CHAPTER 1

1. Some linguists use the term “verb phrase” to represent this type of unit, but others use it to refer to the verb complex together with the object. I do not use the term in this book.

2. The first and third sentences could stand on their own with the assistance of context, that is, they would both be acceptable answers to the question “Who were killing the cats?” They could not, however, stand in isolation, or as, say, the first sentence in a conversation.

3. See section 2.1 in the next chapter for a discussion of the concept of dialect.

CHAPTER 2

1. In the absence of other evidence, the number of speakers in the region would lead us to predict the existence of about six languages, not fourteen hundred, assuming that all the world’s languages had an equal number of speakers.

2. The points of the Polynesian Triangle are Hawai‘i to the north, New Zealand to the southwest, and Easter Island to the southeast.

3. Crowley (1994) estimates that Paamese currently has about 4,750 speakers, although Tryon and Charpentier (1989) put the number of speakers at around 2,400. Even with changes of this order in the figures for some other languages, however, no Vanuatu language has anywhere near 10,000 speakers.

4. The Western Desert language has a variety of local dialect names, but no indigenous name for the whole language.

5. The name Nakanamanga, both widely and commonly used by speakers of the language, may have been avoided by missionaries who had some experience with Fijian, since this term is obscene in that language.
CHAPTER 3

1. The family was for a long time called “Malayo-Polynesian,” but because this term appeared to exclude the languages of Melanesia and Micronesia, most scholars have adopted the term “Austronesian” (lit., southern islands).

2. Most of the groups mentioned here correspond to those listed in Pawley and Ross 1995, an admirable summary of the current state of research. (Exactly how a small group of Oceanic languages in northeast Irian Jaya is related to the rest of the languages of the subgroup is still not clear.) In a few cases, I have incorporated more recent research. In such cases I have specified the source. Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (1998) suggest that groups five through eight may belong to a single Central-Eastern Oceanic group.

3. For a brief discussion of lexicostatistics, see 1.3.3, above.

4. I do not list the actual terms here. For both a list and more detailed discussion, see Chowning (1991) and Pawley and Ross (1995).

CHAPTER 5

1. Recall from the discussion in chapter 1 that the sounds of languages are organized into a number of sound units, or phonemes. In discussing individual pronunciations of words, linguists use square brackets [ ], while phonemes are written between slant lines / /. I use italics for single letters. Appendix 2 provides a chart of the phonetic symbols used in this book, and appendix 3 gives some examples of the vowel and consonant systems of a number of Pacific languages.

2. I make occasional reference in this section to the two non-Oceanic languages spoken in Micronesia, Palauan and Chamorro.

3. The contexts need not concern us here. But see 6.2.1 below and Churchward (1940, 14).

4. The phonetic explanation for this seems to be that the production of voiceless obstruents involves greater muscle tension and a higher larynx than does the production of voiced obstruents, and greater muscle tension and a higher larynx are associated with higher pitch (Clark and Yallop 1990, 282–283).

5. The Rotokas voiced phonemes /v r g/ are pronounced as nasals [m n ñ] in some phonetic environments.

6. Tone marking has been omitted from these examples so as not to obscure the placement of stress.

7. “On the whole these [tonal systems] seem better analyzed as pitch-accent systems rather than as genuine tonal systems. The vast majority of such Papuan languages have a single contrast between high and low tone, and this suggests a pitch-accent system with a contrast between accented syllables and unaccented ones” (Foley 1986, 63).

8. Unfortunately, the sources do not show full contrast, as there appears to be no word /nâ/ that would contrast with the other three words listed here.

9. The Rapanui (Easter Island) rongorongo may be an exception to this, although it was apparently a system of mnemonics rather than a writing system per se.
10. Many nonlinguists do not conceive of the glottal stop as a proper consonant, but more as a "break" between two vowels. In his grammar of Tongan, Churchward is at pains to correct this misconception and to stress the consonantal nature of the glottal stop: "To call it the break, as is sometimes done, is convenient but is rather misleading" (Churchward 1953, 1).

11. The Catholic forms have eventually been adopted, partly because they correspond most closely to the English system, and partly due to the influence of Wantok newspaper, the first Tok Pisin newspaper, which was originally produced by the Catholic Church.

12. This principle was taken to its ridiculous extreme in Erromango (Vanuatu), where early missionaries wrote /au/ as x and /oi/ as c.

13. The only violation of this principle has been the use of the digraph dr to represent /θ/. The controversy, which surfaces every so often, usually takes the form of pressure to revise Fijian orthography more in the direction of English, and to write mb, th, and so on for what are currently written as b and c.

14. This convention is based on German orthography.

CHAPTER 6

1. Note that the Fijian pronouns given here (and elsewhere) have a preposed personal article (see 6.2.2 below), which is i in the Nadrau dialect given here and o in Standard Fijian and some other dialects. I sometimes refer to Standard (Bauan) Fijian simply as "Fijian," but specify other varieties by name (e.g., "Nadrau Fijian").

2. The Nehan forms are those used in past tense. Non-past forms are slightly different, involving the loss of initial k in most persons and the replacement of k with m in the first person exclusive and the second person plural.

3. The variation in the third person plural in Kiribati is between animate (-iia) and inanimate (-i) objects.

The forms given for the subject markers in table 5 are what appear to be the underlying forms. There is considerable variation in current usage as a result of changes in progress in this system (see Lynch 1995).

4. In citing Rotuman data, I use standard orthographic symbols for consonants, but phonetic symbols for vowels, since the system of vowel diacritics in Rotuman orthography is somewhat unwieldy.

5. Many of these languages probably once did have at least one article, deriving from the Proto Oceanic common article *na. In Vanuatu especially, however, this article has become attached to the noun and now forms part of the noun root, though it may be removed in certain contexts (cf. the discussion on pluralization in Anejom in the previous section).

6. In Fijian, ko tends to be used quite often in writing where o is used in speech, while a is sometimes used instead of na. This variation is not important for our purposes here. I will continue to gloss articles as "a" or "the," adding additional information (personal, plural, etc.) where relevant.

7. Ke is most often used before words beginning with a, e, o, and k, while ka tends to precede words beginning with i, u, and any consonant except k.
8. The numeral for one does not usually follow the same pattern in these languages.

9. The vowels of some of the possessive markers in both languages undergo morphophonemic changes in various environments. Note that, in both Paamese and Fijian, the markers for food and for passivity are formally identical. As some languages mark these two categories differently, there is good reason for believing that these were distinct in Proto Oceanic.

10. Generally, however, the form, function, and semantics of possessive classifiers are different from those of numeral classifiers. Some languages, like Kiribati and Kilivila, for example, have elaborate numeral classifier systems but no correspondingly elaborate possessive classifier systems.

11. I say “for the most part” because there are vestiges of the direct construction in some of these languages (cf. Wilson 1982, 35–40).

12. The Nukuoro orthography used here differs slightly from that in the original source (Carroll 1965): I write the simple stops p t k and the long stops pp tt kk; Carroll writes the simple stops b d g and the long stops p t k.

13. I use the term “verb complex” in place of “verb phrase,” which has different meanings in different theoretical approaches to linguistics. The term “particle” refers to words that have a grammatical function (marking tense or negation, for example) rather than a lexical one (denoting some thing, action, or quality in the real world), but which are pronounced and written as separate words and not as prefixes or suffixes.

14. Thus I had drunk (completive), I used to drink (habitual), I was drinking (continuous), and I drank (punctiliar) illustrate different aspects of the English verb in the past tense.

15. Rotuman is somewhat unusual in having no preverbal subject markers and in marking the person and number of the subject of a stative verb by a suffix:

*Iris la joni-eris.*

They future run:away-they:stative

“They will run away.”

16. To some extent, this consonant reflects an earlier morpheme-final consonant that has been lost in word-final position. Take, for example, Fijian kini ‘pinch,’ whose transitive form is kini-ti. This verb derives from Proto Oceanic *giñit,* and the intransitive form kini has lost the final *-t* quite regularly. The transitive form kini-ti derives from *giñit-i,* from which *-t-* was not lost because it was no longer word-final. By no means all thematic consonants, however, can be explained in this way. On the basis of comparative evidence, one would expect the transitive form of the Fijian verb gunu ‘drink’ to be gunu-mi, but it is in fact gunu-vi.

17. The fact that the pronoun object is not part of the verb complex but a separate phrase can be seen from sentences that emphasize the object by placing it first:

*Iik ka, r-im-eiu-a-in mun.*

You that, he-PAST-lie-trans again

‘He lied to you again.’
18. In some of these languages both transitive and object marking occur together only when the object is human or animate.

19. Passive and transitive are closely linked concepts, and this suffix is presumably the same historically as the -Ci transitive suffix. There has been considerable debate in the literature over whether the -Ci suffix marks passive or transitive in other Polynesian languages, a matter I do not take up here. See, for example, Biggs (1974), Chung (1977, 1978), Clark (1973, 1981), Hohepa (1969), Lynch (1972), Milner (1973), and Tchekhoff (1973).

20. The Kiribati numerals given here include the general classifier -ua.


22. This is probably a result of influence from one or more neighboring non-Austronesian languages (most of which have SOV preferred order) on a language ancestral to the Oceanic languages of southern mainland Papua New Guinea. See chapter 9 for further discussion.

23. Verb-initial languages do allow some flexibility when the subject or object is emphasized. Some Oceanic languages have flexible phrase order, but certain grammatical contexts may require one order and others another.

CHAPTER 7

1. The marking on nouns and other noun phrase constituents varies for number (aleman n-ahe’ ‘the man went,’ alemam m-ahe’ ‘the men went’), and in some classes the markers are not phonologically identical in all environments (numata’ kw-ahe’ ‘the woman went’).

2. The Anggor verbs in the examples below are more complex morphologically than illustrated here, but I have simplified the analysis for purposes of illustration.

3. The numerous morphophonemic changes in Enga verb roots and suffixes need not concern us here, but note that the root meaning “go” appears as both p- and as pd-in the examples.

CHAPTER 8

1. Given my lack of first-hand experience with Australian languages, I have relied very heavily in this chapter on Dixon’s The Languages of Australia (1980), which is an excellent introduction to the topic; and I am grateful to Terry Crowley and Nick Thieberger for their assistance.

2. Pronouns may take case suffixes, and in many cases the combination pronoun + case suffix has fused to produce a pronoun form impervious to analysis. In such cases I give the intransitive subject form of the pronoun.

3. This discussion of case marking relies heavily on the discussion in Dixon (1980), especially his treatment of case in Yidiny (294–301).

4. The Tiwi language of Bathurst and Melville Islands is an exception. Dixon (1980, 488) says that Tiwi “is probably unique in Australia in having no case inflections of any type; local relations are shown by prepositions.”
5. The last example is the version used by female speakers. Male speakers dispense with the prefix *nya- with nouns of this class, saying simply yabi arrkula “one good man/boy.”

6. When the consonant-initial prefixes are followed by a consonant, a vowel intervenes.

7. In some split-ergative languages, proper nouns—or even all nouns referring to humans—behave like pronouns, while other nouns behave ergatively.

CHAPTER 9

1. Note also that these words have adapted to another phonological feature of Motu—the fact that every syllable must be open. (Examples are from Crowley 1992, 85.)

2. Not all consonants are included in these tables. In order not to clutter the picture, I have concentrated only on those pertinent to the point I am making.

3. A third of his correspondences are classed as indeterminate. There are no diagnostic differences between the two sets (since, for example, phonemes like *m and *n are reflected as m and n in both set I and set II).

4. Readers interested in this debate might wish to consult, in the first instance, the summaries in Lynch (1981b) or Thurston (1987, 89–93), and the more detailed discussions in Capell (1976) for mixed languages and Biggs (1972) against them.

CHAPTER 10

1. Recall the discussion in chapter 2 relating to the indeterminacy of the terms “language” and “dialect.” This is another case in point. Tok Pisin, Pijin, and Bislama are mutually intelligible, and under this criterion should be classified as dialects of a single language. Each, however, functions as the national language of the country in which it is spoken, and under this sociopolitical criterion each could be viewed as a separate language.

2. As to the origin of these terms, the term “pidgin” may derive from the China Coast Pidgin English word *pigin, meaning ‘business’: thus *Piggin English meant ‘business (trading) English.’ The term “creole” comes originally from Portuguese *crioulo, meaning a person of European descent brought up in the colonies. *Koine is the Greek word meaning ‘common,’ and was used to refer to the standard Attic Greek that replaced other Greek dialects.

3. Bêche-de-mer is sometimes translated ‘sea-cucumber.’ The name Bislama—the Vanuatu variety of Melanesian Pidgin—ultimately derives from the word “bêche-de-mer.” “Bêche-de-mer English” was one name given to this early trade language.

4. One exception to this statement is Hawai‘i. Because of the recruitment of Asian laborers, the need for a pidgin remained.

5. There are one or two very minor exceptions to this statement, most notably the widespread pronunciation of the third person singular pronoun *em as en after a preposition in Tok Pisin, as in, Em i givim long en ‘He gave it to him.’
6. A notable exception is the adjective meaning ‘bad,’ which follows the noun, as in Pijin Mi kaekae fis nogud ‘I ate a/some bad fish’.

7. If the subject is mi ‘I,’ yu ‘you,’ or yumi ‘we (inclusive),’ i is not used. In Bislama, i is replaced by oli if the subject is third person plural.

8. The Hiri Motu word tamana ‘father’ derives from the Motu form tama-na ‘his/her father.’ The Motu third person suffix -na has become part of the Hiri Motu root. Hiri Motu has also fused the (optional) Motu free pronoun and the possessive pronoun as a single form: (lau) e-gu > lauegu ‘my,’ (oi) e-mu > oiemu ‘your,’ etc.

CHAPTER 11

1. Even the spellcheck on my computer doesn’t recognize four of these words: quinic (acid), quinquagenerian, quinque-, and quinquefoliate.

2. In a study of German children aged between eighteen months and eleven years, Wagner (1985, quoted in Crystal 1987, 244) found that they used on average three thousand different words in a single day, with the eleven-year-old using five thousand words in a day!

3. In fact, in some dialects of English, yam refers to the sweet potato, an entirely different root-crop.

4. In some languages with a decimal system the word for “ten” includes the word for “one”: “one-ten” = “ten,” parallelling “two-ten” = “twenty,” “three-ten” = “thirty,” and so on.

5. Many languages have borrowed numerals from other languages either because they do not have higher ones, because their own higher numerals are inconveniently long compounds, or simply because such numerals are used mainly in “modern” contexts (money, time, airline flight numbers, and so on).

6. The length of such compounds is one reason for borrowing numerals. Most Lenakel speakers today do not express the numeral nineteen by the long-winded compound katilum-katilum-katilum-kuvɨr, but instead use the much more concise Bislama borrowing naintin.

7. Forms for numerals vary depending on what is counted. Where there is variation, I have cited the forms for (male) humans.

8. Even though all kinship terms can be extended almost without limit, my translations include only the more immediate relatives.

9. The suffix -k on some of these kin terms means ‘my.’ Note that some kinship terms are directly possessed (grandparents, all relatives in the parents’ generation, same-sex siblings, wife, and grandchildren), but others are indirectly possessed (opposite-sex siblings and children are the most notable of these).

10. The verb lai is generally used of plants and trees that are much shorter or taller than the norm, or that have developed flowers of the “wrong” color or leaves of the “wrong” shape.
11. Clark cites Fischer’s (1957, 27) report that all the male inhabitants of Ngatik are said to have been massacred by some European sailors (who presumably spoke some variety of Pidgin English). These sailors then married the local women and remained on the island.

12. Kalam words like \textit{wjblp} ‘bird’ look unpronounceable because Kalam orthography does not mark the neutral vowel /a/, which occurs predictably between any two consonants. \textit{Wjblp} is phonemically something like /wa\ddot{j}a\ddot{a}l\ddot{e}\ddot{p}/.

13. This behavior has obvious implications for a shift in language-use patterns. See 11.6 below.

14. In Vanuatu, some schools are English medium, others French medium.

CONCLUSION

1. I say “words of English origin” because in many cases, in Ifira-Mele as in most parts of Melanesia, the \textit{immediate} source is much more likely to be the local variety of Melanesian Pidgin (in this case, Bislama).

2. There ought perhaps to be an attempt to find some less negatively loaded name for languages like Melanesian Pidgin. Gillian Sankoff, for example, has referred to the varieties of Melanesian Pidgin as “the Bislamic languages,” and certainly the name Bislama does not have the negative connotations to an English speaker that names like Pijin or Broken might have.

3. Interestingly, French-educated ni-Vanuatu tend to use French with each other much more than English-educated ni-Vanuatu use English in these situations. This may, however, have more to do with attitudes emanating from metropolitan France than from any local view of Bislama.