to Madang is 75 to 80 kina (approximately \$28–30 US or Australian at the time of the survey). On the way to Madang, people sometimes stop in Biliau, Saidor, and Basamuk. They use Tok Pisin when they are in these places.

### ***Air Travel***

Two men from Malalamai village have flown, one older and one middle aged. They took a boat to Madang in June of 2010 and flew from there to Port Moresby. The combined cost of the boat and plane was 500 kina (equivalent to \$190 US or Australian at the time of the survey). The trip to Madang takes three to six hours. In Bonga village, the people said many local people have flown. However, they say that of those present in the group interview, the ones who had flown did so a long time ago. Last Christmas, visitors from elsewhere flew as part of their travel to visit Bonga. The Bonga villagers say the cost of flying from Madang to Port Moresby is 700 kina (equivalent to \$266 US or Australian at the time of the survey).

### ***Trails***

There are paths people commonly travel on by foot. Within a day, one can travel to Tapen, in the Domung [dev] language area; Saidor; Singorokai, in the Malasanga Pano language area;<sup>9</sup> and Biliau, in the Awad Bing [bcu] language area. People also travel to Sio, Wasu, and the Yopno [yut] village of Tep Tep, but this requires more than one day. Places commonly stopped in overnight include Gabutamon, which is presumably a village in the Gabutamon [gav] language area, as well as Singorokai, Kiari, Bukara and Malasanga, which are all in the Malasanga Pano area.

#### **4.1.4 Economics**

According to Landweer (2006), language communities that do not need to use a second language to meet their perceived economic needs typically have higher language vitality than those that are dependent on an economic base outside the language area (p. 209). The Malalamai language community relies heavily on Tok Pisin for its economic interests. Therefore, it cannot be said that there is economic grounds for strong vernacular language vitality in the community.

While doing the Social Connections Tool, the community in Malalamai village said they buy vegetables in a cooperative from the Domung, Yout Wam and Yagomi language communities for sale in Madang, Lae and Basamuk. They also mentioned that people have emigrated for work to Lae and Madang town.

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<sup>9</sup> The language we call “Malasanga Pano” is listed as Malasanga in the 16<sup>th</sup> Edition of *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009), but according to Stober (2009), the speakers say the name of the language is Pano. An ISO request has been submitted to change the name of the language currently classified as Malasanga [mqz] to Pano.

The Malalamai village community has a motorboat PMV (public motor vehicle) which makes regular trips to Madang town via Basamuk. As a one-way journey takes six hours or more, the boat crews and passengers always stay in Madang for at least one night. The people report that they stay with others from Malalamai village who are now living in Madang. Unfortunately, the team did not ask what the language of communication is for these overnight stays. This information would be useful in assessing the ability of the Malalamai language to survive in a Tok Pisin environment, and also could give an indication of the importance of the vernacular for villagers' social identity.

People of all ages go to Madang town by boat. Some of them work in Madang. Many go to buy clothes, kitchen supplies and materials for church projects. They go to sell copra, betelnut and garden produce. They could go to Wasu to buy supplies, but they prefer to go to Madang. They could also sell things at the trade stores and at a market at the school in Malalamai, but they like to go to Madang.

In Bonga, the community has constructed a warehouse to store sacked copra at the western end of the village. Every month, a barge which shuttles along the Rai Coast visits the community to buy copra. The copra is then sold in Madang. People in both villages also report that they collect the abundant seashells from their beachfronts in order to make lime for sale in Madang.

The five trade stores in Malalamai village and four in Bonga village obtain their supplies from Madang. Although supplies sometimes are used up, they are quickly replenished. The aid post in Malalamai village gets its supplies from Madang.

There are no large commercial ventures in or close to the Malalamai language area. There is a mining facility in Basamuk, but the people feel it is far away. The people earn money by selling cash crops like cocoa, copra, fish, betel nut, and garden produce. They sell these locally and in Madang.

Traditional systems of trade with other language communities are no longer practiced regularly. In the past, the Malalamai language community had ties with Sio, Bilbil, Biliau, Domung, and Siasi through trade. Now, the people are focused on buying and selling via Madang and the local trade stores and market.

Thus, although the Malalamai language community conducts small business locally, it has heavy economic ties with Madang. Tok Pisin is required for most of the business interactions described above. The dependence on Tok Pisin for many economic activities is not supportive of language vitality.

#### **4.1.5 *Summary of Contact with Other Languages***

Data gathered for this section indicate that the residents of the Malalamai language area have a significant number of opportunities through trade and traditional activities to come into contact with other speech communities. Tok Pisin is the preferred language used during these interactions. Tok Pisin is also used when outsiders come into the language area. While these factors may indicate a threat to the vernacular, over 95% of the population are from the language area, a figure which indicates that vitality is not threatened by immigration from other language groups. Furthermore, data indicate that the majority of residents in the Malalamai language area learn the vernacular even if they are not from the community and those who do not can usually understand the Malalamai language and do not mix it

with Tok Pisin. There is a possible indication of a threat to the vitality of the vernacular in that half of the children of mixed marriages were reported as not being able to speak the vernacular in Bonga. However, as emigration figures are more than double that of immigration, the biggest impact on any language change is more likely to come from continued and increasing exposure to Tok Pisin, particularly with the focus on Madang as an economic hub.

## **4.2 Language Use**

### **4.2.1 *Children's Reported Language Use***

During the language use interview in Malalamai village, community leaders responded that children are able to speak Malalamai and that they learn it before Tok Pisin, unless their mother is from outside the language group, which is not the case in the majority of families. A discussion among the women during the interview shows that they have another perspective; they feel that children cannot speak pure Malalamai and say that parents teach their children Tok Pisin first and Malalamai second. They worry that the Malalamai language is in danger of dying out.

The women talked specifically about the children of mixed marriages. They said that these children use Tok Pisin more but do learn Malalamai and then speak both Tok Pisin and Malalamai. They even teach Malalamai to the parent who does not know it. Another woman said the opposite scenario is also happening. In cases where both parents are from Malalamai village, some children have started to use Tok Pisin with their parents.

In both villages, children were reported to use the local language and/or Tok Pisin with grandparents, parents, their siblings, playmates and when angry. The language they use with parents and grandparents depends on whether both parents are from the language area or not; however, in Malalamai, the community reported that children of mixed parentage would learn the vernacular from their friends and then begin using it with their mothers. These same children in Malalamai mix the vernacular and Tok Pisin when speaking with siblings, while children with two Malalamai speaking parents were said to use pure vernacular in that situation. In Bonga, children are said to mix the languages when talking with their friends.

In Malalamai, the people reported that all children are able to use the vernacular well by the time they start school, while in Bonga more of the children learn Tok Pisin before the vernacular, and many do not speak the vernacular well when they are ready to start school. Bonga also reported that not many boys speak the vernacular and girls do not speak it well.

Teachers at Rem Bonga Primary School said that young school graduates are using the literacy skills they learn at school to help the community, mentioning how they write letters, especially for business or petitions such as the request for aid from the Lutheran Development Service. They also help the vegetable cooperative keep records of trade with Basamuk. As these activities are of obvious benefit to the community, it may be important for the benefits of any language development project to be clearly communicated to the young in order for them to be engaged in it.

#### **4.2.2     *Children’s Observed Language Use***

There are many instances when the survey team observed children communicating in the vernacular. In Malalamai, two different groups of children used Malalamai while they played for an hour in two different contexts: blowing bubbles and swimming in the ocean. The young children who were blowing bubbles spoke Malalamai even when talking to the surveyor. The children who were swimming occasionally used a Tok Pisin word, which may be evidence of borrowing. In one instance, a group of children began, of their own initiative, teaching a surveyor the Malalamai words for shells they were collecting. Of particular note is the use of Malalamai by the daughters of the team’s host family. These three or four girls, who were between the ages of 5 and 10 years old, used only Malalamai with each other and were reluctant to speak Tok Pisin with the surveyors (even though they were able). Their mother is from the Mato language area, confirming that at least some of the children of mixed marriages grow up speaking the Malalamai language.

Children in Bonga Village were also observed using the vernacular more than Tok Pisin, although more Tok Pisin was heard in connection with children than in Malalamai Village. On two occasions, children used Malalamai to discuss their observations of a surveyor’s activity. These discussions involved children of a range of ages as well as women. Children were also observed speaking Malalamai while looking at pictures taken of them and while playing on the beach.

The team’s brief visit to Yara included observation of four children playing with a litter of puppies. They were using the vernacular, until a girl of about 8 years of age seemed to notice that she was being observed by the surveyors and started saying what she was doing with the puppy in Tok Pisin.

The primary context in which Tok Pisin was used was when talking to members of the survey team. Older children were more likely to use Tok Pisin in this case. During the bubble-blowing observation mentioned above, only two older children, who were about 10 years of age, spoke to the surveyor in Tok Pisin. There were other instances of Tok Pisin use, however. One evening, a small group of girls in Malalamai sang songs in Tok Pisin and Kâte. In Bonga, one little girl of about 3 years of age addressed a man who may have been her father in Tok Pisin. In Malalamai, a surveyor noted that when children spoke Tok Pisin, their accent seemed to be influenced by the vernacular.

The observations detailed above suggest that Malalamai is the primary language used by children, unless they are speaking to a person who is from outside the Malalamai language area. That said, there are instances where Tok Pisin is used between children belonging to the Malalamai language community.

#### **4.2.3     *Adults’ Reported Language Use***

In Malalamai and Bonga villages, the communities reported that all residents speak their vernacular with the exception that old women in Bonga may not speak it if they married in. In Malalamai village, their reports highlighted the current mix in language use. While one older woman said that Tok Pisin was their “common language” a village elder said that they did not want the vernacular to die out. One man spoke up to clarify the situation saying, “We use the vernacular with Tok Pisin. We usually mix these two nowadays.”

When asked if anything had been written in their language, Malalamai villagers initially said no. But when asked if they have songs or write letters, they said that they did. They also said that they use their vernacular with all strata of the village population although married men sometimes use Tok Pisin with their wives if the wives had recently married into the community. In time though, they said, women who marry in learn the local vernacular and use it with their children.

However, not all women who marry in learn the language, at least not well. One woman in Bonga village said she had married a man from Bonga and their family had moved to Bonga eight years ago. Bonga is now home to her, but she still does not know Malalamai well. She is finding it hard to learn. Other women who had married into the Bonga village community remarked that they do not learn the vernacular well and use Tok Pisin with their in-laws. They said that even women who had been married into the community for many years still use Tok Pisin.

Of the men present when the interview on language use was carried out in Malalamai village, half of them had wives who had married into the community.<sup>10</sup> Men in Malalamai village reported that now women use more Tok Pisin than men whereas before it was all vernacular.

It was noted in Bonga that some young men who have been raised in town may not speak the vernacular but only understand it. All men understand English to some degree with increasing speaking ability in the younger strata of the population. While women are reported to understand English, particularly younger women, many are ashamed to speak it. The exception was old women, most of whom cannot understand English. Adults do learn “lots” of other languages too, and Sio and Kâte were mentioned in Malalamai village and Gali in Bonga as examples. However, the languages people learn depend on their individual needs.

#### **4.2.4    *Adults’ Observed Language Use***

During a group questionnaire in Bonga, there was constant conversation among the women for about an hour. Although this was mostly in the vernacular, sometimes they used Tok Pisin. It is not clear what motivated this brief code-switching to Tok Pisin. See section 4.2.10 for more on code-switching observations. The team did observe Tok Pisin being used by villagers, but only on occasion: In Malalamai village, a young woman asked a middle-aged man about going to town; in Yara, a middle-aged woman spoke Tok Pisin to a dog. English was also used. In Bonga, while the survey team was waiting for the community to gather, they were talking in English. A woman who had immigrated to the community sat next to a team member and began to talk to her in English, asking how well she knew Tok Pisin. They spoke primarily in English for about 15 minutes.

Vernacular use was predominant though. In Bonga, we observed an elderly woman originally from Bonga who spoke only vernacular for an hour with her daughter or daughter-in-law and two grandchildren aged roughly six and eight. Vernacular was also used by women on the beach at Bonga except when addressing a survey team member, in which case they used Tok Pisin. As we arrived in Bonga, we witnessed vernacular being used exclusively among villagers, including with

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<sup>10</sup> This is not representative of the ratio of mixed marriages in the community as a whole.

those who had brought us from Malalamai village. Tok Pisin was only used when talking with survey team members during this time.

In the centre of Malalamai village, a trade store bore the only evidence of vernacular literacy that we saw during our visit. Above the door was a metal sign saying *Tisima*. When we asked what this name meant, we were told that *tisima* means “come and buy” in the vernacular. Apparently, a son of one of the village elders owns the trade store and had written the sign himself. At the time of our visit, he was living in Kerema and so we were unable to talk to him about this. It seems he might be a useful contact should any language development be carried out.

Thus, it seems that although Tok Pisin and possibly also English are widely understood, observation indicates that the vernacular is still the preferred medium of communication for much of daily village life, and this is a positive indication that language development would be worthwhile.

#### **4.2.5     *Summary of Reported and Observed Language Use***

Fears in the community that the Malalamai language is in danger of dying out may be grounded in some of the observations we made where children used Tok Pisin with each other. In addition, there seems to be some confusion about what is happening in mixed marriage families. Some reports indicate that the vernacular is being learned by immigrant parents and their children. Others told us that children of these marriages do not learn the vernacular well. However, our observations of children and adults in particular indicate that the vernacular is the main language used in the village.

What is clear is that the community is uncertain about the future of their vernacular and this may constitute a threat to vitality.

#### **4.2.6     *Domains of Language Use***

Vernacular is used for all home domains that we asked about, although Tok Pisin is used in the home too, particularly for prayer at home in both communities, with Bonga village reporting that not much vernacular was used in prayer. In Malalamai village, Tok Pisin is used for initial socialisation of children if the mother has married into the community. In some families however, as the children grow, they learn the vernacular from their friends. Some immigrant mothers learn it from their children in this way.

Tok Pisin is preferred over the vernacular in domains where there are outsiders who do not know their language such as village court, markets and travel to and business in town. The community in both Bonga and Malalamai villages reported preferring vernacular to Tok Pisin when it was necessary to speak privately among their community such as during sport or business activities.

A comment which demonstrates a shift from the vernacular to Tok Pisin in one domain was made in Malalamai. It was said that those who currently have young children scold them in Tok Pisin, whereas those adults were scolded in the vernacular by their parents when they were children. Scolding in Tok Pisin was witnessed on one occasion by the survey team in Bonga.

#### 4.2.7 *Language Use in Schools*

A community school existed at Dugi between Malalamai and Yagomi but, as the location was inconvenient, it closed sometime before independence in 1975. Rem Bonga Primary was founded in 1977 by the local government as a Government Agency School. Students who had previously attended the school at Dugi then moved to Rem Bonga Primary. Mr. Gulemale, the senior teacher, mentioned the possibility that the elderly people in Malalamai village and Bonga would probably have attended the school at Dugi.

Despite its name, Rem Bonga Primary School offers Grades 1 and 2 in addition to the standard Grades 3–8 typically offered in primary schools. Teachers reported that vernacular-medium education is carried out in Grades 1 and 2. However, when the team observed a Grade 1 class, Tok Pisin was the medium of education. Mr. Gulemale said that some teachers received their elementary level training in Madang so that they could open an elementary Prep class in future. It remains to be seen what impact the opening of a Prep class may have on the vernacular.

The nearest schools offering the same grades are Kawi Elementary School at Mur and a Lutheran Agency School in Yagomi. The Kawi school is approximately 25 minutes away by motorboat to the west. The Yagomi school is just over 5km west of Malalamai village and offers Grades 3–6. The Bonga school thus plays a central role in educating the Malalamai community and therefore has great influence on language use.

Students graduating from Grade 8 at Rem Bonga Primary typically go to Rai Coast Secondary School located between Saidor and Madang, a distance which requires them to live at the school and therefore removes them from their vernacular environment.<sup>11</sup> This is significant because, due to the good school results that are typical at Rem Bonga Primary, a high percentage of children continue to secondary school. Out of a class of 19 students, 14 eighth graders went on to Rai Coast Secondary School in 2010. Although only five in that same year progressed beyond Grade 10, two years away from their vernacular environment is a significant amount of time for young people. It is possible that this will influence the community's ability to maintain the vernacular, particularly if the number of students going on to higher education increases in years to come.

The teachers estimated the population of school-age children in the school district to be between 300 and 400. According to these estimates and a school population of 204, between 50% and 70% of the child population was enrolled in the primary school in 2010. A new Grade 1 class is started every year and in 2010, 35 children started Grade 1 out of an estimated total population of 50 eligible children. Students attend from eight villages in the area in addition to four children of teachers from other provinces. Residents of the Malalamai language area constitute 74% of the children in the school.<sup>12</sup> The team observed that this does not mean minority vernaculars are excluded from the education system. During a Grade 1 class, the teacher gave family vocabulary in Tok Pisin and then elicited vernacular

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<sup>11</sup> Rai Coast Secondary School was previously known as Rai Coast High School. High schools offer Grades 9–10 and secondary schools 9–12. In 2011, Grade 11 was started at Rai Coast High School and the plan is to expand it to a full secondary school shortly, hence the name change.

<sup>12</sup> This figure is 151 from a school population of 204 in 2010.



equivalents in Domung [dev] and Ronji [roe] in addition to the local Malalamai [mmt] language. This use of the minority vernaculars reveals a willingness to support even a small number of students. In 2010, only 5 out of the 35 children in a Grade 1 class were from non-Malalamai-speaking areas.

Although the school provides some instruction in the students' vernaculars, and parents express a desire for their children to use the Malalamai language, school leaders say they believe that use of the vernacular can inhibit the children's acquisition of English. There are thus mixed feelings in the community about use of the vernaculars in school.

One to two hours per week were given to local culture components in the timetable. Local culture subjects included traditional counting systems, comparison of present to past cultural practices and comparison of vocabulary between Tok Pisin, English and the vernaculars used in the school.

Grades 1 and 2 were taught using mostly a mixture of Tok Pisin and the vernacular, and English was introduced during Grade 2 and then used alongside Tok Pisin for Grades 3–8. One surveyor observed 20 minutes of a Grade 8 maths class, during which the teacher used English almost exclusively. There were only occasional uses of Tok Pisin and these were very brief. There were not many opportunities for the surveyor to observe students' language use during this class. The teacher allowed the students to finish sentences for him, which they did speaking in unison in English. On a few occasions, the teacher elicited information from individual students, but due to the surveyor's position in the classroom, he could not hear in what language the students responded.

#### **4.2.8 Language Use in Churches**

Institutional support is a key factor in ethnolinguistic vitality (Bourhis, Giles, and Taylor, 1977 and Fasold, 1987). In PNG, the church is often the primary institution functioning at the local level. In order to evaluate language use within churches, the survey team interviewed six church leaders working in the Malalamai language area, asking questions about language use in the church. The churches are named in Table 6. The leaders say that Tok Pisin, English and Malalamai each play a role in communication within the churches.

Table 6. Churches in the Malalamai Language Area

<b>Location</b>	<b>Church*</b>	<b>Denomination</b>	<b>Leaders interviewed</b>
<b>Malalamai</b>	Malalamai Lutheran Church	Lutheran	3
<b>Bonga</b>	New Life Lutheran Church	Lutheran	1
<b>Bonga</b>	Saint Peter Outstation	Catholic	1
<b>Bonga</b>	Bonga Governing Church	Pentecostal Governing	1

\*Church leaders in Malalamai village report that one family from the village attends Renewal Church, an SDA church in Seure.

All six leaders are originally from the Malalamai language area, so all are fluent in Malalamai. They all use a combination of Malalamai and Tok Pisin in their daily interactions outside of church. However, they report that the primary language used in all four churches is Tok Pisin. The roles of Tok Pisin, English and Malalamai in church life will now be described in detail.

Tok Pisin is the most prominent language in church life. It is the official language of Malalamai Lutheran Church (the only church reported to have an official language). The Catholic and Lutheran churches use Tok Pisin liturgies. Tok Pisin is exclusively or mostly used for prayer, depending on the church. This includes formal and spontaneous prayer during Sunday morning services, Sunday school, women's meetings and youth meetings. All but one church use the Tok Pisin *Buk Baibel* when reading Scripture.<sup>13</sup> The exceptional church is Bonga Governing Church at which the 3 men who teach from the Bible use an English version and translate it on the fly to Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin is the primary language used for teaching in all the churches except Malalamai Lutheran. It is also used (though not exclusively) to give announcements and to sing songs. Some community members have composed Tok Pisin songs. Tok Pisin is the language used to run church functions such as Sunday school and women's meetings. It is used during gatherings with churches from other language areas. At New Life Lutheran, Tok Pisin is used in dramas. Finally, Tok Pisin is used by higher-level church leaders when they visit the Malalamai and Bonga churches (these leaders do not speak or understand Malalamai).

English is used for three activities: reading the Bible, teaching and singing. In regard to reading, the use of English Bibles at Bonga Governing Church has already been mentioned. For teaching, most of the church leaders say that English words and phrases are mixed with Tok Pisin. One teacher at Bonga Governing Church teaches in English and translates into Tok Pisin. For singing, several of the churches use song books that have mostly Tok Pisin but also some English songs. Sometimes, congregation members have translated the English songs into Tok Pisin. In particular, the leader of Saint Peter Outstation observes the youth doing this in his church.

The Malalamai language is used in five contexts within the life of the church: praying, teaching, giving announcements, singing and conversation. In the context of prayer, two churches report using Malalamai occasionally. In the context of teaching, Malalamai Lutheran reportedly uses Malalamai as the primary language. The other churches reportedly use Malalamai to offer clarification concerning particularly important or difficult points. The latter principle is in play when announcements are made. One difference is that announcements are *preferably* given in Malalamai as long as a majority of the group present is Malalamai-speaking. Some of the churches have songs in Malalamai. People attending New Life Lutheran Church have reportedly composed some. Other community members have translated Tok Pisin songs into Malalamai. Members of Malalamai Lutheran Church say that the vernacular is "hard to put into songs," but report that they occasionally write vernacular songs on the blackboard in the church. In the context of conversation, Malalamai is the dominant language used and, at church functions, when members of the congregation are talking with each other, they generally use Malalamai.

The church leaders report that their congregations, while overwhelmingly based within the language area, include a number of people who have married into the community from other language areas. In addition, a small number of people attend Saint Peter Outstation from Sintaru, which is Yagomi-speaking, and from Rem

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<sup>13</sup> The *Buk Baibel* is the Tok Pisin translation of the Bible, copyright 1989 by the Bible Society of Papua New Guinea.

Bonga Primary School. Malalamai Lutheran Church is attended by people from Gali, which is Ronji-speaking. It also has attendees from two hamlets, Lamang, which is on the coast, and Kawe, which is further inland. These hamlets are not Malalamai-speaking, and the interviewee did not specify which languages are spoken in them. The leaders emphasize their concern that visitors and regular attendees from other language areas not be excluded from participation in church functions because of a language barrier.

Members of the survey team attended a Wednesday evening service at Malalamai Lutheran Church. The team's observations confirm what was reported by church leaders, namely, that Tok Pisin is the primary language used in the contexts described above. All preaching, prayer and Bible reading was done in Tok Pisin, as well as much of the singing. Announcements were made in a combination of Tok Pisin and Malalamai.

To summarise, Tok Pisin and Malalamai are used and valued in the churches for different reasons. There are no written materials in Malalamai, so any written resources available to the church are in Tok Pisin or English. Because the churches minister to people from multiple language areas, the use of Tok Pisin allows everyone to participate. The church leaders prefer to use Tok Pisin when people from other language communities are present. However, the church leaders say that using Malalamai to a greater extent would improve communication for the vast majority who are from the Malalamai language area. Thus, the church believes the Malalamai language is the clearest medium for communication within the language community. The survey team's interviews and observations reveal two major themes regarding language use in the Malalamai area churches. First, Tok Pisin is important for church unity and the use of extant materials, such as the *Buk Baibel*. Second, Malalamai is important for clarifying difficult concepts.

#### **4.2.9 Bilingualism with other Vernaculars**

The language community reported that people from Gali, Ronji, Yagomi and Biliau learn the Malalamai language and find it easy to do so. When asked, they said that they were not sure if these people learned the dialect of Malalamai village or that of Bonga-Yara or even if outsiders could distinguish between the two. People in the community learn various surrounding vernaculars as well as saying that "everyone" knows Tok Pisin and English now as all children go to school. In Malalamai village they said that occasionally a young man from the village goes to school outside the Malalamai language area and learns the local language of the place where the school is.

The community in Bonga said that people in the community know Gali and Bel, due to marriage, and that older men know Sio, from working at the mission station there.

#### **4.2.10 Code Switching**

Some team members observed mixing of Malalamai and Tok Pisin, but cannot suggest whether or not this was evidence of code switching due to the general nature of the observations made and the fact that most team members lacked experience in making observations.

In Malalamai, villagers reported that children do not mix much Tok Pisin with the vernacular, while in Bonga this was common. The community in Bonga also reported that the children sometimes mix in a bit of English as well. Some people reported that children of mixed marriages always mix Tok Pisin with the vernacular.

One observation was recorded outside the village context. A team member observed children's language use on the way back to Bonga from Rem Bonga Primary School. A group of boys roughly 8–9 years old accompanied the surveyor as school had just finished. Their speech was a mixture of Tok Pisin and vernacular. The use of Tok Pisin may be related to the fact that they were on their way home from school where it is used in class, and/or that they were accompanying an outsider from their community and this is the language typically used in such situations.

#### **4.2.11 *Summary of Language Use***

Malalamai is the primary language used in Malalamai, Bonga and Yara. It is used by people of all ages and is often learned by immigrants. There are many examples of pure Malalamai being spoken by all ages. There is support for Malalamai in the local school because several of the teachers are native Malalamai speakers. Malalamai is the language used by church leaders to communicate difficult or important concepts. That said, Tok Pisin is commonly used by all ages in the community. It is sometimes used alone in utterances between community members. Other times, it is mixed into a discussion happening primarily in the vernacular. It is not clear whether this involves code switching, borrowing, or other sociolinguistic practices. Also, there were contradictory reports about children's language use. Some people said that children use mostly Malalamai, which is what the team observed. Others said that many parents teach their children Tok Pisin before they teach them Malalamai. At the school, there is some support for use of the vernacular in education, but it is minimal and may decrease because of the concern that vernacular education will hinder students from learning English. The team's conclusion is that current vitality of the vernacular is strong, though use of Tok Pisin is increasing.

### **4.3 *Language Attitudes***

Landweer's third theme of ethnolinguistic vitality, language attitudes, deals with the prestige attributed to a language both by speakers of the language and by outsiders, as well as the extent to which a language community is distinguished from the language groups around it (2006, pp. 214, 217–218). Language attitudes shape the perceptions of prestige "among other neighboring or regional languages" and the "relative prestige of the language within the linguistic repertoire of the speech community" (ibid., p. 206). The more positive the language attitudes of both insiders and outsiders are, the higher the prestige they will associate with that language, and "the greater the prestige a linguistic code enjoys, the more likely it will continue to be taught, learned and spoken" (ibid., p. 206).

#### **4.3.1 *As Reported by Residents***

Malalamai village residents prefer to hear stories in their vernacular because it makes the story understandable to them. Some also say they like hearing stories in

Tok Pisin, but it seems to depend on the subject matter of the story. If it is about town or something from the newspaper, then they feel Tok Pisin is a good choice. Younger men are divided between Tok Pisin and vernacular with some saying that they do not understand well in vernacular.

Adults said that although the children do not mix vernacular with Tok Pisin a lot, it is not a good thing that they mix at all and the parents correct them. Although adults want children to know Tok Pisin and ultimately English or a variety of languages, they believe it is important that children learn their vernacular first before they attend school and particularly before they start learning English. Repeatedly, the community leaders and others in Malalamai village stressed that children should learn their vernacular. When asked what their grandchildren would speak to their children in the future, they said, “The vernacular, they must use the vernacular.” Some community members commented that they thought their grandchildren would use Tok Pisin, but another said, “Our language is easy to learn. People learn it. We think [the grandchildren] will continue to speak it.”

In a side discussion among 5–6 women during a group questionnaire, several ladies discussed how parents teach their children languages. One woman gave an example of a couple in which the mother and father were both born and raised in Malalamai village. She said that this woman taught her children Tok Pisin first and later taught them Malalamai. As a result, the woman said, the children don’t speak Malalamai purely. Another woman concurred, saying that children are able to pick up Tok Pisin quickly, so even if both parents are from Malalamai village they will teach their children Tok Pisin first. Another woman said the Tok Pisin equivalent of, “It’ll be bad if we lose our traditional language. Our language is going to stop being used.” Another woman said the equivalent of, “We’re confusing the kids’ language.”

In Bonga, there seems to be more concern about a higher rate of mixing vernacular and Tok Pisin, even to the extent that residents feel their vernacular might be threatened or they will end up with something between the two. When asked what languages they want their children to speak, they said, “The vernacular”. When asked if there were other languages they wanted them to learn, they said, “They learn English in school and Tok Pisin because it is everywhere. We want them to know the vernacular.” When asked what language they thought the children would use when they grow up, the younger and married men said, “Tok Pisin, based on the current situation”. The older men said, “The vernacular”, but it seems this may have been their desire as much as a prediction. When the community was asked what language their grandchildren would use with their own grandchildren’s great grandchildren, they said that, given the current situation with the rise of Tok Pisin and intermarriage with other language communities, they expect Tok Pisin to be used. They thought that their vernacular may be lost and that it would be good if it was written down “in a book so they can see it.” Thus, the community here seems more divided about future language use than in Malalamai village.

#### **4.3.2    *As Reported by School Staff***

Demographic and other data indicate a possible tension in attitudes which may raise questions about the vitality of the Malalamai language. Specifically, there are factors that seem to favour vernacular education and factors that seem to work

against it. For example, with the exception of the head teacher and senior teacher, who had arrived in 2010 and were from East Sepik Province and New Ireland Province respectively, all the other four teachers live locally and have taught at the school anywhere from 3 to 9 years. This provides continuity for the students and a good pool of teachers to strengthen vernacular-medium education. These local teachers are also responsible for the majority of the lower grade classes, with the senior and head teachers teaching Grades 6–8. In contrast to the senior teacher's views on vernacular education, a local teacher, when asked to express a preference for a language as a medium of instruction, said that the vernacular should be used because "students will understand better" and also because "English is not my language." This was reinforced by him saying that he would address students who had queries about schoolwork in the village in the vernacular or Tok Pisin and not the medium of instruction (English).

This teacher's practice is in direct contrast to school policy, which emphasises an English-only environment after Grade 2 and punishes students in Grade 3 and above for using the vernacular with menial jobs such as sweeping or collecting rubbish. There were comments from teaching staff that multi-lingual education actually hampers later language learning, particularly of English, which is the only language that textbooks are available in at the school. The senior teacher commented that "when [vernacular] comes in, [the children] find it hard to write good English and speak good English." This comment casts some doubt on whether there is full support for the vernacular in education from those in authority.

It seems that support for strengthening the vernacular in education may come from the teachers who live locally and use the language, but the senior and head teachers, immigrants who do not use the vernacular, hold the authority to determine the vernacular's future role in education. We were told that some local teachers were currently at Madang Teachers' College being trained to teach elementary level education and that the school wanted to start an Elementary Prep class. This may indicate support of vernacular education not only by the community, but also the senior teaching staff.

#### **4.3.3    *As Reported by Church Leaders***

Pragmatic considerations appear to drive the language attitudes of church leaders. The six leaders were asked which language they would prefer to have the Bible in, supposing every language was available. They answered that people from the Malalamai language area would be able to understand a Malalamai Bible much better than a Tok Pisin Bible. However, this would be reversed for people outside the language area. The leaders all said that when a mix of people from inside and outside the language community is present, they prefer to use the Tok Pisin Bible. This pragmatic thinking was reflected in other areas of language use in the churches, as detailed in section 4.2.8. Church leaders thus believe ease of understanding should drive language use, and on these grounds want to use both Malalamai and Tok Pisin.

#### **4.3.4    *As Inferred from Behaviour***

A curious incident occurred during a questionnaire. A man was telling the team the vernacular equivalent of 'melon.' Suddenly, another man of about the same age

shouted across from the other side of the group. He said that the word for ‘melon’ was different from the one that was given. Many members of the community hissed at him at this point which culturally is equivalent to telling him to be quiet. The man who had shouted out seemed embarrassed. Although it is not possible to say with any accuracy what this incident reflects, it may indicate that the community has strong opinions about speaking their language correctly.

#### **4.3.5 Group Identity**

Language vitality tends to be stronger in communities with a strong internal cultural identity (Landweer 2006, p. 200–201). According to Fasold (1987, p. 240), “[a] prevalent tendency to maintain a distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’, that is, the in-group and a particular out-group, is one sign that shift is not in progress.” In the situation described in this survey, data suggest that the community clearly understand who “them” is despite being less clear about the definition of “us.”

One example of this is provided by the latter stages of the Social Connections Tool (see section 2.1.4 for a description of this). The group at Malalamai village were provided with labels for numbers 1–5 and asked to place these on stones representing the five most important connections with other communities that they had identified. A participant immediately put the label 1 on Madang and label 2 on Bonga, and this generated intense debate about the relative importance of the two connections. Madang is 6 hours away by motorboat, requires at least a two day trip and is outside their language group. Bonga is ten minutes’ walk away. Eventually, after ten minutes or so, Madang was rated 4th and Bonga 1st. Despite the final outcome indicating connection with Bonga, the fact that such an intense debate had to take place first may indicate that the community lacks a distinct and common identity.

This issue of naming was a consistent one in the Malalamai language area. A former local level government councillor told us that the community in Bonga was named by an Australian administrative official because he thought it resembled another village he knew called Bonga near Finschhafen. The name *Malalamai* was also given to Malalamai village at this time and although it meant something to the officials who applied it, the community does not know what it means. The name has some similarity to Malai, an island where ancestors of the people stayed for a time before coming to their current location (see second paragraph below), but if there is a connection between the two names, the current generation seems to be unaware of it. Yara seems to be the traditional name for that village. However, after World War II, the Yara residents were told to move to Bonga and were considered a part of that village for government purposes. Thus, the traditional village names of *Garingei*, *Garpunei* and *Yara* were hidden behind an identity that the Australian administration imposed and which the communities still struggle to make sense of today.

There was agreement in the language area that the three villages speak the same language, although they cited slight differences. Their responses suggested some sense of belonging together or a certain type of shared identity. However, the community asked us whether, if we were to write a report about them, we would be able to discover the name of their language. Some indication of the internal issues caused by lack of a language name comes from resistance to the use of the name

‘Malalamai’ to refer to the vernacular, particularly in Bonga. Comments in the group such as “that [name]’s not right” and “we’ve got a name too” indicate that both for the language community as a whole and between villages, issues of identity are a cause for concern for the people. These internal issues of naming may raise questions about the vitality of the Malalamai language.

Shared history is often a part of group identity, and there are some stories of shared history in the language area, but it is not clear if everyone identifies with those stories. In Malalamai village, the group that provided the wordlist told of their ancestors coming from West New Britain Province (WNB). They had gone first to Malai Island, a small island south of Umboi Island, and then wanted to go back to WNB, but a storm broke the canoe. A big group ended up at Gitua, but one man, or one family, came to Malalamai. In a later conversation, another man in the village said that when they arrived, they landed at the base of a tree called *Gar* in the vernacular. This is the same *Gar* that is in the vernacular names of *Garpunei* and *Garingei* which villagers give to their communities of Malalamai and Bonga respectively. He said the first generation stayed at *Bong Silonggu*, which means “Night Point”, before they divided into separate villages. This location is called Gauss Point in English. When Scot Stober visited the Malalamai area, he was told that the name Bonga was shortened from *Bong Silonggu* (Stober, personal communication, 3 February, 2011). In Bonga and Yara, no mention was made of ancestors coming from WNB, so it is not known whether Bonga and Yara have a sense of shared identity with Malalamai village, based on a common history. These data do indicate that the Malalamai speaking people have a concept of their own identity versus groups in other locations.

While the Malalamai language community seem to view themselves as being distinct from the other groups they relate to, they report that this contact is bringing about changes in traditional practices. Young people are marrying based on their own desires rather than their parents’ arrangements. They also sometimes marry within their clan, which has traditionally been taboo. Some people fail to respect and submit to local leaders, whereas in the past these leaders would have been obeyed. One reason for this is the higher level of education attained by community members. Bonga villagers say that educated people sometimes challenge leaders because this is a way they can show they know something.

In addition, the community shows willingness to substitute foreign for traditional goods. For example, guitars are more popular than traditional instruments, and store-bought materials are desired for building houses. This means that some people do not use traditional skills they were taught as children, like weaving mats and making drums. Some older people in the community express sadness or anger over these departures from traditional practice. The younger people who break tradition do not combine this with an expressed desire to be identified differently. Those interviewed in Bonga still say they belong to Bonga and are different even from Yara and Malalamai. The Bonga community maintains a distinct identity even though it is departing from some of its traditional practices. One way the Bonga community has distinguished itself in the past is by marking common commodities such as carvings, canoes and string bags with a characteristic design or pattern. A person looking at the carved object, canoe or bag would know that it was made in Bonga (and, in the case of the bags, by a particular clan in the village). These customs are no longer practiced to the extent that they were in the past. Only some



people produce carvings the way the ancestors did. Many people copy designs they see on canoes from other villages rather than using the Bonga mark. Not every bag is worked according to the design of the artist's clan. These material changes indicate that the community either places decreased value on its distinct identity or has found other ways to be distinctive.

However, there are instances where traditional culture is maintained. Children are hunting and gardening much the same way their grandparents did. Land is still governed the way it has been in the past. It is owned by the male line at the clan, not the individual, level. Many people practice traditional male initiation rites and the tradition of paying a bride price is still used. In addition, the Bonga community continues to hold traditional gatherings called *singsings*, which involve food, song and dance. One kind of *singsing* is practised by Bonga, Yara and Malalamai but no one else. Another kind of *singsing* is practised by communities in a large area that extends to the Morobe border. Thus, the community may find ways to maintain its distinctive identity while selectively adapting its culture.

Finding ways to maintain a distinctive identity may be a good indication of the vitality of the language; if the community feels its identity is endangered by the departure from tradition, it may strengthen the use of the vernacular as a counteractive force. On the whole, however, the issues of group identity and changing culture do not have a clear implication for language vitality.

#### **4.3.6 Summary of Language Attitudes**

People feel positively about their vernacular and this was expressed through a concern that the increasing influence of Tok Pisin in particular may cause them to ultimately lose their language. Further evidence of the strength of Tok Pisin in the community comes from the attitudes expressed by those at the school and churches who have a vested interest in supporting the continued use of Tok Pisin in their domains. Unless questions about identity can be resolved, the future unity of the community through continued use of their single vernacular may be in doubt. However, the community evidently has strong opinions about language and how it should be used and this energy could be harnessed to the long-term benefit of the vernacular through all domains in the language area.

#### **4.4 Conclusions on Language Vitality**

The majority of Malalamai language area residents of all ages, including immigrants, do learn the vernacular and do not usually mix it with Tok Pisin. In addition, there is support for the vernacular in both the local school and churches.

However, Tok Pisin is the preferred language for interaction with non-resident outsiders and continued and increasing exposure to Tok Pisin through such interaction may be the most significant factor influencing any language change. Language vitality of the vernacular appears to be strong. However, the community fear ultimately losing their language and there is evidence that shift to Tok Pisin is a potential future reality.

## 5 Conclusions

The first goal of the survey was to describe the language and dialect boundaries of the Malalamai language. As detailed above, the data indicate that the Malalamai language is distinct and spoken in the two villages of Malalamai and Bonga and the hamlet Yara. It is spoken in these places with 99% lexical similarity, suggesting that the same variety is spoken throughout the language area.

The second goal of the survey was to assess the vitality of the Malalamai language. We conclude that the current vitality is strong and should be capitalised on before the medium-term impact of Tok Pisin raises questions about the future viability of the Malalamai language.

## 6 Appendices

### 6.1 Characteristics of the Language

#### 6.1.1 Phonetics

Consonant and vowel phones observed in the Malalamai language are shown in Table 7 and Table 8.

Table 7. Consonant Phones

	Bilabial		Alveolar		Palatal	Velar	
Plosive	p	b	t	d		k	g
	p <sup>ˀ</sup>	<sup>m</sup> b		<sup>n</sup> d		k <sup>ˀ</sup>	g <sup>i</sup>
Nasal		m		n			ŋ
Trill				r			
Fricative			s	z			ʃ
Approximant					j		w
Lateral approximant				l			

Table 8. Vowel Phones

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-mid	e		o
	e <sup>i</sup>		oː
			o <sup>i</sup>
			o <sup>u</sup>
		ə	
Open-mid	ɛ		ɔ
Open	a		
	a <sup>i</sup>		
	a <sup>o</sup>		
	a <sup>u</sup>		

#### 6.1.2 Morphology

Personal possessive morphemes used in the Malalamai language are shown in Table 9. These morphemes are suffixes added to the end of a word.

Table 9. Personal Possessive Suffixes

1st singular	-gu
2nd singular	-m
3rd singular	-Ø

Verbs are inflected to indicate a plural subject. Table 10 shows the prefixes used to indicate the subject.

Table 10. Subject Prefixes

<b>Singular</b>	Ø-
<b>Plural</b>	ti-

### 6.1.3 Grammar

Malalamai word order is generally SVO as shown in the following sentences.

- 1) ŋelo    yam    diam  
       man    eat    yam

The man eats the yam.

- 2) ŋelo    rap    koma  
       man    hit    dog

The man hit the dog.

Adjectives generally follow the nouns they modify, as shown in the following example.

- 3) ŋelo    o<sup>u</sup>to    rap    koma    natu  
       man    big    hit    dog    little

The big man hit the little dog.

## 6.2 Wordlist Addendum

Table 11. Wordlist Exceptions and Notes

Item and Type <sup>14</sup>	Explanation for Decision or Exclusion	Lists Involved
15 Excl	Doublet with 'leg' and/or 'back'	Malalamai, Bonga, Bariai
16 Comp	Compared [dibe] because it was similar to Malalamai and Bonga	Bariai
18 Comp	Neither option similar	Bariai
20 Excl	Doublet with 'knee' and/or 'hand'	Gitua, Bariai, Lusi, Kove
23 Excl	Doublet with 'blood' and/or 'house' and/or 'liver' and/or 'egg' or NO ENTRY	Malalamai, Bonga, Lusi, Kove
28 Excl	Doublet with 'baby' and/or 'woman'	Bariai, Lusi, Kove
29 Excl	Doublet with 'baby' and/or 'man'	Lusi, Kove
30 Excl	Doublet with 'woman' and/or 'big' and/or 'sister'	all
31 Excl	Doublet with 'man' and/or 'big'	Malalamai, Bonga, Gitua, Bariai, Kove
37 Excl	Doublet with 'woman' and/or 'brother' and/or 'big' and/or 'old woman'	Malalamai, Bonga, Gitua, Lusi
45 Comp	Compared [kudeke] because it was similar to Lusi and Kove	Bariai
46 Comp	Compared [kalo] because it was similar to Lusi and Kove	Bariai
49 Excl	Doublet with 'man' or NO ENTRY	all
53 Excl	Doublet with 'he lies down'	Bariai, Lusi
55 Comp	Both forms compared where similar Noted in Kove data that [wara] means 'holim' and [ŋotu] means 'kaikaim'	Kove
56 Excl	Doublet with 'bites'	Malalamai, Bonga
57 Comp	Compared [pagau] because it was similar to all but Malalamai	Bariai
60 Comp	Compared [posa] because it was similar to Lusi and Kove	Bariai
64 Comp	Compared [rau] because it was similar to Lusi and Kove	Bariai
65 Excl	Doublet with 'hits' and/or 'dies'	all
67 Excl	Doublet with 'fire' and/or 'bites'	Malalamai, Bonga

<sup>14</sup> Abbreviations:

- Excl: Exclusion
- Comp: Comparison. This designates an item where an explanation is needed regarding what was compared.

Item and Type <sup>14</sup>	Explanation for Decision or Exclusion	Lists Involved
68 Comp	Compared [rowo] because it was similar with all else	Malalamai, Bonga
72 Excl	Doublet with 'bites'	Lusi
83 Excl	Doublet with 'flies'	Gitua
89 Excl	Doublet with 'cold'	Gitua
95 Comp	Compared [lab] because it was similar to Lusi and Kove	Bariai
96 Comp	Compared [lusi] because it was similar to Lusi and Kove	Bariai
99 Excl	NO ENTRY	Bariai
109 Excl	NO ENTRY	Bariai
110 Excl	Doublet with 'tree' and/or 'skin'	Malalamai, Bonga
111 Excl	Doublet with 'tree' and/or 'egg'	Malalamai, Bonga
113 Excl	Doublet with 'tree' and/or 'hair'	all
118 Excl	Doublet with 'hair ' and/or 'bird'	all
127 Excl	Doublet with 'hand'	Malalamai, Bonga, Gitua, Lusi, Kove
128 Excl	Doublet with 'hand' and/or 'two'	Malalamai, Bonga, Gitua
131 Comp	Compared [bid] because it was similar to Lusi and Kove	Bariai
133 Excl	[kaukau] assumed to be from Tok Pisin	Kove
134 Excl	Either NO ENTRY or [bin] assumed to be Tok Pisin	Bariai, Lusi, Kove
137 Comp	Compared [pan mata] because it was similar to Bonga	Malalamai
140 Excl	Doublet with 'smoke'	Malalamai, Bonga, Gitua
145 Excl	Doublet with 'morning'	Gitua
149 Excl	Doublet with 'blood'	Gitua, Bariai, Lusi, Kove
152 Excl	NO ENTRY	Bariai
153 Excl	NO ENTRY	Bariai
154 Excl	NO ENTRY	Bariai
161 Excl	Doublet with 'no'	all
165 Excl	Doublet with 'I' and/or 'two'	all
166 Excl	Doublet with 'you' and/or 'two'	all
167 Excl	Doublet with 'they' and/or 'two'	Gitua, Kove
168 Excl	Uncertain elicitation	Malalamai, Bonga

Table 12. Wordlists

Language Name	Malalamai	Malalamai	Gitua	Bariai	Lusi (Kaliai Dialect)	Kove (Kombe)
<b>ISO Code</b>	[mmt]	[mmt]	[ggt]	[bch]	[khl]	[kvc]
<b>Village</b>	Garpune (Malalamai)	Gariŋe (Bonga)	Gitua		Lauwore	Guhi
<b>Elicitor</b>	John Carter	John Carter	Tony Larsson	Steve Gallagher	Anne Dondorp	Anne Dondorp
<b>Informant</b>	Lotto Sau - 53 - Male	David Wanas - 64 - Male	35 - Male		group	Group - 30-60 - Male
<b>Date</b>	17-02-2011	18-02-2011	13-07-2000	18-11-1993	28-08-1994	30-08-1994
<b>Reliability</b>	c	c	good till 100 - tired & noise	good		

**Standard SIL-PNG Wordlist (1999 revision)**

1	head	<sup>n</sup> dawa	dawa	da:va	i-labora	yaβa	βola
2	hair	<sup>n</sup> dawa lo <sup>u</sup> lo <sup>u</sup>	dawa lo <sup>u</sup>	rau	i-laun	launi	launi
3	mouth	awo	a <sup>u</sup> wo	aua	i-aoa	awa	awa
4	nose	izu	izu	i:ɖu	i-nud	nuru	nuru
5	eye	mata	mata	ma:ta	i-mata	mata	mata
6	neck	alio <sup>u</sup>	alio <sup>u</sup>	lu:a	i-gagal	ɣali(gu)	ɣauli
7	belly	apo	apo	a:pwa	i-apa	apohu	apo
8	skin	uli	uli	ti:n	i-tin	tini	tini
9	knee	dawəl	dawəl	papa:tu	i-ae kubal	wolwolu	wolwolu
10	ear	taliŋa	taliŋa	taliŋa	i-tanga	taŋa	taliŋa
11	tongue	ama	ama	ja:ma	i-mae	mae	mae
12	tooth	liwo	liwo	li:wo	i-luo	luo	luo

Language Name Village		Malalamai Malalamai	Malalamai Bonga	Gitua Gitua	Bariai -	Lusi Lauwore	Kove Guhi
13	breast	tuzu	tuzu	tu:ɖu	i-tud	turu	turu
14	hand	nima	nima	ni:ma	i-bage	lima	lima
15	foot (top)	a <sup>i</sup> ʔdume	a <sup>i</sup> ʔdume	a:geŋ ganga	i-ae	ahe pao	ahe pao
16	back	dume	dume	du:me	i-mur OR i-dibe	ruhu	ruhu
17	shoulder	awara	awara	soko	i-kepe	wala	wala
18	forehead	na <sup>u</sup> waro <sup>u</sup>	na <sup>u</sup> waro <sup>u</sup>	da:mo	i-bolabola OR inono	rɔmɔ	ramoha
19	chin	aze	aze	a:dze	i-adiade	balbalu	balu balu
20	elbow	nimangoŋ	ŋgoŋ	ni:ma papa:tu	i-bage kubal	wolwolu	lima wolwolu
21	thumb	kuku wato	kuku o <sup>u</sup> to	ni:ma ti:na	i-gonga kapei	aigoŋa	aigoŋa
22	leg	a <sup>i</sup>	a <sup>i</sup>	a:ge	i-ae	ahe?	ahe?
23	heart	siŋluma	patu OR ate patu	ha:te	i-boro eo	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY
24	liver	ate	ate	kapu:la	i-atate	atete	atete
25	bone	tutua	tua	tu:a	i-tuatua	tuatua	tuatua
26	blood	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	i-sing	si:ŋi	siŋi
27	baby	kiŋ	kiŋ	koko	gergeu puruanga	kekele mesekna	βurisiŋa
28	girl	liwa ŋg <sup>i</sup> o	liwa ŋg <sup>i</sup> o	vilala:go	gergeu taine OR taine blala	kekele tamine	kekele tamine
29	boy	ŋelŋela	ŋelŋela	vilua:gu	gergeu aranga	kekele tomone	kekele tamone
30	old woman	liwa wato	liwa wato <sup>u</sup>	dzepali:wa	taine kapei	tamparoŋa	tampaka
31	old man	ŋelo wato	ŋelo wato <sup>u</sup>	dzepaŋe:ro	eaba kapei	taurai	apaka
32	woman	liwa	liwa	liwa:ge	taine	tamine	tamine
33	man	ŋelo	ŋelo	ŋero	eaba	tamone	tamone
34	father	mama	mama	mama	i-tama	atoka	tata
35	mother	meme	meme	na:na	i-tna	tutu	aia
36	brother	ata lele oto	ata lele o <sup>u</sup> to	to:ga:ŋgu va:to:	i-tar kapei	toa	atoa



Language Name Village		Malalamai Malalamai	Malalamai Bonga	Gitua Gitua	Bariai -	Lusi Lauwore	Kove Guhi
37	sister	liwu o <sup>u</sup> to	liwu o <sup>u</sup> to	liwu:ngu vato	i-liu kapei	paronja	liu paka
38	name	ezaza	eza	ezejan	i-eda	era	era
39	bird	man	man	ma:num	man	manu	manu
40	dog	koma	koma	ki:am	kaua	kau <sup>w</sup> a	kauwa
41	pig	ga <sup>i</sup>	ga <sup>i</sup>	gaia	gaea	raia	yaia
42	cassowary	kulu	kulu	surum	kaini	soko	soko
43	wallaby	miram	miram	kwa:mber	duadua	kuta?	kuta
44	flying fox	bianja	bianja	ku:mbe	bianga	βianja	βianja
45	rat	kusi	kusi	kola:pe:	kudeke OR nakutkut	kuruke?	kuruke
46	frog	korokkorok <sup>ʔ</sup>	korokkorok <sup>ʔ</sup>	kwi:riŋ kwi:riŋ	kalo OR mokruk	kalo	kalo
47	snake	tuna	tuna	mwa:ta	mota	mota	motala
48	fish	iya	iya	i:ga	ia	iha?	iha
49	person	ŋelo	ŋelo	DISQUALIFIED	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY
50	he sits	i <sup>m</sup> buruŋ	buruŋ	le:po	i-mado	iroiai	ʔoiiai
51	he stands	i yose	yose	o:dze	i-madid	yunui	yunui
52	he lies down	ana <sup>u</sup> gɛno	i yeno	ge:no	i-eno	ieno	ieno
53	he sleeps	ana <sup>u</sup> gɛno bogen	i yeno buyen	ge:no mu:ri:a	i-eno	ieno	ieno susu
54	he walks	i la <sup>u</sup>	i la <sup>u</sup>	la:go	i-lalala	lalao	ilalao
55	he bites	koma yan ŋelo	koma yan ŋelo	ki:amjara:ti	kaua i-ngot eaba	iwara	iwara - holim pas; ŋotu - kaikaim
56	he eats	a <sup>u</sup> yan	i yangan	gangan	i-an	iani	iani
57	he gives it to me	i wo <sup>u</sup>	i wayo <sup>u</sup>	jejwangau	ei i-bada pagau OR ei ipan ag	payau	payau
58	he sees	i <sup>m</sup> ba <sup>i</sup>	i <sup>m</sup> ba <sup>i</sup>	e:la	i-gera	ikona	ikona
59	he comes	i nam	i nama	lam	i-nam	inama	inama
60	he says	i weta	i weta	gaj varu	i-posa OR i-keo	iposa	iposa

Language Name		Malalamai	Malalamai	Gitua	Bariai	Lusi	Kove
Village		Malalamai	Bonga	Gitua	-	Lauwore	Guhi
61	he hears	i loŋon	i loŋon	loŋon	i-longo	ilononŋi	iloŋoni
62	he knows	i wate <sup>i</sup>	i wate <sup>i</sup>	wa:ta	i-uatai	iwatahi	iwatahi
63	he drinks	i gun	i yun	gun	i-un	iunu	iunu
64	he hits	i rap	i rap	rap	i-rau OR i-tapa	irau	ihau
65	he kills	i rap mate	i rap mate <sup>i</sup>	rap ma:te	i-rau ga imate	irau imate	ihau (yaia) imate
66	he dies	ana <sup>u</sup> mate	ana <sup>u</sup> mate	ma:te	i-mate o	imate	imate
67	it burns	jab yan	jab yan	japwo:lo	dinga ianian	ikau	iɛsi
68	it flies	i rowo ila	anau ro <sup>u</sup> wo ila	ro:wo	i-roro	iroro	ihoho
69	he swims	i zugu	i rere	ga:va	i-rarabel	iwaia	iwaia
70	he runs	i lando	i lando	la:ndo	i-lado	ilaguru	ilaro
71	he falls down	i tapu	i tapu	ta:pu	i-tap	itaku	itapu
72	he catches	i so <sup>u</sup>	i yap	ga:p	i-sau	iwara	ikea
73	he coughs	i tola	i tola	to:la	i-tora	itora	toha
74	he laughs	i nŋiŋ	i nŋiŋ	niŋ	i-nging	iŋiŋi	iŋiŋi
75	he dances	i tol	i tol	to:r	i-tol	itori	itohi
76	big	o <sup>u</sup> to	o <sup>u</sup> to	va:to	kapei	paroŋa	paka
77	small	woro <sup>u</sup>	woro <sup>u</sup>	keketeka	kakauede	kahaku	kahaku
78	good	poi	poi	puaia	kemi	poia	doko
79	bad	sati	sati	sa:gat	paeamao	sasi	sasi
80	long	malo <sup>u</sup>	mala <sup>u</sup>	mala:wa	mamarae	βoru	rairai
81	short	bolo	bolo <sup>u</sup>	tu:ku	bolobolo	βolβolo	wolowolo
82	heavy	maliwa	maliwa	patanjan	kulupu	kulupu	aiuha
83	light	samarowa	samarowa	ro:wo	malamalan	malmalani	malamalani
84	cold	kuliŋa	kuliŋa	sil	memednga	pulpuli	pulipuli
85	warm, hot	tuntun	tuntun	tuntun	oanaoana	wanana	wanawana
86	new	po <sup>u</sup>	po <sup>u</sup>	pa:gu	pau	pau	pau

Language Name Village		Malalamai Malalamai	Malalamai Bonga	Gitua Gitua	Bariai -	Lusi Lauwore	Kove Guhi
87	old	munḡa <sup>i</sup>	munḡa <sup>i</sup>	munḡanaṅa	mugamuga	mōho	mōho
88	round	talik	talik	kokopariṅa	kaponga	kapōṅa	kapōṅa
89	wet	siaṅa	siaṅa	sil	budisinga	kua	kua
90	dry	mamasa	mamasa	mama:sa	mamasa	mamasa	mamasa
91	full	wɔn	wɔn	bwon	i-uon	ionu	ionu
92	road	lawa	lawa	isti:na	edap	erapu	erapu
93	stone	ma <sup>i</sup> lo <sup>u</sup>	ma <sup>i</sup> lo <sup>u</sup>	maito	pat	patu	patu
94	earth	tano	tano	ta:no	tano	taṅo	taṅo
95	sand	sa°sa°	sa <sup>u</sup> sa <sup>u</sup>	sa:wa	riringa OR lab	laβu	laṅu
96	mountain	bonaṅga	bonaṅga	bonaṅga	lusi OR bereo	lusi	lusi
97	fire	jap	jap	jap	dinga	ḡiṅa	eai
98	smoke	jap naṅnaṅgu	jap naṅnaṅgu	momo	basu	βosu	βosu
99	ashes	awowo	awowo <sup>u</sup>	awa:vu	NO ENTRY	kahu	molapu
100	sun	wazo	wazo	lavaṅa	ado	aro	waṭo
101	moon	a <sup>i</sup> jon	a <sup>i</sup> jon	kaiwa	taiko	taiko	taiko
102	star	gona	gona	pitium	gigima	motala	motala
103	cloud	ta <sup>i</sup> ta <sup>i</sup>	ta <sup>i</sup> ta <sup>i</sup>	ta <sup>i</sup> ta <sup>i</sup>	laulau	βuβuri	bumbu
104	rain	kue	kue	waze:na	aoara	awara	awaha
105	wind	nugu	nugu	dzeze:ru	rai	rai	namule
106	water	jo <sup>u</sup>	jo <sup>u</sup>	jao	eau	yahu	eau
107	vine	waro	waro <sup>u</sup>	wa:ro	oren	waro	waho
108	tree	je <sup>i</sup>	je <sup>i</sup>	ai	abei	aβei	aβei
109	stick (for walking)	togo	togo	to:ko	NO ENTRY	atɔkɔk	atoko
110	bark	je <sup>i</sup> wuli	je <sup>i</sup> wuli	aiwi:li	abei ikukul	kulkuli	aβei kulkuli
111	seed (tuber)	je <sup>i</sup> patu	je <sup>i</sup> patu	pua	abei i-puapua	abei toutou	aβei tautau
112	root	je <sup>i</sup> walia	je <sup>i</sup> walia	waria	abei i-uaroar	aβeiaiwarari	aβei aiwawahi

Language Name Village	Malalamai Malalamai	Malalamai Bonga	Gitua Gitua	Bariai -	Lusi Lauwore	Kove Guhi
113 leaf	je <sup>i</sup> lo <sup>u</sup> lo <sup>u</sup>	je <sup>i</sup> lo <sup>u</sup> lo <sup>u</sup>	rau	abei i-laun	launi	aβei elauni
114 meat	miza	miza	mi:za	i-medameda	βehei	haniŋa masmasi
115 fat	goreŋa	goreŋa	lo:lo	i-mona	aimona	aimona
116 egg	patu	patu	apo:por	kakatoI	aikakatolu	aitaka
117 louse	tuma	tuma	le:dzak	tuma	tuma	tuma
118 feather	man lo <sup>u</sup> lo <sup>u</sup>	man lo <sup>u</sup>	rau	man i-laun	ailauni	manu elauni
119 horn	giwi	giwi	dzo:ŋa	pelenga	peleŋa	peleŋa
120 wing	ba <sup>i</sup>	ba <sup>i</sup>	ba:ge	i-bagbage	aiβayeβaye	βayeβaye
121 claw	galio	galio	pitiŋa	i-temia	aitai	aiririki
122 tail	iŋu	iŋu	i:gu	i-se kalkal i-uui	aihihiu	ahihiu
123 one	emo	emo	e:dze	kelede	kerere	ketawere
124 two	rua	rua	ru:a	rua	rua	hua
125 three	tolu	tolu	to:lv	tol	tolu	tolu
126 four	paŋe	paŋe	pa:ŋe	pange	paŋe	paŋe
127 five	nimanda en	nimanda emo	ni:ma	lima	lima	lima
128 ten	nimanda rua	nimanda rua	ni:mandaru:a	sangaul	saŋaulu	saŋaulu
129 taro	mo <sup>i</sup>	mu <sup>i</sup>	mwai	moi	moi?	moi
130 sugarcane	top <sup>ː</sup>	top <sup>ː</sup>	top	tou	tou?	tou
131 yam	diam	diam	a:wa	kiu OR bid	βiri	βiri
132 banana	pundi	pundi	pu:ndi	pud	puri?	puri
133 sweet potato	sarabap <sup>ː</sup>	sambarap <sup>ː</sup>	bata:tum	serembat	kaukau/sereβate	kaukau
134 bean	butele	butela	bute:le	NO ENTRY	bin	NO ENTRY
135 axe	nokowasi	nakowasi	akavas	kabasi	kaβasi	heri
136 knife	buza <sup>i</sup>	buza <sup>i</sup>	u:ɕak	didi	uraye	uraye
137 arrow	nezam	pan mata	koe	tagarau	markete	markete
138 net bag	puziŋa	puziŋa	waneŋa	napar	kanika	kanika

Language Name Village	Malalamai Malalamai	Malalamai Bonga	Gitua Gitua	Bariai -	Lusi Lauwore	Kove Guhi
139	house	luma	luma	ru:ma	luma	luma
140	tobacco	naŋnaŋgu	naŋnaŋgu	mo:mo	was	was
141	morning	boŋjoyo	boŋjoyo	bodzodzo:go	boŋboŋi	boŋi boŋi
142	afternoon	laplap	laplap	raravi:a	leilei	lailai
143	night	boŋ	boŋ	doro:man	woŋi	woŋi
144	yesterday	nola	nola	no:ra	nora	noha
145	tomorrow	boŋgo	boŋgo	boŋgo:go	saβale	sawalele
146	white	ka'maŋga	ka'maŋga	se:se	kaŋkaŋa	kaŋkaŋa
147	black	go'saŋga	go'saŋga	gaŋgavu:a	asosɔŋa	kasoka
148	yellow	sakoŋiŋa	sakoŋiŋa	paintai	yaŋɔŋa	jaŋojaŋo
149	red	kinkinaŋa	kinkinaŋa	sisinɪ:a	siŋsiŋia	siŋsiŋia
150	green	kerkerana	kerkerana	raubitai	βiβiriŋa	βihiβihana
151	many	karok	karok	sage:wa	salahi	salahi
152	all	wakwak	wakwak	so:vi:a	salahi tau	tosalahi
153	this	to <sup>u</sup> win	to <sup>u</sup> win	i:wai	ɛgane	nɛhe
154	that	to <sup>u</sup> jen	to <sup>u</sup> jen	welei	ɛgare	nana
155	what	sa <sup>u</sup> le	sa <sup>u</sup> le	velemanda	sawa	sawa
156	who	se <sup>i</sup>	se <sup>i</sup>	sei	sei	sei
157	when	ŋeza	ŋeza	nasopi:sa	ŋera	ŋera
158	where	ma	ma	pala:ti	eisora	weso
159	yes	o:	ɔ	o:ve	eɛ	ee
160	no	ma <sup>u</sup>	ma <sup>u</sup>	ma:go	mao	mao
161	not	ma <sup>u</sup>	ma <sup>u</sup>	ma:go	mako/mao	mao
162	I	jo <sup>u</sup>	jo <sup>u</sup>	jau	wiau	jau
163	you (singular)	ju	ju	ju	weau	weau
164	he	i	i	jum	eaiu	weai

Language Name	Malalamai	Malalamai	Gitua	Bariai	Lusi	Kove
Village	Malalamai	Bonga	Gitua	-	Lauwore	Guhi
165 we two (exclusive)	je <sup>i</sup> jaru	jaru	jeijaura	gairua	wiarua	jaihua
166 you two	ju aru	jam aru	jamaru:a	gimirua OR amirua	amirua	amihua
167 they two	i eru	eru	i:siru:a	gisirua OR asirua	asurua	asihua
168 we (pl exclusive)	jei	jei	jei	gai	wiai	jai
169 you (plural)	jam	jam	jam	gimi	amiu	amihua
170 they (plural)	itizi	itizi	i:si	gid	asiri	asiri

### 6.3 Table of Place and Language Names

Table 13. List of Place and Language Names

<b>Awad Bing</b>	Language on the northeast coast of Madang Province, west of Saidor; ISO code [bcu]
<b>Bariai</b>	Language on the northwest coast of West New Britain Province, east of Cape Gloucester; ISO code [bch]
<b>Basamuk</b>	Coastal village in Madang Province roughly halfway between Saidor and Madang town by boat
<b>Bilbil</b>	Language in Madang Province on the coast just south of Madang town; ISO code [brz]
<b>Biliau</b>	Town and dialect name in the Awad Bing language community
<b>Bukara</b>	Village in the Pano language area between Malasanga and Singorokai
<b>Domung</b>	Language in Madang Province just inland from the coast near the border with Morobe Province; ISO code [dev]
<b>Dugi</b>	Village between the Malalamai and Yagomi language areas
<b>Finschhafen</b>	Large town on the east coast of the Huon Peninsula in Morobe Province
<b>Gabutamon</b>	Language in the southeast corner of Madang Province near the border with Morobe Province; ISO code [gav]
<b>Gali</b>	Village in the Ronji language area (and also an alternate name for Ronji)
<b>Gitua</b>	Language in Morobe Province on the north coast of the Huon Peninsula; ISO code [ggt]
<b>Gwahatike</b>	Language in the southeast part of Madang Province by the coast around Saidor; ISO code [dah]
<b>Kâte</b>	Language in Morobe Province on the east coast of the Huon Peninsula near Finschhafen; ISO code [kmg]
<b>Kerema</b>	Large town on the coast in southeastern Gulf Province, near the language areas of Tairuma and Kaki Ae
<b>Kiari</b>	River valley along the north coast of Morobe Province in the Selepet language area; ISO code [spl]
<b>Kove</b>	Language along the north coast of West New Britain Province; ISO code [kvc]
<b>Lusi</b>	Language on the northwest coast of West New Britain Province; ISO code [khl]
<b>Malasanga</b>	Language on the north coast of Morobe Province near the border with Madang Province; ISO code [mqz]
<b>Maramung</b>	Village in the Domung language area
<b>Mato</b>	Language on the north coast of Morobe Province near the border with Madang Province; ISO code [met]
<b>Mur</b>	Village on the southeast coast of Madang Province near the border with Morobe Province

<b>Reite</b>	Village in the Nekgini language area, which is near the coast in eastern Madang Province (ISO code [nkg])
<b>Ronji</b>	Coastal language that spans the border of Madang and Morobe Provinces; ISO code [roe]
<b>Saidor</b>	Large coastal town in eastern Madang Province
<b>Singorokai</b>	Village in the Malasanga language area
<b>Sintaru</b>	Village in the Yagomi language area
<b>Sio</b>	Language on the north-central coast of the Huon Peninsula in Morobe Province; ISO code [xsi]
<b>Tapen</b>	Town in the Domung language area
<b>Teptep</b>	Town in the Yopno language area (inland from Tapen)
<b>Wasu</b>	Large town on the northwest coast of the Huon Peninsula in Morobe Province
<b>Yabim</b>	Alternate name for Yabem, a language on the east coast of the Huon Peninsula in Morobe Province, around Finschhafen; ISO code [jae]
<b>Yagomi</b>	Language on the southeast coast of Madang Province, just west of the Malalamai language area; ISO code [ygm]
<b>Yout (Wam)</b>	Yout is a village in the Yout Wam language area in the southeast part of Madang Province near the Domung language area; ISO code [ytw]
<b>Yopno</b>	Language just inland from the coast spanning the border of Madang and Morobe Provinces; ISO code [yut]



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