

REVIEWS

W.A.L. Stokhof (ed.) *Holle lists: vocabularies in languages of Indonesia*, vol.1: *Introductory volume*, and vol.2: *Sula and Bacan Islands, North Halmahera, South and East Halmahera*. *Pacific Linguistics*, D-17, 1980. pp.v+149, and D-28, 1980, pp.v+325.

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These are the first two volumes of a series in which Wim Stokhof of the National Centre for Language Development in Jakarta, working in co-operation with Lia Saleh-Bronckhorst, is publishing the Holle lists, 234 wordlists covering a wide range of languages throughout Indonesia. The lists, stored in a box in the National Museum in Jakarta, were collected between 1894 and 1931, and carry the name of the nineteenth-century authority on the Netherlands Indies, K.F. Holle, who inspired the publication in 1894 of a governmentally sanctioned list of some 1000 lexical items to be used for data collection by government officials and others throughout the Indies. Two revised editions of the list were published in 1904 and 1931, and the resulting collection covers languages, some of them otherwise unrecorded, from throughout the outlying areas of Indonesia.

The manuscript lists are very difficult of access for researchers, and Stokhof therefore intends to publish as many of them as funds allow, concentrating on the linguistically least known areas. The first of these two volumes is an introduction and key to the second and further as yet unpublished volumes, and the second contains nineteen lists from the Sula Islands, Bacan and Halmahera. Further volumes are also to contain about twenty lists each. The first volume includes an account of the history of the lists and their present manuscript condition, a catalogue of the lists, a justification for publishing them, a consolidated version of the three editions of the Holle list, a commentary on the transcriptions used, and indexes. Stokhof finds it necessary to

provide a justification for publishing the lists because he feels that they may be regarded as valueless by colleagues who are oriented towards theoretical linguistics. This apart, Stokhof's precision and clarity in volume one and his attention to detail inspire confidence in the usefulness of the lists to comparative linguists. Background information is concisely presented, and the three editions of the Holle list are consolidated into a single 1546-item New Basic List, cross-referenced to the three editions and accompanied by English and Indonesian glosses of the original Dutch. In editing the consolidated list, Stokhof has taken great care to keep separate slightly different glosses in the three editions which might elicit different responses in a target language. The list provides a key to the lists in volume two, which are numbered item by item in accordance with the numbering of the New Basic List. Volume one also contains Indonesian, Dutch and English indexes to the New Basic List and a separate index of Swadesh items therein. As a result it is very easy to find items in the lists in volume two, and a by-product of the arrangement is that the indexes and trilingual New Basic List also enable a speaker of one of the three languages to ascertain common dictionary entries in one of the other two, allowing, for example, an English-speaker to make some use of a Dutch-Biak or Indonesian-Biak wordlist or dictionary as well as the Holle lists themselves.

The usefulness of the lists to the comparative linguist is enhanced by the fact that they contain far more items than most 'standard' wordlists. A potential drawback is that lists collected by non-linguists are liable to orthographic inconsistencies. However, Stokhof gives the transcription instructions provided with the Holle list blanks, and some of the collectors of the lists published in volume two have given their own transcription keys. Comparison of lists in volume two for the same or closely related languages suggests that their transcriptions are surprisingly consistent, probably because of collectors' familiarity with the Dutch-based Malay orthography, and that, apart from occasional difficulties in the interpretation of <oe> (as [u] or [oe]) and <ng> (as [ŋ] or [ŋg]), there is little to hinder their usefulness.

Stokhof divides the nineteen lists in the second volume into three groups: (1) the Austronesian languages of the Sula Islands and Bacan;

(2) the non-Austronesian languages of north Halmahera; (3) the Austronesian languages of south Halmahera.

The languages of the first group apparently belong to Blust's (1981) Central Malayo-Polynesian group (Dyen's, 1965, Moluccan Linkage). Within themselves they clearly subgroup into Taliabu, Kadai and Sobojo (all on Taliabu Island); Sula Mangoli and Sula Fagudu (both on Mangoli Island); and Bacan, of south-western Halmahera.

The languages of the third group, Weda, Buli, Sawai, Patani, Maba, and Gane, all belong to the South Halmahera subgroup (which also includes Makian Dalam and Misool) of Blust's (1978) South Halmahera—West New Guinea group of Eastern Malayo-Polynesian. The only substantial publications on any of these languages are Maan's two works (1940, 1951) on Buli. The Holle lists show that the first five of these languages form a closely-knit group, to which Gane is just a little more loosely related. The publication of these lists is important, because it enables us to check the thirteen shared phonological innovations which form the basis of Blust's South Halmahera—West New Guinea grouping, itself of significance because it is claimed to form, together with the Oceanic Austronesian languages, the Eastern Malayo-Polynesian group of Austronesian. Hence information about the South Halmahera and West New Guinea languages may cast considerable light on the little-understood prehistory of Proto-Oceanic (lists for some of the West New Guinea languages are destined for publication in a future volume). On the basis of these six lists, certain facts are already clear. Blust's shared innovations 3,4,6,7,8 and 9 are certainly confirmed, and 1,2 and 11 tentatively so. Innovations 5,10 and 13 are not attested, and 12 is identical with 11. Hence Blust's grouping is confirmed. Comparison of these lists with four of the most westerly languages of Irian Jaya, namely Kaiwai, Uruangnirin, Salawati and Onin, places the latter on phonological grounds (retention of PEMP *p and *mb as separate phonemes and loss of PEMP *R) in the South Halmahera rather than the West New Guinea group. And comparison of the Holle list for Bacan with those for South Halmahera shows that the border between them is the border between the Central and Eastern Malayo-Polynesian groupings of Austronesian, as Bacan lacks Blust's innovations 1,3,6,8 and 11.

The languages of Stokhof's second (non-Austronesian) group are

Galela (two lists), Tidore (two lists), Loda, Pagu and Madole. They form with Tabaru and Tobelo the North Halmahera family, which belongs - with certain families of the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya - to the West Papuan Phylum, previous work on which is summarised by Voorhoeve (1975: 118-119). It is evident from the lists that Loda, Pagu and Modole form a closely-knit subgroup in the middle of a chain of languages running from Galela in the north to Tidore in central Halmahera. Capell (1975: 670-671) disputes Wurm's (1971) claim that the north Halmahera languages are closely interrelated. On inspection the Holle lists seem to verify Wurm's claim, which it is now possible to test by calculating cognate percentages. It is interesting to note that these languages contain a quantity of Austronesian basic vocabulary, much of it shared by two or more languages, the source of which has yet to be ascertained.

For the user it is mildly inconvenient that use of the lists in volume two is by continual reference to the key in volume one. However, to reprint the glosses with each list would have been far more costly and bulky, and this inconvenience will be amply justified if cost savings allow the publication of a larger number of lists.

As usual in the *Pacific Linguistics* publications, the typography of the Holle lists is excellent. There are one or two proofreading oversights: in volume one the sentence beginning 'Since the Museum...' on p.15 lacks some words, and footnote 5 on p.144 is missing, whilst in volume two 'Tabiabu' should read 'Taliabu' on p.4. As should be obvious from the initial findings above, Stokhof has no need to justify to the comparativist the publication of his meticulously edited Holle lists. The nineteen already published have the potential to cast much light on the linguistic history of eastern Indonesia, and it is to be hoped that more volumes will appear soon.

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