



A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Wagi [fad] Language

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Abstract

The SIL-PNG survey team, along with Guillermo Muñoz, undertook a sociolinguistic survey of the Wagi [fad] language area in Madang Province, Papua New Guinea from 4–9 March 2009. The goals of this survey were to evaluate current language vitality, confirm language and dialect boundaries, and evaluate the level of potential community support for a language-development project. These goals were accomplished by conducting individual and group interviews with Wagi speakers, eliciting wordlists in the Wagi language, and observing language use within Wagi communities. Results indicate that the vitality of the Wagi language has been decreasing and is likely to continue to decrease in the coming years. There are two dialects within the Wagi language area, but there is a high degree of lexical similarity and good comprehension between speakers of the two dialects. The Wagi people appear to have the leadership structure and motivation necessary to support a language-development project.

1. Introduction

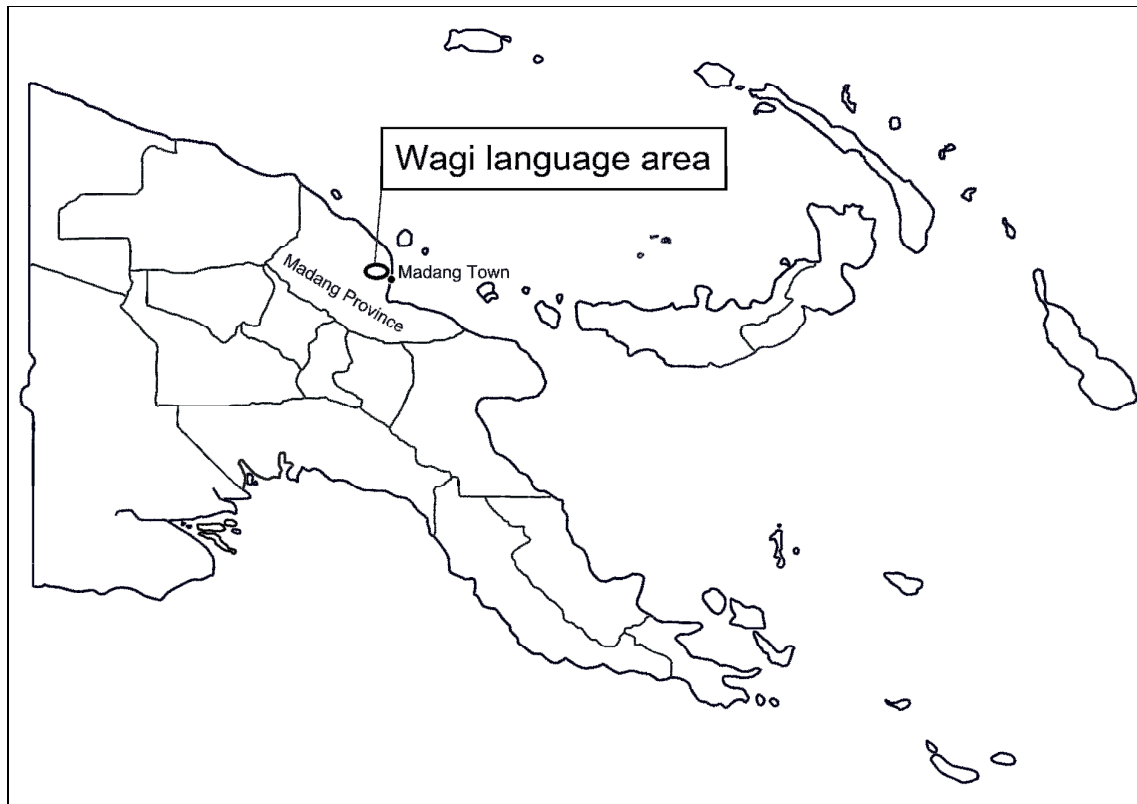
In 1988, a member of Pioneer Bible Translators began language-development work in the Wagi language area. Three years later, however, he left Papua New Guinea, due to family illness, therefore, language-development work was discontinued. Recently, members of the Wagi community expressed a desire to continue language development in their area and requested assistance from SIL.

In March 2009, in response to this request, the SIL survey team undertook a sociolinguistic survey of the Wagi language area in order to research the current language situation. The survey team wishes to express their deep appreciation for the assistance and hospitality of the Wagi people, otherwise, this survey would not have been possible.

2. General information

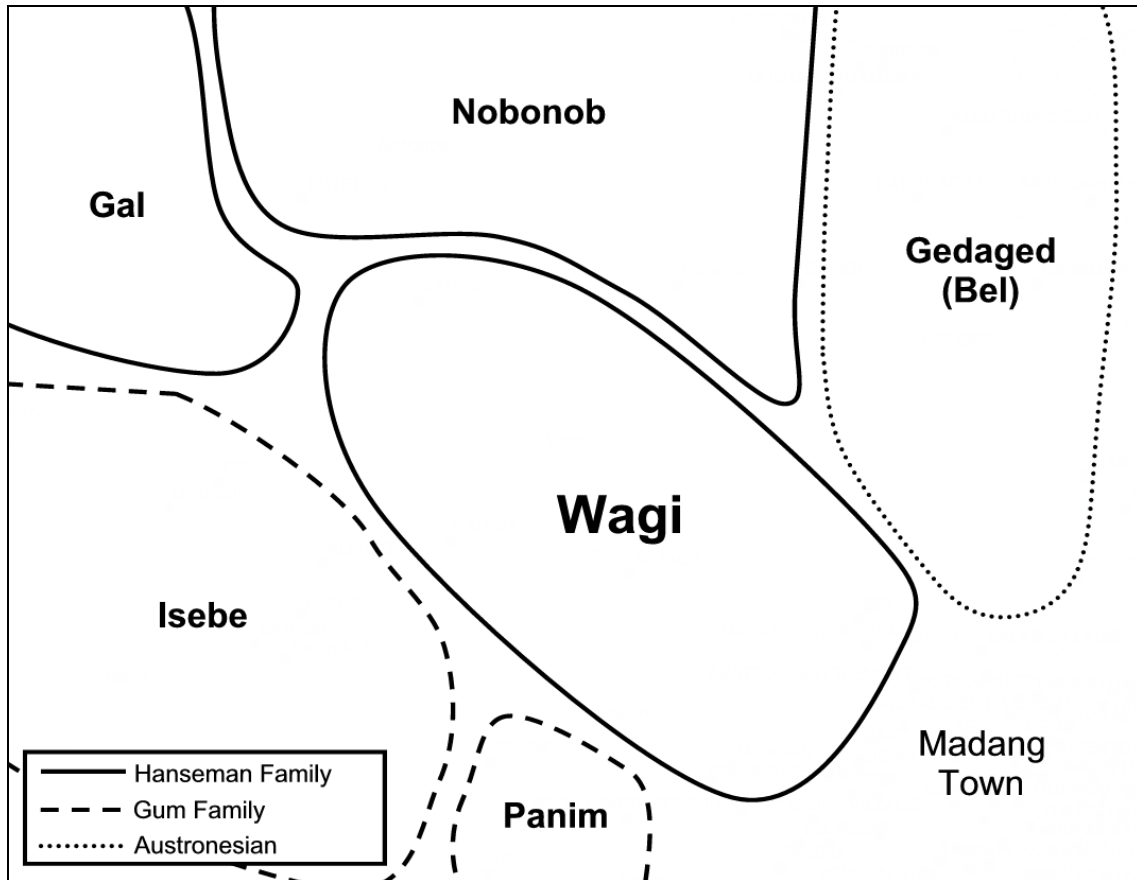
2.1 Language location

The Wagi language is spoken in five villages (Kamba, Kauris, Silibob, Mis, and Foran), occupying approximately 40 square kilometres of Madang Province in Papua New Guinea. Map 1 shows the location of the Wagi language area in Papua New Guinea; map 2 shows the Wagi language area and neighboring languages.



Map 1. Wagi language area in Madang Province, Papua New Guinea.

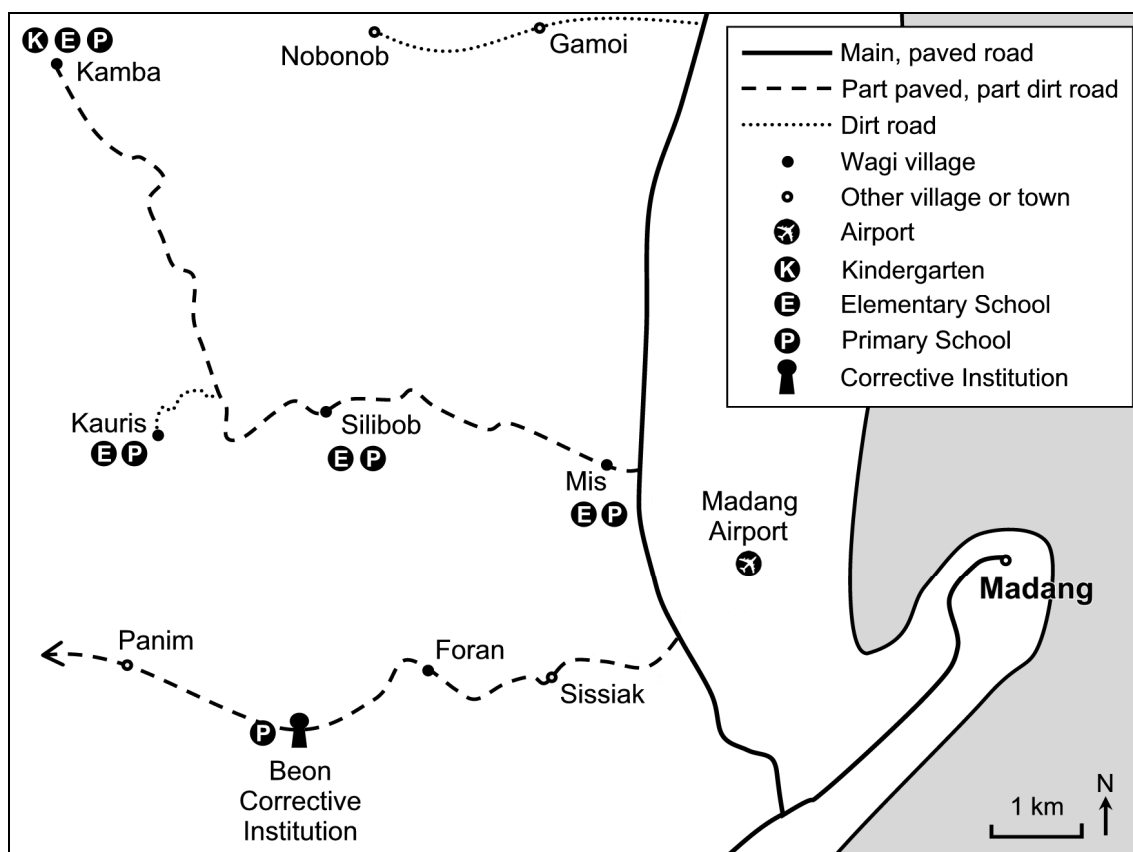
Map 2 shows languages that border the Wagi language area: Nobonob on the north, Gedaged on the northeast, and Panim, Isebe, and Gal on the west. Nobonob and Gal, like Wagi, are in the Hanseman family.¹ Isebe and Panim are part of the Gum family; Gum and Hanseman are both members of the Mabuso group. Gedaged is an Austronesian language not related to Wagi.



Map 2. Wagi and neighboring villages.

Four of the Wagi villages lie along one road, which runs west from the North Coast Road, just north of Madang town. A few kilometres to the south of this road, another road extends west from the North Coast Road; Foran, the fifth Wagi village, is located on this road. Map 3 shows the locations of villages, roads, schools, and other institutions in the Wagi language area.

¹ See section 2.3 for more information on the classification of Wagi.



Map 3. Villages, roads, and schools² in the Wagi language area.

2.2 Previous research

2.2.1 Royer et al.

In 1988, nine people conducted a sociolinguistic survey of the Wagi language area (Royer et al. 1988). At that time, Wagi people reported that Wagi was the primary language used by people of all ages, although young people also used Nobonob and Tok Pisin, and children used Tok Pisin, as well as Wagi. Within the church, preaching and prayer were reportedly done in both Wagi and Tok Pisin, singing in Nobonob and Tok Pisin, and Scripture reading in Tok Pisin.

Language use observations confirmed those reports. The surveyors observed people speaking Wagi in most situations, although, sometimes, they observed children speaking Tok Pisin. They also observed people from Nobonob speaking Nobonob to Wagi people. The Wagi people replied in Wagi; in this way, they were able to communicate through passive bilingualism.

At the time of the 1988 survey, Wagi people highly esteemed the Wagi language, but wanted to know Tok Pisin and English, as well, since they saw those languages as a way to connect with the wider world. Wagi was seen as the language that communicated ideas most clearly, therefore, it was considered to be the best language for singing, telling traditional stories, and discussing everyday events or spiritual matters. Tok Pisin and English, however, were preferred for reading or for discussing events occurring outside the language area.

² The locations of Wagi villages and roads are based on GPS points marked by the survey team during the survey. Other village locations are taken from the PNG 2000 Census data (National Statistical Office. 2002a). The locations of schools on this map are intended to represent the presence of a school within a particular village community, rather than the precise location of the school; the one exception to this is Beon Primary School in Foran, which is shown in its actual location west of Beon Corrective Institution.

2.2.2 Gibson and Gibson

Seven years later, in 1995, David and Kerry Gibson (Gibson and Gibson. 1995) observed language use in Kamba village. According to their observations, Wagi people in Kamba used Wagi in all situations, except in church or when talking to people who did not speak Wagi. Wagi people in Kamba reported that, although children in Mis and Silibob learned Tok Pisin first, children in Kamba learned Wagi first. The Gibsons observed parents in Kamba using Wagi to teach toddlers Tok Pisin words.

The Gibsons attended Lutheran, Four Square, and Seventh-day Adventist church services in Kamba. In all three denominations, they observed that Tok Pisin was used for most of the service, including the sermon.

2.2.3 Materials published in Wagi

Trial copies of the Biblical books of Ruth, Jonah, and Luke in Wagi were printed and distributed in late 2008. Another Wagi booklet, containing portions of Luke, was also printed and distributed around the same time.

2.3 Language name and classification

According to the Ethnologue (Lewis. 2009), the linguistic affiliation of Wagi [fad] is: Trans-New Guinea, Madang, Croisilles, and Hanseman. Alternate names for Wagi are Foran, Furan, Kamba, and Mis-Kemba.

Nobonob [gaw] is probably the most closely-related language to Wagi. Ari, a dialect of Nobonob, shares 30 percent lexical similarity with Wagi (Lewis. 2009).

The languages listed in the Hanseman family are: Bagupi [bpi], Baimak [bmx], Gal [gap], Garus [gyb], Matepi [mge], Mawan [mcz], Mosimo [mgv], Murupi [mgw], Nake [nbk], Nobonob [gaw], Raping [rpt], Rempi [rmp], Samosa [swm], Saruga [sra], Silopi [xsp], Utu [utu], Wagi [fad], Wamas [wmc], and Yoidik [ydk].

2.4 Population

The population of the Wagi area³ was 3,380 in 2000, according to the 2000 PNG National Census (National Statistical Office. 2002a). The average annual growth rate for Madang Province between 1980 and 2000 was 2.7 percent (National Statistical Office. 2002b:25). Applying this growth rate to the population in 2000 yields an estimated population of 4,294 in 2009.

Table 1 shows the census population for each village in 2000, the extrapolated population for 2009, and the population reported by Wagi speakers.

Table 1. Wagi population

District	LLG	Ward	Village	2000 census population	2009 extrapolated population	Reported population
Madang	02 Ambenob rural LLG	2	Foran & Sissiak	409	519	300 ⁴
		4	Kamba	801	1,018	1,000
			Kauris	364	462	300
			Mis	1,359	1,727	1,200–1,500
			Silibob	447	568	600
Total				3,380	4,294	3,400–3,700

³ This includes Foran, Sissiak (not a Wagi village), Kamba, Kauris, Mis, and Silibob.

⁴ The reported population figure refers only to Foran; in addition, there are reportedly 200 settlers from other areas living in Foran.

Foran and Sissiak were grouped together in the 2000 national census; there is no census information available regarding the individual populations of Foran or Sissiak, however, Foran is considered a Wagi village, while Sissiak is a settlement community inhabited by speakers of many languages. In table 1, the 2000 and 2009 population figures refer to both Foran and Sissiak, while the reported figure of 300 refers only to the Wagi population of Foran. There are reportedly an additional 200 settlers from other areas living in Foran. People in Mis reported that Mis is a settlement community, so there are many people in Mis who are not ethnically or linguistically Wagi; therefore, the reported population figures for Foran and Mis are probably more accurate than the 2009 extrapolations based on the census. The reported population of Kauris is a bit lower than the 2009 extrapolated population but, in Kamba and Silibob, the reported and 2009 extrapolated populations are nearly the same. The total population of Wagi speakers in 2009 is, therefore, estimated to be between 3,400⁵ and 3,900.⁶

2.5 Goals

The goals of the survey were as follows:

- to investigate language vitality,
- to confirm language and dialect boundaries, and
- to evaluate the level of potential community support for a language-development project.

2.5.1 Determine language vitality

Based on the survey done in 1988 (Royer, et al. 1988), the Wagi language appears to have been vital at that time, although a shift to Tok Pisin had already begun and could be seen even more clearly by 1995 (Gibson and Gibson. 1995). A goal of this survey was to evaluate the current vitality of the Wagi language and determine whether the language is likely to remain vital in the coming years.

2.5.2 Confirm language and dialect boundaries

Previous research and recent reports from Wagi speakers suggest that the Wagi language area includes the five villages of Kamba, Kauris, Silibob, Mis, and Foran. Reports have also indicated that the villages of Kamba, Kauris, and Silibob comprise one dialect, while Mis and Foran comprise another. A goal of this survey was to investigate these reports and confirm actual language and dialect boundaries for the Wagi language area.

2.5.3 Investigate project possibilities

Before beginning a language-development project, it is important to evaluate the level of support the language community would be able to provide. This survey evaluated potential community support for a language-development project in the Wagi language area.

⁵ Using the lowest reported population figure for Mis and the reported population figure for Kauris.

⁶ Using the highest reported population figure for Mis and rounding up the 2009 extrapolated population figure for Kauris.

3. Methodology

3.1 Tools

Language vitality was evaluated by conducting group and individual interviews, testing children's comprehension of Wagi, and observing language use within Wagi communities. Language and dialect boundaries were determined based on lexicostatistic data, as well as reported data regarding comprehension and perceived dialect differences. Information relating to project type possibilities was gained primarily through observation and reported data.

Group interviews regarding language use were conducted in each of the five Wagi villages. These interviews were guided by the standard SIL-PNG Language Use Questionnaire. When possible, the interviewer made an effort to gain the opinions of both males and females from varying age categories: young, middle-aged, and older. Information collected during these interviews addressed both language vitality and language and dialect boundaries.

Small group interviews regarding immigration were completed in every village; interviews about cultural practices were done in some villages.⁷ These interviews were also guided by standard SIL-PNG questionnaires, with the goal of assessing language vitality.

Individual interviews with school workers and church leaders, guided by standard SIL-PNG questionnaires, yielded information regarding language use and attitudes within schools and churches. This information contributed to the goal of assessing language vitality.

In order to investigate language vitality, recordings were made of adults telling stories in the Wagi language. These recordings were played for children in each village, then the children were asked to retell the stories in Tok Pisin in order to test their comprehension of Wagi. Later, the recordings were analyzed to determine the degree to which adults mix Tok Pisin with Wagi.

In every village, members of the survey team observed which languages were being used, by whom and to whom, and then they recorded these observations. Language use observations gave valuable insights into language vitality.

In each village, the same member of the survey team elicited 170 Wagi words and 20 phrases, using the standard SIL-PNG 190-item list.⁸ These lists were compared,⁹ based on lexicostatistic similarity, with the goal of identifying language and dialect boundaries.

3.2 Sampling

Because there are only five villages in the Wagi language area, the survey team spent one day in each village. For group interviews, respondents were chosen based on their availability. Everyone who was in the village at the time was invited to participate, in an effort to gain the opinions of all demographic groups. For individual interviews, respondents were chosen based on their position in the school or church. Headmasters and pastors were interviewed when possible, or, if they were not available, someone else in a position of leadership was chosen. Spokespeople for the wordlists were chosen by the community, but were required to have been born and raised in the village under consideration. Data collection was completed by Bonnie MacKenzie, Guillermo Muñoz, Juliann Spencer, and Sara Van Cott.

⁷ See appendix A for a complete list of villages visited and data collected in each village.

⁸ 1999 revision.

⁹ The 20 phrases were excluded from the comparison.

3.3 Critique

In the villages of Foran, Mis, and Silibob, the survey team spent all of their time in hamlets directly on the road. In Kauris, the team drove about one kilometre off the main road to reach the hamlet where they stayed. In Kamba, although the majority of the data¹⁰ was collected in a hamlet on the main road, the hamlet where the survey team spent the night and observed some language use was inaccessible by car; to reach it, they drove off the main road for about five minutes and then hiked for fifteen minutes more. The fact that some of the data in this report comes from more remote locations within Kamba and Kauris and less remote locations within Silibob, Mis, and Foran should be taken into account.

One underlying problem with the group language use questionnaires is the fact that interviewees were aware that the survey team represented SIL and that SIL encourages the use of the vernacular. It is possible that interviewees reported what they thought the surveyors wanted to hear, thus reporting a greater use of vernacular than is, in fact, the case. This appeared to be an issue, particularly in Mis¹¹.

During the contact patterns questionnaire, the interviewer asked people to list all of the immigrants married to Wagi spouses, along with their children, and asked what languages were spoken by those immigrants and their children. This proved to be extremely time consuming and fatiguing for both the interviewees and the interviewer. Furthermore, the survey team was not able to use that information to identify what percentage of children living in the village were born to immigrants, since they were not confident that people were able to list all of the immigrants in the village.

Regarding the wordlist elicitation, it is possible that, in some instances, different synonyms may have been elicited in different villages. The surveyor tried to avoid this by asking for multiple synonyms when it seemed that a different form of the word was being given, but the possible elicitation of inconsistent synonyms may have affected the results of the lexicostatistic comparison. Also, the spokesman in Foran was born to a mother from Mis. Since he was born and raised in Foran, it is likely that the variety elicited from him is, in fact, the Foran variety, but this irregularity should be noted.

When using recorded stories to test children's comprehension of Wagi, one significant difficulty was the fact that children were usually very shy when the survey team was present. When asked to retell the story in Tok Pisin, children were often reluctant to answer and it was difficult to tell whether they did not understand the story or whether they simply did not want to speak in front of the survey team. In two instances, before the storytelling, the surveyor spent more time with the children who were to be the audience. In those instances, the children were animated, responsive, and relaxed, and it seemed much easier to assess their comprehension of the story. In the future, it would be preferable to spend time with the children beforehand, allowing them to relax and to be less self-conscious and less aware of the surveyor.

The survey team recorded eight stories in the Wagi language. Since seven stories were told by men and only one was told by a woman, no comparison could be made between the amount of Tok Pisin used by men and women in these stories.

¹⁰ In the hamlet on the main road, group interviews were conducted, a wordlist was elicited, a pastor was interviewed, and stories were recorded and played to test children's comprehension of Wagi. A culture interview was done in a smaller hamlet farther from the main road. Education interviews and language use observations were done in both places.

¹¹ An example is given in section 4.1.1.

Another variable that was not analyzed is the fact that some storytellers were more engaging than others. Differences in style between the storytellers probably had an impact on children's comprehension and responses.

There was no objective method for evaluating children's responses to the stories. After each story, children were simply asked to retell the story in Tok Pisin. For future surveys, a form should be produced that would be filled out by the surveyor during the recording and retelling process. This form should include guidelines for an objective evaluation of the children's comprehension, such as a list of the salient points in the story, as well as information such as village, date, name, gender, and age of the storyteller and the composition of the audience (ages, gender distribution, and first languages). There should also be room for comments from the surveyor about audience participation during the story. Finally, the form should have room for a back translation of the story, as well as a short summary of the content of the story by the surveyor.

In addition, only children who were currently in the village were included in the study. Children who were outside the village at the time of the survey were not tested, which may have skewed the results, since children who have spent time outside the village are likely to use less Wagi than those who have remained in the village.

4. Language vitality

The data presented in the following three sections was collected to address the goal of assessing language vitality.

4.1 Language use

4.1.1 Children's reported language use

Based on reports about children's language use, the vitality of the Wagi language appears to be quite high in Kamba, intermediate in Kauris and Silibob, and relatively low in Mis and Foran. It was reported that children are able to speak Wagi in most Wagi villages, but that they primarily speak Tok Pisin. However, there are two notable exceptions to this report; in Foran, it was reported that children cannot speak Wagi and can only understand a few Wagi words, while children in Kamba were reported to use Wagi more often than they use Tok Pisin. Also, in every village, people consistently said that children of mixed marriages speak less Wagi than those with two Wagi parents do.

Children in Kamba primarily use Wagi when speaking to their parents and grandparents; they use both Wagi and Tok Pisin with siblings and friends. It was also reported that children learn Wagi first and speak it well by the time they go to school, although not as well as their parents. Parents in Kamba reported that they speak mostly Wagi to their children.

It was reported that children learn Wagi first in Kauris, unless one of their parents has married in from elsewhere, but that they cannot speak it well until they are about 18. However, although children use some Wagi with their parents and grandparents, they primarily use Tok Pisin. Parents reported that they speak both Wagi and Tok Pisin to their children.

People reported that most children learn Tok Pisin first in Silibob, although a few learn Wagi first. Children in Silibob primarily use Tok Pisin, although they also use some Wagi with their parents, grandparents, and siblings. Parents reported that they speak both Wagi and Tok Pisin to their children.

It was reported that children learn Wagi first in Mis, but that they cannot speak it well by the time they go to school; they usually speak Tok Pisin. Parents in Mis reported that they speak both Wagi and Tok Pisin to their children. However, during the language use interview, after many people had reported using Wagi, an older man said, in a loud and passionate voice, that Tok Pisin was the main language used in Mis, that it was being used more than Wagi, and that people should not say that Wagi was the main language because that was not true.¹² Most people in the group seemed to agree with him.

Children in Foran can reportedly understand only a few words of Wagi. They learn Tok Pisin first and use Tok Pisin most of the time. Parents in Foran usually use Tok Pisin when speaking to their children.

People in all five villages expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of Tok Pisin children speak. In Kamba, people said that they are unhappy that their children speak both Wagi and Tok Pisin, because they want them to speak only Wagi, although they listed Tok Pisin as a language they want their children to learn. In the other four villages, people seem unhappy

¹² "Tok Pisin i go pas long wanem Tok Pisin em bikpela samting bilong dispela ples, daunem Wagi. No ken tok 'Wagi em bikpela,' bull shit."

that their children are speaking Tok Pisin at the expense of Wagi. People in Mis, Kauris, Foran, and Silibob said they think Tok Pisin is spoken too much, that it's not good to mix Tok Pisin and Wagi, that they are angry when their children speak a lot of Tok Pisin and that they should have taught their children more Wagi.

In summary, reported data indicates that, with the exception of those in Foran, all children are able to speak Wagi,¹³ but most do not speak it as their primary language. Only children in Kamba are reported to actually speak Wagi most of the time. Children in Kauris and Silibob speak mostly Tok Pisin, with some Wagi, while children in Mis and Foran speak almost entirely Tok Pisin. People in every village want their children to speak more Wagi than they currently do and consider intermarriage to be a significant reason that children speak so much Tok Pisin. Based on reports regarding children's language use, the vitality of the Wagi language appears to be quite high, although waning in Kamba, intermediate in Kauris and Silibob, and low in Foran and Mis.

4.1.2 Children's observed language use

In general, observation of children's language use is consistent with reported data. Children in Kamba speak mostly Wagi,¹⁴ those in Kauris¹⁵ speak both Wagi and Tok Pisin, those in Silibob¹⁶ speak mostly Tok Pisin with some Wagi, and those in Mis¹⁷ and Foran¹⁸ speak Tok Pisin almost entirely.

Observation of adults speaking to children are limited, however, the observations that were made indicate that adults use both Wagi and Tok Pisin when speaking to children. Table 2 shows the observation of adults addressing children in each village.

Table 2. Observation of adults speaking to children

	Kamba	Kauris	Silibob	Mis	Foran
Wagi	17	8	5	1	1
Tok Pisin	3	8	3	6	1

Observation of children responding to adults are extremely limited, therefore, inconclusive. However, while these observations are too few to be definitive, they do align with other reported and observed data. Children in Kamba¹⁹ and Kauris²⁰ use more Wagi, while children in Silibob,²¹ Mis,²² and Foran²³ use the least.

Observations of children speaking to other children are also limited, but they confirm the pattern mentioned in the previous paragraph. Children in Kamba use mostly Wagi, children in Kauris use both Wagi and Tok Pisin, children in Silibob use mostly Tok Pisin, and children in Mis and Foran use Tok Pisin almost entirely. These observations are shown in detail in table 3.

¹³ Unless one of their parents is married in from outside the Wagi language area.

¹⁴ Out of 19 observed speech acts, 14 were in Wagi and five were in Tok Pisin.

¹⁵ Out of 29 observed speech acts, 14 were in Wagi and 15 were in Tok Pisin.

¹⁶ Out of seven observed speech acts, two were in Wagi and five were in Tok Pisin.

¹⁷ Out of 17 observed speech acts, two were in Wagi and 15 were in Tok Pisin.

¹⁸ All four observed speech acts were in Tok Pisin.

¹⁹ Out of five observed speech acts, all were in Wagi.

²⁰ Out of ten observed speech acts, four were in Wagi.

²¹ One of one observed speech act was in Tok Pisin.

²² Two of two observed speech acts were in Tok Pisin.

²³ One of one observed speech act was in Tok Pisin.

Table 3. Observation of children speaking to each other

	Kamba	Kauris	Silibob	Mis	Foran
Wagi	8	8	2	1	0
Tok Pisin	3	8	4	7 ²⁴	2

The survey team also visited a school in Kauris village and observed children’s language use during recess; for approximately ten minutes, all observed interactions were in Tok Pisin, with the exception of two sentences spoken in Wagi.

4.1.3 Children’s comprehension of Wagi

Some children in every Wagi village seem to be able to understand Wagi well, which is a positive factor when considering the vitality of the Wagi language.

To test children’s comprehension of Wagi in each village, one member of the survey team recorded an adult telling a story in Wagi to a group of children. The story was then replayed and the children present were asked to retell the story in Tok Pisin. The surveyor recorded one story in Foran, one in Mis, and two each in Silibob, Kauris, and Kamba, for a total of eight stories. The storytellers ranged in age from about 35 to about 60 years old. Seven of them were men, one was a woman. The children listening ranged in age from five to 15. On average, there were approximately 20 children in each audience, although audiences ranged from seven to 30 children.

In most villages, children were very shy and often reluctant to speak in front of the survey team; however, in every village, a few Wagi children eventually gave a detailed retelling of the story in Tok Pisin. Since there was no consistent or objective method for measuring comprehension, this data is quite subjective; at least some children in every village appear to be able to understand Wagi.

Children in every village used Tok Pisin to retell the story to the surveyor. In Kamba, however, the storyteller was very engaging and frequently paused to ask the children questions as he told the story. Most of the children’s responses were in Wagi; they sometimes made comments to each other in Wagi. Similarly, in Mis, children occasionally responded in Wagi to the storyteller or to each other; one child was observed correcting another child in Wagi.

It should be noted that, in four of the five villages,²⁵ it was reported that some of the children in the audience were not Wagi or had mothers who were not Wagi, therefore, would not be able to understand or retell the story. See section 4.1.10.1 for further comments on this issue.

Although the data gained through this method is limited, it seems to indicate that at least some children in every Wagi village understand Wagi well enough to comprehend a simple narrative. It also indicates that at least some children in Kamba and Mis are capable of responding in Wagi. Children’s ability to understand Wagi and respond in Wagi is a positive factor, when considering the vitality of the Wagi language.

²⁴ In addition to the observations listed in table 3, children in Mis were observed playing for five minutes; during that interval, all of their observed interactions were in Tok Pisin.

²⁵ Kamba, Kauris, Mis, and Foran.

4.1.4 Adults' reported language use

Reported data regarding adults' language use indicates the possible beginning of a diachronic shift from Wagi to Tok Pisin. With the exception of Foran,²⁶ reported data indicates that young women speak mostly Tok Pisin, young men speak both Wagi and Tok Pisin, and middle-aged and older adults usually speak Wagi, unless they are addressing children.

Young adults in Kamba reportedly use both Wagi and Tok Pisin, middle-aged adults primarily use Wagi, and older adults almost entirely use Wagi.

It was reported that young men in Kauris primarily use Wagi, while young women primarily use Tok Pisin. Middle-aged adults primarily use Wagi with parents and siblings, and both Wagi and Tok Pisin with children. Middle-aged men said that they speak Wagi to their wives (both Wagi and Tok Pisin, if the wife is from another language area), while middle-aged women said they speak mostly Tok Pisin to their husbands. Older adults reported using entirely Wagi with their siblings and spouses, and both Wagi and Tok Pisin with children.

Young men in Silibob reportedly use both Wagi and Tok Pisin with their parents and siblings, while young women only use Tok Pisin. Middle-aged men use both Wagi and Tok Pisin with everyone, while middle-aged women only use Wagi with their parents, siblings and husbands, and primarily Wagi with children.

It was reported that young men in Mis use both Wagi and Tok Pisin with everyone, while young women primarily use Tok Pisin. Middle-aged adults primarily use Wagi with their parents and siblings, although middle-aged women said that they mix Tok Pisin in when speaking with their siblings. When speaking with their spouses and children, middle-aged adults use both Wagi and Tok Pisin. Older adults primarily use Wagi with their siblings and spouses and both Wagi and Tok Pisin with children. Regarding children, however, they said, "We say it in Wagi and, if they do not understand, we use Tok Pisin." When asked if this happens often, they said that it does.

Young adults in Foran reportedly can understand only a few words of Wagi, but primarily use Tok Pisin.²⁷ Middle-aged adults can understand some Wagi, but primarily use Tok Pisin. Older adults usually use Wagi with their siblings and Tok Pisin with children. It was reported that, while older men primarily use Tok Pisin with their wives (and Wagi when they want to keep something secret from children), older women primarily use Wagi with their husbands.

In summary, middle-aged and older adults usually use Wagi, unless they are speaking to children, and young adults use both Wagi and Tok Pisin. The fact that young adults use more Tok Pisin than older adults, combined with the fact that adults are reportedly more likely to use Tok Pisin when they are addressing children, suggests that the current generation of middle-aged adults may be the beginning of a general shift from Wagi to Tok Pisin.

4.1.5 Adults' observed language use

With the exception of young women in Foran and Kauris, adults were observed speaking Wagi more often than they were observed speaking Tok Pisin. This was true in every village and across all age groups, as shown in table 4.

²⁶ It was reported that young and middle-aged people in Foran primarily speak Tok Pisin and older people speak both Wagi and Tok Pisin.

²⁷ For example, one man reported that, when he used Wagi to tell his 23-year-old son to ask his brother to turn on the light in the church, his son didn't understand him.

Table 4. Number of observed speech acts in each language²⁸

	Young men	Young women	Middle-aged men	Middle-aged women	Older men	Older women	Total
Wagi	11	13	64	29	6	7	130
Tok Pisin	5	6	7	8	1	3	30

Although adults were observed speaking Wagi more often than Tok Pisin, both men and women of all ages are able to speak and understand Tok Pisin.

4.1.6 Domains of language use

Both Wagi and Tok Pisin are used in every domain throughout the Wagi language area.²⁹ However, reports indicate that Tok Pisin is often used more than Wagi in the domains of prayer, sports, and village court, which are introduced social events. Also, although only Wagi is used for arranging wedding and funeral feasts in Kamba, Tok Pisin is reportedly used along with Wagi for arranging feasts in Kauris, Silibob, and Mis, while only Tok Pisin is used for these events in Foran. This may be due to the high rate of intermarriage, but Landweer (2009, personal communication) has pointed out that, in a stable language environment, the vernacular is typically used for traditional events, such as weddings and funerals. When a second language encroaches on these domains, as is the case in Wagi, language vitality may be at risk.

Tok Pisin is reported to be the primary language used for arguing at home in Foran and Mis; people in Silibob reported that both Wagi and Tok Pisin are used during arguments. Similarly, people in Foran reported Tok Pisin to be the primary language used for teaching their children, while people in Mis, Silibob, and Kauris reported using both Tok Pisin and Wagi when teaching their children. These reports indicate that, in these villages, Tok Pisin has entered the domain of home and family, at least for the communication events of argumentation and instruction.

Tok Pisin is used in every domain, including the home domain and the domain of traditional events, such as weddings and funerals. Use of a secondary language in these domains may indicate a shifting allegiance from the vernacular to the secondary language and is, therefore, a decreased relative vitality for the Wagi language.

4.1.7 Language use in schools

Although Wagi is used in some schools, particularly in Kamba Kindergarten School, Tok Pisin and English are the primary languages of education in the Wagi area. They are both extensively used in schools, even elementary schools. Such extensive use of English and Tok Pisin in schools is not an indicator of high vitality for the Wagi language.

Four of the five Wagi villages have a primary school; one other has a community school.³⁰ Four villages³¹ also have elementary schools and one³² has two kindergartens.³³ Interviews were conducted with the headmaster or teacher-in-charge at four of the five primary/community schools, three of the elementary schools,³⁴ and one kindergarten.³⁵

²⁸ See appendix B for observed language use data by village.

²⁹ See appendix C for a complete chart of reported language use by domain.

³⁰ One new grade is being added to Kauris School each year, with the goal of establishing it as a primary school in the future.

³¹ Silibob, Kauris, Kamba, and Mis.

³² Kamba.

³³ See appendix D for more information about individual schools.

³⁴ Information about Silibob Elementary School was obtained in an interview with the Beon Primary School headmaster.

All nine schools reported using English in the classroom; eight of those schools also reported using some Tok Pisin in the classroom.³⁶ In Kamba Kindergarten School, however, Wagi is the primary language used for oral instruction; three elementary schools³⁷ reported using some Wagi in the classroom, as well. Interviewees from Kamba Kindergarten School and Kamba Elementary School mentioned that it is easier to explain things to students in Wagi.

With the exception of Kauris Elementary School and Kamba Kindergarten School, every school, where interviews were conducted, has students from outside the Wagi language area, which would make it problematic for any of these schools to use Wagi in the classroom. In fact, interviewees from schools in Kauris and Mis³⁸ mentioned the presence of students from other language areas as a particular reason that they cannot use Wagi in the classroom.

Five of the nine schools have at least some textbooks. Three schools (two primary schools and one elementary) reported that all of their books are in English, while one elementary school reported that it has both Tok Pisin and English books; the kindergarten school reported having a few Tok Pisin books.

There are no high schools in the Wagi language area. Most students who go on to grades 9 and 10 go to Good Shepherd High School in nearby Baitabag (in the Gedaged language area). Students who go on to grades 11 and 12 choose what school they would like to attend. The most common choices among Wagi students are Malala High School (in the Mala language area), Tusbab High School (in the Bilbil language area), and Karkar High School (in the Waskia language area). Students who attend Good Shepherd or Tusbab High School can commute every day from their home areas, allowing them to still be exposed to the vernacular at home. When students go on to Malala High School or Karkar High School, they live outside of the Wagi area and, therefore, do not have as many opportunities to speak or hear the Wagi language.

In summary, Tok Pisin and English are the primary languages used in most classrooms in the Wagi language area. Furthermore, because some students attend from outside the area, this pattern is not likely to change. The infrequency with which Wagi is used in the classroom does not indicate particularly high language vitality. However, the existence of a kindergarten in Kamba that primarily uses Wagi for oral instruction is a very positive factor for language vitality.

4.1.7.1 Staff language use

One-half of the teachers in the Wagi area are from other language areas, so it would be problematic for most schools to use Wagi extensively in the classroom. However, the fact that one-half of the teachers in the area do speak Wagi is a positive factor for language vitality, making it more likely that these teachers will use Wagi when interacting with students, either in or out of the classroom.

Out of 36 teachers in the Wagi area, 18 can speak Wagi.³⁹ Teachers from outside the area come from a wide range of places, including Oro Province, East Sepik Province, Western

³⁵ The interview about the kindergarten was done with a former teacher, as no teacher-in-charge was available. He reported that there is another kindergarten, Sawanda, in another part of Kamba, but the survey team did not visit that school or talk to anyone directly involved with it.

³⁶ Five reported using the same amount of Tok Pisin as English, while three reported using Tok Pisin less frequently, only for explanation.

³⁷ Silibob Elementary, Kamba Elementary, and Sagalau Elementary (Mis) Schools.

³⁸ Kauris Elementary and Sagalau Elementary Schools.

³⁹ Six of 21 primary school teachers, 10 of 13 elementary teachers, and two of two kindergarten teachers.

Highlands Province, the Rai Coast, Karkar Island, and other unspecified parts of Madang Province.

Two primary schools have some Wagi teachers and two do not. The grade 3, 5, and 7 teachers at Beon Primary School (in Foran) and the grade 4 and 6 teachers at Kamba Primary School are all Wagi.

Most of the elementary and kindergarten teachers are from the village in which they teach. All of the elementary teachers from Kauris Elementary School are from Kauris, and all of the teachers from Kamba Elementary School and Kamba Kindergarten School are from Kamba. Of the elementary teachers from outside Wagi, one speaks Gedaged, another speaks Isebe, and a third speaks Girawa.

4.1.7.2 Summary

One-half of the teachers in the Wagi area can speak Wagi; Wagi is used extensively in one kindergarten and, occasionally, in three elementary schools. However, because one-half of the teachers are from other language areas and nearly every school has students from outside the Wagi language area, it would be impractical, if not impossible, for most teachers to use Wagi in the classroom. English and Tok Pisin are, therefore, the primary languages of education in the Wagi language area. While the existence of teachers that can speak Wagi and a kindergarten that primarily uses Wagi are positive factors for language vitality, the fact that most schools primarily use English and Tok Pisin probably has an even greater negative impact on the vitality of the Wagi language.

4.1.8 Language use in churches

Institutional support is a key factor in ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al. 1977 and Fasold 1987:221). In Papua New Guinea, the church is often the primary institution functioning at the local level. In order to evaluate language use within churches, the survey team interviewed local pastors and lay leaders, asked questions relating to vernacular use in the church, and attended church services in order to observe language use.

Tok Pisin is the primary language used during church services in the Wagi language area. Although Wagi is also used, particularly for announcements, sermons, songs, and church attenders' prayers, Tok Pisin is used more often than Wagi in every part of the church service, except announcements.

The survey team gathered information about language use in churches by interviewing church leaders at nine churches in the Wagi area. The survey team also observed services at five of these churches.⁴⁰ All observations of language use during services match the reported following data.

Tok Pisin is used more often than Wagi for praying. In three of ten congregations, attenders reportedly only use Tok Pisin⁴¹ in their prayers. In three more congregations, people primarily pray in Tok Pisin, but also use some Wagi; in three congregations, people use equal amounts of Tok Pisin and Wagi. One church reported that attenders primarily pray in Wagi.

Sermons are most often given in Tok Pisin. Four of 11 church leaders reported using only Tok Pisin⁴² for sermons. Five reported using primarily Tok Pisin with some Wagi in sermons, while one reported using Tok Pisin and English, another reported primarily using Wagi and some Tok Pisin.

⁴⁰ Four in Mis and one in Kamba.

⁴¹ The three who use only Tok Pisin are located in Mis.

⁴² Three of these are from Mis.

Both Tok Pisin and Wagi are used for announcements. In two of ten congregations, announcements are given only in Tok Pisin. Seven reported using both Tok Pisin and Wagi; one reported using only Wagi.

Four churches reported using a liturgy in their worship service. One congregation only uses Tok Pisin, two use Tok Pisin with some Gedaged,⁴³ and another only uses Nobonob.

Tok Pisin is most often used when reading in church, although English is also used. Of 11 congregations, four only use Tok Pisin Scripture; five more use both English and Tok Pisin Scripture, and two of these only use English when the Tok Pisin is not clear. One church primarily uses English Scripture with some Tok Pisin and another only uses English Scripture.

Tok Pisin is the primary language used in youth meetings. Seven of ten churches reported that they use only Tok Pisin in youth meetings. Two churches, both in Kamba village, reported using equal amounts of Tok Pisin and Wagi. Another church in Kamba reported using Wagi for youth meetings, if only Wagi people are present, but Tok Pisin, if outsiders are present.

Most churches use Tok Pisin for women's meetings. Six of ten churches reported that only Tok Pisin is used in weekly women's groups. Two churches, one in Kamba and one in Foran, reported using equal amounts of Tok Pisin and Wagi in their women's groups. Two churches in Kamba reported that their women's groups only use Wagi. Women who marry into Kamba reportedly learn Wagi, so they are able to only use Wagi among themselves in their meetings.

Tok Pisin is used more than any other language for children's programs. Seven of ten children's programs reportedly only use Tok Pisin. Two churches in Kamba reportedly primarily use Wagi and some Tok Pisin in their children's programs; one reported using only Wagi in their children's program.

Tok Pisin is most often used for singing, followed by English, and then Wagi. Five of eleven churches primarily use Tok Pisin for singing in church. Of these five churches, three also sing some songs in Wagi and English; another uses a few Gedaged songs. Two churches reported using equal amounts of Tok Pisin and English in their singing.⁴⁴ Two churches reported singing an equal amount in Tok Pisin, English, and Wagi. One church reported singing primarily in English, although they also use some Tok Pisin and Wagi, and sometimes use a songbook from Morobe Province. Another church reported singing primarily in Wagi (along with Nobonob, Gedaged, and Amele). Overall, nine churches listed Tok Pisin as a primary language for singing, five listed English, and three listed Wagi.

Of the eleven pastors and church leaders interviewed, only two are from outside the Wagi area. The nine pastors from Wagi all speak Wagi as their first language. Of the Wagi-speaking church leaders, three reported that they only use Wagi with their family and friends in the community. Five others reported that they use both Wagi and Tok Pisin in the same situation. Two of these said that they primarily use Tok Pisin with visitors and for community meetings. One⁴⁵ said he primarily uses Tok Pisin with the younger generation, since they do not speak Wagi. Another said he only uses Wagi when he and another Wagi speaker want to keep their conversation secret from non-Wagi speakers.

⁴³ Early missionaries in coastal Madang Province established Gedaged (then called Bel) as a church language in the area.

⁴⁴ One also uses some Wagi.

⁴⁵ From Mis.

Five congregations reported that people from other language areas regularly attend their churches. Churches reported outsiders attending from the following areas: Nobonob; a few from Sissiak and Begasin; Matepi and settlements; primary school teachers; and people who live in Mis, but are not ethnically Mis.

Tok Pisin is used more than any other language during church services in the Wagi language area. Although Wagi is also used, the dominance of Tok Pisin in the church domain is not a positive sign for the vitality of the Wagi language.

4.1.9 Contact with other language groups

Wagi speakers have frequent contact with other language groups since they are close to Madang town and because speakers of other languages use the institutions and infrastructure within the Wagi language area. For example, children from other language groups attend the primary schools in the Wagi area. Beon Correctional Facility is near Foran village, and Sagalau market is on the edge of the Wagi language area.

In the past, the Wagi people traded with people in the Gedaged language area; that trading relationship has ended and now people typically use money, rather than trading goods.

4.1.10 Immigration

Based on the number of reported immigrants and the estimated population figures, at least six percent of the Wagi population is composed of immigrants. It should be noted, however, that the reported number of immigrants only indicates the number of immigrants that people were able to remember at the time and, in actuality, there may be more than this. In Mis, it was reported that one-fourth of the population of the Mis area had immigrated. According to the national census (National Statistical Office, 2002a), 21 percent⁴⁶ of the Wagi population are “migrants,” but this figure has not been updated since 2000. Table 5 shows the number of immigrants reported in each village, the estimated adult population in each village,⁴⁷ and the percent of the population composed of immigrants.

Table 5. Wagi immigrants

Village	Number of immigrants	Estimated population	Percent of immigrants
Silibob	36	315	11.4%
Kauris	32	259	12.4%
Foran	23	168	13.7%
Kamba	71	577	12.3%
Mis	98	1,015	9.7%
Total	260	2,334	11.1%

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 percent of the population is composed of immigrants. As shown in table 5, the level of immigration in the Wagi language area is slightly above the level identified by Landweer as negatively impacting language vitality.

⁴⁶ In Silibob, 20.2 percent, 10.9 percent in Kauris, 15.8 percent in Foran and Sissiak, 16.5 percent in Kamba, and 28.8 percent in Mis.

⁴⁷ These figures are based on the 2009 projected population, with the exception of Foran. See section 2.4 for an explanation of Foran’s estimated population. The 2000 national census (National Statistical Office 2002a) gives the percentage of the population in each village that is 15 years old or more; these percentages have been used to estimate the adult population in each village.

4.1.10.1 Marriage patterns

Intermarriage is a significant issue in the Wagi language area; it was mentioned four times during the Kamba language use interview and ten times in every other interview. In all of these instances, the issue was brought up by the respondents, rather than by the interviewer. People consistently said that children of mixed marriages speak less Wagi than those with two Wagi parents. A large proportion of Wagi marriages are cross-linguistic; many spouses from outside the language area use Tok Pisin, rather than Wagi, as do their children. The vitality of the Wagi language may, therefore, be at risk.

People have married into the Wagi area from a wide variety of places. The most commonly mentioned are Karkar Island, the Rai Coast, and the Amele language area, but people mentioned immigrants from over 50 different locations. Of the 240 people reportedly married into the Wagi language area, 193 are women. Since women usually go to live with their husband's family, it is not surprising that most of the immigrants are female. For the same reason, it is likely that many of the 47 male immigrants initially came to the area to find work in Madang, rather than for marriage.

The 2000 national census (National Statistical Office. 2002a) reports the percentage of the population in each village who are over 15 years old and married. This percentage has been applied to the estimated population⁴⁸ in each village to estimate the number of marital unions in each village. Table 6 shows the number of people who have married into each village, the estimated number of marital unions, and the percentage of cross-linguistic marriages in each village.

Table 6. Percent of cross-linguistic marital unions

Village	Immigrant spouses	Total marital unions	% cross-linguistic marriages
Silibob	28	93	30%
Kauris	29	80	36%
Foran	18	56	32%
Kamba	66	170	39%
Mis	97	302	32%
Total	238	701	34%

While the figures shown in table 6 are only estimates, it should be noted that the number of immigrant spouses is based on the number of immigrants that respondents were able to remember at the time of the interview. Therefore, since there are at least this many immigrant spouses, it is likely that the percentage of cross-linguistic marital unions is at least as high as shown in table 6. Given that at least 34 percent of the marital unions in the Wagi area are cross-linguistic, intermarriage is likely to have a marked impact on the vitality of the Wagi language.

It was reported that, in Silibob, people in mixed marriages tend to use Tok Pisin; in every village, respondents brought up the issue of mixed marriages multiple times and consistently said that the children of immigrants speak more Tok Pisin than other children. Although a few immigrants are reported to speak other vernaculars, such as Amele, Ari (a dialect of Nobonob), or Gedaged, the vast majority speak either Tok Pisin or Wagi. All of the immigrants who were reported to speak Wagi have been in the Wagi area for at least four years. Tables 7 and 8 show how many immigrants and children of immigrants can understand

⁴⁸ These figures are based on the 2009 projected population, with the exception of Foran. See section 2.4 for an explanation of Foran's estimated population.

Wagi but do not speak it, how many can reportedly speak some Wagi, and how many can reportedly speak it well.⁴⁹

Table 7. Reported language use for Wagi immigrants

Village	Number of immigrants ⁵⁰	Understand only	Speak some Wagi	Speak well ⁵¹	Total able to speak Wagi
Silibob	11	2	3	3	6 (55%)
Kauris	32	10	8	9	17 (53%)
Foran	23	11	5	0	5 (22%)
Kamba	71	10	35	4	39 (55%)
Mis	98	42	20	8	28 (29%)
Total	235	75	77	24	101 (43%)

Table 8. Reported language use for children of Wagi immigrants

Village	Number of children ⁵²	Understand only	Children speak some Wagi	Children speak well ⁵³	Total able to speak Wagi
Silibob	38	4	22	10	32 (84%)
Kauris	87	6	55	10	65 (75%)
Foran	39	24	0	0	0 (0%)
Kamba	112	20	65	24	89 (79%)
Mis	82	32	24	0	24 (29%)
Total	358	86	166	44	210 (59%)

The number of immigrants within a language area and the language spoken by those immigrants has a significant impact on language vitality (Landweer, 2006:192–193). If the previous figures for adults and children are combined, 311 out of 593 immigrants (52 percent) are able to speak some Wagi, leaving 48 percent who are not able to speak any Wagi. Given that over 30 percent of the marital unions in the Wagi area are cross-linguistic, and nearly half of the immigrants and their children are unable to speak Wagi, the vitality of the Wagi language may be at risk.

4.1.11 Roads and availability of transportation

Madang town is easily accessible from the Wagi language area, which may indicate a threat to the vitality of the Wagi language. Landweer (2006:174–177) has pointed out that the language vitality of communities with easy access to a population center, 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 centers.

All villages in the Wagi language area have easy access, by road, to Madang town, although people living in the more remote hamlets may have to walk a short distance to reach

⁴⁹ For example, a total of six immigrants in Silibob can speak Wagi, but only three of those six are able to speak it well.

⁵⁰ This figure refers to the number of immigrants married to Wagi speakers for whom language use information was given. The 22 immigrants who are not married to Wagi speakers are excluded; language use information was not given for every immigrant.

⁵¹ Whether the immigrants are able to speak Wagi well was not consistently asked; therefore, while at least this many immigrants reportedly can speak Wagi well, there may be others not represented in this table.

⁵² These figures refer to the children of the immigrants listed in table 7.

⁵³ Whether the immigrants are able to speak Wagi well was not consistently asked; therefore, while at least this many immigrants reportedly can speak Wagi well, there may be others not represented in this table.

the road. Many people who work in town travel there each day, returning to their village in the evening. Public motor vehicles (PMV) run regularly through the Wagi language area; the PMV fare to Madang town is approximately one kina.⁵⁴ In addition, the survey team observed a privately-owned car in Silibob, two in Kamba, and was told of a car in Foran.

4.1.12 Trails

Car-accessible roads connect all Wagi villages, so trails only need to be used to reach the more remote hamlets within each village, or to shorten the distance between some villages when traveling on foot. The survey team observed only one of these trails in Kamba; it was well maintained and easily passable.

4.1.13 Economics

Most Wagi people grow plenty of food in their gardens, so they do not need additional income for their livelihood. According to Landweer (2006:209), 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. Although the Wagi people do not need outside income to survive, they may have perceived needs that require the use of Tok Pisin to fulfill. Many Wagi people are involved in economic ventures that take them outside the Wagi language area, which may have a negative impact on language vitality.

Many Wagi people work in Madang town in a wide variety of occupations. Apart from working in town, most people earn money by selling garden produce and hand-made products, such as string bags.⁵⁵ Some people go to the market in Madang town to sell their products, but there is also a local market, Sagalau Market, very close to the Wagi language area, on the North Coast Road.

4.1.14 Bilingualism

4.1.14.1 Bilingualism with other vernaculars

It was reported that many older people throughout the language area⁵⁶ are able to speak some of the neighbouring languages, including Nobonob, Ari (a dialect of Nobonob), Gedaged, Isebe, or Amele. In the past, some people were educated in the Gedaged or Amele languages. Some middle-aged and younger adults are able to understand neighboring languages, but most are unable to speak them.

Only older people are able to speak neighboring vernaculars; they are also all able to speak Wagi. Therefore, bilingualism in other vernaculars is not a threat to the vitality of the Wagi language.

4.1.14.2 Code switching

As mentioned in section 4.1.3, adults in each village were recorded telling a story in the Wagi language. These recordings were later reviewed to determine whether the storytellers only used Wagi, or whether they showed signs of code switching. Surveyors listened to each recorded story and counted the number of Wagi words and the number of Tok Pisin or English words. Since the surveyors do not understand Wagi, this is a rough estimate, but it is clear that the vast majority of each story was delivered in the Wagi language. On average, 96 percent of the words counted in each story were Wagi words; the eight stories range from 91

⁵⁴ Less than \$.40 USD.

⁵⁵ In Tok Pisin, *bilum*.

⁵⁶ With the exception of Foran.

percent to 100 percent Wagi. Although, in one instance, the speaker may have used a short Tok Pisin phrase, the vast majority of the Tok Pisin and English words were interjections (such as ‘OK’ and ‘*orait*’⁵⁷), or words referring to things outside the context of Wagi culture;⁵⁸ in one instance, a Wagi suffix was added to a Tok Pisin word. Therefore, it is likely that most occurrences of Tok Pisin and English were borrowed words, rather than code switching.

While observing language use, however, the survey team did observe code switching between Wagi and Tok Pisin at both the phrasal and lexical levels. Code switching at the level of individual words appeared to be code switching, rather than borrowing, since they were not recently introduced words and they did not conform to Wagi phonology. For example, one member of the team heard the word ‘*kech*’ (catch) used several times by children playing with a balloon. The Wagi word for ‘catch’ is [oroweh]; no other instances of the phone [tʃ] were observed in the Wagi language.

Although code switching did not occur frequently, when it did occur, it did not appear to be associated with a change in topic, setting, or participants. Unbounded code switching that does not follow a consistent pattern, as is the case in Wagi, is often a sign of low language vitality (Landweer. 2006:191).

4.1.15 Summary of language use

Both reported and observed data indicate that middle-aged and older adults mostly use Wagi, unless they are speaking to children; young adults use both Wagi and Tok Pisin; children use mostly Tok Pisin, except in Kamba. Both Wagi and Tok Pisin are used in every domain; the fact that there is no domain in which Wagi is strongly used across the language area is evidence of the undermining of the Wagi language. Use of a trade language in traditional domains also often indicates a shifting allegiance from the local language. In the case of the Wagi, Tok Pisin is used alongside the vernacular in the traditional domain of weddings and funerals. On the other hand, Wagi is used alongside Tok Pisin in the introduced domains of school and church, and use of the local language in introduced domains often indicates higher vitality for that language (Landweer. 2009). When code switching between Wagi and Tok Pisin was observed, it was not associated with a change in topic, setting, or participants. People in the Wagi language area often identified intermarriage as one of the primary reasons for the widespread use of Tok Pisin, which is not surprising, since approximately one-third of the marital unions in the area are cross-linguistic and nearly half of the reported immigrants are unable to speak Wagi.⁵⁹

In 1988 (Royer, et al. 1988), it was reported that Wagi was the primary language used by people of all ages. Now, however, young adults speak less Wagi than their elders, and children speak even less than young adults. The fact that the use of Wagi is decreasing with each generation and the use of Tok Pisin is increasing in traditional domains, combined with the presence of unbounded code switching and immigrant spouses who do not speak Wagi, suggests that the Wagi language area may be in the process of a shift to Tok Pisin.

⁵⁷ The Tok Pisin word *orait* literally means “all right,” but is frequently used as an interjection or to introduce a new topic.

⁵⁸ See appendix E for a complete list of the Tok Pisin and English words observed in each story.

⁵⁹ See section 4.1.10.1.

4.2 Language attitudes

4.2.1 As reported by residents

Wagi speakers in every village have a positive attitude toward their language and expressed a strong desire for it to continue being spoken. People said that the Wagi language is important and that they want their children to learn it. They also said that they can understand and explain things better in Wagi than in Tok Pisin. Many people expressed sorrow and regret that children are not speaking more Wagi.

Wagi speakers have expressed a desire for language development. Three Wagi men attended the first module of a translation training course in 2009; Wagi speakers have chosen a translation committee with representatives from different villages and church denominations.

4.2.2 As indicated by school staff

Choices made by school staff do not consistently indicate positive or negative attitudes toward the Wagi language, so it is difficult to draw conclusions about language vitality, based on their attitudes. While some factors seem to indicate a relatively high vitality, other factors point to a lower vitality.

Six of the nine schools visited have a traditional culture component. Respondents at two schools mentioned that this component includes the following topics: traditional medicine, gardening, making bows and arrows, and *singsing* (traditional singing, drumming, and dancing). Only three of the respondents gave information regarding the language used to teach the culture component. One said mostly Tok Pisin is used, another said mostly English, and a third said Wagi. The headmaster at Koba Primary School (where there is currently no culture component) said they would be willing to start one, but would first need local teachers.

Headmasters at two schools said they have a school policy that children must use English at school.⁶⁰ At one school, there is no punishment if children speak other languages; they are simply encouraged to speak English. At the other school, children are punished for speaking other languages by being given schoolwork, such as extra spelling words.

Representatives of six schools responded to the question, “Are any of the teachers learning the local language?” At four schools, some teachers have learned a few Wagi words.⁶¹ One headmaster, who has worked in the area for 12 years, can speak Wagi at a good conversational level. One teacher-in-charge reported that the teachers at his school speak Tok Pisin but none of them are learning Wagi.⁶²

Choices made by school staff do not consistently indicate positive or negative attitudes toward the Wagi language, so it is difficult to draw conclusions about language vitality, based on their attitudes. Six of the nine schools include a traditional culture component; one headmaster has learned Wagi well, both of which indicate positive vitality for the language. On the other hand, other factors indicate lower language vitality. At least two schools require their students to speak English; one of these schools punishes students when they don’t speak English. Three schools do not have a traditional culture component, and most teachers from

⁶⁰ Headmasters at two other schools indicated they do not have a policy regarding children’s language use. This question was not asked at the other five schools visited.

⁶¹ “The easy ones,” such as the words for betelnut, food, and water.

⁶² Two of the three teachers at this school are from Wagi villages, so it is unclear if this comment means that the remaining teacher is not learning Wagi, or if the teachers do not need to learn Wagi because it is their first language.

outside the language area do not learn Wagi. Therefore, based on choices made by school staff, it is difficult to make any statement regarding the vitality of the Wagi language.

4.2.3 As reported by church leaders

Most church leaders seem to have a positive attitude toward the Wagi language and its use in the church and community. Nine of the 11 leaders interviewed said that they would use Wagi Scripture in church if it were available, which is evidence that they have a high view of the vernacular and see it as an appropriate medium for literature.

Eight church leaders were asked about what languages children in the community speak. All had a positive attitude toward Wagi and indicated that they would like their children to learn and speak Wagi. Five out of seven Wagi-speaking church leaders said that their children do speak Wagi. One, in Mis, said his children and grandchildren cannot understand Wagi; one said his child is still a baby, but he would like her to learn Wagi.

Most church leaders in the Wagi language area reported that they would use Wagi literature if it were available and that they want their children to learn and speak Wagi. While these reported attitudes may or may not align with actual language use, they are a positive sign for the vitality of the Wagi language.

4.2.4 Summary of language attitudes

Wagi speakers have a positive view of their language. People in every village said that they want their children to speak Wagi; many expressed sorrow that their children are not speaking more Wagi. Furthermore, most schools incorporate a traditional culture component; eight of the nine church leaders who were interviewed said that they would use Wagi literature if it were available. All of these are positive factors for the vitality of the Wagi language.

4.3 Group identity

Language vitality tends to be higher in communities with a strong internal cultural identity (Landweer 2006:200–201). While Wagi culture is still distinct from urban Papua New Guinean culture, and Wagi people do seem to have a strong sense of their own identity as Wagi, this distinction is almost completely tied to their language, as there is little apart from language that distinguishes Wagi people from the people around them.

Wagi people do maintain some traditional cultural practices that are distinct from the urban culture. Many practices, such as building and using carved wooden drums,⁶³ building houses, gardening, fishing, marriage, and leadership structure, still follow traditional patterns, but these patterns are generally the same as those of neighboring language groups.

While the Wagi people still maintain many traditional practices, the survey team also observed many influences from urban culture, such as the prevalence of manufactured goods, particularly in hamlets closer to the road. Some houses are made with sawn lumber and tin roofs, on a cement foundation. People in some areas have access to town water and electricity. The survey team observed generators, Coleman lanterns, radios, television sets, water tanks, cell phones, flashlights, bush knives, a digital camera, refrigerators, CD and DVD players, cars, marbles, kitchen utensils, and western-style clothing and footwear. In addition, people reported having solar power equipment, computers, spades, grass knives,⁶⁴ iron bars for digging, hammers, saws, axes, and other tools.

⁶³ In Tok Pisin, *garamut*.

⁶⁴ In Tok Pisin, *sarep*.

All villages have easy access by road to Madang town, however, within each village there are several smaller hamlets, some of which are right on the road, while others are farther away. Not surprisingly, hamlets closer to the road seem to be more influenced by urban culture than those farther away. For example, in the main Kamba hamlet, right on the road, one can easily see a mixture of manufactured items and items made from traditional materials, along with a greater use of Tok Pisin. Some of the houses there are made from bush materials, but some are made with cement slabs, sawn lumber, and tin roofs. The survey team saw a truck, apparently in good working condition, parked in front of one house made of bush materials. While there, the survey team observed children using Tok Pisin to communicate as they played marbles. From this hamlet, they drove less than five kilometres, on a road that would require a four-wheel-drive vehicle, to another hamlet where the influence of trade culture was much less apparent. In this hamlet, nearly all the houses were made of bush materials. There was one building, a carport made with sawn lumber, with a car (apparently not in working condition) parked under it. From there, the team hiked about fifteen minutes farther to another hamlet where the houses were all made from bush materials, and the vast majority of communication among the Wagi people was done in the Wagi language.

Group identity within the Wagi language area does not give a strong indication of language vitality in either direction. The Wagi people see themselves as a distinct group, based primarily on their language, which is a positive factor for language vitality. However, there is nothing apart from language that distinguishes them from neighboring communities, and there is evidence that the Wagi people are influenced by urban culture, particularly in communities closer to roads, which indicates a potential threat to language vitality.

4.4 Conclusions on language vitality

Based on language use, language attitudes and group identity, it appears that the Wagi language community is in the process of a shift to Tok Pisin. Wagi speakers see themselves as a distinct group, based on their language; they have a positive view of their language and want their children to speak it, which are factors indicating that the Wagi language is still spoken and valued. However, reported and observed data indicate that the use of Wagi has been decreasing over the last three generations. The survey team also observed unbounded code switching and it was reported that there are many immigrant spouses in the language area who do not speak Wagi. Therefore, although the Wagi language is still being spoken, its vitality is likely to decrease in the coming years, if current trends continue.

5. Language and dialect boundaries

Recognizing that there are numerous factors, both linguistic and social, which may affect how one defines a dialect or language, the survey team sought to establish such boundaries in the Wagi language area on the basis of group identity, linguistic similarity, and reported comprehension. These areas were examined with the use of SIL Language Use Questionnaires to learn about language attitudes and reported comprehension and identification, and the SIL-PNG Standard Wordlist⁶⁵ to elicit words and phrases for comparison of linguistic similarity.

In addition to the three points (identification, similarity, and comprehension) identified in the previous paragraph, the team also researched language and dialect attitudes in group interviews, investigating what attitudes are held by the different groups toward each other.

It was not the goal of the survey team to be able to draw a strict geographical line between dialects, nor should any resulting maps be considered an indication of land ownership by speakers of the language or dialect.

5.1 Previous research

Between 1988 and 1991, Mike Herchenroeder lived in Kamba and began learning the Wagi language. He has written a brief description of Wagi grammar (Herchenroeder 2009), including information about nouns, adjectives, pronouns, postpositions, verbs, conjunctions, and relative clauses.

All previous research agrees that there are five villages in the Wagi language area: Kamba, Kauris, Silibob, Mis, and Foran. These language boundaries are listed in the 1988 (Royer et al.) and 1995 (Gibson and Gibson) Wagi survey reports and have been confirmed by Wagi speakers from Kamba, Kauris, and Silibob (Bega. 2008, personal communication).

Wagi speakers (Bega, Liv, and Wala. 2008. Personal communication) reported that there are two dialects: Kamba, Kauris, and Silibob form one dialect, while Mis and Foran make up another. They reported good intelligibility between the two varieties.

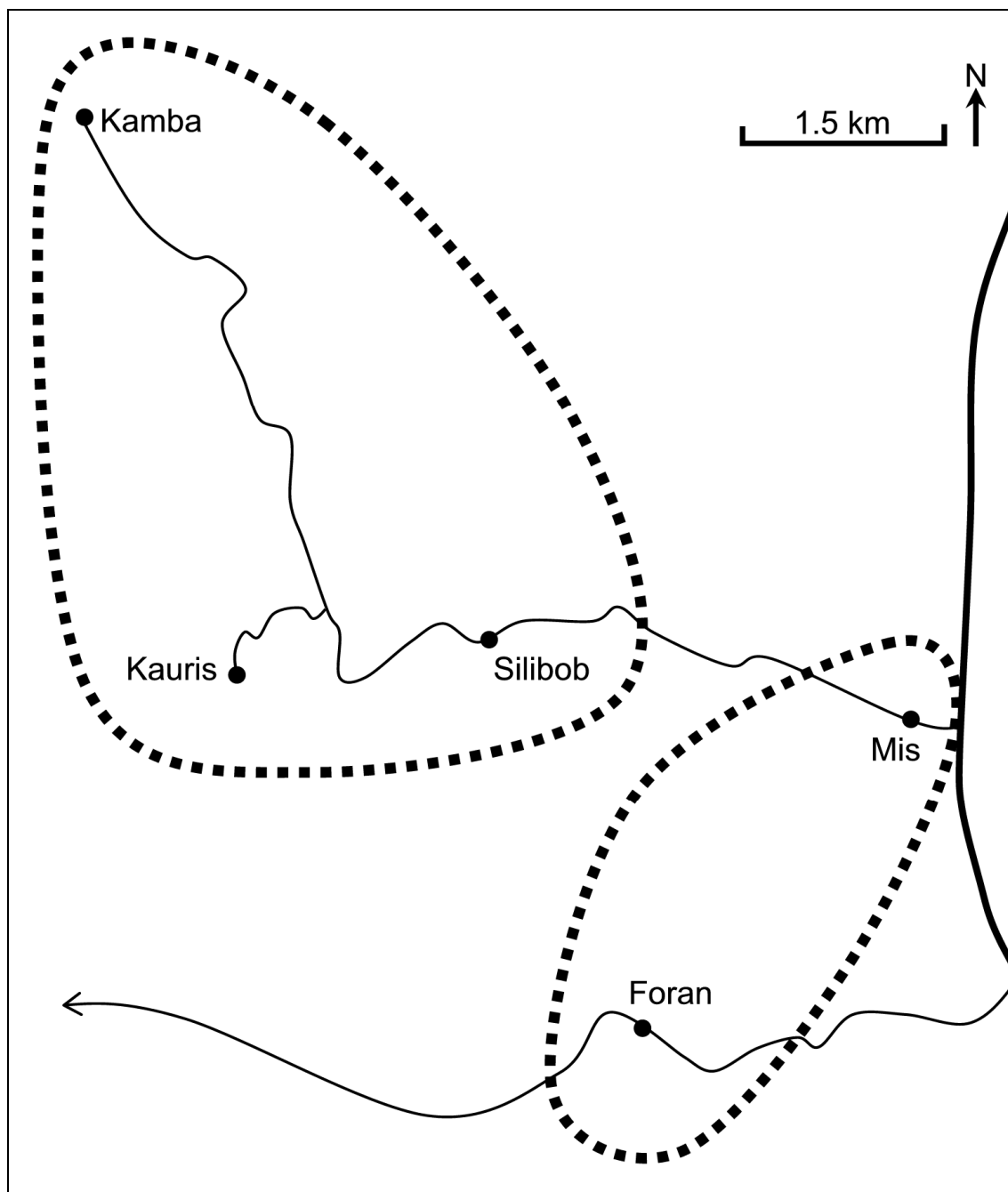
5.2 Reported language and dialect boundaries

There was unanimous agreement among the five villages that Mis and Foran, together, comprise a distinct dialect. Three of the villages⁶⁶ listed Kamba, Kauris, and Silibob as belonging to the same dialect, but the other two⁶⁷ reported that Kauris and Silibob are the same, while Kamba is a little different. Map 4 shows reported dialect boundaries.

⁶⁵ 190-item list, 1999 revision.

⁶⁶ Kamba, Kauris, and Mis.

⁶⁷ Silibob and Foran.



Map 4. Reported dialect boundaries.

Data collected during the wordlist elicitation confirms the report that people in Mis and Foran speak differently from those living in the other three Wagi villages. See section 5.6 for an explanation of these differences.

People in the Wagi language area often seemed to consider Foran to be in a different category from the other four Wagi villages. During the language use interview, when asked to list villages in the language group, people sometimes listed Foran last, almost as an afterthought. Respondents in Silibob did not list Foran at all; when the interviewer asked whether Foran was part of Wagi, they said that people in Foran speak Wagi but they are not

living on Wagi land. They used to speak Med⁶⁸ (which is probably an alternate name for either Amele or Panim) but, because of fighting, they moved to Mis, where they learned Wagi. When they eventually returned to Foran, they continued to speak Wagi. However, respondents in Mis reported that the people in Foran used to speak Med, but began speaking Wagi instead because so many Wagi women married into Foran. It is possible that Foran people did move to Mis because of fighting, where they married Wagi-speaking women. These intermarriages would have made them more likely to continue speaking Wagi when they eventually returned to Foran.

When asked where the purest form of the language is spoken, respondents in Kamba, as well as those in Silibob and Foran, said that Kamba's dialect is the purest because Kamba is where the Wagi language originally began. Kauris and Mis each listed themselves as speaking the purest dialect, but Kamba as speaking the second purest. The fact that two villages besides Kamba identified Kamba as the purest form of the language is significant and indicates that the Kamba variety has some degree of prestige within the Wagi language area. Kamba's prestige within the Wagi language area was also mentioned in a survey report by Howard and Deidre Shelden (Shelden and Shelden. 1981:12).

The three villages that identified Kamba as the purest dialect listed either Kauris or Silibob as the second purest dialect.⁶⁹ The reasons they gave for this report were that Kauris is close to Kamba,⁷⁰ Silibob was the first village started by Wagi people who came from Kamba, and the language spoken in Silibob and Kauris is very similar to that spoken in Kamba.

5.3 Reported intelligibility

When asked how well they can understand people from other villages, respondents reported that adults in any village can understand the Wagi spoken in any other village. In Foran and Silibob, however, people said that it is harder to understand the Wagi spoken in Kamba. It was also reported that it is harder for children from Kamba and Kauris to understand the dialect spoken in Mis and Foran, while children from Mis and Foran have difficulty understanding the dialect spoken in Kamba, Kauris, and Silibob. People in Silibob reported that children can understand the Wagi spoken in any village.

One middle-aged man in Mis reported that, if literature were written in the Kamba dialect, he would be able to understand it, but his children would not be able to understand and would laugh at it. He thinks that literature would have to be made available in both dialects in order for it to be accepted. Other people in the group appeared to share his concerns.

5.4 Methodology of lexical comparison

In each village, the same member of the survey team elicited 170 words and 20 phrases in the Wagi language, using the standard SIL-PNG 190-item list. Also, in each village, the words were elicited from a Wagi speaker whose parents were from that village and who were born and brought up in that village.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Med is not listed in the Ethnologue, but it was reported that it is spoken in Sissiak (a settlement near the Wagi language area), Yahil (in the Amele language area), and Panim (in the Panim language area). Since Amele and Panim are related, it is possible that Wagi speakers perceive Amele and Panim to be a single language, which they refer to as Med.

⁶⁹ Kamba said that Silibob was the second purest, Foran said that Kauris was the second purest, and Silibob listed both Kauris and Silibob together.

⁷⁰ It is not clear whether they meant that Kauris is geographically near Kamba or linguistically similar.

⁷¹ The only exception to this is Foran, where the respondent's mother is from Mis.

The 170 words from each village were compared using the lexicostatistic similarity method described by Blair (1990:31–33). When possible, affixes were excluded and only the roots were compared. See appendix F for a list of excluded words and the reasons for their exclusion. Similarity percentages were then calculated using the WORDSURV computer program (Wimbish. 1989).

5.5 Characteristics of the language

Tables 9 and 10 show the inventory of phones that were observed in the five 190-item Wagi wordlists.

Table 9. Wagi consonant phones

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p p ^h b		t̪	t t ^h d		k k ^h g	
Fricative	β	f v		s			h
Nasal	m			n		ŋ	
Trill				r			
Flap				r			
Lateral approximant				l			
Approximant	w				j	w	
Implosive	ɓ						

Table 10. Wagi vowel phones

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-mid	e		o
		ə	
Open-mid	ɛ		ɔ
	æ		
Open	a		

It is possible that the phones [r] and [l] occur in free variation. In four different items,⁷² respondents from some villages pronounced the item with [r] while others pronounced it with [l]. Furthermore, during the wordlist elicitation in Silibob, each word was pronounced both by a middle-aged man and by an older man. The middle-aged man often used [l] in words that the older man pronounced with [r].

⁷² Item 72, *he catches*, item 121, *claw*, item 128, *ten*, and item 167, *they two*.

Word order is generally SOV, as shown in the following example:

danah daver leh⁷³
 man yam eat

The man eats the yam.

Adjectives generally follow the noun they modify, as shown in the following example:

danah nari 6eh nagur koreh⁷⁴
 man big dog little hit

The big man hits the little dog.

For a more detailed description of Wagi grammar, see Wagi Grammar (Herchenroeder, 2009).

5.6 Lexical similarity chart

As shown in table 11, all five Wagi villages share a high degree of lexical similarity. All villages share at least 88 percent lexical similarity and most share at least 90 percent.

Table 11. Lexicostatistic similarity between Wagi villages

	Mis	Kamba	Silibob	Kauris
Foran	95%	90%	88%	92%
Kauris	93%	93%	92%	
Silibob	89%	90%		
Kamba	90%			

On average, Kauris shares a higher percentage of lexical similarity with the other four villages than any other village does. The average lexical similarity between Kauris and the other four villages is 92.5 percent;⁷⁵ it shares at least 92 percent similarity with every other village. However, differences in lexical similarity are very slight and may not be significant, since it is possible that they all fall within the range of error.

As seen in table 11, Mis and Foran are the two villages sharing the highest percentage of lexical similarity, which coincides with the reports that they form a separate dialect. In addition, there are a number of clear examples in which Mis and Foran differ from Kamba, Kauris, and Silibob. In three words, both Foran and Mis have the phone [æ] in a position in which the other villages have [ɛ].⁷⁶ In four more words, either Foran or Mis have [æ] in the same place that the others have [ɛ]. Furthermore, in nine words, both Foran and Mis have a word final [f] that is absent in the other villages. Finally, there are seven additional words that are different in Foran and Mis than in the other three villages.⁷⁷ Table 12 shows examples of these differences.⁷⁸

⁷³ Item 183, Silibob.

⁷⁴ Item 185, Kamba.

⁷⁵ Average lexical similarities for the other villages are as follows: Mis 91.75 percent, Foran 91.25 percent, Kamba 90.75 percent, and Silibob 89.75 percent.

⁷⁶ In one additional word, item 12, *tooth*, Mis, Foran, and Silibob all have [æ], while Kamba and Kauris have [ɛ].

⁷⁷ However, in item 8, *skin* and item 133, *sweet potato*, the word given in Silibob is more similar to that given in Foran and Mis.

⁷⁸ See appendix G for a complete list of examples.

Table 12. Wagi dialect differences

	Mis/Foran	Kamba/Kauris/Silibob
Item 39, <i>bird</i>	æh	ɛh
Item 33, <i>man</i>	danaf	danah
Item 48, <i>fish</i>	dor	kak ^h ɛh

5.7 Interpretation

Figure 1 shows the average lexical similarity between the five Wagi villages. Average lexical similarity was calculated using the average link method, as described by Grimes (1995:69-71). Numbers in the figure represent percentages of shared lexical similarity.

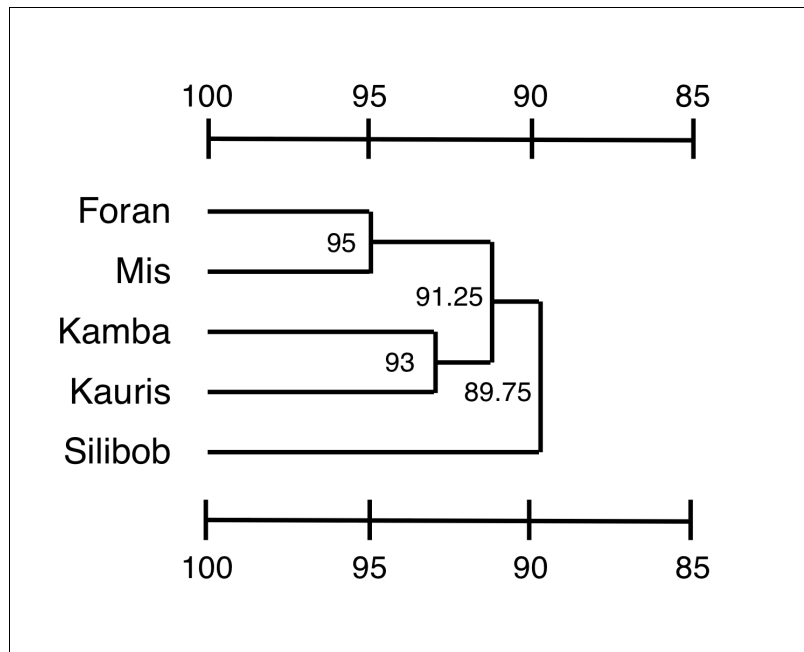


Figure 1. Average lexicostatistic similarity between Wagi villages.

According to the lexicostatistic data, Foran and Mis are quite similar, as are Kamba and Kauris. Silibob shares the lowest lexical similarity with other villages.

5.8 Conclusion

Reported data, lexicostatistic comparison, and observed differences all indicate that Foran and Mis form one dialect, while Kamba, Kauris, and Silibob form another. Between the two dialect groups, lexicostatistic data indicates that Kamba and Kauris are more similar to Mis and Foran than Silibob is.

The two dialects are still very similar, as no two villages share less than 88 percent lexical similarity; adults in every village reported that they can understand the variety spoken in every other village, however, perceived differences between the two dialects may make it difficult for them to accept the same literature.

More than any other variety, the variety spoken in Kamba is viewed as the purest form of the Wagi language, however, although the Kamba variety has prestige, people in Silibob and Foran reported that Kamba is the hardest variety to understand. Kauris and Silibob were the two varieties identified as being the second purest Wagi varieties.

6. Project possibilities

Based on the survey team's observations, the Wagi people appear to have the leadership structure and motivation necessary to support a language-development project. Wagi leaders are currently in the process of forming a language-development committee, consisting of men from every village and major church denomination. The Wagi people have also sent three men to attend a translation training course.

7. Language development conclusion

Although the Wagi language is still spoken and valued, reported and observed data indicate that its vitality has been decreasing and, if current trends continue, is likely to continue to decrease in the coming years.

There are two dialects within the Wagi language area, but they share at least 88 percent lexical similarity; adults are able to understand both dialects, however, perceived dialect differences may make it difficult for speakers of both dialects to accept the same literature.

The motivation and leadership structure necessary to support a language-development project appear to be present in the Wagi language area. The survey results indicate that Kauris and Kamba are both potential locations for future language-development work. Kauris would be a good location because adults in every village report that they can understand it, it shares a slightly higher percentage of average lexical similarity with the other four villages, and it is considered to be one of the second purest forms of the language. Silibob is the other variety that is perceived to be the second purest form, but it has a slightly lower average lexical similarity with other villages than any other village does. Kamba is perceived as having the purest variety, and is considered to be the original Wagi village, but the Kamba variety is harder for some people to understand. Kamba also has the highest language vitality, based on reported and observed language use data.

8. Appendices

A. Work schedule

Date	Village	Work Completed
4 March	Silibob	Contact Patterns, Language Use, School Interview, Pastor Interview, Wordlist
5 March	Kauris	Contact Patterns, Language Use, School Interview, Pastor Interview, Wordlist
6 March	Foran	Contact Patterns, Culture, Language Use, School Interview, Pastor Interview, Wordlist
7 March	Kamba	Contact Patterns, Culture, Language Use, School Interview, Pastor Interview, Wordlist
8 March	Mis	Contact Patterns, Language Use, School Interview, Pastor Interview, Wordlist

B. Adults' observed language use

B.1 Observed language use in Kamba

	Young men	Young women	Middle-aged men	Middle-aged women	Older men	Older women
Wagi	5	7	13	11	0	1
Tok Pisin	2	0	0	1	0	0

B.2 Observed language use in Kauris

	Young men	Young women	Middle-aged men	Middle-aged women	Older men	Older women
Wagi	1	1	11	4	2	3
Tok Pisin	0	4	1	1	0	3

B.3 Observed language use in Silibob

	Young men	Young women	Middle-aged men	Middle-aged women	Older men	Older women
Wagi	0	2	30	9	2	3
Tok Pisin	0	0	5	3	0	0

B.4 Observed language use in Mis

	Young men	Young women	Middle-aged men	Middle-aged women	Older men	Older women
Wagi	4	2	5	5	1	0
Tok Pisin	3	0	0	3	1	0

B.5 Observed language use in Foran

	Young men	Young women	Middle-aged men	Middle-aged women	Older men	Older women
Wagi	1	1	5	0	1	0
Tok Pisin	0	2	1	0	0	0

C. Reported language use by domain

	Kamba	Kauris	Silibob	Mis	Foran
Arguing at home	Wagi	Wagi	Wagi/TP	TP	TP
Praying at home	Wagi/TP	Wagi/TP	TP	TP	TP
Organizing wedding and funeral feasts	Wagi	Wagi/TP	Wagi/TP	Wagi/TP	TP
At market	Wagi/TP	Wagi/TP	Wagi/TP	Wagi/TP	TP
Joking	Wagi/TP	Wagi	Wagi/TP	Wagi/TP	Wagi/TP
Playing sports	Wagi/TP	TP	TP	Wagi/TP	Wagi/TP
Court	Wagi/TP	TP	TP	TP	TP

D. Summary of Wagi-area schools

School name	Location	Year founded	Grades	Number of students enrolled	Languages used in class
Koba Primary School	Silibob	1988	3–8	150	English, some Tok Pisin
Silibob Elementary School	Silibob	2008	EPrep, E1, E2	?	Tok Pisin and English; Wagi occasionally
Kauris School	Kauris	2007	3–5	96	English, some Tok Pisin
Kauris Elementary School	Kauris	1996	EPrep, E1, E2	72	Tok Pisin, English, Wagi for prep
Beon Primary School	Foran	1985	1–8	214	Tok Pisin and English
Kamba Primary School	Kamba	1968/9	3–8	250	English
Kamba Elementary School	Kamba	2005	EPrep, E1, E2	111	English, some Tok Pisin; Wagi for prep

D. Summary of Wagi-area schools (continued):

School name	Location	Year founded	Grades	Number of students enrolled	Languages used in class
Kamba Kindergarten	Kamba	1994	K	15	Wagi, Tok Pisin
Sagalau Elementary School	Mis	2000	3–8	280	Tok Pisin for Prep, English for E1 and E2
Sagalau Primary School	Mis	Before 1975	?	?	?

E. Tok Pisin words heard during Wagi stories

Village	# of Utterances	% Vernacular	Tok Pisin words
Silibob	125	100	None
Silibob	104	96	OK (4)
Kauris	279	92	Stori (3), namba tu worl war, balus (4), pailot (2), soldia (2), pistol (3), kaikai, redi, rekoberi
Kauris	136	99	Stori (2)
Foran	79	96	Orait (3)
Kamba	592	97	Profet (5), stori (4), OK (2), king (3), faiv
Kamba	410	91	Stori, Sundei Skul (6), Baibel Kamp (2), congregesen, liberti, Easter, kamp (3), taim mi redim, Thursday, Fraidei, Mandei, pasta (2), Baibel Stadi (3), stadi (2), redim (3), OK, orait, sori
Mis	208	99	Maski, maket

F. Wordlist exclusions

Item #	Form	Villages excluded	Reason for exclusion
15	Foot	All	No new morphemes
24	Liver	All	Probably elicited different meanings
28	Girl	All	No new morphemes
29	Boy	Kamba	No new morphemes
31	Old man	All	No new morphemes
34	Father	Foran	Not elicited
35	Mother	Foran	Not elicited
37	Sister	Kamba, kauris, silibob, mis	No new morphemes
49	Person	All	No new morphemes
83	Light	All	No new morphemes
88	Round	Kauris	Not elicited
110	Bark	All	No new morphemes
113	Leaf	All	No new morphemes

F. Wordlist exclusions (continued):

Item #	Form	Villages excluded	Reason for exclusion
118	Feather	Kamba	No new morphemes
119	Horn	Foran	Not elicited
128	Ten	Kauris	No new morphemes
152	All	Kamba	No new morphemes
159	Yes	Kauris	No new morphemes
167	They two	Foran, kamba, silibob	No new morphemes
170	They	Kamba, silibob	No new morphemes

G. Mis and Foran compared to Kamba, Kauris, and Silibob

Item #	Form	Kamba	Kauris	Silibob	Mis	Foran
12	tooth	æg	ɛl	ɛl	æɫ	æɫ
39	bird	ɛh	ɛh	ɛh	æh	æh
40	dog	βeh	βeh	βeh	βeh	βæh
45	rat	tæg	tæg	tæg	kæg	tæg
97	fire	kev	kev	kev	kev	kæv
100	sun	kem	kem	kem	kæm	kæm
142	afternoon	tueh	tweh	tweh	twæf	twef
144	yesterday	tumeh	tumeh	tumeh	tumæh	tumeh
33	man	danah	danah	danah	danaf	danaf
44	flying fox	mere	mere	mere	merɛf	merɛf
80	long	velah	velah	velah	velaf	velaf
92	road	ih	ih	ih	if	if
116	egg	owah	owah	owah	oaf	owaf
122	tail	fɛh	fɛh	fɛh	fɛf	fɛf
123	one	usih	usih	usih	usif	usif
142	afternoon	tueh	tweh	tweh	twæf	twef
146	white	sagah	sagah	sagah	sagaf	sagaf
8	skin	gara	garal	gonel	goneh	gonel
48	fish	kak ^h ɛh	kak ^h ɛh	kak ^h ɛh	dor	dor
65	he kills	morwev moseh	molweb moseh	βebmoseh	magrev mouseh	magrev mouseh
111	seed	keræg	keræg	keræg	kerajæg	kerægag
121	claw	ɛvɛg gari	gari	ɛrɛg gari	ɛvɛg godef	ɛvel gordɛf
133	sweet potato	tounam	tounam	dorek ^h a	durak ^h a	durek ^h a
177	go	ateh	ateh	ate	ante	ante

H. Wordlists

Item#	Form	Kamba	Kauris	Silibob	Mis	Foran
1	head	kuri	kuri(l)	kuri(n)	kuri	kuri
2	hair	kuri urug	kuriluru	urug	kuril urug	tawal urig
3	mouth	kore	korel	kore	korel	korel
4	nose	noh	nol	noh	nol	nol
5	eye	amæg	aməl	amæg	amel	amel
6	neck	fakɓah	farɓal	fag	fakɓal	farɓal
7	belly	oh	ol	oh	ol	ol
8	skin	gara	garal	gonel	goneh	gonel
9	knee	gateh	gatel	gatel	gatel	gatel amæg
10	ear	dog	doul	doug	doul	doul
11	tongue	lɛmru	lɛmrul	lɛmrul	lɛmrul	lɛmrul
12	tooth	æg	ɛl	ɛl	æł	æł
13	breast	oumah	oumah	omah	oumah	aumah
14	hand	ɛvɛg	ɛvəl	ɛvəl	ɛvəl	ɛvəl
15	foot	fɛg gumi	fɛlgumi	fɛl gumi	fɛl	fæl
16	back	gumi	gumil	gumil	gumil	gumil
17	shoulder	guɓa	guɓal	guɓal	guɓal	guɓal
18	forehead	ura	ural	ural	ural	ural
19	chin	siɓɛg	sivəl	siɓɛl	sivəl	sivəl
20	elbow	suk ^h neh	suk ^h ɛnel	suknel	suk ^h nel	suk ^h nel
21	thumb	ɛvɛg tanig	tanig	ɛvəl tanig	ɛvəl tanig	ɛvəl tanig
22	leg	fɛg	fɛl	fɛl	fɛl	fɛl
23	heart	kuru	kurul	kurul	kurul	kirigur
24	liver	kirigur	kaspan	(Not elicited)	kurul ifug	kurul bororak
25	bone	kevsı	kæfsil	kevsı(l)	kefsil	kefsil
26	blood	karag	karal	karag	karal	karal
27	baby	nir (nag)	nir nakok	nir nag	nir nagur	nir nagur
28	girl	nir asin	nir asin asmagun	ɓapik	nir nakok	ɓapik ^h
				nirasi nag	as magun	asmagun
29	boy	nir danah	nirfo ^u	nirfo ^u	nir fou	nir fo ^u
				nirdunagor	nir danaf nirger	
30	old woman	askenmah	askenmah	askenma	askenma	as kenma
31	old man	danah kenmah	danah kenma	danah kenma	danaf kenma	danaf kenma
32	woman	as	as	as	as	as

H. Wordlists (continued):

Item#	Form	Kamba	Kauris	Silibob	Mis	Foran
33	man	danah	danah	danah	danaf	danaf
34	father	mɛm	mɛm	mɛm	mɛm	(Not elicited)
35	mother	an	an	an	an	(Not elicited)
36	brother	digam	nirmatu	(hapa) matu	matu	matu
		apa			digam	
37	sister	digam ap ^h aʔas nagur	nirasin matu(ri)	nirasin matu	matuas	kevnal matu
38	name	veni	venil	venil	venif	venil
39	bird	ɛh	ɛh	ɛh	æh	æh
40	dog	ʃeh	ʃeh	ʃeh	ʃeh	ʃæh
41	pig	foh	foh	foh	foh	foh
42	cassowary	kiwar	kiwar	kiwar	kiwar	kiwar
43	wallaby	vev	vev	vev	wev	vev
44	flying fox	mere	mere	mere	meref	meref
45	rat	tɛg	tɛg	tɛg	kæg	tæg
46	frog	k ^h og	k ^h og	k ^h og	k ^h og	k ^h og
47	snake	mat ^h	mat ^h	mat ^h	mat ^h	mat ^h
48	fish	kak ^h ɛh	kak ^h ɛh	kak ^h ɛh	dor	dor
49	person	danah	danahas	danahas	danafas	danafas
50	he sits	(nug) dɛh	nug dɛh	(nu) dɛh	nugdɛh	nug dɛh
51	he stands	asedeh	nug sireh	nug sireh	nugsirehdeh	nug sireh deh
52	he lies down	nieh	amnelde njeh	nugsikveh	nugsikueh (le nieh) nugdafmelenieh	nug fɛf mɛnieh
53	he sleeps	usnieh	nugniah	nugusnieh	nugusnieh	nugusnieh
54	he walks	vɛjeh	nugvaijeh	nugvɛjeh	nugwaijeh	nug (aseh)vɛjeh
55	the dog bites the man	ʃeh danah kemleh	ʃeh danah kemleh	ʃɛ danah kem leh	ʃeh danaf kemle	ʃeh danaf kemleh
56	he eats	kɛleh	nugkɛleh	nug kɛleh	kehle	nug kɛleh
57	he gives it to me	damireh	nug(da)mireh	nugmireh	nug mereh	nug mireh
58	he sees	nug pieh	nug pieh	nug pereh	nug pieh	nug pieh
59	he comes	nugdoh	nugurieh	nug urieh nugdwe	nugurieh nugdwe	nug urieh nug dwe
60	he says	nuganeh	nugane	nuganeh	nuganeh	nuganeh
61	he hears	nugdweh	nugdweh	nugdweh	nugdweh	nug dweh

H. Wordlists (continued):

Item#	Form	Kamba	Kauris	Silibob	Mis	Foran
62	he knows	nugdweh	nugdwe	nugdweh	nugdweh	nugdwe
63	he drinks	leleh	nugleleh	nug(le)leh	lele	nug(le)leh
64	he hits	nugkoreh	nugkore	nugkore	(nug)koreh	nugkoreh
65	he kills	morwev moseh	nugmolweb moseh	nugbebmoseh	magrev mouseh	nug magrev mouseh
66	he dies	mousskor malweh	nug moseh	mosan	mouseh	nug(iril)mouseh
67	it burns	kevare	kevare	kevare	kevareh	kevare
68	it flies	nugmetarkoate	nug metarkoateh	nug metarkoateh	metarkoante	nug metarko ante
69	he swims	nug kagleh	nug lekagleh	(le)nug(le)kagleh	(le)kagle	nugkagle
70	he runs	nugueh	nugweh	nug gweh	guch	nug gweh
71	he falls down	tolweh	nugtolweh	nug tolweh	tolweh	nug tolweh
72	he catches	oroveh	nugolowe	nugoloveh	oroweh	nugoloweh
73	he coughs	doureh	nug doureh	nugdo ^u reh	doureh	nug doureh
74	he laughs	imeh	nugimeh	nugimeh	imeh	nugimeh
75	he dances	kasise	nugkasise	nugireh umuka ^β ieh	kasiko ^u l	nugkasiseh nugkasireh
76	big	nari	narih	narih	nari	narih
77	small	nagur	nagur	nagur	nagur	nagur
78	good	kenah	kenah	kenah	kenah	kenah
79	bad	nouh	nou	nou	nou	nou
80	long	velah	velah	velah	velaf	velaf
81	short	kutuk ^h	kutuk ^h	kutuk ^h	kutuk ^h	kutuf
82	heavy	kugoleh	kugoleh	kug(aleh)	kug	kugoleh
83	light	kugkawa	ku(g)kava	kuk ^h awa	kugkawa	kugkawa
84	cold	oug	oug	oug	oug	oug
85	hot	gagre	gagare gagarak ^h	gagarak ^h	kagare kagarak	gagre
86	new	fou	fou	fou(nah)	fou	fou
87	old	alag	alag	alag	alag	alag
88	round	gabidoroh	(Not elicited)	guru ^β orak ^h	taltiak ^h	guru(βe)
89	wet	le lehu(βeh)	sik ^h un	sik ^h un lehuoleh	sik ^h un lefuoleh	sik ^h un
90	dry	merak ^h	merak ^h	merak ^h	merak ^h	merak ^h
91	full	ambak ^h	ambeh	ambak ^h	ambak	ambeh
92	road	ih	ih	ih	if	if

H. Wordlists (continued):

Item#	Form	Kamba	Kauris	Silibob	Mis	Foran
93	stone	ɓar	ɓar	ɓar	ɓar	ɓar
94	earth	wan	van	wan	wan	wan
95	sand	æsi	æsi	æsi	æsih	æsi
96	mountain	ɓouku	ɓouɓu	ɓouk ^h u	ɓoukuh	ɓeh
97	fire	keɐ(arik ^h)	keɐarik ^h	keɐarik ^h	keɐarik ^h	kæɐ
98	smoke	keɐk ^h as	keɐkas	keɐ(ə)k ^h as	kæɐkas	kæɐkas
99	ashes	usur	keɐusur	keɐ usur	kæɐusur	kæɐ usur
100	sun	kem	kem	kem	kæm	kæm
101	moon	kalam	kalam	k ^h alam	kalam	kalam
102	star	soroweh	soroveh	soroweh	sorowe	sorweh
103	cloud	sav	lɔmbig	lɔmbig	lɔmbig	lɔmbig
				sav		
104	rain	guh	guh	guh	guh	gu
105	wind	uras	ulas	ulas	ulas	ulas
106	water	leh	leh	leh	leh	leh
107	vine	darer	darer	darer	darar	darar
108	tree	ker	ker	ker	ker	ker
109	stick	sok ^h æt ^h	sok ^h æt ^h	sok ^h æt	sok ^h æt	sok ^h et ^h
110	bark	kergara	kergoneh	kergoneh kergarah	kergoneh	kergoneh
111	seed	keræg	keræg	keræg	kerajæg	keræjag
112	root	kerdiri	kerdiri	kerdiri	kerdiri	kerdiri
113	leaf	kerurug	kerurug	kerurug	kerurug	kerurug
114	meat	dor	dor	dor(təhu)	dor	dor
115	fat	kirag	kirag	kirag	(dor) kirag	kirag
116	egg	owah	owah	owah	oaf	owaf
117	louse	mih	mih	mih	mih	mih
118	feather	urig	æbit ^h u (æ)urig	æbit ^h u	(æ)bit ^h u	æbit ^h u
119	horn	taworiri	tabori	ɓæ(p)kri	tawori	(Not elicited)
120	wing	soug	soug	soug	soug	soug
121	claw	ever gari	gari	erɛg gari	evɛg godɛf	evɛl gorɛf
		ever doroh				evɛl dolof
122	tail	fɛh	fɛh	fɛh	fɛf	fɛf
123	one	usih	usih	usih	usif	usif
124	two	arit ^h	arit ^h	arit ^h	arit ^h	arit ^h
125	three	k ^h iam	kiam	k ^h iam	kiam	k ^h iam

H. Wordlists (continued):

Item#	Form	Kamba	Kauris	Silibob	Mis	Foran
126	four	waros	waros	waros	waros	waros
127	five	tanig oleh	tanig (oleh)	tanigoleh	tanig ole	tanig oleh
128	ten	ever gur usih oleh	tanig arit ^h	eveh leplep aniak ^h	ever læplæp tanig ole tanig ole	evel leplep
129	taro	mah	mah	mah	mah	mah
130	sugarcane	k ^h am	k ^h am	k ^h am	k ^h am	k ^h am
131	yam	daver	daver	daver	daver	daver
132	banana	mug	mug	mug	mug	mug
133	sweet potato	tounam	tounam	dorek ^h a to ^u nam	durak ^h a	durek ^h a
134	bean	saijor	maswes	saijor	maswes	saijor maswes
135	axe	palangis	palangis	palangis	palangis	palangis
136	knife	barin	barin	barin	barin	barin
137	arrow	suk ^h	suk ^h	suk ^h	suk ^h	suk ^h
138	net bag	loh	loh	loh	loh	loh
139	house	loh	loh	loh	loh	loh
140	tobacco	k ^h as	k ^h as	kasuru	k ^h as urug	k ^h as
141	morning	furuwah	furuwah	furuwah	furuwa	furuwa
142	afternoon	tueh	tweh	tweh	twæf	twef
143	night	tuban	tuban	tuban	tuban	tuban
144	yesterday	tumeh	tumeh	tumeh	tumæh	tumeh
145	tomorrow	kerev	kerev	kerev	kerev	kelev
146	white	sagah	sagah	sagah	sagaf	sagaf
147	black	gatih	gatih	gatih	gatih	gatu
148	yellow	lanlan	lanlan	lanlan	lanlan	lanlan
149	red	karag	karag	karag	karag	karag
150	green	karver	karwer	karwer	karwar	lanfou
151	many	kurumkawa	kurum	osos	kurum	kurum
152	all	kurum	kunum	kunum	kunum	kunum
153	this	eneh	eneh	βeneh	inih	eneh
154	that	unih	unih	unih	unan	unih
155	what?	ker	ker	beker	ker	ker
156	who?	oun	aun	(βe)oun(teh)	oun	oun

H. Wordlists (continued):

Item#	Form	Kamba	Kauris	Silibob	Mis	Foran
157	when?	kersen	kersain	keresain	kersain	sain
158	where?	ar(e)wah	aran	arewah aran	arewah	arewa
159	yes	ʔεʔe	kenah	jo	ʔεʔe	ʔεʔe ijo
160	no	kawa	kawah	kawah	kawa	kawah
161	he is not sitting	pideh	nug pideh	nug pideh	nug pideh	nug pideh
162	I	dah	dah	dah	dah	dah
163	you (singular)	nah	nah	nah	nageh	nah
164	he	nug	nug	nug	nug	nug
165	we two (exclusive)	ih	ih	it ^h æ	ih	ih
166	you two	ah arit ^h	ah(olele)	ateh	ateh	(arit)ah
167	they two	arit ^h	ah	alit	ah	arit
168	we (exclusive)	ig	ig	igeh	ig	ig
169	you (plural)	ag kunum	ag	ageh	ag	ag
170	they	kurum(kawa)	ag	kunum	ag	ag
171	he is hungry	lakeʔeh	nug lakeʔeh	nug lakeh ʔeh	keribeh	nug keribeh
172	he eats sugar cane	nug kamleh	nug kamleh	nug k ^h am leh	kamleh	nug k ^h am leh
173	he laughs a lot	kevsibeh	nug imak kanouse	nug imkoh moseh	imkomoseh	nug imkou mouseh
174	one man stands	usihideh	siredeh	kanah husi si redeh	nugeh sireh	danaf usif sireh deh
175	two men stand	arit ^h dasah	arit sirap dasah	dana halit sirapdasah	sirap dasah	danaf arit ^h sirap dasah
176	three men stand	k ^h iam dasih	kiam sireb dasi	dana hiam sirevdasi	sirev	danaf kiam sirev dasi
177	the man goes	ateh	danahateh	dana hate	danaf ante	danaf ante
178	the man went yesterday	tumeh atan	tume danahatan	dana tume atan	tumeh (danaf) antan	tumeh danaf antan

H. Wordlists (continued):

Item#	Form	Kamba	Kauris	Silibob	Mis	Foran
179	the man will go tomorrow	kerev atig	kerev danahati	kerev danah atig	kerev danaf etig	kelev danaf eit ^h ig
180	the man eats the yam	daver leh	danah(a) daver leh	dana daver leh	danaf daver leh	danaf daver leh
181	the man ate the yam yesterday	daver lan	tumeh danaha daver lan	tume dana daver lan	tumeh (danaf) daver lan	tumeh danaf daver lan
182	the man will eat the yam tomorrow	daver lerig	kerev danaha daver lari	kerev dana daver lerig	kerev danaf daver larig	kelev danaf daver lærig
183	the man hit the dog	beh koreh	danah beh koran	dana beh koreh	danaf beh koran	danaf beh koran
184	the man didn't hit the dog	beh pi koran	danah(a) beh pi koran	dana beh pi koreh	danaf beh pi koran	danaf beh pi koran
185	the big man hit the little dog	danah nari beh nagur koreh	danah(a) nari beh nagur koran	dana nari beh nagur koreh	danaf nari beh nagur koran	danaf nari beh nagur koran
186	the man gave the dog to the boy	danah nir nag beh moran	danah(a) nir nagur beh moran	danah beh nir nagur moreh	danaf beh nagur moran	danaf beh nir nagur moran
187	the man hit the dog and went	danah beh korko ateh	danah(a) beh korko atan	danaha beh korkor mele ateh	danaf beh korko antan	danaf beh korko antan
188	the man hit the dog when the boy went	nir nag atevev danah beh koreh	nir nagur ateb danaha beh koran	nir nagur tever danaha beh koreh	sain nir nag antevel danaf beh koran	sain nir nagur antev danaf beh koran
189	the man hit the dog and it went	danah beh korev beh ateh	danah(a) beh koreb beh atan	danah beh korev be ateh	danaf beh korev beh antan	danaf beh korev beh antan
190	the man shot and ate the pig	danah fou jako lan	danah(a) foijako lan	dana fo jako leh beko	danaf fo jako fo lan	danaf fou beko (fou) lan

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