SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ROLES OF SOME LANGUAGES IN THE PACIFIC AREA¹

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Introductory Remarks

The Pacific area is by far the linguistically most complex area of the world. The Pacific area proper including Australia and New Zealand, and areas immediately adjacent to it to the west, i.e. insular und continental Southeast Asia, the Philippines, Taiwan and the Japan area, contain around two thousand distinct languages with innumerable dialects of which several thousand have so far been established. The greatest concentration of these very numerous languages is in the south-western region of the Pacific area proper, in other words in the New Guinea area, Island Melanesia and continental Australia. What is referred to as New Guinea area is the region extending from the island world to the west of the New Guinea and the Solomon Islands chain as far as the Santa Cruz archipelago. The island world to the west of the New Guinea mainland as referred to includes, in the south the islands of Timor, Alor and Pantar and the islands between them and the New Guinea mainland, the island of Halmahera in the north and islands adjacent to it as well as other islands of the Maluku (Moluccas) region situated between the southern and northern islands as mentioned.2

Because of the complexity of the language situation in the area, the varied social roles and functions and the political significance of many of the individual languages present a picture of great intricacy, especially so in the New Guinea area which with over 1,100 distinct languages, with thousands of dialects, located in it, is at the same time the linguistically most complex area of comparable size anywhere in the world. The discussion in this brief paper will therefore concentrate on aspects of the social and political role and significance of languages in that area, with a few glances into other areas adjacent to it.

Papua New Guinea

General Remarks and Pre-Contact Times

Of the New Guinea area, Papua New Guinea is the linguistically most complex part, with over 750 different vernacular languages located within its borders. These languages

belong to two guite distinct language types, one of them, with the smaller number of languages (around 200) Austronesian and related linguistically to the languages spoken in most of Indoneasia, the Philippines, Taiwan, parts of continental Southeast Asia, as well as to the east in Island Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, and the larger number of languages (about 550) Papuan which in Papua New Guinea, belong to four large and four small unrelated lanquage groups. Such a complex language situation has always presented great problems for inter-communication between speakers of individual languages most of which have only a very insignificant number of speakers ranging from a few dozen or a few hundred to a few thousand, with only a quite small number of languages exceeding 10,000 speakers each. In pre-European contact days, the need for intercommunication was very much lower than it has been in the post-contact era because of the almost continuing warfare situation between most tribes which kept oral communication to a minimum. Nevertheless, there were effective means of wider inter-communication in pre-contact days, one of these being the presence of wide-spread active and passive biand multi-lingualism on the part of many members of the local population. Even between some tribes which had been implacably hostile to each other, an exchange of young boys was a common practice, with these persons becoming as it were honorary members of the tribes receiving them and also keeping their links with their original tribe. In acquiring a good knowledge of the language of their new tribe which had adopted them, they could act as intermediaries and interpreters between the two tribes in situations of interest to both tribes such as the settlement of claims arising out of killings, cases of kidnapping of women and the like. This practice has been continuing in some remote areas of Papua New Guinea until quite recently. In addition to bi- and multi-lingualism serving communication between adjacent and near neighbouring distinct language communities, a number of local linguae franchae and trade languages were in use in pre-contact days in what is today Papua New Guinea. Virtually all of these were used by Austronesians who were the traditional traders in the area.

Missionary Linguae Franchae

The first strong European contacts and the establishment of Church missions and colonial administration which started during the latter part of the nineteenth century, brought about a dramatic change in the inter-communication situation in what is today Papua New Guinea, largely through the

termination of the long-standing warfare between different tribes and the resulting increasing mobility of members of the local population. The resulting need for wider intercommunication on a much more general level than had been possible before was met in a number of different ways. On a regional level, missionary linguae franchae developed through the adoption by a particular mission, for missonary and church purposes, of the language of the place or small area at which missionary activities had begun, and through the subsequent artificial expansion of the currency of this language over a wider, linguistically different area. A considerable number of such missionary linguae franchae came into being in Papua New Guinea and in some instances, missions adopted, as missionary linguae franchae, pre-contact trade languages and local linguae franchae which had been in use in their areas before. 3 For over half a century, from the late nineteenth century until the mid-1950s, missionary linguae franchae were holding sway in many parts of Papua New Guinea, some of them achieving wider currency, but their importance declined rapidly after that because of factors discussed below, though in most recent years a few of them have been staging a come-back as local linguae franchae with the decentralisation of administration in Papua New Guinea and the consequent decline of the general use of New Guinea Pidgin in local and regional administration.

Police Moto (Hiri Motu)

On a more general level, the establishment of colonial administration in what is today Papua New Guinea brought with it the requirement for linguistic means for administration and other general purposes. In the southern and southeast part of what today is Papua New Guinea, a general lingua franca developed through the encouragement of the first British, then Australian administration and its use by the police force. This language appears to be based on a pidginized version of the local Motu language of the Port Morseby area which the Motus had used in pre-contact days in communicating with their Austronesian-speaking neighbours. 4 In the light of this it was named Police Motu. It developed into the general lingua franca of what used to be the Territory of Papua and has today about 200,000 speakers. After the second world war, New Guinea Pidgin which had been in use in the northern part of what is today Papua New Guinea, in the Territory of New Guinea (see below), began making some inroads into the areas in which Police Motu had been current and the latter language began to recede rapidly before this onslaught. However, it made a

strong come-back during the 1960s and especially the 1970s as a result of the rising understanding of local identity by the inhabitants of the Territory of Papua who were looking at Police Motu as a means of self-identification. The language was renamed Hiri Motu in the mistaken belief that it constituted a direct continuation of an earlier pre-contact trade language of the so-called Hiri trading voyagers of the Motu people to the west, and it became the rallying point of a Papua separatist movement. The social prestige of the language grew very steeply and it is interesting to note that in Port Moresby for instance where Papua New Guineans from the norther part of the country where Hiri Motu was not known and who had been able to stay in Port Moresby for years without feeling the need to acquire any knowledge of the language, suddenly found themselves forced to acquire a mastery of the language or to be socially ostracized. In recent years, the Papua separatist movement weakened and Hiri Motu suffered a serious loss of its prestige and has since been receding rapidly.

New Guinea Pidgin (Tok Pisin)

The most important general lingua franca of Papua New Guinea is undoubtedly New Guinea Pidgin, which in 1981 has officially been named Tok Pisin by government decree. This language is an English-based expanded pidgin which owes its origins to the establishment, in 1879, of German plantations on Samoa for which labourers were brought from the Duke of York area, to the north of the large island of New Britain in what is today Papua New Guinea. On these plantations, a stabilized form of Pidgin English developed as the language of inter-communication between the overseers and the New Guinea labourers. In 1882, the Germans established plantations in the northern area of New Britain with labour from several other island areas such as New Ireland and Bougainville Island, and experienced plantation labourers were brought back from Samoa to act as overseers on these plantations. They brought with them the stabilized Pidgin English from Samoa and it rapidly established itself as the lingua franca on the plantations and spread to Rabaul, the administrative centre of what was then German New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhelmsland) where it became enriched with a large number of vocabulary items from German and the local language of the Rabaul area which is an Austronesian language called Tolai. This pidgin language became the unofficial language of administration and rapidly spread through all the parts of German New Guinea which are under administrative control or were coming under it in subsequent years. In this process, the language became more

and more a means of inter-communication between members of the native population rather than between them and the Europeans and developed into a greatly expanded pidgin, in other words, a pidgin language of great complexity and rich vocabulary which was mastered by many of its speakers with a proficiency rivaling that of their own mother tongue. With the Australian take-over of the area in 1914, it spread further and inter-tribal use of the language continued at an increasing rate. The second world war brought about a further boost in the currency of New Guinea Pidgin which was used widely for general communication purposes during the period, with this function and these roles increasing after the end of World War Two. This development went hand-inhand with the gradual decay and disintegration of the traditional culture of the indigenous population, with an accompanying reduction of the importance and role of the indigenous local languages which had been serving mainly for expression in the traditional cultural sphere. As a result of this, New Guinea Pidgin increasingly acquired the role of being the most frequently and commonly used lanquage of expression of the indigenous people in reference to new cultural spheres which were no longer linked with traditional cultural life.

However, New Guinea Pidgin had only been very little used in educational pursuits and the fact that in 1953, English was officially adopted as the sole medium of instruction in government schools, affected it little in this sphere. However, the influence of this decision on the role of the missionary linguae franchae was particularly strong because these languages had been used extensively in mission-controlled education, and from that year on, government subsidies to mission schools were only given if the language of instruction was English. This resulted in a very rapid decline in the roles and currency of missionary linguae franchae after that date.

Also in 1953, the United Nations asked the Australian administration in the Territory of New Guinea under its control to immediately discontinue the use of New Guinea Pidgin altogether. This was an unrealistic request because the Australian administration had no control whatsoever over the use of New Guinea Pidgin as an internative lingua franca, and administration in New Guinea would have ceased overnight if the sole functioning language of it, New Guinea Pidgin had been discontinued and perhaps replaced by English of which only very few members of the indigenous population had any knowledge at all. In fact, after that year, the spread of New Guinea Pidgin accelerated even further which was in part the result of an increasing mobil-

ity of the population and the language started moving into new roles and functions and was more and more looked upon by the indigenous population as a means of self-identification. This development continued strongly and a new Papua New Guinea contact culture arose which contained elements of both the traditional and the western culture, though it was in many ways unique. New Guinea Pidgin was a means of expression of this culture which has continued to the present day. The language was increasingly used in the media, in vocational training and for the expression of feelings of solidarity and political attitudes. The newly instituted local government councils used New Guinea Pidgin increasingly as a language of debate and for the keeping of records. 6 New Guinea Pidgin became the main debate language of the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly, and after independence in 1975, the Parliament, and the knowledge of it or of Hiri Motu was made a pre-requisite for the granting of Papua New Guinea citizenship to outsiders. Its use in secondary and tertiary education institutions, though never officially sanctioned, became tolerated as a language of conversation and of explanation in teaching pursuits which utilize English as the usual and prescribed language of instruction. The language became the unofficial national language of Papua New Guinea with very strong emotional attachment to it on the part of many Papua New Guineans.

Already a decade or more before independence a special sociolect of New Guinea Pidgin had started developing in urban centres under the strong influence of English, and this split into two sociolects, urban and rural, continued strongly before and even more after independence. This has brought about a situation in which the value of Tok Pisin which today is spoken by over 2,000,000 people of the total population of the country of just over 3,000,000, is gradually put into question because of the increasing mutual unintelligibility between these two sociolects. Politicians were particularly badly affected in this because most of their talks over the medium systems were given in the urban sociolect with their contents becoming more and more unintelligible to the rural population which constitutes the vast majority of the Papua New Guinea population. Some attempts at language planning were made but these were only very half-hearted and showed no tangible results. At the same time, increasing knowledge of English on the part of the urban population led to a situation in which diglossia in Urban Pidgin and English has become very wide-spread in urban centres. During recent years, there has been a strong decentralization of administrative power in Papua New Guinea, and the importance of provincial and local

governments has vastly increased. This had led to a reduction in the use of New Guinea Pidgin, since 1981 officially called Tok Pisin, in regional and lower-level administration and the re-emergence of the importance and roles of local linguae franchae in its place in a number of cases. Only in areas without major local linguae franchae could Tok Pisin hold its own in regional and local administrative pursuits. The emotional attachment of the Papua New Guineans to Tok Pisin as their language and the symbol of what is typically Papua New Guinean, continues strongly and there is increasing intolerance of white people living in the country who do not know the language properly.

In spite of the very large number of its speakers, the number of first language speakers of Tok Pisin is very small and is estimated to be around 30,000 though this may change significantly in the near future, especially in urban areas. At the same time, Tok Pisin is beginning to show signs of disintegration under the pressure of English and there is a possibility that it has reached the peak of its development und social and political roles and will recede more and more in the face of pressure from the vernacular languages and local linguae franchae in rural areas and from English in urban areas and to continue disintegrating as a language, though such a development is not likely to take place for quite a number of years.

English

The role of English on the Papuan and New Guinean scenes was negligible until after the second world war when as has been mentioned above, it was adopted as the sole medium of instruction in government schools in 1953, with the consequent expansion of the use of English to missionary schools. The United Nations pronouncement against the use of New Guinea Pidgin in the same year, though not affecting the role of New Guinea Pidgin itself, had the result of the Australian administration attaching increasing importance to the role of Englisch in the country. English gradually became the prestige language of the educated elite and of top-level administration and Papua New Guineans increasingly regarded it as the key to the wealth and power of the Secondary education expanded widely and white man. tertiary education became established, with a considerable number of Papua New Guineans acquiring a knowledge of While parents have been very keen for their children to learn and to be educated in English, their enthusiams has been fading as a result of frequent disappointments on the parts of Papua New Guineans who had acquired a good knowledge of English: they soon realized

that the knowledge of the language alone was not the key to the wealth and power of the white man. The over-enthusiastic teaching-in-English policies of the Australian administration in the years before independence had the unfortunate result of producing a group which one might call English speaking proletariat and which consists of young people who had severed their contacts with their traditional culture and the newly developed contact culture mentioned above and who had little else at their disposal but a good knowledge of English for which there is a very limited economic need in Papua New Guinea.

Attitudes have recently developed in which the knowledge of English in itself carries high prestige but its actual use is frowned upon in many situations such as relaxed informal gatherings of a social nature. The number of speakers of English has increased gradually in Papua New Guiney and may now be estimated to be around 200,000, just over 6% of the total population of the country. With the realization on the part of many Papua New Guineans, especially parents, that not so much the knowledge of English is something that matters but the general or specialized knowledge acquired through a mastery of English, its prestige especially in educational persuits has persisted in spite of the bad experiences, employment-wise, of young Papua New Guineans who have acquired a good knowledge of the language. It is likely that the number of speakers of English will increase rapidly in the near future. However, the actual use of the language in many areas in which the local young population has received its education through English, remains very low. In fact, knowledge of English tends to decrease after the young people have finished their education because for many members of the local population, especially in remote areas, a knowledge of English is almost totally irrelevant, and they have little access to contact with English or oppurtunities to use the language, except to each other where English has to compete against the overwhelming pressure of other languages. Access to very cheap new technology developments which would bring English life to their doorsteps might change this situation but it is essentially a question of economic development. The only areas in which the use of English is likely to increase are some of the larger urban centres in which English is likely to take over slowly from Urban Pidgin.

Solomon Islands

With the situation in Papua New Guinea as described above taken as a model, it can be stated that the situation in the Solomon Islands is in essence quite comparable to that met with in Papua New Guinea, though it is simpler. There are just over 60 local languages, 7 most of them Austronesian and seven of them Papuan (with three more extinct Papuan languages formerly spoken in the Solomon Islands). Five missionary linguae franchae, all of them Austronesian, have become established in the Solomon Islands and are still used today as regional linguae franchae extending beyond the missionary activities. The main lingua franca of the Solomon Islands is Solomon Islands Pidgin, an English-based pidgin which is more or less directly derived from the Pacific Pidgin English used in the early part of the nineteenth century in many parts of the Pacific. Many Solomon Islanders were brought as plantation labour to the Queensland sugar cane plantations in the second half of the nineteenth century and upon their repatriation, they brought back with them the enriched plantation pidgin which was the lingua franca on those sugar cane plantations for several decades.

The language continued to expand through the Solomon Islands over the decades and before the independence of the Solomon Islands in 1978, had spread fully through the islands as a general lingua franca mainly used for internative communication and local administration, and for daily persuits. Over 100,000 of the 150,000 Solomon Islanders have some command of it, but only about a thousand or so speak it as their first language.8 As is the case with New Guinea Pidgin, an urban sociolect has developed in the capital Honiara under the influence of English. Its use in broadcasting has led to problems comparable to those encountered in Papua New Guinea. Since independence, Solomon Islands Pidgin has increasingly been regarded as the unofficial national language of the new country and as a spiritual rallying point for Solomon Islanders. It is frequently used as a debate language in the Parliament, and island council meetings and other official gatherings. However, as is the case in Papua New Guinea, the increasing emphasis on local and provincial government in the Solomon Islands is leading to a renewed emphasis on the regional linguae franchae at the expense of Solomon Island Pidgin.

English has played a role in the Solomon Islands which again is comparable to some extent, to that in Papua New Guinea except that the language had been taught for a much longer period than in Papua New Guinea and as a

result, a knowledge of it is rather common and quite advanced in many cases. It has been regarded by Solomon Islanders, as in Papua New Guinea, as the key to the wealth and power of the white man, though many Solomon Islanders are beginning to realize that the knowledge of English is not in itself the key to these coveted goals.

Vanuatu (New Hebrides)

There is some similarity between the language situation in Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides) and that encountered in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, but there are some considerable differences as well. 105 local languages, all of them Austronesian, are located in Vanuatu. Missionary linguae franchae have played a very minor role there, but there is one English based pidgin language, Bislama, which serves as a general lingua franca and is now the national language of Vanuatu since independence in 1980, and is one of its official languages, with English and French being the other two.

Bislama (Bichelamar)

Bislama is an English-based pidgin which like Solomon Islands Pidgin, developed from the nineteenth century Pacific Pidgin English, with strong influence from Queensland sugar cane plantation Pidgin English as well as from the forms of Pidgin English spoken on the plantations on Samoa and Fiji. It became stabilized in the early twentieth century, with quite strong differences between the regional varieties found in different parts of Vanuatu.9 It is more similar to New Guinea Pidgin than to Solomon Islands Pidgin and there is mutual intelligibility between Bislama and the former. Bislama has been serving as the general means of intercommunication between native Vanuatuans and between those of English or French speaking whites, and also between mono-lingual English and French Europeans in Vanuatu. It has also been serving as the general language of administration. About 80,000 of the 100,000 inhabitants of Vanuatu have a command of Bislama, and only a very small number of the speakers speak it as their first language. When the country moved towards independence in 1980, Bislama became the language of political debate and one of the official languages of the Representative Assembly. After independence it was adopted, as has been mentioned above, as the national language of Vanuatu and as one of the official languages of the country in addition to English and French.

Most Vanuatuans look upon it as the symbol of their national identity. 10

English and French

With the New Hebrides proclaimed as an Anglo-French condominium in 1906, both the English and the French were fostering their language and culture in the area. As a result of educational efforts in the two languages over many years, about half the younger population have acquired a knowledge of English, and about half one of French. Most families arrange for half their children to be educated in English and the other half in French so that the family can partake in both cultures. ¹¹ While very many Vanuatuans have a knowledge of one or the other language, their proficiency in these languages is usually not very great.

Other countries

A few words may be said in conclusion about aspects of social and political roles of languages in countries adjacent to the three dealt with above in some detail.

In New Caledonia, a variety of the nineteenth century Pacific Pidgin English became the lingua franca and contact vernacular, but after the establishment of French rule in 1853, a pidginized French developed alongside the Pacific Pidgin English first around Noumea. This Pidgin French developed from the gradual relaxification of Pacific Pidgin English with French vocabulary items, with its vocabulary constituting a mixture of elements from English, French and local languages. With the advance of colonization, this Pidgin French language spread out from the capital and was holding sway for quite a long time, with the Pidgin English receding and falling into disuse. Pidgin French is now virtually extinct.

One of the local languages had been adopted as a missionary lingua franca with some regional currency. With the latest political developments, more attention is being paid by the government to the local languages, though none of

them are used in any official capacity.

Irian Jaya which was formerly Dutch New Guinea presents a complex picture of local languages which is comparable to that of Papua New Guinea except that with its very much smaller local population and the presence of several numerically comparatively large languages, the total number of vernacular languages is under 200. 12 The general lingua franca of Dutch New Guinea was Bazaar (Pasar) Malay

which was quite wide-spread, especially in coastal areas and was the same language, in a regional variety, as that used throughout much of the then Dutch East Indies, i.e. a pid-ginized form of Malay which had existed as a trade language for centuries in the area. Missionary linguae franchae never played a significant role in Dutch New Guinea, but at least one major pre-contact local lingua franca existed in the north-west of the area. It has extended its currency very much in post-contact years and up to the present. Two local linguae franchae also exist in the Halmahera area as does one on the island of Timor. Since the Indonesian take-over of former Dutch New Guinea and the establishment of Irian Jaya, standard Indonesian has been replacing Bazaar

Malay as the general lingua franca.

Other countries of the Pacific also show interesting and sometimes quite complex language situations, with various languages playing different social roles though their political significance if any, is very limited. In Australia for instance, an Australian Pidgin English developed from the early days of European settlement, as a language of communication between Europeans and Australian Aborigines. Its use has very greatly declined in recent years though it is still spoken in some remote areas, especially in the north, but a number of varieties of it and of Australian Aboriginal English have become stabilized and creolized, i.e. have become the first language of their speakers, in quite a few areas in Australia. Along with some major Australian Aboriginal local languages and linguae franchae, they have received increasing governmental attention in connection with bi-lingual education of Australian Aborigines to which the government is devoting some interest. In aboriginal areas, a few missionary linguae franchae and also non-missionary linguae franchae exist, but most of them are spoken by numerically insignificant numbers of people running from a few hundred to the low thousands.

In recent years, considerable official attention has been focussing on the numerous languages of immigrants in Australia and the concept of multi-culturalism and ethnic multiplicity in Australia is actively fostered by the present government of Australia. Radio and television programmes in a large number of languages are broadcast, official information to the population at medical centres, airports and in many other spheres of activities are given in a great variety of migrant languages, multi-lingual telephone information services have been established in the cities, and some education of migrant children in unofficial migrant language schools is tolerated as additional education to that in English in official schools. Newspapers and magazines are pub-

lished in migrant languages, and mono-lingual English speaking Australians have displayed an increasing tolerance towards the use of migrant languages in public. None of the migrant languages have yet achieved official status, but unofficially, some of them are used in administrative and public pursuits in some areas which have a very high density of speakers of a particular migrant language.

In New Zealand, the Polynesian language of the original local Maori people has received semi-official recognition for use in areas and centres specifically set aside for the Maori population, though its actual use has been receding before English and relatively very few Maoris have a full command

of it today.

In Fiji the official language is English and both Hindi and Fijian are used as local languages by the local population for their own local pursuits. At the same time, both a pidginized form of Hindi and a pidginized form of Fijian are used by perhaps 50,000 speakers each for inter-communication between Indians and Fijians, predominantly in commercial life. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, another older pidginized form of Fijian was used on the sugar cane plantations in Fiji by labour from the Solomon Islands and around the turn of the century, spread as a lingua franca through the south-eastern Solomons and even further west. It is now virtually extinct.

In French Polynesia, the Tahitian language has become a lingua franca through much of the area adjacent to the Society Islands in the south and east, and has been gradually replacing the Tubuai language of the Austral Islands and the Pa'umotu language in the Tuamotu archipelago. It has been used to a rather limited extent in broadcasting, though this is now increasing, but only recently became used in the written media such as newspapers. Its status in the eyes of the French administration has been increasing recently in view of political pressure from Tahitian nationalists. Tahitian has about 100,000 native speakers today, and about 15,000 have a knowledge of it as a second language.

A pidginized form of Tahitian is used mainly for intercommunication between Chinese and Tahitians. It has about

5,000 speakers.

Concluding Remarks

The Pacific area is a rich ground for the study of the social and political roles of many different languages, and types of languages, in interaction. Only a few examples could be touched upon in this limited space, but it is hoped

that they have given some illustration of the fascinating socio-linguistic world in the Pacific area.

Summary

The Pacific Area, including insular and continental Southeast Asia, the Philippines and Taiwan, is the linguistically most complex part of the world. It contains around 2,000 languages with many thousands of dialects. In this complex situation, the varied social roles and functions and the political significance of many of the languages present a very intricate picture, especially in the New Guinea area which contains over 1,100 languages. Wider intercommunication there has been through wide-spread bi- and multi-lingualism, local linguae franchae and a few general linguae franchae, of which in Papua New Guinea for instance there is one which is native-based and another, more general, an English-based expanded pidgin, which has over the years been elevated to high social roles. English plays a special role as an elite language, but its further spread as a general language outside urban areas is unlikely. The situation in the Solomon Islands is similar but somewhat different in Vanuatu through the elevation of the English-based general lingua franca there to the status of the national language. with it and Englisch and French as official languages. Of the other countries mentioned, Australia is of special interest, because in recent years there has been an official policy towards multi-culturalism with consequent encouragement of the use of the many languages spoken by recent immigrants, and of the surviving major aboriginal lanquages.

Notes

The immensely complicated language picture of the Pacific area proper and the regions adjacent to it in the west as referred to above has been described in great detail in the recently published Language Atlas of the Pacific Area under the editorship of the present writer and Shirô Hattori of the Japan Academy. This major language atlas presents the intricate language picture of the area in 47 main multi-coloured maps, a few additional multi-coloured sheets and extensive text materials and is concerned with the distribution, grouping and classification of the languages and dialects as well as the presentation of demographic data relating to the numbers of speakers

of individual languages and dialects, the presentation of bibliographical information and other general information of interest to the reader. Introductory texts to individual areal sections of the atlas give some information on the social and political relevance and role of some of the languages shown, and two maps are devoted to the presentation and textual discussion of the quite numerous pidgin and creole languages of the Greater Pacific Area covered by the atlas, and brief indications of the social and political role and functions of such languages in the past and present. It may be mentioned in passing that a Language Atlas of China along similar lines as the Language Atlas of the Pacific Area is now in preparation, as is an atlas of the pidgin and creole languages of the Greater Pacific Area, with the present writer acting as one of the co-editors of both these atlases.

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