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COMPARATIVE NOTES ON MAISIN AND OTHER LANGUAGES OF EASTERN PAPUA.

BY SIDNEY H. RAY.

The languages around Collingwood Bay taken in order from east to west are as follows: (1) Mukawa and Kapikapi, close to Cape Vogel, with (2) Boniki in the south; (3) Kwagila on the south shore of the bay, with (4) Ubir (Kubiri) spoken by the Waiawana tribe at Firtree Point, and (5) Raqa spoken by the Awanabairia tribe in the south-western corner of the bay. North of Raqa at Uiaku is (6) Maisin, with (7) Oiun and (8) Kiviri at Wanigela on the north-western shore. Of the languages inland southward nothing is known until the villages are reached on the south coast of Papua. Here the Papuan languages of Domara, at Cloudy Bay and Cheshunt Bay, Burumai in Baxter Bay, and Mailu on the coast and Toulon Island are closely related to one another. Beyond Toulon Island eastward is found the Melanesian language of Daui; westward of Cheshunt Bay is another Melanesian language, Keakalo.

Westward from the Cape Nelson Peninsula to the British-German boundary all the known languages are non-Melanesian. These are the Adaua (Musa River), Amara (Upper Kumusi), Berepo (Ope River) and Binandele (Mamba River). The last three are closely related.

In the grammar preceding this note Dr. Strong regards the Maisin as a Melanesian language with a strong element of Papuan grammar and vocabulary. If this were so the language would be unique among those spoken in the regions where Melanesian and Papuan forms of speech come into contact. In such contacts, whilst it is generally found that the Melanesian languages have borrowed words from a Papuan neighbour, and have appropriated Papuan idioms, it is hardly ever found that Melanesians have adopted the particles or pronouns of a Papuan language. That is, the elements of the Melanesian language remain unchanged, even though it may be spoken in a Papuan syntax. On the other hand Papuan languages borrow not only Melanesian words and idioms, but in some cases they use Melanesian grammatical particles.² The usual result of the contact of Papuan

² As, e.g., in Mailu, where the Melanesian (Daui) ena, his, takes the place of the proper word noana. Daui, ena numa, his house; Mailu, ena uru. Cf. also Mailu vaeboebo, bless (from eboebo, good); vaoni, send (from oni, go), in which va is the Melanesian causative prefix.

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¹ As, e.g., the altered position of the genitive in New Guinea. Mukawa, pipiya natuna; Wedau, rava natuna; Keapara, aunilimalima nauna; Daui, tau natuna; man his son, man's son. These follow the Papuan syntax as, e.g., Binandele, embo da mai; Toaripi, karu ve atute; Namau, a'a na ukua, man of son; Mailu, emegi ena oeva, man his son. In the Melanesian Islands the syntax is: Santo, notu-n toua; Efate, nani natamole; Malekula, natin haris, his-son man; Mota, nat tanun; Florida, ndale tinoni, son (of) man.

with another tongue is the breakdown and simplification of the usually elaborate grammar. Such a result is known to have taken place in the Miriam and Kiwai; in the former owing to its use by a mixed population, in the latter owing to the influence of English.

The main features of the Maisin are those of a Papuan language, as may be shown by comparison with Binandele and Mailu, contrasted with Mukawa and Ubir.

§ 1. Phonology.—The Maisin phonology is Papuan rather than Melanesian. This is seen in the occurrence of the nasals ng, ngg, mb, nj, nd, which are absent in the mainland Melanesian languages of Eastern New Guinea,² but are found in the Papuan language of Binandele. The Maisin also lacks the Melanesian compound consonants q (kw) and gw, which are found in the neighbouring languages, and the characteristic Melanesian trilled g.

A few sound changes may be noted. Maisin ng is represented by m in Papuan and Melanesian. Cf. lime, louse, water in § 14a, and drink, eat, louse, night in § 14b. Nj in Maisin is represented by nd in Binandele and Amara. Cf. egg, fly, § 14a. S in Maisin is lost in Binandele and Amara, but retained in Musa and Adaua. Cf. lime, pig, § 14a. An initial y in Maisin is absent in other Papuan tongues, Cf. father, water, § 14a, but seems to represent an original guttural in Melanesian words. Cf. Road, sail, § 14b.

Initial r represents Melanesian n. Cf. Come, face, go, hear, § 14b. Maisin f represents Melanesian p. Cf. Fly (v.), lip, thick, white, § 14b.

§ 2. Nouns.—The noun formation by a suffix or following word is usual in Papuan. Thus the Maisin nomba-fafusi, jealous person, nane-fafusi, workman,³ is similar to the Binandele ainda-embo, servant, beonoari-embo, thief, and the Mailu onamaimini-egi, servant, oma-emegi, thief, in which embo, egi and emegi certainly, and fafusi probably, mean "person."

The Melanesian languages translate this by a prefix with the same meaning, sometimes by a suffix or following word. Ubir agir orot, servant; Mukawa pisikara bitana, thief; giugiu bitana, teacher; Wedau tau-nola, workman; qalaqalaitauna, thief; tau-giuni-na, teacher, in which orot, bita, tau mean "person," and na, "its."

- § 3. Plural.—The Maisin plurals by reduplication are found in Binandele with a vowel change as, e.g., danjing, plural of dang, areca-nut; sinotano, plural of sino, dog. Also Mailu ooeva, plural of oeva, child. The irregular plurals are found in Binandele and in some of the Melanesian languages. Cf. Binandele embomai, plural of embo, man; asini, plural of aro, wife; Wedau waivine, plural of wavine, woman; nelara, plural of oroto, man; Mukawa baibine, plural of wasike, woman.
- ¹ In Miriam (Murray Island) the writer was assured by the natives that the language in present use is "cut short," and that the younger people do not use the full forms of words. The Rev. E. B. Riley writes that in Kiwai the younger generation (who are using English) do not understand the proper use of the prefixes and suffixes. In Kiwai these are very complicated.
 - ² Except mb and nd sometimes found in Ubir.
 - ³ Some of the examples quoted are from the Maisin prayer book of the Anglican Mission.

§ 4. Case.—The indication of case by suffixes in Maisin may be compared with Mailu and Binandele.

Vocative.—Maisin -e, -be: Mailu, o, eio, egi o! man! ooeva eio! children! Dative.—Maisin -so: Mailu -la, uru-la, to house; Binandele -da, oro-da, to house.

Instrumental.—Maisin -eng: Mailu -ma, aama-ma, with water; Binandele -mi, ung-mi, with water.

Locative.—Maisin -e: Mailu -de, lavi-de, in evening; Binandele -de, turo-de, in the evening.

Ablative.—Maisin -efe. Mailu -ma, aama-ma, from water; Binandele -mi, butu-mi, from the earth.

The Melanesian languages have nothing comparable except the locative termination ai. Ubir imanai (ima, na, ai), hand his in; tafanam-ai, the land in; Mukawa murisiai (muri, si, ai) after their at, behind them; kupurai, the land in.

§ 5. Adjectives.—The Maisin adjective, as in Papuan, follows the noun. Cf. Mailu uru ogoda, house great; Binandele ni teka, bird young. In these languages also the case particle follows the adjective, as in Maisin. Mailu sipo ogoda de, price great at; Binandele wawa matu da, shed old to.

The plural form of the adjective is found in Binandele: nei, other, plural nenei; dawa, same. plural dawadawa. In Mailu many adjectives are reduplicate in form, though not plural in meaning, as, e.g., eboebo, good; arara, wild; emeeme, white. In the Melanesian languages the adjectives also follow the noun: Mukawa pipiya gairena, Wedau rava aiaina, man good.

§ 6. Personal Pronoun.—When the terminations ro, no, which correspond to the Mailu suffix a, are removed from the Maisin pronouns, they show no likeness to any of the neighbouring languages, either Papuan or Melanesian. The simplest forms in these may be shown thus:—

	Maisin.	Mailu.	Binandele.	Mukawa.	Boniki.	Ubir and Raqa.	Kiviri.
,, 2	$ \begin{vmatrix} e & \dots \\ ai & \dots \\ aiti & \dots \\ an & \dots \\ en & \dots \end{vmatrix} $	$\left. \left. \left. \right noa \right \right. \left. \left. \left \right. \right. \right. \left. \left. \left \right. \right. \right. \right. \left. \left. \left \right. \left \right. \right. \right. \left. \left \right. \right. \right. \left. \left \right. \left \left. \left \right. \right \right. \left. \left \left. \left \right. \right \right. \left. \left \left \right. \left \left \right \right. \left \left \left \right \right \right. \left \left \left \left \left \right \right \right. \left \left \left \left \left \left \left \right \right \right \right \right. \left $	imo owa, awa kaena nakare imo-mane	kom kona kota iakai komi	taku tam touna touta takai toumi touwi	om ona ota iai omi	1

This shows clearly the separation of the Maisin from the Melanesian, as well as its position as an independent Papuan language. Some Papuan languages show the inclusive and exclusive forms of the pronoun in the first person plural: as, e.g., Binandele, kaena (incl.), nakare (excl.); Bongu jīg (incl.), ga (excl.).

§ 7. Possessives.—What Dr. Strong calls the Possessive Pronoun in Maisin is the simple stem as given in the preceding table with the word kang, elsewhere translated "side," "neighbourhood." It is used with nouns: avang ai tamati-

dombung kang, thing thy neighbour side, i.e. thing of thy neighbour. The Mailu adds the syllable na in a similar way: ina, mine; gana, thine; etc. The Binandele forms are irregular: nato, mine; ito, thine; ounda, his. Both Mailu and Binandele make no distinction between adjective and pronoun.

The Possessive adjectives in Maisin are very strange. They appear to be imperfect imitations of Melanesian, as only the first and third persons singular and the first exclusive and second plural appear to agree. But ari may represent ani, whilst ang and eng may represent am and em, and thus be compared with the Mukawa ama and ami.

	Maisin.	Mukawa.	Boniki.	Ubir and Raqa.	Mailu.	Binandele.	
Singular 1	ai ari aiti ang eng	am ana ata ama	am ina ita isi	ana ata ai ami	gana ena $gegena$ $gana$ $gegena$ $gegena$ $gana$	ito. ounda. kaenato. natokare. itomane.	

§ 8. Suffixed Pronouns.—The objective suffixes are strange in a Papuan tongue. In Mailu the object precedes the verb: noa ma omoa iosawosiatama, he them left; torea omuna ma noa eriama, girl one him saw. Also in Binandele: kaena owa gana, we him will-watch; imo nakare boteda kundo, dawate-i? you us in-boat having-fetched will-(you)-take?

In Maisin the first and second persons singular and the first inclusive and second plural have the same form -reng. A similar grouping is found in Miriam, where the object is indicated by a prefix: napiti, he strikes me or thee; ipiti, he strikes him; dipiti, he strikes us or you. Other Papuan tongues make a similar grouping with the subjective prefixes to verbs, as, e.g., Kiwai: narogo, I or we say rarogo, thou sayest, he says, you or they say.

The Possessive suffixes are also strange and suggest partial borrowing from a Melanesian language. The first person singular u, first plural inclusive ti, and third plural ai are not very different from the u, ta and si with the same meanings and use in Ubir. The Maisin ai perhaps stands for ahi (i.e., asi). These terminations in Mukawa are -ku, -at, and -si. The Maisin -ang used in all other persons and numbers may represent m or n of the Ubir, as second singular m, second plural mi, third singular na. The first plural exclusive presents a difficulty, as no Melanesian language in the neighbourhood of Maisin has m in the suffix for this person, though it is usually mai in other Melanesian languages of New Guinea. It is, however, probable that -ang is not a pronominal termination at all, but simply the common noun ending ng.1

¹ In the Maisin vocabulary 14 names of parts of the body are said to take the suffixed pronouns. Of these 14, 9 are evidently Melanesian words. Of 6 other names of parts of the body which do not take the suffixes 5 are Melanesian.

§ 9. The Verbal Auxiliary.—The particles used with verbs to mark person and number in Maisin are evident loans from the Melanesian. They are almost identical with Mukawa, and differ very little from those used in other Melanesian languages of the north-east coast. Cf.:—

	Singular.						Plural.							
	1.		2.		3.		1 incl.		1 excl.		2.		3.	
Maisin Mukawa Ubir Raqa Wedau	 $\alpha \\ \alpha$	•••	ku, ko ku u u	•••	i, e $i \dots$ $i \dots$	•••	ta ta ta ta ta		ka $a \dots$	•••	ku, ko ko o o	•••	te. i, si.	

These prefixes are quite foreign to Mailu and Binandele, and to other Papuan languages.

§ 10. The Verb.—The verbal suffixes in Maisin show no likeness in form and use to Mailu or Binandele, and are not comparable with the Melanesian languages, except so far as they may be of an adverbial nature as Dr. Strong suggests. In expressing present time by reduplication, the Maisin agrees with the Melanesian: Maisin *i-fefe*, he is falling; Mukawa *e-pekupeku*, Wedau *e-peupeu*.

The Maisin terminations are comparable with the Toaripi and Namau far to the west, which express tense by a change of ending.

Toaripi: putoi, falls; putoipe, fell; putoita, fell (yesterday).

Namau: arana, falls, or fell; ara'anake, fell, has fallen; ara'akana, will fall; ara'ne, may fall.

In Namau the negative is similar to Maisin and is formed with prefix and suffix: a'-ara'nake-a, did not fall, (inamu)-a-oinake-a, did not see. Cf. Maisin isa-ikita-ki, did not see.

In Mailu and Binandele the verb terminals change for number, person and tense.

- § 11. Adverbs.—Adverbs derived from the cases of nouns are found in Binandele and Mailu. Thus Maisin inke (here), nenke (there), from in-ang (this), ne-ng (that), are translated by Binandele ein-da (here), aun-da (there), from eiwa (this), and awa (that), and by the Mailu eva-de (here), and ne-de (there), from eva (this) and ne (that). The Maisin adverb formed from an adjective by the objective or instrumental suffix -ng, finds a parallel in the Mailu use of the locative de: ogoda-de, greatly.
- § 12. Prepositions.—What are called prepositions in Maisin are really postpositions, and are used in the same way as in Papuan languages. But with compounds the Maisin construction is more like the Melanesian than Mailu or Binandele. In the two last languages the possessive pronoun is not used with nouns. The following phrases illustrate the construction in Maisin, Mailu,

Binandele, Mukawa and Ubir. A literal translation and the separate elements of compounds are given in brackets.

- To the children: Maisin, jameng kame (children side-at [kame=kang-e]; Mailu, ooeva iva la (children those to); Binandele, mamai-nde (children-to); Mukawa, natunatusi kaurisi (children-their to-them); Ubir, fasisi nanatus (to-them children-their).
- 2. Under the earth: Maisin, to kafire (earth under-its-at [kafire=kafa, ari-e]); Mailu, one ausu de (earth inside-at); Binandele, butu da kambe da (earth of under at); Mukawa, tano gaburinai (earth under-its-at [gaburi-na-ai]); Ubir, tafanam babanai (earth under-its-at [baba, na, ai]).
- 3. Inside thy gate: Maisin, ai kasimon terere (thy gate inside-its-at [terere = tere, ari-e]); Mailu, gana urunoga ausu de (thy gate inside at [urunoga=house opening]); Binandele, ito be do da (thy door front at); Mukawa, am matamketeiai (thy gates-at [matamketei=gates, opening of path, ai]); Ubir, am kayawan amonai (thy gate inside-its-at [amo, na, ai]).
- 4. Before me: Maisin, rouse (face-my-at [ro, u, s?e]); Mailu, ia ina isana de (I my face at); Binandele, na doda (I face-at); Mukawa, naokuai (face-my-at [nao, ku, ai]); Ubir, nauui (face-my-at [nau, u, ai]).

§ 13. Numerals.—The Maisin numerals differ from both Papuan and Melanesian. Cf.:—

			1.	2.		3.		4.	5.	
Maisin Mailu	•••	•••	sesei	sandi ava		sinati aiseri		fusese	• • • •	fakete. (hand) ima.
Binandele	•••	•••	da	tote					 r-	
Mukawa	•••	•••	kesana	ruamo (two-on		tonu -	•••		•••	nima masiana. (hand-one)
Ubir	•••	•••	kaitamom (one-only)			tonu	•••	bata	•••	·
Raqa	•••	•••	taimona (one-only)	ruabi	•••	toni	•••	bati	•••	ima. (hand)
Boniki	•••	•••		rua	•••	aroba	•••	rua-ma-rua (two-and-two)	•••	<i>ima-i-kove</i> . (hand-is-finished)
Kiviri	•••	•••	kaitamom (one-only)	ruam	•••	tonu	•••	bat	•••	nim. (hand)
Oiun	•••	•••	taimonomon (one-only)	rowaba	•••	tun	•••	fen	•••	<i>ùma-ti-morob.</i> (hand-is-finished)

The higher numerals in Maisin are built up more like Melanesian than Papuan. Eg. Seven: Maisin, faketi-tarosi-taure-sandi (hand one-side other-side two); Mailu, ima lilia ava (five increased two); Binandele, ipa nei da toro de (hand other of finger on); Mukawa, nima masiana iaro masiruamo (hand one finger other two); Ubir, nima rebana rusi (hand its-top [is] two).

The word for twenty in Maisin, tamati sesei (man one), may be compared with the Melanesian, which generally adds a verbal phrase; as, e.g., Mukawa, sebari kesana i rabobo; Kiviri, oroto kaita i rabobo (man one is finished); Ubir, oroto i rabobo; Raqa, oroto i morobo; Oiun, oroto taimonomon i morob (man is finished).

§ 14. Vocabulary.—The Maisin presents a very mixed vocabulary. In this respect the only language which it resembles is the Mailu, which has also borrowed many Melanesian words. This probably results from the fact that Maisin on the north and Mailu on the south are the most easterly Papuan languages on the mainland of New Guinea, and so have been longest exposed to the Melanesian influence coming westward.

a. The following appear to be Papuan words in the Maisin vocabulary:—

Areca, kara: D. araa, K. faga.

Arm, fake: D. bika, A. agi.

Club (star), misi: A. misi (pine-apple club).

" disc, sambia: Mu. ambi, A. tumbi, Mulaha sabia.

Crocodile, guma: D. wama.

Dog, taru: D. dari, Ma. sari.

Ear, kari: Mu. kari.

Egg, munju: B. Am. mundu, D. Ma. muruu.

Elbow, ungobe: B. umbugo, Y. ugube.

Father, yabe: D. abai, Ma. apai.

Fire, wo: D. Ma. eu.

Fly, jinonji: Mu. ginonda.

Go, ro: Am. irou.

Hair, kesa: Mu. sega.

Lime, song: B. ong, Am. o, Mu. soma.

Louse, tung: Mu. D. tuma, N. umaa.

Pig, siko: Mu. siko. Cf. A. sika, B. sino, dog.

Sago, bayau: Mu. baiyau. This may be by metathesis the Melanesian rabia.

Skin, ando: B. aingto, Mu. andora.

Spear, ganang: D. gara.

Spit, kasufe: Mu. fisoga, B. kosiwa.

Tooth, nua: M. nuga.

Water, yung: B. ung, Am. umu, Mu. yuig, ugo, Y. I. umu, D. Ma. aama.

Weep, tesi: Mu. ji, B. ji, tears.

Yam, kuta: A. kuta.

Yellow, gabo: Mu. kambe, D. qambuqabura.

¹ Papuan languages: A. Adaua, Am. Amara, B. Binandele, Be. Berepo, D. Domara, I. Iworo, K. Koiari, Kt. Koita, Ma. Mailu, Mu. Musa River, N. Neneba, Y. Yoda.

b. With Melanesian languages¹ there appear to be the following agreements. Some of these are very like the corresponding word in Papuan:—

Ashes, isang: Muk. U. R. isara, Ki. O. isar.

Belly, tina: Cf. R. kabu-tina, bowels; Rubi. tina, Suau, etc., sina, bowels.

Blood, ta: Ki. tar, W. U., etc., tara. Cf. D. nara, Ma. nara, Kt. tago.

Boat, ka: Muk. waka, R. Ki. wa.

Breast, susi: Muk. U. Bo. G. susu.

Butterfly, bimbaba: Muk. R. ara-bembemta, Kw. kara-bimbim. Cf. D. bebe.

Buy, kuma: Muk. kunei, W. unei, sell.

Come, rai: W. nei, O. na.

Die, mate: Suau, mate. Apparently not used in languages of the N.E. coast.

Dog, taru: R. saruve, O. haruve. Cf. D. dari, Ma. sari.

Drink, kung: Muk. Ku. toma, W. umai, etc.

Earth, toa: W. Bo. G. doa.

Eat, kang: Muk. Bo. G. kani, kam, W. ani, am.

Eye, mata: Muk. U. W., etc., mata. Cf. Mu. mata.

Face, ro: Mu. W., etc., nao.

Feather, wwwudi: Kw. bubuni. Apparently not used in other languages of N.E. Coast.

Fly (v.), ruft: Muk. roborobo.

Foot, ke: Muk. Bo. G. kae, W., etc., ae. Cf. B. tai, Be. tei.

Go, ro: Muk. W. nae, R. na.

Hard, wena: Ki. wawanin, O. waniwanin.

Hear, rua: Muk. nonora, W., etc., nonori.

Lip, fufu: Cf. Motu, Keapara, bibi. Also cf. Mu. bobu.

Louse, tung: Bo. G. tuma. Cf. Mu. D. tuma, N. umaa.

Man, tamati: Cf. Dobu. tomota, Sariba tamoai. Cf. Mu. tamata.

Mosquito, namu: R. namo, U. nanamo, G. Bo. namo-kiri.

Mother, yo: W. R. U. al'o (nearly adho), Ki. aio.

Mouth, kawa: Muk. G. Bo. kawa, U. R. Ki. awa.

Neck, iko: R. sika, O. seko.

Night, foing: Muk. Ki. pom, Sariba, Tubetube, poni.

Nose, isu: R. O. iu, Suau, etc., isu.

Outrigger, samang: U. samani, Ki. O. sama, Mu. gamani.

¹-Melanesian languages: Bo. Boniki, G. Galavi, Ki. Kiviri, Muk. Mukawa, O. Oiun, R. Raqa, U. Ubir, W. Wedau. *Cf. Rep. Cambridge Anthrop. Exped.*, vol. iii, pp. 391-412 and 482-503.

Pipe, wau: w, etc., baubau.1

Road, yeta: W. U. R. Ki. eta, Muk. Bo. G. keta. Sago, baiyau: W., etc., rabia. Cf. Mu. baiyau.

Sail, yaba: Rubi geba. Cf. Keapara gepa, mat. Cf. Ma. epa.

Seratch, kari: R. kairi, U. Ki. gagara. See, kite: Muk. G. Bo. kitai, U. Ki. itai.

Smoke, kasu: Muk. kasu. Snake, moti: Muk. W. mota.

Spit, kasufe: G. sova, W. ovai. Cf. Mu. fiscga, B. kosiwa.

Stand, veisi: Kw. misi, Muk. msiri, U. misiri.

Star, damana: R. damani.

Stone, kimati: Bo. G. wakima, W. g'aimi, Muk. akima, U. Ki. agim.

Sugarcane, to: W. Muk. Bo. G. tom, Motu tou, Galoma obu. Sun, ya: R. vel'a, O. vela, Kw. U. Ki. vera. Cf. B. vevera hot.

Thick, fotuna: W. putoputona, Wamira potupotuna.

Tongue, me: R. meme, W. mena.

Tooth, nua: Muk. nibo, W. ivo. Cf. Mu. nuga.

Tree, ka: G. kai, R. O. ai. White, foe: Muk. Bo. poepoena.

Wife, sauki: W. U. R. awa, Muk. kaoa, G. Bo. kawa.

Yam, kuta: U. R. Ki. O. uta. Cf. A. kuta.

The Maisin language would thus appear to be originally a Papuan language, which has adopted an abnormal number of Melanesian words. It has also appropriated some Melanesian particles, the verbal auxiliaries entirely, and partially adopted others, the possessive suffixes, and the use of possessives with the post-positions. But in other respects its grammar is Papuan. The language of Mailu on the south coast is in the same mixed condition as regards the vocabulary. There is little direct evidence of a connection between Maisin and Mailu or Binandele. Hence, Maisin may represent a survival of a former Papuan population in Eastern Papua.

¹ In Dr. Strong's Grammar, p. 14, wan is "pipe" and mevavi, "banana," but in his wocabulary wan appears for "banana."