Chapter 7

Language Endangerment and Globalisation in the Pacific

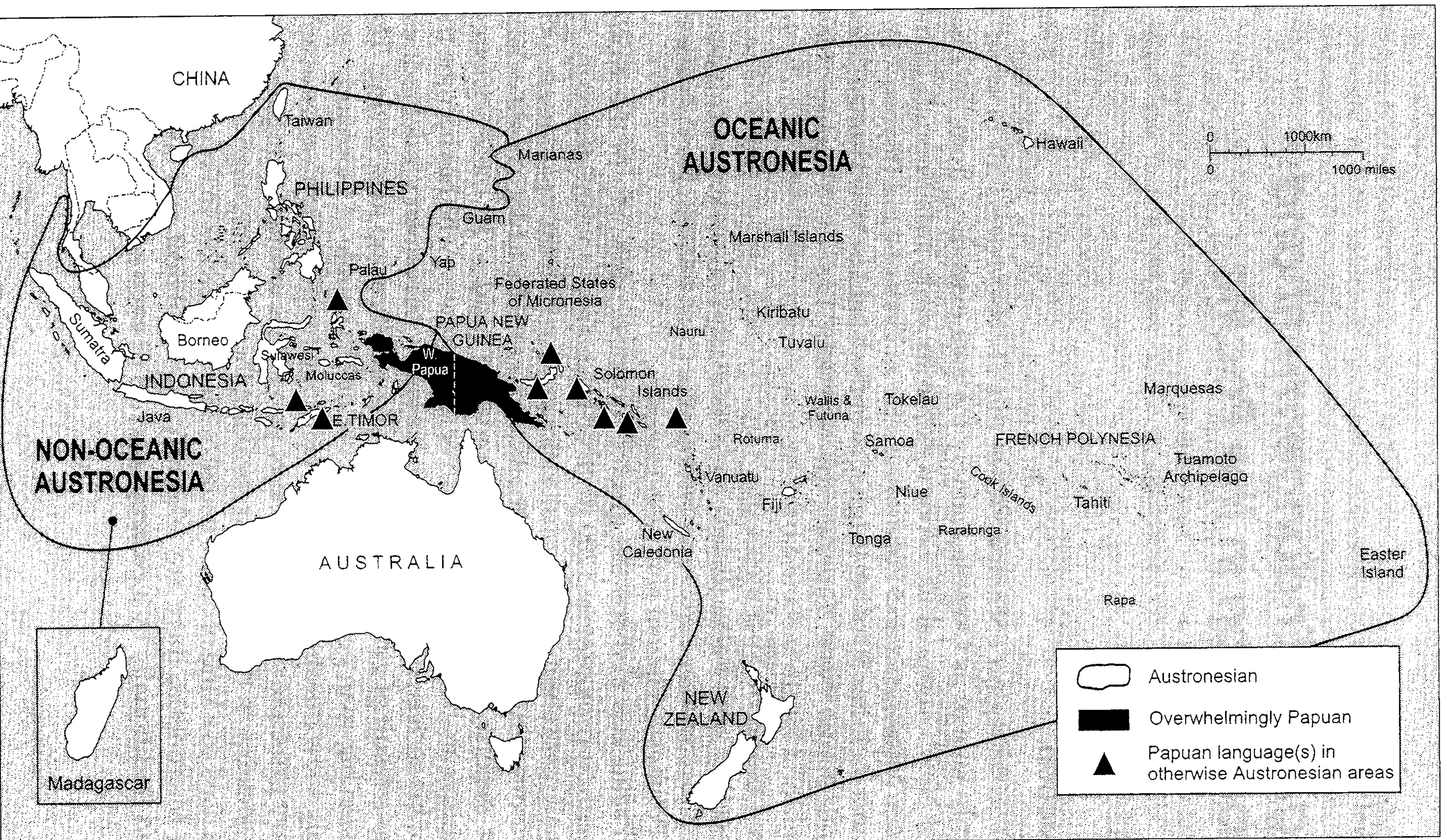
DARRELL TRYON

Introduction

The Pacific region encompassed in this chapter covers all of what is commonly known as Oceania, namely the area extending from the great island of New Guinea at its western extremity eastwards through Island Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia as far as Easter Island (Figure 7.1).

The area includes all of the languages of the island of New Guinea (West Irian and Papua New Guinea), the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia and Fiji, in Melanesia; the languages of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia (the Caroline and Mariana Islands, and Yap), together with Palau (Belau) and Guam; the languages of Polynesia (Tonga, Niue, Samoa, Wallis and Futuna, the Cook Islands, New Zealand, French Polynesia, Hawaii and Easter Island).

The Pacific has perhaps the greatest linguistic diversity in the world today, with approximately 1200 distinct languages, spoken generally by very small communities, the great majority of which are egalitarian societies without hereditary chiefly structures, especially in Melanesia, where the vast majority of the Oceanic population resides. In these societies, communities are headed by a big-man or entrepreneur who has become the leader of his society, basically through his fellow tribesmen's indebtedness to him as a result of gift-giving, largely pig-sacrifice and feast-giving. The Melanesian big-man generally rules over only a couple of thousand, very often only a few hundred, souls. This fact, together with the absence of any hereditary principle of transmission of power, has resulted in highly fragmented societies in this area, most speaking their own language or dialect, which is used as a kind of ethnic badge or identity marker. In Polynesia and most of Micronesia, there are relatively large political and social units, governed traditionally by a paramount chief or even a king or queen.



(© Cartography ANU 04-006_T2)

Figure 7.1 Languages of the Pacific

The Languages of the Pacific

There are two major and quite unrelated language families represented in the Pacific. These are:

- the Austronesian family (550 languages in Oceania);
- the Papuan family (750 languages).

In addition to these, there are a number of pidgin and creole languages (Tok Pisin, Solomons Pijin, Bislama and Hawaiian Pidgin) used as lingua francas, along with the colonial languages English and French and, to a much lesser extent, Spanish.

The Austronesian family, also known as Malayo-Polynesian, is a vast language family with almost 1000 languages, extending from Singapore in South-East Asia to Easter Island in the eastern Pacific. It includes all of the languages of the Philippines, nearly all of the languages of Indonesia, and the indigenous languages of Taiwan and Madagascar. In mainland South-East Asia, Austronesian languages are spoken in Singapore and Malaysia, as well as in parts of Vietnam and Cambodia. Austronesian languages are also distributed around the coastal areas of New Guinea and its offshore islands, right down the Melanesian chain and out into Polynesia and Micronesia. The Austronesian language family is well established (Tryon, 1995), and is considered to have its original homeland on the island of Taiwan, just off the coast of mainland China, where it must ultimately have originated. In terms of relative chronology, the Austronesians are believed to have settled in Taiwan about 6000 years ago (Bellwood, 1989), and to have moved south from there, into the Philippines and Indonesia, expanding and dispersing following the development of agricultural techniques. From south-eastern Indonesia, they moved along the north coast of New Guinea, settling in the New Britain–New Ireland area about 4000 years ago, before moving further south and east to colonise the whole of the South Pacific.

The Austronesian family may be represented in a family tree (Table 7.1), showing the major subgroupings. All the Austronesian languages east of a north–south line drawn about 130° east longitude are members of a single lower-order subgroup known as the Oceanic subgroup, consisting of nearly 500 distinct languages (see Figure 7.1). Approximately 250 of these languages are spoken in the greater New Guinea area, nearly always in coastal areas and on offshore islands, in contrast with the Papuan languages, which are nearly all spoken in the mountainous interior of the island.

The Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian, then, consists of three major groupings, the Admiralty Islands group, the Western Oceanic group and the Central-Eastern Oceanic group:

Table 7.1 The Austronesian languages

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Austronesian</td></tr>
<tr><td>Taiwan
(22 languages)</td><td colspan="3">Malayo-Peninsula
(approx. 1000 languages)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Western Malayo-Polynesian
(530 languages)
[Philippines]
[Indonesia]
[Malaysia]
[Singapore]
[Madagascar]</td><td colspan="2">Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>Central Malayo-Polynesian
(156 languages)
[Eastern Indonesia]</td><td>Eastern Malayo-Polynesian</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>South-Halmahera-West New Guinea
(47 languages)</td><td>Oceanic
(470 languages)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Oceanic</td></tr>
<tr><td>Admiralty Islands
[Manus]</td><td>Western Oceanic
[New Guinea]
[Western Solomons]</td><td colspan="2">Central-Eastern Oceanic
[South-East Solomons]
[Vanuatu]
[New Caledonia]
[Fiji]
[Polynesia]
[Micronesia]</td></tr>
</table>

- The Admiralties Island group consists of all of the languages of the Admiralty Islands, to the north of New Guinea, and the Western Isles.
- The Western Oceanic group is a large group, consisting of three clusters: the North New Guinea cluster, the Papuan Tip cluster and the Meso-Melanesian cluster (Ross, 1988).
- The Meso-Melanesian cluster consists of the languages of New Britain and New Ireland, Bougainville, and the western Solomon Islands as far south-east as Santa Isabel.

Table 7.2 The Central-Eastern Oceanic subgroup of languages

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Central-Eastern Oceanic</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">South-East Solomonic
[South-East Solomons]
[Vanuatu]
[New Caledonia]
[Micronesia]</td><td colspan="2">Remote Oceanic
Central Pacific</td></tr>
<tr><td>Rotuma
West Fijian
East Fijian</td><td>Tokalau Fijian
Polynesian</td></tr>
</table>

The Central-Eastern Oceanic subgroup, which consists of the remainder of the indigenous languages of the south and central Pacific, may be represented as shown in Table 7.2.

The Papuan family languages number approximately 750. They are spoken chiefly in the interior of the great island of New Guinea, along the great central mountain chain. To the west, they are also found on the Indonesian islands of Pantar and Alor, and in the northern half of Halmahera. They are also spoken in parts of West Timor and the newly-independent East Timor. To the east of the island of New Guinea, Papuan languages are also found in the Bismarck Archipelago (New Britain and New Ireland), on parts of Bougainville, and scattered through the Solomon Islands as far south-east as Santa Cruz. The Papuan languages are quite unrelated to the Austronesian family of languages. Indeed, the archaeological record (Golson, 1991; Swadling & Muke, 1998; Spriggs, 1997) shows that the Papuan-speaking populations are much more ancient than the Austronesians, with sites dated as far back as 50,000 years in Papua New Guinea. When the first Austronesians arrived in the region, they frequently encountered Papuan populations established for thousands of years before their arrival. In New Ireland, for example, there is only one Papuan language, Kuot, remaining today, surrounded by Austronesian languages. The earliest archaeological date recorded for New Ireland is 32,000 years (Spriggs, 1997), while the earliest date for Austronesian settlement on that island is only 4000 years before the present.

The Papuan languages are not nearly as well known and described as the Austronesian languages. Their genetic relationships are only partially established at present. Wurm (1975) proposed the existence of a very large grouping of Papuan languages, some 500 languages, which he termed the Trans New Guinea Phylum. In his later study, Wurm (1982) also proposed a number of other phyla or broad subgroups, as follows:

(1) Trans New Guinea phylum (507 languages) (these languages extend right across the island of New Guinea from east to west);.
(2) West Papuan phylum (24 languages);

(3) Sepik-Ramu phylum (98 languages);
(4) Torricelli phylum (48 languages);
(5) East Papuan phylum (27 languages);
(6) minor phyla (29 languages);
(7) phylum-level isolates (8 languages).

Wurm's classification of the Papuan languages was based largely on inspection rather than the rigorous application of the comparative method, which requires the establishment of sets of regular sound correspondences. For this reason, Wurm's ideas did not win universal acceptance, although more recent studies (see below) have to a large extent vindicated his claims, especially with reference to the Trans New Guinea phylum.

Foley (1986) takes a much more conservative approach, not accepting any of the major groupings advanced by Wurm as proven. Rather, he suspends judgement on the Trans New Guinea phylum and limits himself to recognising some 60 smaller lower-level groupings of Papuan languages which do constitute demonstrable genetic units. He recognises the following major Papuan language families:

(1) Asmat family, (2) Awyu family,
(3) Marind family, (4) Kiwaiian family,
(5) Suki-Gogodala family, (6) Eleman family,
(7) Goilalan family, (8) Koiarian family,
(9) Binanderean family, (10) Angan family,
(11) Kainantu family, (12) Gorokan family,
(13) Chimbu family, (14) Engan family,
(15) Ok family, (16) Dani family,
(17) Wissel Lakes family, (18) Sentani family,
(19) Sko family, (20) Torricelli family,
(21) Ndu family, (22) Lower Sepik family,
(23) Grass family, (24) Kalam family,
(25) Huon family, (26) South Bougainville family.

In more recent years, Pawley (1998) has made a further attempt to come to grips with the classification and higher-level subgrouping of the Papuan languages, applying the traditional comparative method to the lower-order groups with which he was most familiar in an attempt to reconstruct features of higher-level Papuan subgroups. To date, Pawley and his team have managed to reconstruct some 100 Trans New Guinea proto-forms, including the TNG pronominal system. They recognise the Trans New Guinea phylum, which they define in the following terms:

> The core of the group consists of many small subgroups spoken in the central mountain ranges of New Guinea, starting from the Bird's Head and extending into South-East Papua, together with the Asmat-

> Kamoro and the Awyu-Dumut groups of the southwest lowlands and the two large groups of northeast New Guinea: the Madang group (about 100 languages) and the Finisterre-Huon group (about 70 languages) – some 400 languages in all. (Pawley, 1998: 683)

As far as the major language subgroups outside the Trans New Guinea phylum are concerned, two main areas of New Guinea exhibit such internal genetic complexity that currently available data do not permit any firm conclusions about broader relationships. These areas are:

- *the North New Guinea* area between the highlands and the north coast, from the western border of the Madang group in Papua New Guinea to the eastern border of the Geelvink Bay phylum in Irian Jaya;
- *the Gulf of Papua* area, covering most of the Gulf Province and the adjacent coastal part of the Western Province of Papua New Guinea.

Thus, while there are many established lower-order Papuan language groupings, higher-order groupings are much more problematic. However, as more detailed descriptive and comparative research progresses, the ultimate demonstration that Papuan languages are all genetically related appears more likely.

Pacific Demography

The populations of the states and territories that comprise the Oceanic region are as shown in Table 7.3.

Pacific Diaspora

The Pacific today is characterised by the phenomenon of ever-increasing diaspora, especially in Polynesia and Micronesia (see Ward, 1997), with significant consequences for language maintenance and preservation. Table 7.4 shows the number of Pacific Islanders in four Pacific Rim countries in 1991 according to Ward (1997). Hawaiians and New Zealand Maori are not included. There are a further 21,900 people born in the Pacific Islands resident in metropolitan France.

This means that there are now well over 400,000 people of Pacific Island ethnicity (or who could claim to be Pacific Islanders by birth), living in Pacific Rim countries or outside their homelands. This is about the same number as the total of all Micronesians currently living in Micronesia or 75% of all Polynesians resident in Polynesia (excluding New Zealand and Hawaii).

For example, Samoa has a resident population of some 250,000. However, almost the same number of Samoans live outside Samoa, in New Zealand, Hawaii, California and Australia. Samoans and other Pacific

Table 7.3 Populations of the Oceanic region

State	*Population*	*Languages*
West Irian (Indonesia)	2,000,000	250
Papua New Guinea	4,300,000	750
Solomon Islands	4,000,000	62
Vanuatu	193,000	113
New Caledonia (France)	196,000 *(of whom 50,000 indigenous)*	28
Fiji	800,000 *(of whom about 400,000 indigenous)*	3
Tonga	100,000 *(+ population in NZ, diaspora)*	1
Niue	2080 *(+14,000 in New Zealand)*	1
Wallis & Futuna (France)	14,000 *(+ 10,000 in New Caledonia)*	2
Samoa	250,000 *(+ 160,000 in New Zealand)*	1
Tokelau	1,500	1
Tuvalu	10,900	1
Cook Islands	10,020 *(+ 50,000 in New Zealand)*	3
New Zealand	4,000,000 *(of whom 100,000 indigenous)*	1
French Polynesia (France)	219,000	6
Hawaii (USA)	2,000,000 *(of whom 30,000 indigenous)*	1
Easter Island (Chile)	50,000	1
Kiribati	77,560	1
Nauru	11,400	1
Marshall Islands	60,000	1
Federated States of Micronesia	105,500	7
Northern Mirianas	58,800	1
Palau (Belau)	17,225	1
Guam	145,000	1

Table 7.4 Pacific Islanders in Pacific Rim countries

Country/State	*Estimated Number of Pacific Island Residents*
USA (excluding Hawaiians) (E)	145,000
USA (excluding Hawaiians) (B)	(88,000)
New Zealand (E)	170,400
Australia (B)	84,600
Canada (B & E)	16,700

B = place of birth data, E = ethnicity data.
Sources: 1990 Census for United States of America; 1991 censuses for New Zealand and Australia; 1990 Census for France; estimate based on place of birth of immigrant population and ethnic origin tables of 1991 census for Canada. (Ward, 1997: 185)

Islanders, especially Polynesians, have left their homelands in search of paid employment, the proceeds of which are remitted home on a regular basis, thereby forming a significant proportion of Polynesian economies. The Samoan language as spoken in New Zealand has changed, especially lexically, to such an extent that there is now a separate dictionary of New Zealand Samoan.

The same situation obtains with respect to most other Polynesian languages:

- Tongan has large expatriate communities both in New Zealand and Australia;
- Niue has a resident population of only 1800 while some 14,000 Niueans live and work in New Zealand;
- the Cook Islands has something approaching 50% of its population living in New Zealand too;
- there are many more Wallisians (East Uvea) and Futunans living in French-speaking New Caledonia than in their home islands;
- in French Polynesia more than half of the Marquesan population resides and works in Tahiti, as do a high proportion of speakers of languages spoken in the Austral Islands.

Even the New Zealand Maori people have a large presence in Australia, lured away from their home communities by the promise of a better life.

As far as the Micronesians are concerned, they were formerly nearly all part of the United States Trust Territory. As a consequence, they have a right of free entry to Hawaii and the mainland United States of America, a right that many Micronesians have exercised.

The linguistic consequences of this diaspora are considerable, all of them negative in terms of language preservation. In nearly all cases, the displaced population has suffered language loss or language impoverishment. In the case of Niuean, for example, the New Zealand Niuean population reports that 65% of Niueans living there have lost the ability to speak Niuean fluently. It is widely reported in the Cook Islands also that Cook Islands Maori has been so affected by contact with English that many Cook Islanders consider that it is in serious danger of disappearing. As for New Zealand Maori, spoken fluently today by only about 30,000 people, there are grave doubts that it will long survive the depredations of the English-speaking environment that confronts it at every turn.

The modern Pacific diaspora phenomenon has its roots in the 19th century, when Pacific Islanders, especially Melanesians, were engaged as plantation labour in Queensland (Australia), Fiji, Samoa and New Caledonia. Many of these Pacific Islanders remained outside their homelands when recruiting was abolished at the beginning of the 20th century, and their descendants have remained there right up until the present –

witness the number of 'South Sea Islanders' resident in Queensland today. In fact, the recruiting of Pacific Islander labour during the second half of the 19th century had a dramatic indirect effect on indigenous Pacific languages in that this displacement of Islanders was one of the principal drivers in the evolution and development of English-based Pacific Pidgins (Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, Pijin in the Solomon Islands, and Bislama in Vanuatu). These pidgins have today become major lingua francas throughout Melanesia and, as such, have begun to make deep inroads into the local vernacular languages.

At the same time, the colonisation of the Pacific had an impact on language survival, even in the 19th century. In Fiji, for example, there are 300 different dialects spoken (Geraghty, 1994: 9). The British colonial government chose one of these from the island of Bau, near present-day Suva, as the language of communication for administrative purposes throughout the Fiji archipelago. Although many local dialects have survived and are relatively healthy today, a number have also disappeared as a result of the imposition of a dialect that was destined to become 'Standard Fijian'.

In Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands, where there are many very small language communities, 19th century recruiting of labour for the plantations also had grave consequences for a number of the smaller languages. Some, such as Aore in Vanuatu, have become extinct in recent decades, while Araki, a little to the west, off the south coast of Santo, is in grave danger of disappearing within a generation or so. In the Solomon Islands, Tanima and Vano, both formerly spoken on Vanikoro in the extreme south-east, have become extinct in the past 20 years. Communities and language group sizes in Island Melanesia are extremely small, often no more than 500 souls.

In Papua New Guinea, many languages are known to have disappeared since European contact – as many as 100, especially in the Sepik region. The reasons for their disappearance are many and varied.

Language Multiplicity and Diversity in the Pacific

A cursory glance at Table 7.3 above reveals an astounding multiplicity of languages spoken in the Pacific by very small populations, especially in Melanesia. In Papua New Guinea alone, for example, Nekitel (1998) identifies 282 languages with fewer than 500 speakers, and a total of 417 languages with fewer than 1000 speakers. In Vanuatu (Tryon, 1995) there are 113 languages for a total population of 193,000. Language:speaker ratios are similar in other parts of the Pacific, with the exception of Triangle Polynesia, where large political units and a pyramidal social structure make for much larger linguistic communities, sometimes more than 100,000.

However, the languages of the Pacific are characterised not only by their vast number but also by their degree of diversity, often the result of contact between languages of the two genetically unrelated language families of the region, the Austronesian and the Papuan families (Lynch, 1981; Pawley, 1981). Austronesian and Papuan languages are frequently geographically contiguous, especially in the Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands. The resulting contact has been a major factor in contributing to language diversity, both in terms of Papuan and Austronesian languages. Indeed, some of these languages have undergone such extensive contact that it is unclear whether they should be classified as Papuan or Austronesian, for example, Maisin in Papua New Guinea and Reefs/Santa Cruz in the Solomon Islands (Wurm, 1978; Lincoln, 1978).

Other factors contributing to language diversity in Melanesia are physical isolation and inter-tribal hostility and rivalry, resulting from the traditional social organisation referred to above. In fact, the consequences of these factors are having a major political impact in the Solomon Islands at the present time.

There is considerable urgency in recording and documenting representative languages in the Melanesian region in particular because, in spite of increasing efforts over the past 30 years, our record and knowledge of the languages of the Pacific is still poor with many languages just a name on a map. This applies especially to the Papuan languages of the New Guinea area, but also to the languages of the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu.

Threats to the Survival of Indigenous Pacific Languages

The greatest threat to the survival of Pacific languages is rapidly increasing urbanisation, as Pacific Islanders are inevitably drawn into a cash economy and so are exposed to the growing effects of globalisation. Indeed, many Pacific Islanders, especially Polynesians and Micronesians, have left their homelands temporarily or permanently in search of better economic opportunities. On the other hand, languages spoken in areas remote from urban centres are not so much under threat, as traditional lifestyle is more likely to be maintained.

Proximity to urban centres is also a threat even to languages with relatively greater numbers of speakers as they become impoverished under pressure from local trade and administrative languages, pidgins and creoles, and metropolitan languages, especially English and French, introduced by colonising powers in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Increasing access to education, linked to urbanisation, is another important factor contributing to language endangerment as it involves the movement of young students away from their home areas. Nearly all students who undertake secondary schooling have to move away from their home

villages and/or islands. Those who advance further inevitably finish up in provincial or capital cities. Since these are the main areas in which paid employment can be found, those who have come to live in urban centres rarely return to their home communities and so have less and less contact with their home languages.

As Pacific states have attained independence over the past forty years, governments have had to make use of language as a nation-building instrument, especially in areas such as Melanesia, where no single indigenous language covers more than a few kilometres. In Vanuatu, for example, at independence in 1980, there was no single language used or understood by the whole population, some students in the former Anglo–French condominium having been 'educated' in French and others in English. The nearest thing to a national language was Bislama, an English-based pidgin, commonly used among ni-Vanuatu (as the people of Vanuatu are called) of different language backgrounds. Since independence, Bislama has become the national language and very much the dominant language in urban agglomerations.

Marriages between partners of different vernacular language backgrounds are increasingly common in Melanesia, predominantly but not exclusively in urban areas, as young people from different island groups come together for education and employment. The children resulting from these unions almost invariably grow up with either an English-based pidgin or a variety of English or French as their mother tongue. The consequences for the transmission of the parental mother tongues are not difficult to foresee.

While this phenomenon is most acute in Melanesia, it is not uncommon in Polynesia and Micronesia, where one would imagine that larger political units and a single local vernacular would constitute a bastion against invading metropolitan languages. On the other hand, mixed-race Tahitians in their thirties and forties, for example, have confessed with embarrassment to the present writer that they could not express themselves in Tahitian but only in French in spite of having Tahitian mothers.

In summary, the major point to be made here is that a small number of speakers of a language does not per se constitute a major threat to the survival of many of the Austronesian (or indeed non-Austronesian or Papuan) languages of Oceania. Much more significant are the ravages wrought by galloping urbanisation, the displacement of young students during the education process, and the exigencies of nation-building in states composed of micro-societies, each speaking a distinct, if related, language. Of course, there are other factors that impinge on language endangerment, quite apart from the threats posed by increasing globalisation and monoculturalism. In Melanesia especially, evangelisation is increasingly carried out in an English-based pidgin, rather than a local vernacular, especially since the

beginning of the 1970s. This simply exacerbates the pressure on local vernaculars, particularly as their role shrinks in relevance to only the village level, while population mobility is on the increase. This gradual reduction in role and function of the indigenous languages of the Pacific is becoming more and more widespread despite some significant rearguard action in some countries.

Pacific Island Responses to Language Endangerment

While it is widely believed that a considerable proportion of the languages of Oceania are doomed to disappear over the next century, if not before, there is little being done to arrest this slide, either by Pacific governments or by Pacific Islanders themselves, so preoccupied are they with issues of governance and economic development.

There are some exceptions, however. In Vanuatu, for example, the people themselves are making considerable efforts to record, preserve and transmit the local vernaculars to their children, an investment for the future. At the Vanuatu National Museum (formerly the Vanuatu Cultural Centre), there was founded in 1980 a network of community cultural officers or 'fieldworkers'. The network comprised a total of approximately 100 men and women, who have received linguistic and ethnographic training through a series of annual workshops, funded until recently by the Australian Government's South Pacific Cultures Fund, and now funded predominantly by the Vanuatu Government.

The Vanuatu 'fieldworkers' are chosen by their communities and work to preserve language and culture without salary, simply through pride in their own identities. The motivation for the setting-up of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre Fieldworkers' Program was the concern expressed by the Malfatumauri or National Council of Chiefs that much traditional and linguistic knowledge was being lost as the result of the death of a number of Vanuatu elder statesmen. Concern was also expressed at the inroads being made by Bislama, the Melanesian Pidgin lingua franca, and the languages of education, English and French.

The role of the fieldworkers is a dual one: the compilation of dictionaries of their mother tongues and the writing of their own ethnographies for the benefit of future generations. Because much of this information is either secret or sacred, some parts of it may not be communicated outside the language-owning community group. In order to address this situation and also because Vanuatu is in a zone where cyclones damage the country almost every year, a novel proposal was developed at the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, one which has received national recognition and support. What was established was a 'Taboo Room', a cyclone-proof air-conditioned room, rather like a bank vault, in the middle of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre

(or Vanuatu National Museum as it is also known today). The Vanuatu Cultural Centre fieldworkers and many other ni-Vanuatu deposit there copies of their dictionary files and ethnographic field note-books and tape-recordings, much as one makes a bank deposit. Only the depositor or his/her nominee may withdraw or consult the materials, managed by the Vanuatu Cultural Centre staff. The originals are usually kept at home in the village of the individual fieldworker. If by mishap they should be destroyed by cyclone, fire, rats or occasionally children, they can easily be replaced and new copies made.

References

Bellwood, P. (1989) The colonization of the Pacific: Some current hypotheses. In A.V.S. Hill and S.W. Seargentson (eds) *The Colonization of the Pacific: A Genetic Trail* (pp. 1–59). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Foley, W.A. (1986) *The Papuan Languages of New Guinea.* Cambridge: CUP.

Geraghty, P. (1994) *Fijian Phrasebook.* Hawthorn: Lonely Planet Publications.

Golson, J. (1991) Bulmer phase II: Early agriculture in the New Guinea Highlands. In A. Pawley (ed.) *Man and a Half: Essays in Pacific Anthropology and Ethnobiology in Honour of Ralph Bulmer* (pp. 484–491). Auckland: Polynesian Society.

Lincoln, P.C. (1978) Reef-Santa Cruz as Austronesian. In S.A. Wurm and L. Carrington (eds) *Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics Proceedings* (pp. 929–967). Pacific Linguistics Series C, No 61. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Lynch, J.D. (1981) Melanesian diversity and Polynesian homogeneity: The other side of the coin. *Oceanic Linguistics* 20 (2), 95–129.

Nekitel, O. (1998) *Voices of Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: Language, Culture and Identity.* New Delhi: UBS Publishers' Distributors Ltd.

Pawley, A. (1981) Melanesian diversity and Polynesian homogeneity: A unified explanation for language. In K.J. Hollyman and A. Pawley (eds) *Studies in Pacific Languages in Honour of Bruce Biggs* (pp. 269–309). Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.

Pawley, A. (1998) The Trans New Guinea phylum hypothesis: A reassessment. In J. Miedma, C. Odé and R.A.C. Dam (eds) *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia* (pp. 655–690). Proceedings of the Conference. Leiden: University of Leiden, Department of Languages and Cultures of South East Asia and Oceania

Ross, M.D. (1988) *Proto Oceanic and the Austronesian Languages of Western Melanesia.* Pacific Linguistics Series C, No. 98. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

South Pacific Commission (1997) *Pacific Island Populations Data Sheet.* Noumea: South Pacific Commission

Spriggs, M. (1997) *The Island Melanesians.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Swadling, P. and Muke, J. (eds) (1998) *9000 Years of Gardening: Kuk and the Archaeology of Agriculture in Papua New Guinea.* Port Moresby: Papua New Guinea National Museum.

Tryon, D.T. (ed.) (1995) *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* (4 vols). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ward, R.G. (1997) Expanding worlds of Oceania: Implications of immigration. In K.Sudo and S. Yoshida (eds) *Contemporary Migration in Oceania: Diaspora and Network* (pp. 179–196). JCAS Symposium Series 3. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

Wurm, S.A. (1975) *New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study* (Vol.1): *Papuan Languages and the New Guinea Linguistic Scene.* Pacific Linguistics Series C, No. 38. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
Wurm, S.A. (1978) Reefs-Santa Cruz: Austronesian, but...! In S.A. Wurm and L. Carrington (eds) *Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics Proceedings* (pp. 969-1010). Pacific Linguistics Series C, No. 61. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics
Wurm, S.A. (1982) *Papuan Languages of Oceania.* Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.