ENDANGERED LANGUAGES OF THE PACIFIC RIM

Osamu SAKIYAMA

Studies of Minority Languages in the Western Pacific Rim

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Preface

This report consists of 11 papers published by me on subjects relating to Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) languages and a Ryukyuan dialect—9 papers written in English and 2 originally in Japanese. In terms of content, the report is made up of three parts: Part I contains papers on comparative linguistics, Part II papers on sociolinguistics or anthropological linguistics, and Part III studies on topics relating to individual languages. Since the geographic area in which these languages are spoken comprises Seram Island of Eastern Indonesia, the Carolines Islands of Micronesia, and Miyako Islands of the Ryukyu Islands of Japan, I shall use the term 'the western Pacific rim' as a comprehensive label for the region.

My research on the languages treated in the present report was not originally undertaken with a strong consciousness of their status as 'endangered languages.' Nevertheless, as it turned out many of the languages treated here are now in danger of extinction. The papers in Part I are based on fieldwork I carried out in Micronesia a number of times from 1977 to 1985 for a comparative study of Trukic languages. The Trukese language spoken in the State of Chuuk (Federated States of Micronesia) is the main tongue of the Trukic group, but Trukic also subsumes all the languages of the South-West Islands of the Republic of Belau, as well as all the languages of the Caroline Islands in the State of Yap (Federated States of Micronesia). The Mapian language of the Indonesian territory of Propinsi Papua is on the point of extinction (according to *Ethnologue 2002*, there is now only one speaker of this language), with virtually no linguistic data recorded for it. Since this language also belongs to the Trukic group, we may say that although the group is at present fragmented among several countries and states, a great dialect chain is maintained in the form of linguistic enclaves. The very fact that this kind of linguistic distribution is exhibited by the group indicates that Trukic speakers embarked on migrations, having once been an ocean-going people. Indeed, it is still fresh in our memories that a group of the Trukic-speaking Satawalese of Yap State successfully undertook a canoe voyage of 3,000 kilometers, navigating by traditional methods, to participate in the 1975 International Ocean Exposition held in Okinawa. Today, if we look at the cases of Belau and Yap, life for speakers of the Trukic languages is hard, since in both cases

they live on remote islands not easily accessible from the main island. Even if they have migrated to the main island, they cannot avoid having to speak Palauan or Yapese, as the case may be, which are given preferential status. At the same time, because the Trukic languages have historically been spoken by small populations, the numbers of their speakers are falling at a dramatic rate.

The Sonsorolese and Tobian people, which I have studied, are Trukic-speaking minorities living on a remote island of Belau. At the time of my fieldwork in 1977 the number of speakers was already small. At present the Sonsorolese number only a few hundred, while in 1995 only 22 Tobian (also known as Hatohobei) speakers of Trukic survived, according to *Ethnologue*. It should be noted, however, that the figure for the Sonsorolese was the population of people who had migrated to Arakabesan Island, Belau, including some Pulo Anian and Merir people, so the precise number is unknown. In 1980 I conducted fieldwork on the remote Yapese island of Nguluw, located southwest of Yap. As a result I was able to correct inaccuracies in the information available at that time about the language and culture of this island. The Nguluwan language also, because of migration to the main island and the shift to Yapese, is currently in a very critical state.

Interesting sociolinguistic data is provided by the case of Micronesia, which was once under Japanese rule and where Japanese was the official language during that time. When the Japanese withdrew after World War II, a pidgin version of the Japanese language remained as a *lingua franca* for the region. Today, however, with the number of speakers of this language diminishing by the day as they reach an advanced age, pidgin Japanese finds itself in an increasingly critical situation. I believe forms of the Japanese language which have 'migrated' overseas in this way, apart from the Japanese spoken by Japanese people, will provide us with important data for the study of the dynamics of Japanese.

Every summer for three years from 1962, when the Ryukyu Islands were still under U.S. rule, I conducted fieldwork there, concentrating on the Miyako dialects. The depopulation of Minna-jima was already in progress then, and the population of the island, and thus the number of speakers of the Minna-jima dialect—which is closest to the Tarama dialect—from that time until today has been a mere handful of people, just a single family. Among the dialects of the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa Prefecture), the Minna-jima dialect is among the dozen or so most seriously threatened with extinction.

Without exception, the languages represented in Part III of the report are all in

urgent need of further research if a systematic and complete description of them is to be compiled. I only pray that this brief report may act as a spur to such research.

In editing this report, I have restricted myself to making as few changes as possible to the original papers, except to revise the last paper (Chapter 11), and have refrained from appending additional bibliographic material. I should like to thank Mrs. Yumiko Kokubo and Miss Junko Chida for their efforts in tidying up the manuscript and ensuring consistency. The publications in which individual papers originally appeared are as listed below.

1. 1979 Genealogical identification of languages in the Western Carolines. In *Report: Cultural anthropological research on the folk culture in the Western Carolines*, 9-17. Tokyo: Committee for Micronesian Research, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
2. 1987 East-west cultural exchanges in the Western Carolines. In I. Ushijima and K. Sudo (eds.) *Cultural uniformity and diversity in Micronesia*, 43-51. Suita: Senri Ethnological Studies 21.
3. 1986 Genealogical position of Trukic, Ponapeic and Kusaiean languages. In *The prompt report of the fourth scientific survey of the South Pacific*, 73-78. Kagoshima: Research Center for the South Pacific, Kagoshima University .
4. 1987 Linguistic evidences of New Guinea-Micronesia connection. *Man and Culture in Oceania* 3 (Special Issue): 299-303.
5. 1998 Linguistic and cultural times running in Oceania and Southeast Asia. In Y. Nagano (ed.) *Time, language and cognition*. 217-233. Suita: Senri Ethnological Studies 45.
6. 1992 Language unification and the fate of regional languages in multiethnic, multilingual states : Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and Micronesia. In T. Umesao, J. M.Unger and O. Sakiyama (eds.) *Japanese civilization in the world: language, literacy and writing*, 39-47. Suita: Senri Ethnological Studies 34.
7. 1995 Mikuroneshia Berau no pijinka-nihon-go (Pidgin Japanese on Micronesia's Belau). *Shisō-no-kagaku* 95(3): 44-52.
8. 2000 Endangered languages of the Pacific region. Appeared in<http://www.

elpr.bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/essay/sakiyama.htm>.

9. 1982 The characteristics of Nguluwan from the viewpoint of language contact. In M. Aoyagi (ed.), *Islanders and their outside world: a report of the cultural anthropological research in the Caroline Islands of Micronesia in 1980-1981*, 105-128. Tokyo: St. Paul's (Rikkyo) University.

10. 1999 Nominals of Fatamanue, Seram Maluku: a subgrouping argument in Central Malayo-Polynesian. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* (Suita) 24(3): 467-484.

11. 1962 Ryukyu, Tarama-jima, Minna-jina hōgen no kenkyū (The phonological systems of Tarama-jima and Minna-jima dialects in the Ryukyu Islands). *Study of Sounds* 10: 287-305. Tokyo: The Phonetic Society of Japan.

1965 Appendix 1: (Part of) Hirayama Teruo-shi hihan, Ryukyu-Miyako hōgen no shitasaki-boin o megutte (Criticism on Teruo Hirayama's theory). *Kokukogaku* 60: 85-86.

1963 Appendix 2: Ryukyugo-Miyako hōgen no shitasaki-boin ni tsuite (The unrounded tip vowel of Miyako dialects in the Ryukyu Islands). *The Bulletin of the Phonetic Society of Japan* 112: 18-19.

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PART ONE

Comparative Studies of Trukic Languages in the Central and West Caroline Islands

Chapter
1

Genealogical Identification of Languages in the Western Carolines

INTRODUCTION

The main languages distributed over the western Carolines in Micronesia, cited from the north, are Yapese, Palauan, Sonsorolese and Tobian, and their relationship to one another in the Malayo-Polynesian (MP) family raises no question that Palauan together with Chamorro in the Mariana Islands belong to the Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) group and Sonsorolese and Tobian constitute the western end of the Trukic subgroup, both forming the nuclear languages among the Melanesian group in Micronesia.

As to the genealogical positioning of Yapese, however, it is vaguely pointed out that it is included in the Melanesian group, yet one can hardly say that the fact has clearly been proved. Therefore, Bender classifies Yapese together with Nauruan as questionably nuclear languages in Micronesia, and says that in these languages no especially close affinities have been found either in or outside of Micronesia (Bender 1971: 434-438).

Yet, considerable differences are noted in Palauan compared with WMP, which is located in the more western region. On one hand, there is some truth in the deep-rooted idea that the Micronesian languages should be classified as one independent group in the MP family (Capell 1962: 384-385). Besides, from the point of view of vocabulary, certain words are found which are common only to Micronesian languages and, in some cases, to the languages located to the east of Micronesia. And also many corresponding words are to be seen which cannot be readily judged as borrowings between Palauan, Yapese and Sonsorolese. Among these words there are not a few exclusively Trukic words for which there has as yet been no attempt to reconstruct a protoform.[1]

'oven': Pal. *uum*, Yap. *wum*, Son. *uumu*, Tob. *uum*<**qumu*.

'outrigger':Pal. *(de)som(el)*, Yap. *thaam*, Son. *tama*, Tob.*taam*<**sama*.

'unicorn fish': Pal. *chum* (Pal. *ch*[ʔ]), Yap. *uum*, Son. *xɯɯm*, Tob.*kɯɯm*<**kume*.

'flying fish': Pal. *kok*, Yap. *göeg*, Son. (*maŋalɯ*), Tob. (*maŋax*).

'squid': Pal. *luut*, Yap. *luwod*, Son. –, Tob. –.

'mackerel': Pal. *mersad*, Yap. *mälchäth*, Son. (*jaarɯ*), Tob. (*jaar*).

'eel': Pal. –, Yap. *lawoth*, Son. *rabuto*, Tob. *rabut*.

'barracuda': Pal. *solou* 'a fish (unidentified),' Yap. *thorow*, Son. *talawa*, Tob. –.

'north': Pal. *diluches*, Yap. *lelquch*, Son. (*ijefaŋi*), Tob. (*ijeveŋ*).

'sea': Pal. dai, Yap. *(ma)day*, Son. (*taati*), Tob. (*taat*).

'ocean': Pal. –, Yap. *mathaw*, Son. *matawa*, Tob. *mataw*.

'voice': Pal. –, Yap. *laam*, Son. *rama*, Tob. *raam*.

'beard': Pal. –, Yap. *roob*, Son. *lebwe*, Tob. *xeeb*.

'spouse': Pal. –, Yap. *lëaq*, Son. *lii*, Tob. *xii*.

(( ) and – mean words with a different origin and no corresponding words respectively.)

1. AFFIXATION

In this chapter the author attempts to deliberate on the genealogical problems in Palauan, Yapese and Sonsorolese in the western Carolines, centering around grammatical phases, particularly affixation and possessive constructions, in further detail than previously. The data for Palauan, Yapese, Sonsorolese and Tobian is based upon the author's own research, but the author is also indebted to the grammars and dictionaries mentioned in REFERENCES.

The transcription of Palauan and Yapese is based on the present orthography, but in Yapese, the distinction between long and short vowels mentioned in Jensen's dictionary (*ii : i, ee : e, ea : ë, ae : ä, aa : a, oo : o, oe : ö, uu : u*) is not always in accord with the transcription in this report. And since Yapese has several dialects, the western dialect of Fanif municipality is used here unless specifically mentioned otherwise. Sonsorolese is written in phonemic transcription.

1.1. Hitherto the existence of infixes in Oceanic (Melanesian and Polynesian) languages has not been reported at all, and in this respect, it may be said that Yapese and Sonsorolese do not belong to WMP. On the other hand, Palauan possesses productivity such infixes as *-(i)l-, -(e)m-*, which originate from ***-in-*** and

*-*um*- of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) respectively. The latter retains the same functions in the respective languages including Palauan in that it changes a stem into a verb, revealing slight differences such as intransitive action focus verbs in Palauan (*sécher* 'sickness' ~ *s-m-écher* '*be* sick,' *luut* 'return' ~ *l-m-uut* 'to retum') and actor focus verbs in Chamorro (*guahu l-um-i'e' i patgon* 'it is I that saw the child' in contrast with the nonfocus sentence *hu li'e' i patgon*), whereas the former deviates from its original function of marking object focus or goal focus in that in Palauan it marks a past tense: *méi* 'come' ~ *m-l-e* 'came,' *menga* 'eat' ~ *m-il-enga* 'ate.'

However, it is common of both Chamorro and Palauan that an infix *-*in*- functions as a nominalizer of stems with focus on the goal of an action: Pal. *omoes* 'shoot at' (*boes* 'gun') ~ *b-l-oes* 'injury from being shot,' Cha. *hanao* 'go'~ *h-in-anao* 'trip.'

1.2. The most typical prefixes in MP are **ma*- and its prenasalized form **maN*-. The former functnons to express the result or state by making a stem function as an intransitive verb, while the latter functions to turn a stem into a transitive verb (Sakiyama 1974: 259-275). The current Philippine languages among WMP often still maintain these two forms in opposition to each other, in Palauan the latter is used for marking transitive verbs and the former for expressing passive or 'ergative' (Josephs 1975: 131-136). This phenomenon is parallel with that in Chamorro: Pal. *ak menga er a ngikel* 'I'm eating the fish' ~ *a ngikel a mla mekang* 'the fish has been eaten,' Cha. *guahu manli'e' patgon* 'it is I that saw a child (non-specific object)' ~ *mali'e' i patgon* 'the child was seen.' Since **ma*- of the proto-language had the function of producing a reflexive action similar to a middle voice such as 'middle' in Ancient Greek (*poreúomai* 'I make myself go=I proceed') or '*ātmanepada*' in Sanskrit, the voice can easily be shifted to passive. The use of **ma*- and **maN*- as well as their opposition to each other is not found anymore in Oceanic languages, but the fact that **ma*-, fixedly affixed to the existing word base, appears in the Trukic subgroup in common indicates the strong unification of this group.

**ma-tipis* 'fragment': Son. *matipi*, Wol. *matip*.
**maN-tipis* 'thin': Son. *maripi* ,Wol. *malif*.
**ma-sakit* 'sick': Son. *mataxi*, Wol. *metag*, Pul. *meták*.[2]

**ma-takut* 'afran': Son. *mataxʉ*, Wol. *metag*, Pul.*mahak.*

**ma-t(i/u)DuR* 'sleep': Son. *madʉlʉ*, Wol. *masiur*, Pul. *mawúŕ*.

**ma-damaR* 'light': Son. *malama* 'moon', Wol. *meram*, Pul. *maŕam.*

Also in Yapese the actual use of *ma-(maa-)* expressing 'resultative' and 'intransitive'(Jensen 1977:107-108,131-132)is rather Western-Malayo-Polynesianic, one may say: *k'uuf* 'to blossom' ~ *mak'uf* 'flower,' *kur* 'pierced' ~ *makur* 'hole,' *biing* 'to open' ~ *mab* 'open,' *luum* 'to cook' ~ *malum* 'cooked,' *luk-uy* 'wash (transitive verb)' ~ *mäluk* '(intransitive),' *unum* 'drink(tr.)' ~ *maqun* '(intr.).'

That Yapese has no prenasalized form even in its phonetical traces indicates that the divergence from PMP occurred at an early time.

Palauan is very interesting in that it has a prefix **ba-> be-* which makes stative verbs and which is found in only a few WMP languages such as Malay and Batak in the western region, forming a part of a basic series of prefixes: **ma->me-* and **pa->o-*: Pal. *ralm* 'water' ~ *beralm* 'watery,' Mal. *air* 'water' ~ *ber-air* 'juicy.' It is not that Palauan is near to the Philippine languages and Chamorro only by reason of its geographical position.

1.3. Although MP does not have many suffixes other than pronominal suffixes, there are two typical ones, i.e., **-i* and **-(a)ken* for making verbal stems. It is few languages of WMP group that still keep together these two which originally express the goal of action and the process of action respectively (Sakiyama 1974: 163-175), and such suffixes are not seen at all in Philippine languages. The reflection of **-(a)ken* and **-i* appears in Palauan as *-okl* , *-akl* and *-e*, and they have already been fossilized: *chat-* 'praise' ~ *chetengakl* 'praiseworthy,' *boes* 'gun' ~ *bleakl* 'shot,' and *osiik* 'look for' ~ *oske (uske)*. Each couple exists without mutual connection. Probably, **-i* is the same **i* which expressed the demonstrative and the directional, and **i* has developed into the definite article. **-i* or **i* is an extremely common particle, it being thought that there would be found no language without either of them, setting aside the grammatical productivity at the present day, throughout the MP family. In Sonsorolese, transitive verbs have *-i* in many cases: *ʉrʉ* 'drink (intr.),' ~ *ʉrʉmi* '(tr.),' *taŋi* 'cry (intr.)' ~ *taŋiti* '(tr.).' But judging synchronically, this suffix is not productive any more. On the other hand, the transitive suffixes, *-ŋari* and *-axiri* originate from **-ken* and **-aken-i* of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian respectively and are also used prepositionally: *e taŋiŋari riweisi-ra* 'he is crying to

that child' ~ *e taŋiaxiri reweisi-ra* 'he is crying because of that child,' *ko bwe xarii-ja ŋari riweisi-ra* '(you) give it to that child.' These suffixes occur in some Melanesian languages, for which Pawley reconstructed **-i* and **-aki ~ -akini* as Proto-Oceanic forms and properly called them a 'close' and a 'remoto' relation marker between the verb and object respectively (Pawley 1973: 12-13).

In Yapese there exist **-I > -y* and **-ken > -(V)g* as transitive suffixes, and the distinction between them almost disappears since many stems can take those two in apparently free variation.

Examples containing these suffixes are:[3]

Daab i yoeg ni ngea sum reeb ea matoochiyäl ni ngea kaalbuus naag beaq... 'Literally: It won't mean that it will *become* a law for casting a person into prison...' (IV, 11)

Qu ra baey märweel ko Qaam ea thingar ni sunmiy u laen ea matoochiyäl. 'Lit: They (two persons) will appeal to the Government that it (the department) ought to be *built* in accordance with the law.' (X, 8)

Geelngin ea puuf qalooboch ko Qaam ko Naam ea kan piiq ko Kort ni Gaaq ko Naam ngea kuu boech ea Kort nib qachiig ni sunmeeg ea matoochiyäl. 'Lit: The power of revealing the crime by the National Government was vested in a Supreme Court and some inferior courts which *make* the law.' (Xl, 1)

Although it is difficult to state precisely the difference in meaning and function between these two suffixes, they sometimes take over the function of protoforms surviving in WMP: *rich* 'go through,' *kea richeg nga thilrow* 'he put it between two persons' ~ *kea richuy-eg* 'he thrust me' (Gachpar dialect of Gagil municipality) (cf. Mal. *masukkan* 'put' ~ *masuki* 'meddle in'). This is a fact particularly significant as an indication of the conservative side of this language among Melanesian languages.

1.4. The use of a verbal particle *e* as corresponding to impersonal 'it' in English which is generally seen in Melanesian is found in all the Trukic subgroup, but Yapese has no such particle: Son. *e tai wola* 'it (he, she) is not in,' *e xʉra-a* 'he knows it,' *Jon e xʉra-a* 'John knows it,' each sentence corresponding to *e sega, e kilä, e kilä ko Jone,* in Fijian. Nevertheless, in Chamorro too, the third person singular *ha* is used in a same manner, when a noun subject occurs: *si Juan ha tungo'* 'John knows it.' And the

expression like this is not probably unrelated to the Melanesian influence.

On the other hand, however, Yapese has the typically Melanesianic tense markers such as *bäy (baey)* and *ra* (*raa*) expressing 'definite future' and 'simple future' (Jensen 1977: 206-207) respectively, which agree with *bwe* 'unrealized prospective' and *rəʉ* 'unrealized immediate' (Oda 1977: 80-83)[4] in Sonsorolese: Yap. *bäy i marwel*, Son. *e bwe fitexi* 'he will work (certainly)'; Yap. *ra marwel*, Son. *e rəʉ fitexi*, Fij. *e na cakacaka* 'he will work.' In addition, the Chamorro future marker *bai*, occurring only with the first person, corresponds with these *bäy* and *bwe*, although another explanation is given about its origin (Topping 1973: 261-262) : *bai hu bida* 'I will work.'

	*ba-	*ma-	maN-	Infix	*-i/*i	*-(a)ken	Verbal particle	Tense markers
Cha.	×	○	○	○	○	×	○	○
Pal.	○	○	○	○	(○)	(○)	×	×
Yap.	×	○	×	×	○	○	×	○
Son.	×	(○)	(○)	×	(○)	○	○	○
Fij.	×	(○)	(○)	×	○	○	○	○

The above-stated matter can be summarized in the above table in which ○ and × mean existence and non-existence respectively, and ( ) means that it is not productive.

2. POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Among the MP family, the WMP group positioned in the western region has no classification of things possessed, and consequently no change in the form of possessive pronouns relating to them. However, the Polynesian group which spreads mainly over the eastern region has two large categories, i.e., the distinction between inalienability (things inherently possessed) and alienability (things acquired), and they are distinguished and reflected by *-o-* and *-a-* respectively in the vowels of possessive pronouns. Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro in Micronesia fully belong to the Polyesian group in this respect: Nuk. *dogu ada* 'picture of me' ~ *dagu*

ada 'my picture, the picture I own.' It is the Melanesion group that is situated midway between the WMP and Polynesian groups, and has diverse classification, but the languages in the Southeast Solomons and the North-Central Vanuatu have only three or four kinds of possessive classifiers, **na-*, **ka-* and **ma-* which become *no-*, *ke-* and *me-* in Fijian, for the alienable possession, and they are distinguished from the suffixed pronoun for the inalienable possession (Pawley 1973: 42-55).

2.1. Now the languages of Micronesia, excepting those showing clearly the above feature of the Polynesian type, have relatively intricate possessive expressions. Especially the Trukic subgroup show remarkable features common to all, including their having ten to twenty possessive classifiers. Shown below is a part of the corresponding examples for the first person singular.

The pronominal suffixes are used for the names of one's body, relatives and specific things which are considered to be inalienable.

'my father': Son. *tama-i*, Wol. *tama-i*, Pul. *hám-á*-y.
'my eyes': Son. *mata-i*, Wol. *meta-i*, Pul. *meh-á*-y.

But a distinction is made with inalienable possession such as:

Things fed and reared, 'my pig (a pig which I feed just as my child)': Son. *raa-i peixi*, Wol. *la-i paabiiy*, Pul. *nay-i-y piik.*

Vehicles, 'my car (as a canoe)': Son. *waa-i sidoosia*, Wol. *waa-i sitoosa*, Pul. *wá-á-y citosa.*

Lodging places, 'my (dwelling) house': Son. *imwe-i imwa*, Wol. *imwe-i imw*, Pul. *yimw-á-y yiimw.*

Food (in general), 'my (cooked) fish': Son. *xara-i iixi*, Wol. *gela-ig*, Pul. *yán-á-y iik.*

In short, some of the forms of expression for inalienable possession also function as possessive classifiers, and such classifiers may even be made from verbs.

Raw food, 'my fish': Son. *xosa-i iixi* (*xosaosu* 'eat raw food'), Wol. *goshaa-i ig*, Pul. *wor-e-y iik.*

Things caught, 'my fish': *xora-i iixi* (*xora* 'catch'), Wol. *gola-i ig*, Pul.

liyap-á-y-iik.

Drinkable things, 'my water': Son. *ʉrʉme-i saarʉ* (*ʉʉrʉ* 'drink'), Wol. *iuliume-i shal*, Pul. *wunúm-á-y raan.*

Chewed things, 'my sugar cane': Son. *ŋʉtʉe-i sikooken* (*ŋʉtʉ* 'chew'), Wol. *ngiut-ei wou*, Pul. *ngút-á-y woow*, etc.

Those which express general classes include Son. *jaa*: 'my plam tree' *jaa-i rʉʉ*, 'my teacher' *jaa-i sensei*, Wol. *yaa-* and Pul. *ya-a-* etc., and these are derived from the verb 'own': Wol. *yaali* and Pul. *yáání*. On the other hand, the numerative classifiers develop higher than the possessive classifiers, and it is possible for the former to occur together with the latter:'my three children' Son.*riweisi-ra doru* ('three')-*marʉ* ('animal')-*ra raa-i.*

2.2. A little different from these manners of the Trukic subgroup are Palauan and Yapese. Although it is said that Palauan is principally a language which makes no possessive classification whereas Yapese makes such classification, there are noted certain features common to both as given below:

2.2.1. Palauan uses as a rule a suffixal form, *-Vk* (< **-ku*): 'my betel nut' *buchék* ('betel nut' *buuch*), 'my spouse' *bechik* ('spouse' *buch*), 'my tongue' *churak* ('tongue' *chur*), 'my louse' *kduk* ('louse' *kud*). Yapese expresses the names of one's body and relatuves by the form, *-Vg* (< **-ku*): 'my feet' *qayig* ('its foot' *qaay*), 'my breath' *fanag* ('its breath' *faan*), 'my wife' *laqag* ('its wife' *laqan*), and for other than the above the form *rog* (*roog*) 'my' is used: 'my pig' *bäbiy rog*. This form parallels *er ngak* in Palauan, and it is said that Palauan uses this form exclusively for words of foreign origin: 'my pig' *babii er ngak* and for some native words which designate animals, plants, or parts of the natural environment (Josephs 1975: 69-70). Both in Yapese and Palauan these forms are suspected to originate in **di aku* 'to me (dative) or in me (locative)' of PMP. Although an example of Old Malay, *diy aku* (Kota Kapur Inscription, 686 A.D.) is not a genitive (possessive) use, it is easily conceivable that the dative function changed to that of the genitive as can be seen in a German Pertinenzdativ case as in *Dem Mann zittern die Hände.*

Now the distinction between *jaʉŋa-i* 'picture of me' and *jaa-i jaʉŋa* 'the picture I own' occurs in Sonsorolese too, and the relation between a possessor and things possessed is subject to a delicate change in perceiving the object possessed, so the

forms of expression for alienable/inalienable possession are not always fixed inflexibly.

Ba qaraay fa rea quw langad ni ggaanaam i guur Limaatochiig.[5] 'Here is a mouthful of betel quid as *your food.* You are Limaatochiig (God of sails).'

In the above example, *ggaanaam* should be *ggaan rom* (*room*) in an ordinary case. Conceivably the speaker dared to use a suffixal form in order to express a closely connected feeling toward the object ('food fit for you to eat it'). As seen in 'my body' *dowag* (Mat. 26. 26),[6] *dowef rog* (Mat. 26. 12), the same distinction is made to express the physical relation in the former and the mental relation in the latter. It is worth noting that such distinctive use of the suffixal form and the propositional form is also found in Palauan.

Ng teruich a rekik e mlo soiseb er a skuul er a Dois. 'At the age (*my age*) of ten, I enrolled in a German school.'

Ongedéi el rak er ngak e ak ngiluu a orechudel el babiér... 'In the last part of *my third year*, I received a telegram ...'[7]

Both in Yapese and in Palauan the suffixal form expresses a unified feeling, whereas the prepositional form serves to express an isolated feeling. Such a distinction apparently exists in the following example of Palauan.

A renguk choldanges ra Rubak, ma reng er ngak a dméu era Dios el Osobelék. (Luk. 1. 46-47) '*My soul* magnifies the Lord, and *my spirit* is glad in God my Savior.'

2.2.2. Sometimes form *-ŋVk* appears in Palauan and *-ŋVg* in Yapese, but *-ŋ-* in Palauan is considered to be a 'buffer' (Josephs 1975: 62) and as to Yapese no more explanation is given than that a fairly large number of nouns take it (Jensen 1977: 148). Its use in Yapese is found in some names of relatives such as 'my father' *chitamngig* and 'my mother' *chitinngig* (however little difference is felt if *-Vg* is used as in *chitamag* and *chitinag*), but its functional power in a possessive expression is low with a few exceptions such as *paqag* 'my hand' ~ *paqngig* 'my twig, limb (prosopopoeia),' and rather it is used a great deal as a suffix for nominalizing adjectives: *tomal* 'heavy' ~

tomalngig 'my weight,' *gaaq* 'large' ~*gaqngig* 'my height.' In Palauan, on the other hand, there is noted a tendency for the appeareance of *-ŋ-* which is no longer productive, excluding a few examples such as *isngék* (< **ijuŋ-ku*) 'my nose' that show a trace of **-ŋ*, a part of a stem in PMP. It is generally used in referring to a part of the whole, such as 'my thumb' *bechesengék* ('thumb' *bechos*), 'my shelter' *omderngék* ('shelter' *omdor*), and 'my liver' *chedengak* ('liver, person' *chad*, cf. 'my person' *chedak*) and is seen in many fixed words as a base: 'my finger' *cheldingek* ('its finger' *cheldingel*), 'my relation' *deleongek* ('its relationship' *deleongel*), etc. There is the same tendency in Yapese. It often appears as a base in words such as 'my name' *fithngag* (the derivative from 'ask' *fithfith*), 'my eyebrows' *wuthungig* ('its eyebrows' *wuthungin*), etc. and also in those words expressing relationships: 'under ...' *langin* ('its inside' *laan*), 'member of' *chöngin* ('its member' *choon*).

From these facts it would be possible to establish a stem formative, **-ŋ-*, having a diminutive function for Palauan and Yapese. Diminutive is akin to endearment. That is the reason why a distinction is made between 'my lover' *katungék* and 'my cat' *katuu er ngak* in Palauan.

The functions of **-ŋ-* in expressing diminutive and relationship and nominalizing adjectives as seen in Yapese existed in **-n'a* (suffix of the third person) of PMP. It is exclusively this **-n'a* that is commonly used in the Trukic subgroup: Son. *gala* 'sweet' ~ *gala-ra* 'sweetness,' *kaamese* 'long' ~ *kaamese-ra* 'length,'[8] *peepaa-ra jaa-i* 'that book of mine,' etc.

2.2.3. Chamorro has a morphology very near to the Philippine languages, it being the typical language of the WMP group, yet there exists a phenomenon which is found in the Melanesian group whereby an expression in a direct suffixal form such as **guihan-hu* 'my fish' is not permitted (Topping 1973: 223), holding expressions with certain possessive classifiers such as: drinkable things ('my water' *gimen-hu hanom*), animals ('my fish [which I feed]' *ga'-hu guihan*) and food ('my fish [to eat]' *na'-hu guihan*).

In Palauan the suffixal form is used such as: 'my water' *lmék* ('water' *ralm*), 'my fish' *ngkelék* ('fish' *ngikel*), and at the same time such expressions as 'my water to drink' *imelek el ralm* ('beverage' *ilumel*), 'my fish (which I feed)' *chermek el ngikel* ('animal' *charm*), 'my fish (to eat)' *odimek el ngikel* ('non-starchy food' *odoim*) are permitted.

Although there are no possessive classifiers in Palauan, Izui says that in regard to such non-Western-Malayo-Polynesianic phenomena as seen in Chamorro and Palauan, it is a legacy of the Melanesian languages which spread as far as the western end of Micronesia (Izui 1975: 118-119).

2.2.4. In this chapter the author attempted to indicate the parallelism appering in possessive expressions in Palauan and Yapese, and it has increasingly become clear that Palauan and Yapese occupy specific positions among various Micronesian languages, in view of their respective linguistic histories, as well. Elucidation of their structure as a whole is hardly possible unless several linguistic strata are hypothesized there. In this respect it is interesting that, referring to certain ideas such as liking or disliking, there is a common expression which takes advantage of possessive construction in Palauan and Yapese: 'I dislike *(my dislike)* lipuor,' Pal. *ng chetik a rrom*, Yap. *dabug ëa rrom*. However, considering the affixation and the correspondence in vocabulary, Yapese is still richly colored by the features of the Melanesian group, while Palauan can be positioned among the WMP group.

ABBREVIATION FOR LANGUAGE NAMES

Cha.: Chamorro, Fij.: Fijian, Mal.: Malay, Nuk.: Nukuoro, Pal.: Palauan, Pul.: Puluwat, Son.: Sonsorolese, Tob.: Tobian, Wol.: Woleaian, Yap.: Yapese.

NOTES

1. For the protoform the author refers to Wurm et al. (1975).
2. This is maybe a loanword owing to its irregular consonant change.
3. Data from Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia (Yapese -English) Saipan, 1975. The transcription was changed into the present orthography.
4. The use of these tense markers is the same in both Sonsorolese and Pulo Annian.
5. Data from Müller, W. (1917): *Ergebnisse der Süsee-Expedition 1908-1910 :Yap*. Hamburg: L.Friederichsen & Co. S.315. The transcription was changed into the present orthography.
6. There exists also another form holding *-ng-* : *downgig*.

7. Data from *A Rubekul Belau*. Koror, 1974: 5, 23.
8. This **-n'a* is different from a relative particle **ni* (Son. *ri*: *kaamese-ri ilae-ra* 'the length of that stick'), so one cannot consider them merely as 'alternation' (Sohn et al. 1973: 222).

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Chapter

2

East-West Cultural Exchanges in the Western Carolines

INTRODUCTION

Although the languages of present day Micronesia comprises what can be termed a closed world within the Malayo-Polynesian (MP) linguistic family, evidence uncovered by comparative linguistic and cultural studies definitely points to the former existence of an open, expansive world centered on Micronesia. In particular, while the languages of the western Carolines share many common features with those of the Philippines and Eastern Indonesia to the west, certain linguistic elements were introduced from the south via Melanesia, especially also the area of Vanuatu. The western Carolines display the characteristics of a linguistic boundary zone. That is, the languages in this area are composed of several strata. Thus, when one-dimensional analyses, such as Dyen's studies, are attempted, the resultant phonemic comparison becomes an infinite listing of correspondences. This chapter reconstructs a secondary (regional) protolanguage (**), differentiated from the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian forms (PMP *), on the basis of an ethnic lexicon of culturally significant words.

1. THE MULTI-LAYERED AND REGIONAL CHARACTER OF THE LANGUAGES OF THE CAROLINES

While belonging to large linguistic families such as the Malayo-Polynesian, the Micronesian languages have been further divided into subgroups. In synchronic classification, the Chamorro (Cha.) language in the Mariana Islands and Palauan (Pal.) in the Western Carolines belong to the Western-Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) subgroup; Kapingamarangi (Kap.) and Nukuoro (Nuk.) belong to the Polynesian

subgroup; while the rest are classified as belonging to the Melanesian subgroup. A closer look at these languages reveals the peculiar process by which they were formed, repeatedly influenced by wave of culture from both the east and west. Take, for instance, the example of phonemic change. In Cha. **D* in the reconstructed form of the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) **(dD)aRaq* 'blood' appears in the three forms of *h*, *d* and *g*, respectively, in *haga*' 'blood,' *dagga*' '*inflame*' and *agaga*' 'red.' In Pal. **s* appears at *t*, as in **tales* >*dait* 'taro (generic),' and as *s*, as in **kelis* > *olés* 'knife.' The same holds true for Yapese (Yap.) (Sakiyama 1982b).

Such phonemic differences should be regarded as differences in the linguistic stratum and not, as in the analysis of Dyen, as merely synchronic differences, since this would lead to an infinite series of corresponding proto-phonemes. When one looks at the stars and constellations from the ground, they look as if scattered on a single plane. Yet, needless to say, mythical stories of stars do not constitute astronomy. Similarly, the present pronunciation of *kanji* (Chinese characters) adopted by the Japanese, such as *Wu-yin (Go-on)*: 修行[shu-gyō] 'training,'頭痛[zu-tsū] 'headache,' *Han-yin (Kan-on)*: 行動[kō-dō] 'action,'筆頭[hit-tō] 'head,' *Tang-yin (Tō-on)*: 行脚[an-gya] 'pilgrimage,' 饅頭[man-jū] 'bun' reflects the phonological innovation historically occurred in Chinese.

Synchronically classified, Micronesian languages fall into three subgroups. Yet it is probable that at some time in the past, there was a period of ethnic unity in which culture flourished to the extent that opposition likely arose to the Southern and the Western regions. Such a development would not be impossible for an ethnic group such as the Micronesians, expert sailors who had highly developed knowledge of astronomy and navigation. In terms of present day linguistic distribution, the areas of the Trukic languages constitute a fairly large grouping that includes Trukese (Tru.) westward to the Puluwat (Pul.), the Satawal (Sat.), the Ulithian (Uli.), the Sonsorol (Son.) and the Tobi (Tob.). Even beyond the boundaries of this group a basic lexicon common to all of Micronesia can be detected. For example:

1) 'rainbow' is *isa* in Cha., *iia* in Marshallese (Mar.) and *iahia* or *ahia* in Ponapean (Pon.), apparently common to these areas which are located at the two extreme ends of Micronesia. Between these localities, 'rainbow' is *(or)rekim* in Pal., *regim* in Yap. and among the Trukic languages, *laxiim* in Son., *raxum* in Uli. and *resiim* in Tru. These

words appear to come from the same protoform. To give a few further examples:

2) 'squid' is *nosnos* in Cha., *nət* in Mar. and *nuhd* in Pon.

3) 'rudderfish (*Kyphosus cinerascens*)' is *quili* in Cha. and *keriker* in Pon.

4) 'tuna fish' is *kerengab* in Pal., *garngab* in Yap. and *karangahp* in Pon.

5) 'banyan (*Ficus carolinensis*)' is *aaw* in Yap., *aaw* in Tru. and *aiau* in Pon.

The above holds true not only for names of living things but also for names of stars:

6) 'Hercules' is *mathisixi* 'April' in Son., *maichix* 'January' in Uli., *mááchik* in Tru. and *maidigi* 'August' in Nuk.

7) 'ß Pegasi' is *raaxa* 'July' in Son., *laax* 'April' in Uli., *naa* in Tru., and *laaga* 'October' in Nuk.

However, in Cha., Yap. and Pal., it seems that the people stopped navigation by canoes at an early stage. Although Magellan recorded the sighting of canoes with outriggers in Guam in March 1521, the word *meesixs* 'Pleiades,' included in the lexicon gathered by Keate in 1783 in his *An Account of the Pelew Islands*, is probably best explained as a confusion with 'Hercules.' By that time, the Palauan people had already embarked on a life whose central concerns were unrelated to stars and canoe navigation. The proto-form for the modern *rak* 'year, age' in Pal. can be related to 'ß Pegasi'.

This becomes clear when a comparison is made with other Micronesian languages. Also, as shown in examples 6) and 7), former names of stars have apparently been retained as the names of sidereal months. The difference in the names of months on different islands can be accounted for by the difference in longitude of their various geographical locations.

The principles of comparative Austronesian language study were originated by Otto Dempwolff. Since he considered only the WMP languages as the source of Proto-Austronesian (i.e., PMP), his reconstruction overlooked the influence of the Oceanic languages. That is, he failed to detect the common derivative lexicon occurring locally in the Melanesian and the Polynesian languages. This is a very serious problem. Dempwolff's principles were based on the premise that the Austronesian people during their thousands of years of migration from the southern part of the Asian Continent remained wanderers, and did not form unified communities in various areas. Thus, when we reconstruct the regional protoforms (denoted by double-asterisks) from the previously mentioned examples, which are

different from Dempwolff's PMP forms, the results would be as shown below. (Note that the reconstruction method is omitted here.)

1) ***rakem*, 2) ***nuto*, 3) ***(k)eri*, 4) ***karaŋap*, 5) ***ayaw*, 6) ***maicik*, 7) ***lak*. The ***nuto* in 2) is apparently connected to ***nuto* in Proto-Malaitan in the Solomon Islands, i.e., such as *nuto* 'squid, octopus' in Arosi. Thus, in terms of common proto-form, this derivative form embraces a broad area which includes Melanesia.

2. CULTURE FROM THE WEST AND EAST

The western Caroline Islands and the Mariana Islands are located near the boundary of WMP area (the Philippines and Eastern Indonesia) and Micronesia. This area provided the shortest route for migration from the west. There was also the great semicircular route from the south through Melanesia, and in particular the New Hebrides. There are linguistic data which substantiate this. The close links between Micronesia and Vanuatu were discussed in Grace's short report on the groupings of the MP languages (1955). This relationship undoubtedly existed. For instance:

8) 'back (of the human body)' is *talüxü* in Son., *taxur* in Uli., *sékúr* in Tru. and *sowe* in Pon., and its root can be found in ***taku*[ ] in Proto-Oceanic, *daku* in Fijian and *taku-k*, *n-taku-k* or *takuta-k in* various areas in Vanuatu.

9) Furthermore, there are very interesting examples such as, the word for 'meat,' which is *fitixo* in Son., *fethëx* in Uli., *futuk* in Tru. and *uduk* in Pon., all apparently related to ***vidigo* in Proto-Central Papuan of the Melanesian subgroup of the MP languages, *viro* in Hula, *hidio* in Motu and *virigo* in Sinagoro (Pawley 1969). In Vanuatu, words like *bisixo-* (Santo Island) and *hisi* (Ambrym Island) have also been widely observed.

10) Another example is 'voice, word,' which is *laam* in Yap., *raama* in Son., *lamalam* in Pul. and *nam* 'heart, thought' in Tru. This is related to the word 'tongue' in Vanuatu, which is *na-lama-na* on Malekula Island and *na-ramo-k* on Tanna Island. The protoform of this word would be ***lama*.

Glottochronological computations have been performed which date the separation of the Micronesian protolanguage from Vanuatu and its spread northward from about B.C. 2000 (Wurm 1975) or B.C. 1000 (Shutler and Marck

1975). Both theories date the separation prior to the birth of Christ, the 1000 year discrepancy between the two probably is accounted for by the method used to select the lexical items. Nevertheless one cannot help but observe that this discrepancy in results is still too large.

The languages in the western Carolines can be conceived of as a boundary zone where east and west met and linguistic elements mingled.

11) 'house' is *b(l)ai* in Pal. and *(p'e)bäy* or *l'aay* 'men's house' in Yap. which superceded **balay*, while *fäluw* 'men's house (on the seashore)' in Yap. was a word from the east, as pointed out by Müller (1917-1918). The word **balay* made a great detour through Melanesia, becoming ***fale*, which appears as *fáán* in Tru., *faal* in Uli. and *faare* in Son.

Let us next examine three representative species of Araceae.

12) **tales* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*) has survived only as *dait* 'taro' in Pal. Palauan *brak* 'giant swamp taro' corresponds to *láák* in Yap., *pula* (<**pura*) in Son., *bwolox* in Uli., *pwuna* in Tru. and *bulaga* in Nuk. Their roots can be found in the Proto-Micronesian ***pwulak* '*Cyrtosperma* spp.'

13) The forms for '*Colocasia esculenta*' phonemically correspond to *wət* 'inedible taro (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*)' in Mar. to the east of Micronesia and appear as *ohd* 'wild taro' in Pon. (cf. sawa '*Colocasia* spp.'), *woot* '*Colocasia* spp.' in Tru. (cf. *kká* '*Alocasia* spp.'), *yöth* '*Colocasia* spp.' in Uli. and *wota* '*Colocasia* spp.' in Son. As the term goes westward, the meaning becomes 'edible taro.' In Mar. *wət* also means 'rain,' since the leaf of the *Alocasia* spp. is large enough to be used as an umbrella. This may possibly be a case where originally different words were joined through a process of folk etymology. The occurrence of *mal* '*Colocasia* spp.' in Yap. seems unparalleled and its root is unclear. The same goes for *kukau* '*Colocasia* spp.' in Pal. Palauans seem to think that this type of taro was brought by peoples from the south. Interestingly, this word is very similar to *kuku* or *kukun* '*Colocasia* spp.' in the Ninigo language, which belongs to the Melanesian linguistic family on the Admiralty Islands of Papua New Guinea. More detailed data on this area are most desirable.

14) The word for *bisech* '*Alocasia macrorrhiza*' in Pal. is taken directly from the PMP *biRaq*, and the same can be said of *piga*' in Cha. The occurrence of *laqiy* in Yap. is unique, while *fèle* in Uli. and *fine* in Pul. are derivatives of **biRaq* >***fine*. ***mwu(l/n)u* is regarded as the origin of *mwúnú* in Tru. and *morü* in Son. In any case,

it is obvious that there are discrepancies among the various islands. This is because the introduction of taro was carried out in each island in different ways.

The form **ubi* 'yam (Dioscoreaceae)' have been observed in an extremely large area, nearly encompassing the entire Austronesian region; i.e., *ubi* in Malay (Mal.), *uhi* in Hawaiian and *óvy* in Malagasy. According to Nakao, the spread of yam occurred around the time of the birth of Christ (1966). However, in Micronesia, although the yam seems to have been cultivated in Yap since ancient times, as evidenced by its use in rituals, there is no trace of this word. *Colocasia* spp. is now the major crop in Yap, yam being only secondary. Representative species of yam are:

15) *thëp*' '*Dioscorea nummularia*' grown on vines with few thorns and is usually planted in the forest.

16) *dääl* '*Dioscorea esculenta*' has vines which coil counter-clockwise and is covered with thorns.

17) *duqög* '*Dioscorea alata*' has vines which coil clockwise and no thorns.

Among the above terms for yam, *dääl* came from the previously cited **tales* through phonemic change with substantial semantic change. The semantic change in the names of living things is not an uncommon phenomenon. It is also said that the yam was brought into Palau during the German period. At any rate, *dal* and *dechok* in Pal. are borrowings from *dääl* and *duqög* in Yap. The generic term for yam in Pal., *telngot*, is a derivative of *melngot*, 'to seek food.'

Moving eastward from the western Carolines, breadfruit gradually increases in importance and replaces *Colocasia* spp. and *Dioscorea* spp. as the main crop.

18) **may '*Artocarpus altilis*' is *më* in Mar., *mahi* in Pon., *mááy* in Tru., *määy* in Uli. and *maay* in Son. These are all clearly derived from a common form. However, *thow* in Yap. and *meduu* in Pal. are unrelated. The word *made*, phonetically similar to *meduu* in Pal., is also found in New Guinea, but its origin is uncertain.

Incidentally, Nguluw Island is bound by a parent-child relationship (termed *sowäy* in Nguluwan [Ngu.]) with Guror village in Southern Yap. The Nguluwan people and the Guror people are kinsmen on the basis of land relationships. The culture of Nguluw Island is mixture of Yapese and Ulithian cultures, and its language forms a peculiar dialect of Yapese. For example, it does not have any of the glottalized consonants characteristic of Yapese. Its vocabulary reveals a strong influence from the east (Sakiyama 1982a). On Nguluw Island, breadfruit with seeds

is called *yithaw*, a term originating from Yap, whereas the seedless species is called *mafow*, which comes from *mafoi* in Uli. The cultural peculiarity of Nguluw Island is also indicated by the following:

19) 'Alexandrian laurel (*Calophyllum inophyllum*)' is *btaches* in Pal., *biyqöch* in Yap., whereas in Ngu. it is called *säfäng*, similar to *sepang* in Pingelapese, Ponape and to *sevang* in Ifaluk.

Indian culture had a strong influence on the Austronesian people prior to their migration from the Asian Continent. One example is the use of **leŋa* 'sesame (*Sesamum indicum*)' and **kunij* 'turmeric (*Curcuma longa*)' in incantation. In esoteric Buddhism, sesame is the source of light and is used to ward off misfortune. In Old Javanese, 'sesame is the essence (of God); it is a grass of purification' (*Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*, Ch.25, written around the 9th century). As regards turmeric, according to 玄奘(Hsüan Chuang) in *Record of the Western Regions* (mid-7th century) 'the Hindus apply perfumes made of sandalwood, turmeric and others on their bodies.' Turmeric was used as a special herb for rituals. In Indonesia, the Minangkabauans chew turmeric and spew the mixture at the sick, and the Balinese rub corpses with turmeric. The yellow rice of the Malays, which is made with turmeric, is quite famous. This is cooked on the occasion of the shaving ritual, which takes place seven days after birth.

In Micronesia, turmeric is used to paint the body for ritual dancing, as a medicine, and as a dye and food seasoning on all the islands. The custom of rubbing corpses with turmeric was also reported on Mortlock Islands, Palau Island and Saipan Island (Matsuoka 1943). This cannot be explained simply as an attempt to prevent decay, but also has religious meaning linking death to reincarnation. This custom has its origin as faraway as India. Since turmeric does not grow on atolls, it is said that in the past Truk Islands was the center of turmeric cultivation. In Nguluw Island, turmeric is used as a betrothal gift given by a man to a woman. The betrothal gift from a woman to a man is *bul*, a belt made of shells.

Linguistically speaking, an interesting semantic change has occurred here. **leŋa* has lost its original meaning of 'sesame' (sesame was never brought to Oceania) and acquired the meaning of 'turmeric powder' or 'yellow.' This change of meaning remains in common in the Oceanic languages.

20) **leŋa*> ***reŋa* (Proto-Oceanic) became *lenga* 'turmeric' in Nuk., *rangrang* 'yellow' in Kusaiean, *reng* 'yellow' in Tru., *rang* 'turmeric' (*rangarang* 'yellow') in

Uli., *lang* 'turmeric' in Son., *rëng* 'turmeric' (*rangrëng* 'orange color') in Yap. and *reng* 'turmeric' in Pal. This word in Pal. is not a direct form of **leŋa*. The direct form would have been **ieŋ*. When the PMP **kunij* came to Micronesia through Palau, it came to mean 'turmeric plant.' **kunij* is said to have been introduced through Pal. because the Palauan form came from ***kujin*, the metathesis of **kunij*, and the forms found in other languages cannot be explained unless they are seen as having come through the Palauan form.

21) **kunij* > **kujin* > *kesol* 'turmeric plant' in Pal. was borrowed as *guchöl* in Yap., *xëchël* in Uli. and *kúchún* in Tru. Incidentally, *xalowa* 'turmeric plant' in Son. and Tob. is unique in its occurrence, but is related to *saluwa* 'yellow' in Sangirese (San.), Eastern Indonesia and *kelawag* 'turmeric, to color with turmeric' in Tiruray (Tir.) on Mindanao Island, the Philippines, which belong to the WMP subgroup. Considering their proximity, Son. and Tob. must have adopted words from the west into their vocabulary on their own. This provides evidence not only of the existence of immigrants but also shows that considerable exchange took place.

Palau held sway over Micronesia in the era of the 'Palau Empire.' During that time commodities which spread through the region included such things as turtle.

22) **pen'u* > *uél* in Pal. was bollowed as *wel* in Yap., *worü* in Son., *wool* in Uli., *woong* in Pul. and *wiin* in Tru. At first glance, *uél* seems to be unrelated to the proto-form because of the radical change that has occurred, yet it is the result of absolutely regular phonemic change. It is only through this Palauan form that the other forms can be explained. However, the final *-ng* in Pul. is an exception.

The above described mixture of PMP and derivative regional protoforms is seen not only in names of plants, but also in those of animals. Although 'barracuda' does not appear in Dempwolff's constructed forms, the following form is attributable to the PMP.

23) **alu* '*Sphyraena barracuda*' became *alu-alu* in Mal., *alu* in Cha. and *chai* in Pal. and *r-alu*, *s-alu* in Langalanga on Malaita Island, the Solomon Islands, and even *alu* in Savo, a Papuan language, on Savo Island, the Solomon Islands. On the other hand, for the more eastern languages the common form is ***taraw*, which changes to *sarau* in Pon., *saraw* in Tru., *taraw* in Uli., *talawa* in Son., *thorow* in Yap. and becomes *solou* 'a fish (unidentified)' in Pal.

24) **yuyu* 'coconut crab' became *a-yuuy* in Yap. The origin of *ketat* in Pal. is unclear. On the other hand, ***yaf* appears as *emp* in Pon., *eef* in Tru., *yaf* in Uli. and

yaafi in Son. Ngu. also belongs to this group, having the form *yaaf*.

25) Among names for objects, the word for 'war spear' is *sines* in Tru. and *hiláh* in Pul., both resembling an western word, which also appears as *dilëk* in Yap. These forms also correspond to *dilek* in Tir. It is not clear whether the above weapon was introduced from the Philippines or introduced into the Philippines from Micronesia, and whether the above forms are a borrowing or a protoform common to the region. At present, this term does not exist in the western Carolines, apart from Yap. According to the wave theory of dialects, the explanation for this is that the western Carolines was the center from which the term spread to the surrounding areas.

26) In the same sense, the word for 'coconut toddy' is interesting. It is *achif* in Yap., *xachi* in Uli., *áchi* in Tru., *xasi* in Son., (but *chemlol* in Pal. is unrelated.) and even in Subanun on Mindanao Island, 'rice wine' is *gasi*. It is said that originally there were no alcoholic drinks in Melanesia (Chowning 1973). But sinceYapese retains the old word form, most probably this word was transmitted from the Carolines to the Philippines. This indicates that making wine from coconuts is a part of indigenous culture in Micronesia.

27) Among other words introduced from the Southern Philippines or North-eastern Indonesia (particularly San.) there is the word for 'iron or iron products.' The Proto-Austronesian **besi* 'iron' changes to the Old Javanese *wesi*. It is also *uase* in San. From ***uasey* in Proto-Minahasan and ***wásay* 'axe' in the protoform of the Southern Philippines (i.e., Proto-Bisayan) (Zorc 1977), it became *uasai* 'axe' in Pal., *wasëy* 'iron' in Yap., *wathey* 'sword' in Son. and *wathi* 'knife' in Uli. Comparatively speaking, this word is distributed only in the western part of Micronesia.

Etymologically, there are clear cases of new borrowed words, most of them through Pal.

28) *beras* 'hulled rice' in Mal. was borrowed as *beras* in Pal., which became *përäs* in Uli. However, *pugas* in Cha. is not a borrowed word, but descended from the PMP **beRas*.

29) *diokáng* 'tapioca' in Pal. is the result of metanalyzing the Spanish *mandioca* and adding *-ng* at the end. Yapese *thiyögäng* came from Pal. The final *-ng* is a meaningless nasal which appears at the end of phrases only in Pal.

30) The Spanish *fisga* 'harpoon, spear' is the origin of *biskang* in Pal., *piiskäng* in Yap., *piska* in Uli. and *fiisika* in Tru.

CONCLUSION

Analyzing the above linguistic movements, the image of the Miconesian people skillfully maneuvering their canoes and travelling freely on the high seas from east to west comes alive in the mind. Once they began to fear navigating beyond the reefs, their culture was cut off from the outside world. To use the words of Izui (1975), in the context of the entire MP linguistic area, Micronesia constitutes only a remote area. It has gradually evolved into a closed world.

Nevertheless, the culture and language of Micronesia is, as stated earlier, multilayered. It is the lack of historical data which makes comparative study quite difficult. Quackenbush's doctoral dissertation of 1968, although limited to the Trukic languages, is remarkable in that, in his 568 items of lexical comparison, he has clarified the phonemic correspondences among the languages. Since that time there have unfortunately been few comparative linguistic studies in Micronesia. However, dictionaries and grammars of specific languages have been published by the University of Hawai'i, namely: Pal. (E. G. McManus, L. S. Josephs et al.), Yap. (J. T. Jensen), Cha. (D. M. Topping), Woleaian (Ho-min Sohn), Pon. (K. L. Rehg and D. G. Sohl), Mokilese (S. P. Harrison and S. Albert), Kusaiean (Kee-dong Lee), Mar. (T. Abo and B. W. Bender); and by the Australian National University, namely: Pul. (S. H. Elbert) and Uli. (Ho-min Sohn and B. W. Bender). Additionally, Ms. S. Oda presented a doctoral dissertation on the syntax of Pulo-Annian to the University of Hawai'I in 1977. In 1980 the dictionary of Trukese coauthored by H. Sugita and W. H. Goodenough was published by the American Philosophical Society.

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Chapter

3

Genealogical Positions of Trukic, Ponapeic and Kusaiean Languages

INTRODUCTION

Despite Bender's explanation (1971), assuming Dyen's lexicostatistical classification, that the languages in Micronesia are divisible into distinct types, i.e., (1) nonnuclear languages (Chamorro and Palauan as Indonesian type, and Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi as Polynesian type); (2) questionably nuclear languages (Yapese and Nauruan); and (3) nuclear languages (the remaining languages including the Trukic group, Ponapeic group, Kusaiean, Marshallese and Gilbertese), there are still reasons for rethinking the internal relationships of the nuclear languages, and how they relate to each other from the comparative linguistic point of view. In this chapter I attempt to demonstrate the phonemic changes from the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) and the phonemic correspondences of Trukese, Ponapeic (Ponapean and Mokilese) and Kusaiean, on the basis of the data gathered in 1985. But the study of reflexes of the protophonemes was limited to PMP (neither Proto-Oceanic nor Proto-Micronesian) wordbases, principally reconstructed by Dempwolff, because the languages of Micronesia have very complicated multilayered phonemic phases, which as a whole reflect several linguistic strata. As a first step toward comparison the most basic and primary element should be clarified.

As seen in the Table 1, the kinds of change from the protophonemes appear almost similar in Trukese and Ponapeic, but changes in Kusaiean are unique in that while voiced apicals such as **d*/**D* and **l*/**r* merge into a single *l*, like a Polynesian language, voiceless apicals (**t* and **T*) or palatal obstruents (**s*, **z*, **c*, **j*) diverge into more than one phoneme. This proves that Trukese and Ponapean

with Mokilese are even closer to each other as classified so far by appearances as members of the nuclear languages, but Kusaiean by itself as a distinct language.

It is not adequate to give a positive meaning to different series of correspondences in Kusaiean as PMP phonemes, as Dyen usually does, but suffice it to say a 'series of labels,' as Quackenbush (1968) mentioned. My opinion is supported because the sound differenciation occurring in Micronesian languages does not necessarily coincide with those of the Formosan languages, nor of any other language (Sakiyama 1982).

Noteworthy in grammatical terms is the retention of original Malayo-Polynesian forms, such as the first person singular suffix *-*ku*. Similar is the existence of the general possessive classifier originating from the locative preposition **di*. They are kept only in Yapese -*g* and *ro*-, and in Kusaiean -*k* and *l*-. But in the languages located between them there appear different forms, as *-*i* as in Trukese -*y*, Ponapean and Mokilese -*i*, and unattested protophonemes as in Trukese *aa*-, Ponapean and Mokilese *n*-, respectively. The phonemic system of each language also must be explained in that fashion, and not from a single perspective. The secondary reflexes in each language, focusing on regional vocabularies, will be discussed in a forthcoming paper. (The transcription of each language in this chapter is based on the present orthography.)

Table 1. Reflexes of the PMP phonemes.

PMP	p b	t T	d D	l r	s z c j	k g	m n	ny	ng
TRU	f, (ø)	s, (ø)	r	n r(ø)	t	k	m(mw)n	n	ng
PON	ø	s, ø	r	l r(ø)	d[t]	k	m(mw)n,l	n	ng
MOK	ø	j, ø	r	l r(ø)	d[t]	k	m(mw)n,l	n	ng
KUS	ø	s, t	l	l	s,t,y,ø	k	m(mw)n	l	ng

PMP	R	y w	q h	Np Nb	Nt NT Nd Ns Nz Nc Nj	Nk Ng
TRU	r(ø)	ø w(ø)	ø ø	p(pw)	ch[ʧ]	ng
PON	r(ø)	ø w(ø)	ø ø	p(pw)	t[t]	ng
MOK	r(ø)	ø w (ø)	ø ø	p(pw)	s	ng
KUS	ø	ø ø	ø ø	f	sr[ʂ]	ng

PMP	a	i	u	e
TRU	a	i	u	e
PON	a	i	u	e
KUS	a	i	u	e

TRU : Trukese
MOK : Mokilese
KUS : Kusaiean

EXAMPLES

PMP *p, *b (*Np, *Nb)

*epat 'four'> TRU fáá-, KUS ah-ng, *empat> PON pahie.-, MOK pha-.

*pitu 'seven'> TRU fisu-, PON isu-, MOK iju-, KUS it.

*punti 'banana'> TRU wuuch, PON uht, MOK wus, KUS usr.

*puket 'fishnet'> TRU wuuk, PON uhk, MOK uk, KUS n-wek.[1]

*apuy 'fire'> TRU ááf, PON ahi, MOK oai, KUS e.

*bituqen 'star'> TRU fúú, PON usu, MOK uju, KUS itih.

*binay 'woman, female'> TRU free-fin, KUS acn, *Nbinay> PON pein, MOK pein.

*banuwa 'land, island'> TRU fénú, *Nbanuwa> PON pwehl 'earth', MOK pwel 'taro patch'[2], KUS fin.

*buhaq 'fruit'> TRU wuwa, PON wah, MOK wah, *Nbuhaq> KUS fah-l[3].

*tebu 'sugar cane'> TRU woow, PON sehu, MOK doa[4], KUS tuh.

*teba ~ *tuNba 'a plant(*Derris elliptica*)'> TRU wúúp, PON uhp, MOK –, KUS op[5].

PMP *t, *T (*Nt, *NT)[6]

*tali 'cord'> TRU sáán, PON sahl, MOK joal, KUS sucl.

*tuDuR (*tiDuR) 'sleep'> TRU mé-wúr, PON me-ir, MOK moa-ir, KUS mu-tul.

*tuquD 'stand'>TRU wú, PON uh, MOK u, KUS tu.

*telu 'three'> TRU één, PON silu-, MOK jilu-, KUS tol.

*mata 'eye'> TRU maas, PON mahs, MOK maj, KUS muhta.

*ma-utaq 'vomit'> TRU mwmw-us, PON mmw-us, MOK umww-uj, KUS wih-te.

*kuRita 'octopus'> TRU kúús, PON kihs, MOK kihj, KUS koet.

*kiNta 'we (inclusive)'> TRU kiich, PON kith (exclusive), kita (dual), MOK kisa (dual), kihs, *kita > KUS kitac-l.

*qan(i)tu 'ghost, spirit'> TRU énú, PON eni, MOK eni, KUS inut.

*kutu 'louse'> TRU kúú, PON –, MOK –, KUS kut.

*Tuk Tuk 'rap, pound'> TRU ssuk, PON suk, MOK juk, KUS tuk.

PMP *d, *D (*Dd, *ND)

*damaR 'resin, torch, moon'> TRU ma-ram, PON ma-ram, MOK ma-ram, KUS mah-lwen.

*dengeR 'hear'> TRU rong, PON rong, MOK rong, KUS lohng.

*di 'location of, at, in'> TRU ree-, PON reh, MOK –, KUS l-.

*Dalem 'interior, depth'> TRU –, PON loal, MOK loal[7], KUS loal.

*Duwa 'two'> TRU rúwa, PON ria-, MOK ria-, KUS lo.

*-iDa 'they' > TRU iir, PON ira (dual), MOK ira (dual), KUS el.

*waDa 'be, exist'> TRU wor, PON –, MOK –, *waNDa> KUS oasr.

*quDang 'lobster'> TRU wúúr, PON uhr, MOK wuron-na, KUS ohl-pahp.

*quid 'hind part, behind'> TRU mw-iri-, PON mw-uri, MOK mw-eri-n, KUS –.

*quDip 'life'> TRU –, PON mo-ur, MOK mo-ur, KUS mo-ul.

PMP *l, *r

*langit 'sky'> TRU nááng, PON lahng, MOK loang, KUS lucng.

*langaw 'fly, insect'> TRU nóóng, PON loahng, MOK loang, KUS loang.

*lima 'five, hand'> TRU nima-, PON lima-, MOK limoa-, KUS luhm.

*limas 'bail, bailer'> TRU nuum, PON lihm, MOK lim, KUS I-nihm.

*limut (*lumut) 'moss, seaweed'> TRU nuumw, PON lihmw, MOK limw, KUS lum.

*kulit 'skin'> TRU kiin, PON kihl, MOK kil, KUS kolo.

*walu 'eight'> TRU wanú-, PON walu-, MOK walu-, KUS oal.

*garis (*guris) 'scratch'> TRU keri-, PON korehd, MOK kari-pwid, KUS kuhlaus.

*tam-buri 'conch, trumpet'> TRU sewi[8], PON sewi, MOK jowi, KUS ful.

PMP *s, *z, *c, *j (*Ns, *Nz, *Nc, *Nj)[9]

*sama- 'outrigger'> TRU taam, PON dahm, MOK dam, KUS em.

*sakit 'sick, pain'> TRU me-tek, PON me-dek, MOK moa-doak, KUS a-tuck.

*asu, *qasap 'smoke'>TRU aat 'smokecure', PON adi, MOK edie.d 'smoky', KUS –.

*siwa 'nine'> TRU ttiwa, PON duwa-, MOK duoa-, KUS yuh.

*susu 'breast'> TRU ttú, PON dihdi, MOK dihdi, KUS titi.

*suluq 'torch'>TRU teen, PON dihl, MOK dil, KUS sul, tol 'shine on.'

*zaqit 'sew'> TRU teeyi, PON dei-dei, MOK doa, KUS tuh.

*zahuq 'remoteness'> TRU toow, PON doh, MOK doh, KUS soh 'over there.'

*quzan 'rain'> TRU wúút, PON –, MOK wud, KUS –.

*zalan 'road'> TRU aan[10], PON ahl, MOK al, KUS –.

*tazem 'sharp'> TRU – , PON saim, MOK jaim, KUS twem 'whetstone.'

*cukil 'poke, dig'> TRU tuu, PON dehk, MOK dok, KUS suk.

*ajan 'name'> TRU iit, PON ahd, MOK ad, KUS e.

PMP *k, *g (*Nk, *Ng)

*kaen ~ *maN-kaen 'eat, food'> TRU mwéngé, PON kang, MOK kang, KUS kang.

*ikan 'fish'> TRU iik, PON ik-, MO ik-, KUS ik.

*gugut 'nibble, bite'> TRU kkúk, PON ke, MOK kao, KUS –.

PMP *m, *n, *ny, *ng

*manuk 'bird, animal'> TRU maan, PON malek, MOK mahn, KUS won[11].

*enem 'six'> TRU wonu-, PON wene-, MOK wono-, KUS on.

*inum 'drink'> TRU wún, PON nim, MOK nim, KUS nihm.

*matay 'die., death'> TRU máá, PON meh-la, MOK me-, KUS misac.

*tama 'father'> TRU saam, PON sahm, MOK jamah, KUS tuhma.

*ina 'mother'> TRU iin, POM ihn, MOK inah, KUS n-inac.[12]

*niyuR 'coconut-palm'> TRU núú, PON nih, MOK ni, KUS nu.

*-nya 'his, her, their'> TRU -n, PON -n, MOK -n, KUS -l[13].

*ngusu ~ *nguNsu 'lips'> TRU ngáách 'jaw', PON –, MOK ngoas, KUS ngoasro.

PMP *R

*Rumaq 'house'> TRU iimw, PON ihmw, MOK imw, KUS l-ohm[14].

*baRa 'shoulder'> TRU a-far, *NbaRa> PON a-pere, MOK a-proa, KUS –.

PMP *w

*wangkang 'canoe'> TRU waa, PON wah-r, MOK wa-r, KUS oa-k.

PMP *Np, *Nb

*pusej ~ *Npusej 'navel'> TRU pwun, PON pwuhs, MOK pwij, KUS fuht, fihtac.

*bahu ~ *Nbahu 'odour, smell'> TRU pwoo-, PON pwoh, MOK pwo, KUS fo.

*bengi ~ *Nbengi 'night'> TRU pwoong, PON pwohng, MOK pwong, KUS fong.

PMP *Nt, *NT, *Nd, *ND, *Ns, *Nz, *Nc, *Nj

*(d/D)anum ~ *N(dD)anum 'water'> TRU chaan, PON –, MOK –, KUS sroano-.

*(d/D)aRaq ~ *N(dD)aRaq 'blood'> TRU chcha, PON nta, MOK insa, KUS srah.

*(d/D)uRi ~ *N(dD)uRi 'thorn, bone'> TRU chúú, PON tih, MOK si, KUS sri.

*paNDan 'pandanus'> TRU faach, PON –, MOK –, KUS wihsr-kuhl 'pandanus flower.'

*putiq ~ *NpuNtiq 'white, coral lime'> TRU pweech, MOK pwoas, KUS fasr.

PMP *Nk, *Ng

*aku ~ *aNku 'I, me'> TRU ngaa-ng, PON nge-hi, MOK ngoa-h, ngoa-hi, KUS nga.

*guruq ~ *Nguruq 'rumble'> TRU nger, PON ngiri-ngir, MOK ngir-ngir, KUS ngitr[15].

NOTES

1. Yapese: *n-uug*. Both *n* are affiliated with an article in Vanuatu languages. Cf. PMP **ikan* 'fish' > Aulua *na-ig*.
2. The **n* appears as *n* and *l* in PON and MOK such as **enem, *inum* etc., for one series and **manuk, *banuwa*, for another. But the phonemic discrepancy in PON and MOK for **manuk* is inexplicable.
3. KUS *-l* has its origin in PMP **-nya* 'his, her, their'.
4. MOK *d-* in *doa* is possibly a borrowing from KUS *tuh*.
5. PON *uhp* and KUS *op* could be borrowing from TRU *wúúp*.
6. The **t* disappears in TRU before **u* (not **uy*) and **e* (Dyen 1949), but in PON

and MOK the differentiation appears such as (**bituqen*>) *s* and *j* and (**tuDuR, *tuquD* etc.>) *ø* and *ø*. The **t* is distinguished in Kusaie.an also in a different way such as one series (**pitu, *bituqen, *tebu, *telu, *mata, *-utaq, *kuRita* etc.> KUS *t* : PONS *s*) from another (**tail*> KUS *s* : PON *s*), but this distinction as well does not agree with Dahl's modifications of Dyen's reconstructions (1976).

7. PON and MOK *l-* in *loal* (not **roal*) was due to regressive assimilation.
8. **r* disappears in TRU *sewi* under unknown conditions (Dyen 1949)
9. The reflexes for the palatal obstruents in KUS are multiform. Division of protophoneme into several phonemes may be a solution, but this may lead to an anachronism in disregarding phonemic changes which may arise subsequently.
10. **z* disappears in TRU *aan* under unknown conditions (Dyen 1949).
11. KUS *won* would come from **mwanuk* < **manuk*.
12. Yapese: *n-iinaeq* 'mother'. Cf. 1).
13. Cf. 3.
14. KUS *l-* in *l-ohm* is inexplicable, but some languages in Vanuatu have such forms as Avok: *-leim*, Sakao: *-olom* 'house' etc.
15. KUS *r* in *ngihr* is inexplicable.

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Chapter
4

Linguistic Evidences of New Guinea-Micronesia Connection

INTRODUCTION

The linguistic interrelationships between New Guinea and Micronesia have seldom been studied, in spite of the fact that they are adjacent areas. An exception is Smythe's (1970) incomplete paper that shows that the languages of the Admiralty Islands area (Ad) have multiple atrata, having incorporated in varying degrees vocabulary and grammatical features of Papuan, Melanesian, Micronesian and Indonesian origins.[1]

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the linguistic connection in these areas, by summarizing some lexical data now available as well as data gathered by the author from 1977 to 1985. Most of the languages cited in this paper belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family, but for the Non-Malayo-Polynesian or Papuan languages, in comparing vocabularies it is not easy to identify either borrowed words or inherited words as originating from a certain linguistic stratum.

Two asterisks (**) are used to denote the secondary and regionally appearing protoforms. These are differentiated from the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) forms, which are denoted by one asterisk (*). The reconstruction of Proto-Papua-Micronesian was tentatively done by the author, referring to the words directly inherited from the Proto-Austronesian, except for those indicated by (W), which follow Wurm and Wilson (1975).

Abbreviations in this chapter are as follows: (MC): Micronesia, Gl:Gilbertese, Ks:Kusaiean, Mr: Marshallese, Nk:Nukuoro, P1:Palauan, Pn:Ponapean, Ss:Sonsorolese, Tr:Trukese, Yp:Yapese, (ML):Melanesia, Am:Ambrym, Ar:Arosi, Ep:Epi, Ma:Maewo, (NG):New Guinea, (Ad):Admiralty Is., Au:Aua (Ad), By:Buyang (Ad), Hr:Hermit Is. (Ad), Kn:Kaniet (Ad), Ku:Kuot (Papuan), Kw:Kwesten (Papuan), Lo:Lou (Ad), Ms:Maisin (Papuan?), Mt:Motu, Nn:Ninigo

(Ad), Tb:Tobati, Tl:Tolai, Tm:Tumleo, Wv:Wuvulu(Ad), (PN):Polynesia, and Sm:Samoan.

1. PROTO-PAPUA-MICRONESIAN VOCABULARY

The items found extending over the controversial areas are as follows: [2]

1) ***teRaw* 'barracuda': (NG) Tb. *terau*, Kw. *taraw*, Ku. *a-sou* 'Belonidae,' (MC) Ss. *talawa*, Yp. *thorow*, Tr. *saraw*.

2) ***pwupw* 'trigger fish': (NG) Tb. *te-pup*, Tl. *bubu* '(unidentified),' (MC) Ss. *bwuub*, Yp. *wuuq*, Pl. *beab*, Tr. *pwuupw*, Mr. *bwubw*, Gl. *bubu*, (ML) Ar. *bubu*.

3) ***maŋaR* 'flying fish': (NG) Tb. *mexau*, (MC) Ss. *maŋal i*, Tr. *méŋér*, (ML) Ar. *magaru*.

4) ***pwulak* 'a plant (*Cyrtosperma* spp.)': (NG) Au. *fuula*, Wv. *hula*, Kw. *bulalam*, (MC) Ss. *bwuraxa*, Pl. *brak*, Yp. *laak'*, Tr. *pwuna*, (ML) Am. *opwer*(?) .

5) ***wet* 'a plant (*Alocasia* spp.or *Colocasia* spp.)': (NG) By. *os*, (MC) Ss. *wota*, Tr. *woot*, Mr. *wet*.

6) ***kapu* 'a plant (*Colocasia* spp.)': (Ng) Nn. *huk*, *huku-kuh*, Hr. *yo-hoko*, Kn. *gof-ugof*, Ms. *kuku-ng*, (MC) Pl. *ku-kau*.[3]

7) ** ? 'a plant (*Artocarpus altilis*)': (NG) Tl. *mede-ra*, (MC) Pl. *meduu*.

8) ***piya* '*sand*': (NG) Au. *piia*, Tl. *pia*, (MC) Ss. *piiya*, Tr. *ppi*, Mr. *ppe* 'sandbank.'

9) ***sekal* 'egg': (NG) Ku. *sagar*, (MC) Ss. *sagai*, Tr. *sokun*.

10) ***ta(m)buri* (W) > ? ***(m)bulu* 'conch': (NG) Au. *mbulu*, (MC) Yp. *buul*, (PN) Sm. *puu*(?).

11) ***ma(n)tah* 'raw' (W) > ***aRa-mat* 'person': (NG) Au. *ra-ma?a*, By. *nda-mat*, LO. *ra-mat*, (MC) Ss. *yale-mata*, Tr. *ara-mas*, Mr. *ar-mej*, Gl. *aomata*. (ML) Ep. *yaru-mwene* (for *-mwene* see the next item).

12) ***mwane* 'man' (W): (NG) Kn. *muane*, Lo. *mwan*, (MC) Ss. *mwaare*, Tr. *mwáán*, Mr. *mw-mwaan*, (ML) Ar. *mwane*.

13) ***papine* 'woman' (W): (NG) Kn.*fefin*, Lo. *pein*, (MC) Yp. *bpiin*, Tr. *feefin*, (ML) Ar. *haihine*, Ma.*fafine*, Am. *behen*.

14) ***vidigo* 'meat' (W): (NG) Au. *pedio-na*, Mt. *idiho*, *hidio*, (MC) Ss. *fitigo*, Tr. *futuk*, Gl. *iriko*, (ML) Ma. *basko*, Am. *wisi*, *hisi*.

15) ***sele* 'adze': (NG) Nn. *tala*, (MC) Ss. *tara-ye*, Tr. *sene*, (ML) Ma. *tala-i*, Am. *tele*, *teye*.

16) ***asipa* 'hour-glass shaped drum': (NG) Wv. *aipa*, *aiwa*, Kn. *adif*, Tm. *ati*, (MC) Pn. *aip*, Ks. *äsi-s*, Mr. *aje*, Nk. *aasii*.[4]

2. ADMIRALTY ISLANDS LANGUAGES AND YAPESE

The Trukic languages in Micronesia, as a branch of the Melanesian subfamily, constitute a well-defined linguistic continuum, but the position of Yapese is specific. Moseley (1877) sought to connect the languages of the Admiralty Islands with Yapese, rather than with other Melanesian languages. This was based on the similarity in the formation of the numerals, such as those for 'seven' (Lo. *ngane-selep*, Yp. *me-dlip*), 'eight' (Lo. *ngane-ruip*, Yp. *me-ruk*) and 'nine' (Lo. *ngane-sip*, Yp. *me-reb*) by substraction, *telip/dalip*, *ruip/l'agruw* and *sip/reeb* being the words for 'three,' 'two' and 'one.' This coincidence by itself is but weak proof of a genealogical relationship. But that the similar phonological forms inherited from the PMP are kept in some words suggests a closer relationship.

17) ***bulan* 'moon' (W) > Lo. *pul*, Yp. *puul* (with the dropping of the final syllable).

18) ***ikan* 'fish' (W) > Lo. *n-ik*, Yp. *n-iig* (with *n-* as secondary prosthesis).

19) ***telu* 'three' (W) > Lo. *sel-ep*, Yp. *dal-ip* (with etymologically unknown *–ip* or *-ep*).

In should be noticed that at the grammatical level, too, Lou is much closer to Yapese than to any other language, by virtue of the existence of only two (or three) types of possession. Generally speaking, the Trukic languages have more than twenty categorical classifiers. Examples are as follows:

	Lo.	Yp.	Tr.
'my father'	*tom-ong*	*chiitamngi-ig*	*sem-ey*,
'my caught flsh'	*nik tang*	*niig roog*	*niyap-ey iik*,
'my raw fish'	*nik tang*	*niig roog*	*wocháá-y iik*,

but,

'my fish to eat' *kong nik* *niig roog* *ene-y iik.*

3. TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONSTELLATIONS

The natives in these areas might have knowledge of the constellations for navigation, as the Micronesians did until fairly recently. On the New Guinean side such traditional knowledge is observed in the month names of the Biak(-Numfor) language of Irian Jaya. According to data gathered by de Bruyn (1940-41) in 1915-16, the Biak calendar year begins on the 21st of 'March' (*manaweri*), and runs as follows:

20) 'April' : *airami*
21) 'May': *ayumi*
22) 'June': *sarmuri*
23) 'July': *saremi beba*
24) 'August': *saremi wedari*
25) 'September': *romanggwan beba*
26) 'October': *romanggwan wedari*
27) 'November': *wambarus beba*
28) 'December': *wambarus wedari*
29) 'January' : *inseri*
30) 'February': *sarwir*

These months were named after constellations. Among them it is evident that *airami*, *sarmuri* (possibly an irregular form of **sumur-i* by analogy with *sarwir*) and *sarwir* correspond phonemically to the Micronesian languages:

20) Ss. *yalamai-di* 'February': Tr. *óromwoy* 'November': Nk. *alamooi* 'June,'
22) Ss. *tumuli* 'March': Tr. *tumwur* 'December': Nk. *dumulu* 'July,'
and
30) Ss. *talebwar i* 'January': Tr. *serepwén* '(variable)': Nk. *salaboli* 'May.'

It is interesting that Nukuoro, unlike the typical Polynesian languages, uses these

words. These names originate in the common proto-forms such as 20) ***aRamwai* 'α Bootis (Arcturus),' 22) ***dumwux* α Scorpii (Antares),' and 30) ***taRepwel* 'Corvus.'

The word for 'canoe' in some languages (at in Kwesten [Papuan], *ding* in Sko [Papuan]) seems to come from Biak *adi* 'outrigger float.' Considering the history of the region, too, Biak has long been the *lingua franca* along the north coast of Irian Jaya, and expanded as far as the Mapia Island on the border of Micronesia. The Biak people might possibly be conveyers of culture.

CONCLUSION

It has been pointed out that the settlement of Micronesia was not the result of a simple one-way movement of a mass of humanity (Alkire 1977: 8). The culture and language of Micronesia is multi-layered (Sakiyama 1987). In this chapter I suggest that there has been an interchange of people and a common culture area between New Guinea and Micronesia.[5] Needless to say, this study will be more definitive as data increasingly accumulate.

NOTES

1. Smythe's comparative wordlist includes some wrong comparisons, e.g., 'yam': Admiralty Islands languages *uh*, Trukese *ep*. The former comes from the Proto-Austronesian **ubi*, but the latter (more exactly *epa* 'one frond of taro') is not a cognate word.
2. The words found in the Melanesian area should be considered as having expanded from the Papua-Micronesian center.
3. Palauans believe that *kukau* was brought to Palau from a southernly region, perhaps by persons adrift from New Guinea (McKnight and Obak 1960: 7). ***kapu* explains in full *ku-kau* via ***kauu* with partial reduplication as a regular phonemic change.
4. The similarity of drum names between Wuvulu/Aua and East Micronesia was pointed out by Parkinson (1970: 430) and considered adequate by Fischer (1983: 57-58), for they are definitely secular instruments to accompany song and dance.

5. According to the Merir legends, Papuans from the Takar-Saar Coast (the Yobi region and Sarmi on the mainland) of Irian Jaya came twice to attack Merir in the 1800s (Riesenberg 1965: 167).

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PART TWO

Sociolinguistic and Anthropological Linguistic Studies of the Pacific

Chapter

5

Linguistic and Cultural Times Running in Oceania and Southeast Asia

INTRODUCTION

Seeing the subject 'Time and Language' from the viewpoint of general linguistics, languages (sound languages) are to be performed and articulated along a temporal axis, as is said '*linéarité*' of linguistic sign by F. de Saussure, they connote temporal attributes in themselves. In other words, when time is considered as an internal component of linguistic structures, it can be said that a feature such as syntactic or syntagmatic relations in opposition to paradigmatic relations of a language is to be established on the temporal attributes. However, as was pointed out by Nagano(1998), I aim at reviewing speech (*langage*) from a social scientific point of view. It means that I am to discuss how lexical and grammatical categories of time as seen in speech are related to human experiences or human cultures.

By applying for the semiotic triangle of Ogden and Richards (see Figure 1), I examine Nagano's proposal. If concept or cognition of time (b) is confined in how to be expressed by speech (a), it concerns merely the 'speech of time.' Then it does not go beyond the scope of internal linguistics. However, even if we end up with a meta-linguistic explanation on the time-concerned existences of cultural items (c)

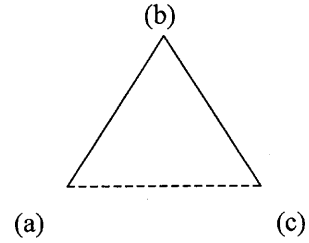


Figure 1

such as nature, livelihood, rituals, myths and so forth, we merely contribute an ethnographical (anthropological) description, but do make nothing at all for (a).

Adam's 'Perceptions of Time' speaks mainly on (b) and (c).

According to linguistic anthropology, the theme of 'time and language' pursues to discuss the relationships between (c) and languages, particularly between (c) and linguistic forms. For instance, a theory of interpreting time in a confrontation between 'sacred' and 'profane' was proposed by Leach as an example of temporal concept for (c). Hall differentiated doing many things at once 'polychronic,' and doing one thing at a time 'monochronic,' which vary from culture to culture (1983:46). It is required to consider how these concepts are correlated with linguistic expressions, or whether they are correlated at all.

1. LINGUISTIC (GRAMMATICAL) TIME

There are two ways to linguistically manifest temporal concepts. They are 'tense' and 'aspect.' The former is indirect, conceptual (logical), abstract and mathematical, whereas the latter is direct, sensory (emotional), specific and quantitative. Aspect is a more fundamental phenomenon than tense, in that it refers directly to whether the process under one's eyes has been completed or not (Izui 1967:85).

While there is a fairly large number of grammatically tenseless languages in the world, none of them fail to possess aspect (including *Aktionsart*) in a wide sense at least. It becomes clear, when we look into the prehistoric development of Indo-European, that what was marked overtly from the beginning was aspect, and that the conceptual steps of time were born afterwards as a secondary consequence of aspectual distinctions (Comrie 1976:83). Aspect is a fundamental concept which is associated with verbs. Kuryłowicz, an Indo-European comparative linguist, says, the article is a fundamental concept to nouns as aspect is to verbs.

On the other hand, however, as is proposed by Izui, tense and aspect which are grammatically distinguished can be also considered as an incessant continuum. From this viewpoint, the concept of tense such as future, present and past is not a simple differentiation of temporal grades, but forms a continuum of *dynamis* 'dynamic,' *energeia* 'energy' and *ergon* 'work.' Tense is a live evolution developing and centering around *energeia*. So far, speech is primarily performed as energetic and vital activities.

We can find an example of most simple conceptualization of time in terms of relationship between man and nature in Kapauku (Papuan, Irian Jaya, Indonesia),

who recognize only two seasons, namely *idi uwaa* 'a period of rain' and *awii uwaa* 'a period of dry weather.' However, these Kapauku concepts refer to irregular periods occurring at any time during the year (Pospisil 1963:159). The Galela (Papuan, Halmahera Island, Indonesia) also have a distinction between two seasons, one being the season of the south wind (*o musung o kore sara*) and the other the season of the north wind (*o musung o kore mie*). They also have six months in the latter, which obviously came to be defined as a new concept along with the period of rice cultivation (Yoshida 1980:92-95). There are no people in the world who do not have a general idea of time. In this sense, one could comfortably argue that the concept of time is, like aspect in language, the most fundamental phenomenon in human cultures.

On the other hand, it is doubtful if the concept of time exists in complete isolation from the internal structure of language. Aspect which is directly associated with the temporal attributes of a situation manifests itself as a lexical meaning of verbs, and thus enables us to classify verbs. What is famous along this line of analysis is *shibun-setsu* (four-classified theory): status, continuity, moment and the fourth class, which was proposed by Kindaichi (1954:27-61) as well as Vendler (1967). Comrie. called a semantic aspect of verb 'inherent meaning,' thereby distinguishing it from aspect in its genuine sense (1976:41-51).

The Western-Malayo-Polynesian languages of the Austronesian (or Malayo-Polynesian) family are characterized by an agglutinative type of language which has elaborate devices of affixation. In Bahasa Indonesia, among the most basic prefixes attached to verb stems are *ter-*, *me->*, *ber-* and ϕ -form (affixless form), whose internal functions are to construct an opposed system including the concept of time.

As is shown in Figure 2, ϕ - (zero) and *ter-* do not take an object, whereas *me->* does. *Me-* and *ter-* construct an assertive sentence, whereas ϕ - makes an imperative sentencc. ϕ - and *me-* do not bear any feature referring to time, whereas *ter-* does. As is clear in the figure, the distinctive features of these three affixes can be shown in a triangular opposition. *Per-* by itself with a emphatic function appears as complex prefixes: *per-*, *memper-*, and *te(r)per-*, respectively. I argue that these three indices have grammatical features such as 'voice,' 'sentence' and 'time,' respectively. *Ke- -an* is located along an extension of *ter-*. Because *ber-* has a feature of middle voice and is used for an assertive sentence, describing a temporal

relationship, it is positioned in the midst of three prefixes. The following are the examples:

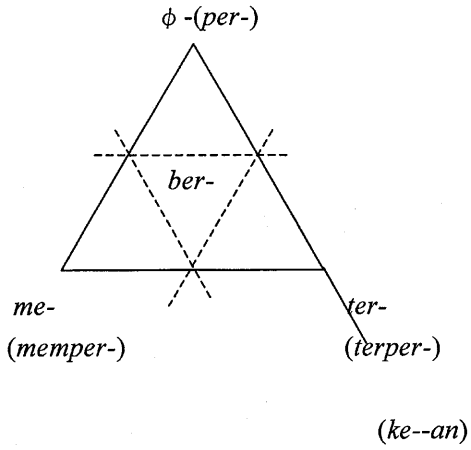


Figure 2

ϕ -: *Ia tutup pintu itu.* 'He closes, the door.'

It should be noted that, grammatically speaking, this sentence is not equivalent to 'he closes the door.'

Pintu itu ia tutup. 'The door, he closes.'
Tutup pintu itu. 'Close the door.'
me-: *Ia menutup pintu itu.* 'He closes the door.'
ter-: *Pintu itu tertutup.* 'The door was suddenly shut with a bang.'
ber-: *cangkir bertutup* 'a glass with lid'

Although, in Bahasa Indonesia, neither ϕ - nor *me-* express time in particular, one can judge '*temporalité*' of a sentence dependent on the context. On the other hand, *ter-* indicates that an action is done accidentally, unintentionally, or without the agent's knowing, and involves the concept of time or aspect.

2. REALISTIC TIME

For a certain Melanesian of New Caledonia, the notion of time and being are

indistinguishable, therefore, he often refuses to tell a legend when he has forgotten topographical names or the time is not right for telling it. It is because he is situated in a 'spacio-temporal' domain (Leenhardt 1979:83-91). This actually endorses a point made by Kawada that tense and aspect which appeared in the mythical period were focused on a story teller's time(1998). Time in *energeia* induces a symmetric cognition.

Saki in Japanese refers to times both in future and past. Likewise, in the Nez Perce language (Idaho, Oregon, Washington), there are a few expressions which are used to describe a pair of times into both directions, namely, future and past. They are adverbs which can mean both 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow,' 'the day before yesterday' and 'the day after tomorrow,' 'last year' and 'next year,' or 'long time ago' and 'in the long future' (Aoki 1976). Similar cases are found in English too, in the way of combining some adjectives, such as 'grand-' for the second generation, 'great-grand-' for the third and 'great-great-grand-' for the fourth. There is Proto-Austronesian **empu* (or **ninih*) which means both 'GrPa' and 'GrCh' (Wurm and Wilson 1975).

Although not presented in an exact symmetry to what has been described in the above, teknonymy which is being seen in the Balinese society (Indonesia) and explained as underscoring the importance of the marital pair which contributes to the social regenesis (Geertz 1973:375-379), is nothing but a representation of a cognition of *energeia*.

According to Cassirer, at the first stage of the development from the feeling to the concept of time, the consciousness is dominated by the opposition of 'now' and 'not-now,' the former being illuminated by the light of the 'present,' whereas the latter remaining in a dark sphere (1953:217-218), The speaker generates the primitive cognition of the present from intuitive expression based on such differences as now and not-now, not from the grammatical criterion of the present tense.

In the Kwesten language (2000 speakers, Papuan, Irian Jaya)(Sakiyama 2000), the tense suffixes attached to the stem of verbs can indicate a few different temporal steps, and they appear in a symmetrical way for past and future. The following exemplifies the variations of a verb stem *kwa-* 'go.' A nominative ending of the personal pronoun *ana-* 'I' does not appear in symmetry, as in *-s* (indefinite, past), *-n* (future), or - ϕ (present, imperative).

ana-s kwa-san	(indefinite past)
ana-s kwa-r	(remote past)
ana-s kwa-nan= kwa-n	(intermediate past)
ana-s kwa-nant	(near past)
ana-s kwa-nt	(nearest past)
ana-s kwa-t	(extremely nearest past)
ana- ϕ kwa- ϕ	(indefinite, imperative)
ana- ϕ kwa-nan = kwa-n	(present)
ana-n kwa-t	(extremely nearest future)
ana-n kwa-nt	(nearest future)
ana-n kwa-nant	(near future)
ana-s kwa-fan	(indefinite future)

3. FROM SPACE TO TIME

With regard to grammatical times, we can observe the phenomenon that a spatial difference is reflected in a grammatical expression of tense in the Klamath language (Oregon, the United States), where two tense-suffixes are originally locative (Gatschet 1890:402, 434). As is evidenced in this particular case, there are quite a few examples of language in which a spatial recognition such as location, direction, wind direction and so on, is transposed into a temporal recognition. That space makes a superconcept over time is not irrelevant to that space is located in a visible (intuitively-recognizable) motorial sphere. The Nuaulu (1000 speakers, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Seram Island, Indonesia) have only one term to express distance, i.e., the one which is equivalent to 'a pace,' and short periods of time are simply measured by time divisions determined by the position of the sun, the moon and the stars at night (Ellen 1978:133-134). However, the language which has 'the pheric distance' system seems to belong to the minority.

In Fijian in Melanesia, there are a few demonstrative pronouns such as *ongoo*. This term refers to space which is near the speaker, whereas *ongori* designates space near the person spoken to. Further, *koyaa* (or *oyaa*) indicates space which is distant from both the speaker and the person addressed. These pronouns can be used also as particles to indicate the 'present tense,' 'near past' and 'remote past,' respectively. For instance, *e ra lako ongoo*, which involves the word for 'present

tense,' means that 'they are to set off very soon.'

What is important here is that a status in space can be transferred into cognition of time. Not only in English, but in many other languages, we can observe phenomenon that verbs equivalent to 'be' or 'have' are often used as auxiliary verbs to make a progressive form. For example, in Japanese, *aru* or *iru* is the counterpart to 'be' in English. The former indicates that someting is in a certain state with a conjugated form *-te aru*, whereas the latter an action in progress or continuation with a from of *-te iru*. The concepts of 'old' and 'new' can be used to express time in some languages. For instance, in Bahasa Indonesia, *baru* is 'new' and *lama* is 'old.' The former refers to the near past, as 'just' in English, while the latter indicates continuity. The following are specific examples:

Saya baru makan. 'I have just eaten.'
Sudah lama saya tidak makan. 'I have not eaten for a long time.'

Furthermore, the words *panjang* 'long' and *pendek* 'short' can apply to both space and time, which is a phenomenon found in the Japanese language as well. In contrast, in Fijian, although people use two different words for 'long,' namely, *mbalavu* for a long distance and *ndendee* for a long period of time, there is no such distinction in the word for 'short' between distance and time. In both *cases*, *leka* is applie.d to mean 'short.'

Exactly the same phenomenon can be seen in Samoan in Polynesia too, where there is a distinction for the word 'long' between a case referring to long time *leva-leva* and a case to indicate long distance *'umi*. However, there is no difference in the term for 'short' (*pu'u*). Based on these observations of Oceanic characteristics, one can conjecture that human languages do not necessarily have a uniform parallelism between spatial and temporal recognitions, and that the two types of recognition are not always in symmetry.

4. DEIXIS OF TIME

In many languages, there is a commonly established phenomenon that a verb 'go' is used as an auxiliary-like verb to express the near future. The following exemplify such a case:

I'm going to see him.
Je vais le voir.

What is worth noting is that *venir* 'come' in French is used to express the near past, as is shown in the sentence *il vient de partir*. It is not a particularly common phenomenon in other languages, however. Rather, as exemplified in 'coming' in English, *men-datang* in Bahasa Indonesia and *kitaru* in Japanese, they tend to refer to the near future. But, the problem is that one cannot always argue a simple symmetry, because 'come' presupposes motion toward the speaker, and 'go' motion away from the speaker, the former gives rise mostly 'past,' and the latter mostly to 'future,' respectively (Givón 1973:917-918).

The future is a mere notion associated with desire, will, obligation, and emotion (Gonda 1954:248), as 'will' in English is used to make a future tense as well as a noun. On the other hand, there are cases in which particles (prepositions) to indicate directions are applied to indicate the future. For example, *per* 'for' in Italian as in *sta per mangiare* 'he is going to eat' has the same function with *akan* in Bahasa Indonesia as in *ia akan makan* 'he will eat later.' *Akan* is a preposition to bring in (involve) an object as in *ia lupa akan janjinya* 'he forgot about his promise.' We can find such an usage of preposition in the Chamorro language in Micronesia as in *ha fa para un bida* 'what will you do?' *Para* here is etymologically a borrowing from Spanish *para* (same etymon as Italian *per*). This evidences that the deep language contact has took place to such an extent that the Spanish preposition acquired a grammatical functon in Chamorro.

All these linguistic expressions support the theory that the concept of time is closely related to deixis in the process of cognition. The problem is, however, that even 'front' and 'back' do not necessarily make a symmetry semantically. It is because time is often considered to move forward. Even time itself can go fast, or slow. We can call this as 'moving-time' as opposed to the 'moving-ego' (Traugott 1975:217).

The moving ego can appear in Japanese together with words such as *saki* 'forward,' *mae* 'front' and *ushiro*, or *ato* 'back.' *Saki* is used in phrases such as *sū-shūkan-saki* 'in a few weeks,' *o-saki-makkura* 'the future is all dark,' or *issun-saki-wa-yami* 'nobody knows what may happen tomorrow.' As is clear in these examples, *saki* implies a somewhat unrealistic (*irrealis*) future. On the other hand,

saki also can mean the moving time, as shown in examples such as *saki-datsu* 'previous,' or *saki-ototoi* 'two days before yesterday.' In these cases, *saki* points to the past. Furuhashi has shown the same phenomenon found in the ancient Japanese literature (1998). When *mae* is used as the moving ego, it bears a positive meaning, which is seen in phrases such as *mae-geiki* 'promising prospect,' *mae-daoshi* 'to advance forward,' *mae-muki* 'forward-looking,' or *mae-motte* 'in advance.' In contrast, *ushiro* or *ato* carries a somewhat negative sense as is shown in *ushiro-metai* 'to feel guilty,' *ushiro-yubi* 'to be scorned,' *ushiro-gami* 'lit. back hair, to feel as if one's heart were behind,' or *ato-no-matsuri* 'to be too late now.' One could argue that the opposition is related to the contrast that everything in front (*mae*) is visible and everything behind (*ushiro*) it is not (Traugott 1978:378).

With regard to the moving time, we have phrases such as *sūfun-ato* 'after a few minutes,' or *sūfun-mae* 'a few minutes before.' From these examples we can suppose that if time had a face, time would flow with his face turned to the speaker. In Bahasa Indonesia, *depan* corresponds to *mae*, while *belakang* to *ato*. The moving time comes out in *belakang* as 'later.' It also makes a compound word with *-an* (a suffix referring to a collection or group), namely, *belakang-an*, 'finally, lately, recently,' which implies both directions of past and future centering round the speaker's reality, i.e., the above *energeia*. The moving ego in Bahasa Indonesia appears in expressions such as *minggu depan* or *minggu muka* 'next week'(*muka* 'face'), or *ter-(ke)belakang* 'to be placed behind, to be left behind.' However, '5 minutes later' is said *dalam 5 menit* 'lit. within 5 minutes,' whereas '5 minutes ago' is *5 menit yang lalu* 'lit. 5 minutes which have passed.'

5. TIME IN THE AUSTRONESIAN

In this section my effort will be made to inspect how cultural times to be formed at the lexical level, especially among the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) examples such as seen in 1) vocabularies expressing time, 2) semantic change with a newly acquired meaning, and 3) regional vocabularies appeared according to differences in natural environments.

5.1. Day, Sun and Night

Cultural times which are recognized at the lexical or semantic level, as was pointed

out by Nilsson's classical book (1920), are generally based on time phenomena of the heavens such as the sun, moon, stars, and the phases of nature such as variations of climate, plant and animal life. The Biak (Irian Jaya, Indonesia) know the solar calendar and define March 21, i.e., Vernal Equinox Day as the beginning of a new year, when the sun rises precisely in the east. This is, however, a rather unusual case among the Austronesians, where people hardly take the sun as an index for time reckoning.

As seen in *mata-hari* 'sun, lit. eye of day' in Bahasa Indonesia, or *srengéngé* 'sun,' etymologically coming from *sang hyang wé* 'major divinity of day' in Javanese, the term 'sun' are secondarily derived from *hari* 'day,' or *wai* or *wé* 'day,' the latter appearing as a compound *udan wé-wé* 'rain while the sun is shining.' In Fijian also 'sun' is named *mata-ni-singa* 'eye of day.' Next are some other examples:

Ilokano (Luzon, the Philippines)	*adlaw* 'day': *init* 'sun'
Bontok (Luzon, the Philippines)	*algew* 'day': *init* 'to heat, sun'
Tiruray (Mindanao, the Philippines)	*fuweh* 'to open, day': *teresang* 'sun': *ge-kayang* '(sun) well above the horizon'
Ulithian (600 speakers, Micronesia)	*ráál* 'day': *yaal* 'sun'
Samoan (Polynesain)	*aso* 'day': *laa* 'sun' (<Proto-Polynesian **laqa(a)*)

As seen in the above examples, the origins of words for the sun and the day are not identical in the Austronesian. In Proto-Austronesian, there is a concept of daytime as opposed to that of night. The former is reconstructed as **ha(n)daw* (~**qa(N)jaw*), and the latter **bengi*. There is, however, no term to represent one whole day, or a whole day and night. Generally speaking, a day starts with the sunset among the Austronesians. For example, *malam minggu* 'Sunday night' in Bahasa Indonesia is equivalent to *doyō-no-yoru* 'Saturday night' in Japanese or English. In Samoan, *poo* 'night' coming from **bengi* through Proto-Polynesian **poo* means also 'a day,' and a compound *ona-poo* (*ona* 'his') becomes 'times,' or 'period.'

5.2. Rice Year

As for the conceptualizaion of seasons, as was discussed on cases of the Nuer

(Evans-Pritchard 1940:94-100), the recognition is often determined by routine diurnal activities such as livelihood, feasts, rituals and so forth, rather than by climatic changes.

This same trend is observable in the process of reckoning time in the Austronesian as well. A term **taqun* (~ **tahun*) in Proto-Austronesian is given a meaning such as 'season' and 'year,' etc. Further, its derivative **nahun* (with a stem prenasalized) means 'time' (Wurm and Wilson 1975). In Indonesian languages, **taqun* spreads over as *tahun* ~ *taun* in Bahasa Indonesia, *taon* in Tagalog (the Philippines), and *taona* in Merina (Madagascar) with a meaning of 'profane year.' On the other hand, in Oceania where rice cultivation could not be introduced, there appears a semantic change as is seen in a Fijian compound *ndau-singa* 'famine, lit. time of continual sunshine,' or *tau* 'season,' or 'weather' in Samoan. An Indonesian compound *tahun-padi* 'rice year' is originate in Proto-Austronesian **taqun* + **pajay*. It means a season from rice-crop to rice-crop. In Proto-Austronesian along with a proto-form **beRas* 'rice grain,' these terms prove linguistically the fact that rice cultivation was already known at the homeland. Therefore, it is argued that **taqun* means originally 'rice year,' i.e., 'a half year,' as an element of 'rice culture complex' vocabularies. According to Miyata, the unit of the Japanese *toshi* 'year' also is related to the rice harvest and said to be synonymous with the Chinese(1998).

It should also be noted here that the manner of counting a year in terms of a unit of six months is not unique to rice cultivation only. Such an attempt can be applied to other crops. For instance, in Ikema Island (Okinawa), people pray to gods for farming and good harvest of millet twice a year, namely, in February called *ufubuyurusu-yūmugui* and in August called *ufubuyurusu-kasanban*. Successively, directly after these two rituals, in March *ukadidami-yūmugui* and in August *ukadidami-kasanban* (not phonetic, transliterated from *katakana* letters), people also pray for a protection against strong winds. This may indicate that there was a year reckoning which started with October and lasted for six months, being previous to the modern profane calendar (Noguchi 1972:204, 221-233). But, as to the problem of whether such a division was formed under the influence of the Austronesian culture, I would rather limit my discussion here to pointing out commonness between them.

Among many people of Indonesia who principally engage in rice culture, the

beginning of an agricultural year is regulated traditionally by appearances of the Pleiades and Orion. In Javanese (Indonesia), the Pleiades are called *guru désa* 'village teacher,' and Orion *wluku* 'spade.' It is actually Orion, whose precursor is the Pleiades, that prescribes agricultural works. In Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonesia) people know the time for begin rice cultivation by means of the first appearance of the *tamanpaka* constellation on the eastern horizon at night. For the Toraja, this constellation is recognized as a rooster with the head of which is represented by the Pleiades, the body by Orion and the tail by Sirius (Saito 1940:304-320).

5.3. Root Crop Year, Sidereal Year

Since the waxing and waning of the moon is one of the most conspicuous phenomena for mankind, it is liable to be used as a unit of time. We can say that there is a fairly universal coganate relationship between the term for moon and month through the world languages. Even so, it cannot be generalized as that. Proto-Austronesian **bulan* 'moon, month' appears in forms such as *volana* in Merina, *bulan* in Bahasa Indonesia, or *buwan* in Tagalog. In Fijian *vula* means 'moon, month.' On the other hand, **bulan* does not spread to Polynesia, the terms such as *masina* in Samoan, or *mahina* in Hawaiian are derived from a Proto-Austronesian derivative **ma-sinaR* 'to ray, to shine' (**ma-*: an intransitive prefix). In Proto-Trukic in Micronesia, the term for month also derived from a Proto-Austronesian **ma-damaR* 'to burn resin, to be bright during the night,' and it is used as a means to subdivide a year.

In contrast, the sidereal year was substantially developed in the Central Caroline Islands of Micronesia, where people relied on it in relation to navigation or fishing (Akimichi 1983). For example, in Satawal Island, people can predict, when certain stars appear and disappear, a storm rising. They recognize twenty-one storm-stars, among them there are twelve stars which rise over the horizon right before sunrise. These twelve stars are applied to distinguish twelve months (*meram*) in a year (Akimichi 1980). There are not, however, necessarily twelve groupings of stars or constellations assigned to months. The number of sidereal months varies among the islands and the several schools of navigation (Goodenough 1953:25). In Satawal Island, the year is called *rak*. This term is widely spread in Micronesia, taking similar forms, such as *rag* 'year, age' in Woleaian, *rag* 'year, age' in Ulithian, *raag* 'year' in Carolinian of Saipan, and *rak* 'south, season of the southern wind from

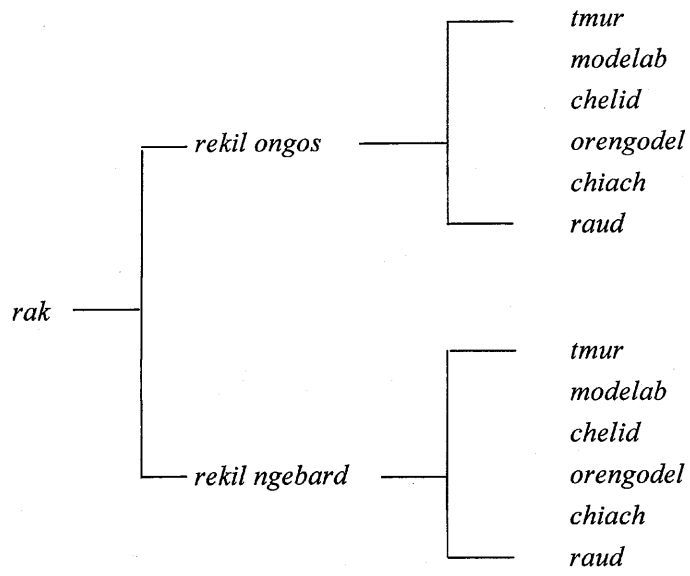
April to October' in Marshallese. A Ponapean *rahk* also belongs to this cognate. *Rahk* has a connotative sense that the season of abundant food, especially represented by breadfruit, or vast amounts of a plant begins in the rainy months from late March to July, as opposed to the *isol* season, which means folk etymologically 'I have nothing any longer,' from August to March including the trade-wind season named *nanpër*, during which people can no longer rely upon natural grace for abundant food (Shimizu 1982:171-176). *Rahk* with a limited meaning 'breadfruit-bearing season' in Ponapean has cognates such as *roak* 'breadfruit season' in Mokilese, *raas* 'breadfruit harvest season lasting from May through August' in Trukese, and *ráák* 'breadfruit season from June to October, and westerly winds prevail' in Puluwat, etc.

Although breadfruit is the most important one to be used as a means to discern seasons in a year, in Simbo (3200 speakers, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, the Solomon Islands), the year is divided into two seasons or years, i.e., *aoro nari* and *aoro vino*, named after two different species of canarium nut, '*Canarium indicum*' and '*Canarium salomonense*' (Burman 1981:253). In Oceanic cultures based on the cultivation of root crops, taro, yams, bananas, coconuts and sago are main ones. In the Trobriand Islands (Papua New Guinea), the year is subdivided into the season when the yam gardens are unripe (*geguda*) and into that when they begin to mature (*matuwo*) (Malinowski 1935:52). The reason why the rest of the crops except yams is not used as time reckoning, is because most of these can be harvested through the year.

Actually, *rak* appears in Palauan, one of the Western-Malayo-Polynesian languages. However, it is not clear whether the word was borrowed from other Trukic languages or it goes back to Proto-Micronesian. In Palauan, Micronesian *rak* means not only 'year, age' or 'the past,' but also one of many legendary Palauan gods who goes round the Palauan Islands over the year. *Rak* with a newly acquired meaning 'year' is given two seasonal distinctions such as the easterly wind (*ongos*) and the westerly wind (*ngebard*), each of which is provided with six months (*rek-il* is a possessive form of *rak*).

Because food is scarce in the easterly wind season, people call it also *merus* 'to pierce,' whereas plenty of food available in the westerly wind season is called *sim* 'harvest season, lucky time.' As to etymology, *tmur* refers to Antares (α Scorpii), and *modelab* to Altair (α Aquilae). Both terms are borrowings from Proto-Trukic

**dumwuR*, **mat(a)-lap(a)* 'lit. big eye.' *Chelid* means 'god, deity,' *orengodel* 'roof beam,'and *raud* 'closing,' respectively.



5.4. Market Calendar

In Java, people have a five-day cycle called *pasar-an* 'lit. matter of market, market day(s),' whose names are *legi, paing, pon, wagé* and *kliwon*. This calendar was made on a traditional market which five villages, formed as a basic unit of the economic community, opened periodically in turn (Saito 1940:317-318). Further, a seven-day cycle called *wukuh* originating from India is also being used in Java, which consists of the days: *dite, soma, anggara, buda, réspati, sukra* and *tumpak*, etymologically borrowed from Sanskrit. At the present time, they are synonymously called in Arabic origin *akad, senen, slasa, rebo, kemis, jemuwah* and *sabtu*, and a thirty-five-day cycle resulted from the combination of five- and seven-day periods gives a specific meaning to Javanese everyday life, such as a village meeting is often held with a thirty five-day interval. A traditional almanac called *primbon* is deeply rooted in the Javanese society, to the extent that people like to read fortune by the sum of number assigned to each day of *pasaran* and *wukuh*.

5.5. Biological Calendar

Lesu villagers of New Ireland (Papua New Guinea) call the 1st moon or month of the year *beta*, a sea-worm (*Palola siciliensis*, or *Eunice schemacephala*), which comes out of the sea once a year on the flood tide night between October and November.

Further, the third moon is given a name *logum* discerned according to the first coming of a land crab (*Cardisoma* sp.) on the shore. Differences in carapace patterns of the crab also provide a means to identify the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh months (Powdermaker 1933:290-291). In total, villagers recognize seven months in relation to the ecological features of these marine animals.

For the Yami of Lanyü (or Botel Tobago Island, Taiwan), the migratory fishes including the most important flying-fish, provide a means to distinguish two periods in a normal year *mangen a vilang* 'short year' of twelve months. The first period of night-time fishing begins in *paneneb* 'new year,' approximately in September. The fishing continues for five months until *piyavean* 'about January with a few nights' break in *pikokaod* about October (Hsü 1982:5-6).

6. SACRED TIME

Sacred time, as argued by Leach, manifests in human cultures as 'interval of no duration,'i.e., each festival represents... a temporary shift from the Normal-Profane order of existence into the Abnormal-Sacred order and back again. As a result, the year's progress is marked by a succession of festivals (Leach 1961:134). This category of time is linguistically analogous as 'historic present' (*présent absolu* or *présent atemporel*), where the present tense is used not to refer to a past situation, but to express universal facts transcended the profane time. However, we cannot say 'tenseless' for a historic present, because the 'present' tense inevitably appears even in the context of the 'sacred time,' which, rituals taking place, can be explained only meta-linguistically.

For the Ngaju Dayak (Kalimantan, Indonesia), the two months between the harvest and the resumption of work in the rice fields called *helat* (~*helang*)-*nyelo* comes from Proto-Austronesian **selang* 'interval'+Proto-Southeast Barito **nyilu* 'rice year.' It is considered that this time is that of passing away and becoming, and of the expiration of one period in the existence of the world and the beginning of

another. Everyone is back in the village at this time, and the major religious rites are celebrated (Schärer 1963:81-82, 96). During this season, people are to leave work in the rice fields and come back home. The Acehnese (Sumatra, Indonesia) also have a distinction between *musém pice'* 'the land is closed,' which implies the period when rice is planted in the fields and *musém luaïh blang* 'the land is open,' i.e., the period when the land stands open to men and cattle. During the latter period, people set up tomb-stones, burn limes, pierce the ears of young girls, and other rituals (Hurgronje 1906:258-259). *Musém pice'* functions as sacred time.

Madagascar was settled by the oldest immigrants from Indonesia at latest AD 500, who are considered to have well preserved some of the ancient customs in their ancestral land. For example, there is a Merina word *elan(a)(~elanelana)-taona*, coming from Proto-Austronesian **selang+*taqun*, which means 'gap between years.' Madagascar has two seasons, the rainy season from October to March, and the dry season from April to September. During the dry season, which means a slack season for farmers, Merina poeple take place a *famadihana* ritual 'lit.turning of the corpse,' a custom unique to the High Plateau area of Madagascar. In the Merina, a new year *loha-taona* 'lit. head of a year,' starts with October in the beginning of the rainy season, from this time farmers start rice cultivation. The end of the dry season, when the Merina tombs are dug down into the ground, is called 'small month' or *asara-maimbo* 'stinking month.' In contrast, the commencement of the rainy season is called 'big month' or *asara-manitra* 'fragrant month.' There is a proverb saying that *ny andro lohataon-diavolana, ka na ny miherika aza hitany* 'the beginning of a year is the time to sow in fields, don't cry over at your harvest, i.e., decisions made on New Year's Day are the key to a successful year' (Sakiyama 1991:725-729).

Madagascar has been influenced by Arabic cultures since about the ninth century. As one of these cultures is the names of days and months, the latter being adopted on the basis of twelve constellations names found in the zodiac, which originally are applied for telling fortunes (*vintana*) and indicating geographical directions.

Vintana system in Figure 3 shows that the Madagascar year starts with the month *alahamady* 'January,' which is regarded as being on the northeast corner of the house toward the sunrise, and after circulating round the house, ends with *alohotsy* 'December.' As a matter of fact, this Madagascar case evidences the recognition transformed from space to time, which I have discussed in Section 3.

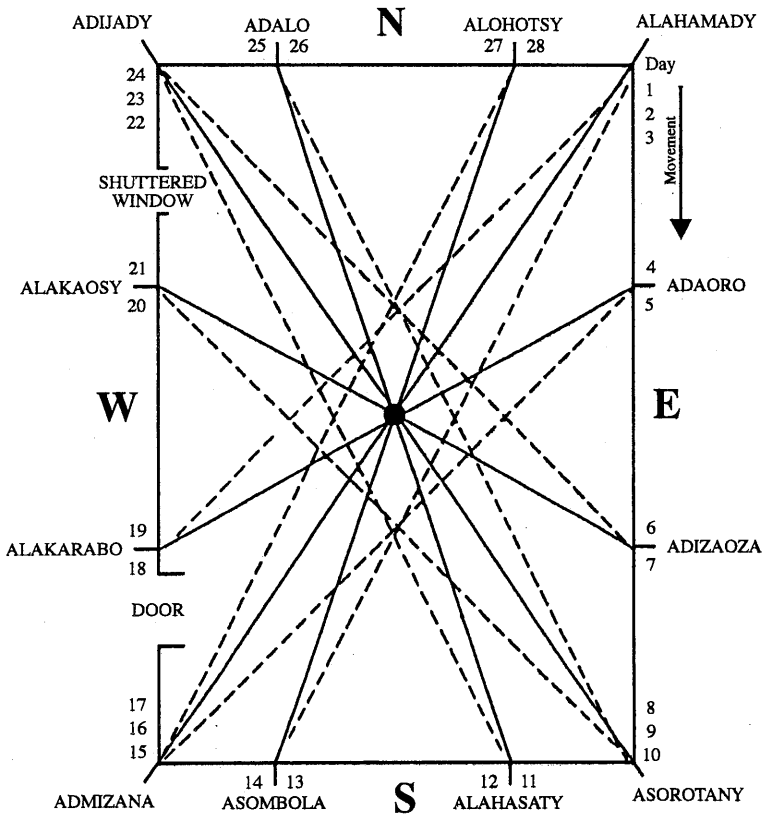


Figure 3 (Anonymous 1973)

CONCLUSION

The Austronesian languages in Micronesia, the Philippines and Taiwan have been developed from Proto-Austronesian into those more sophisticated and complicated grammatical structures which involve tense and aspect. However, it is not yet made clear how these tense and aspect systems developed as secondary grammatical phenomena are correlated to folk cultures, or social structures in these regions.

Indonesians often say *jam karet* 'rubber time' in Bahasa Indonesia by self-scorning to not be punctual. But, nobody will not think that this expression is interrelated with a loose grammatical structure which characterizes Bahasa Indonesia.

Although the subject of this chapter is 'time and language,' I have resulted in discussing 'language of time' mainly. It should be furthermore studied to what extent linguistic (grammatical) forms referring to time are correlated to human action or behavior, culture symbolism, or culture pattern.

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Chapter

6

Language Unification and the Fate of Regional Languages in Multiethnic, Multilingual States: Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and Micronesia

1. LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS IN MULTILINGUAL NATIONS

Nations throughout the world that support a number of different regional languages often have serious internal language problems that, in the worst case, lead to domestic discord. But on the basis of my own fieldwork, I find that Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and Micronesia are cases where, despite multilingualism, language problems have not caused serious political upheavals. In this chapter, I would like to consider both historical and current questions relating to how major languages and minor languages interact with each other.

There are those who interpret the idea of national language arising through a unification of languages as a repressive phenomenon. They hold that 'a national language is a model that seeks everyone's submission, and submission to it is a sign of allegiance, respect, and loyalty to the nation and its ideology' (Tanaka 1978: 246). National language in this case presupposes one language for one nation. But the concept of linguistic unity is, like that of standard language, only an ideal. We need to take into account what kind of efforts have been made towards unity in a particular situation and give credit to the linguistic fairness of the policies of those nations that support diverse languages. Cases can be found among present-day nations where a unified single language is not necessarily required. And even though the appearance of linguistic unity may be apparent, there is always room to question whether in reality total linguistic unity has been achieved. This is the point of view I think we should take to the problem.

In India, notorious as a multilingual nation, fourteen languages as well as the classical language Sanskrit are approved for public use and English serves as the

administrative language. In Singapore, the native Malay is the national language; Chinese, Tamil, and English are supported in addition to Malay as business languages; and English is the language of administration—such is the deft compromise that has been adopted. It can be compared to the Swiss policy that makes the German, French, Italian, and the native Rhaeto-Romansch all national languages and designates the three national languages of Germany, France, and Italy as official public languages. Even when languages are established as national or administrative languages, so-called sociolects may arise, as can be seen in the case of English in India, Singapore, Papua New Guinea, and Australia.

2. UNIFICATION OF INDONESIA THROUGH INDONESIAN

Indonesian started out historically as a branch of the Malay family in the narrow sense (i.e., Coast Malay) and spread among the islands as a language of trade, but strictly speaking there are currently no native speakers of Indonesian. The forerunner of Indonesian (and Malaysian) used to be called Malay, but now Indonesian and the Coast Malay family, considered to be its parent, are quite distinct. The Coast Malay languages are themselves merely one of several groups of regional vernaculars. There are said to be about 2,300 regional (i.e., ethnic) languages in Indonesia, which Indonesian covers like a great steel dome. In fact, these languages and their areal variants (*logat*) are the real languages of Indonesia.

There is no term in Indonesian that means 'dialect' in the pejorative sense of being outside the norm. The word *dialek*, to be sure, exists, but it is a borrowing (from Dutch) and does not express an entrenched concept of local culture. This tolerant attitude does not mean, however, that the structure of Indonesian is firmly established as a national language. Given the reality of multilingualism, Indonesian is subject to phonological, lexical, and grammatical influences from all the regional languages and is undergoing subtle changes even now. An Indonesian linguist, Moeliono, has characterized this situation by saying that each ethnic group is 'making idealistic demands' upon the Indonesian language (Sakiyama 1974: 112). In every area of life, the language actually used might well be called 'pidginized' Indonesian.

The peoples who make up Indonesia thus preserve, even in language, the means to manifest their identities both regionally and nationally, in accord with the motto

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika 'Diversity and Unity' that graces the national emblem. This motto can, in fact, be traced back to the phrase 'they (Shivaism and Buddhism) are different yet one' in the poetic compilation *Arjuna Wijaya* (Chapter 27, Verse 2) of Mpu Tantular, poet in the 14th-century Majapahit court. Old Javanese has the value of a classical language for the peoples who make up present-day Indonesia, and is hence quite appropriate for the national motto.

Indonesian is not a language of conquerors, as was Latin in Europe nor is its ascendancy like that of Mandarin in China, which accompanied the expansion of the Han ethnic group in China. Indonesian should probably be compared, at least during the period of its Malay origins, with the *koiné* that developed around the Attic dialect of Greek in the pre-Christian era.

Historically speaking, the oldest trace of Malay used in interisland communication (for trade) dates back to 7th century sources, the Kedukan Bukit inscriptions found near Palembang on Sumatra, inscribed in the Pallava script of southern India. Written records thereafter are very rare. The next important piece of evidence, another inscription created after the advent of Islam, is in Arabic letters and is located in the state of Trengganu on the Malay Peninsula; it is estimated to date from the beginning of the 14th century. It is only from the 16th century at the earliest, however, that proper records in Arabic script remain; the oldest of these is *The History of the Pasai Kingdom*. This kingdom held sway in the Aceh territory of Sumatra, but its chronicles are written significantly in Malay rather than in Acehnese.

In Chapter 18 of his *Voyage to the East* (1596), the Dutchman van Linshouten stated that a refined language called Malayo (Malay) was in use throughout the East in the same way that French was in Europe. This shows that Malay had secured a strong foothold as the common language of the Malay world for a long period of time through an almost exclusively oral tradition. The fact that the Indonesian Youth Conference passed a resolution making Indonesian 'the sole language of the Indonesian people' in 1928—during the period of Dutch rule—attests to the strength of the oral tradition and the general consensus that it was a standard language.

But we must not ignore the role played by the Moslem schools for young men (*pondok* or, in Javanese, *pesantren*), of which there are said to have been tens of thousands in Java alone, in the promulgation of Indonesian as a standard language. The ideals of these schools, which resembled Japanese *terakoya* in character, would

be carried over into the democratic *Taman Siswa* School created after 1922.

Looking back on the period of Japanese occupation of Indonesia, many Indonesian intellectuals acknowledge that, despite the many negative aspects of Japanese policy, one redeeming feature was the way in which Dutch was replaced by Indonesian as the common language from August 1941 onward. The ability to use Indonesian, which had already existed latently, blossomed all over Indonesia as soon as it was made the common language (Alisjahbana n.d.: 191-192). The reason for the Japanese policy, however, was that the military thought its intelligence gathering would be more successful if the occupiers adopted Indonesian instead of forcing the occupied peoples to learn Japanese. Furthermore, although Indonesian rose to prominence briefly under the Japanese, its ascent was marred by the introduction of loanwords from Japanese related to military affairs; these remain in the vocabulary of present-day Indonesian, accounting for more than half of the approximately 100 words of Japanese origin that turn up in textbooks and literary writings.[1] The majority of such vocabulary will probably be abandoned eventually, but the latest edition of the Indonesian dictionary *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (1988) still lists such words as *takeyari* 'bamboo spear' and *jibaku* 'suicidal explosion,' out-of-place relics, divorced from Japanese culture, that survive in the Indonesian world. Of particular interest is the verb *ber-jibaku*, a productive Indonesian idiom, that has taken on the new meaning 'to behave resolutely, sacrificing oneself.'

Especially noteworthy is the fact that, after Indonesian independence on 17 August 1945, there was no significant dissent over whether Indonesian or Javanese ought to become the national standard even though the latter was the language of the Javanese who had earlier ruled the great kingdom of Majapahit. The culture based on the language of this kindgom was the most refined of any of the region's languages, enjoyed a long written tradition, and boasted the largest population of speakers in Indonesia. In the 1920s, Ki Hajar Dewantoro, the Javanese cultural leader who founded the *Taman Siswa* School, stated that Malay would better serve as a medium of communication for Indonesia than Javanese, which, due to its honorific expressions, was hard for foreigners to learn. As with the resolution of the Youth Conference, this pronouncement was made during the period of Dutch rule.

There are other languages in Indonesia, such as Sundanese and Batak, that have a cultural depth comparable to Javanese in terms of the number of writings in which

they occur and speakers who use them. Yet none of the users of these languages made so bold as to start a nationalist movement based on their language (Khaidir 1985:17-19). This acquiesence on the part of diverse ethnic groups, which resulted in the adoption of Indonesian as the official public language, spared the nation a linguistic struggle of the kind seen elsewhere. The current Constitution (Article I, Chapter 3, Section 4) declares, 'the common language of the Republic shall be Indonesian,' but this statement was inserted not so much to prevent a dispute over a language problem (Kindaichi 1988:7) as to acknowledge the synthetic, multiethnic nature of the Republic.

As unification through the Indonesian language is being pursued with ever uncreasing vigor, there have been more voices warning that government policies do not adequately protect or nurture the regional languages that provide much of the support for national culture 'from below,' so to speak. Even in children's literature, translation and conversion to visual media of foreign materials is far in advance of publication and preparation for mass media of folk tales told originally in one of Indonesia's regional languages.[2] Still one gets the impression that, at least with better represented languages such as Javanese and Sundanese, a fair number of publications of popular material is available in the regional cities. Also, there is general agreement on the necessity of bilingualism; bilingualism is viewed positively and the use of regional languages and Indonesian side by side in elementary schools is regarded as desirable (Alwasiah 1986: 161-163).

The spelling of both Indonesian and Malaysian in Latin letters was standardized in 1972. Until then Indonesia had followed Dutch orthographic practice and Malaysian, that of English. Indonesia had always intended to slough off the spelling system of its old suzerain, but the demands for standardization were even stronger on the Malaysian side. One reason for the joint spelling reform was the prestige of Indonesian as a written language.[3] Second, there is a strong tendency in Malaysia to look to Indonesian grammar for a model of standardization. The diglossia of Malaysian, with its differentiation between standard speech and court language (Asmah 1982: 104-10), makes the model of Indonesian, where no such distinctions exist, quite appealing.

3. STANDARDIZATION ON PAPUA NEW GUINEA THROUGH TOK PISIN

Let us look at New Guinea for the another example of recent language standardization.

Tok Pisin, which earlier was rather pejoratively called Pidgin English, has more speakers in New Guinea than has English, the official public language, and functions as a *lingua franca* nearly everywhere despite the existence of several hundred vernaculars. The following figures are a bit old, but it has been reported that about two times more people in Papua New Guinea use Tok Pisin than English; this represents about 45 percent of the population. It is estimated that the number of Tok Pisin speakers has increased more since the statistics were compiled than the number of English speakers (Laycock 1985: 227).

Tok Pisin is still a young language historically speaking. It is a mixed language, a blend of English and various Melanesian languages that developed naturally among laborers who came together on the sugarcane plantations of Queensland, Australia, in the middle of the 19th century. To native speakers of English, it sounds like their own language garbled. To be sure, the greater part of the vocabulary comprises English loanwords, but due to the historical conditions and geographical situation of Tok Pisin development, there are also loans from Tolai (Kuanua) in New Britain as well as from German and Malay.

The term pidginization often implies that there is one dominant language involved that is somehow basic. In the case of Tok Pisin, however, a new language sprang forth among a group of laborers who spoke many different languages, just the reverse of what happened in the biblical story of the Tower of Babel. In the same way, a *lingua franca* developed among the tradespeople inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages; unlike Tok Pisin, it perished instead of becoming a powerful folk language, although, according to one theory, it is the ultimate ancestor of all European-derived pidgins and creoles (Todt 1986: 66-71).

Although vernaculars function as markers of an ethnic identity in New Guinea, which it is called *Wan Tok* in Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin, on the other hand, has four varieties which can now be distinguished: Tok Masta, which is spoken by Europeans; Bush Pidgin, spoken by mountain peoples; Urban Pidgin, used by the classes who received their education in the cities; and the Rural Pidgin of the plains,

which is regarded as standard (Műlhäusler 1979). In peoples with an extremely small population, we can expect Tok Pisin to creolize, but elsewhere we find Tok Pisin going through the agony of a second pidginization.

Since 1955, orthography based on Latin letters has gradually become more and more firmly established for Tok Pisin. There is now even a weekly newspaper, *Wantok*, published entirely in Tok Pisin in Port Moresby. Having become established as a written language, Tok Pisin is starting to enjoy some prestige as a standard in contrast to the 'pidgin English' spoken on other islands such as the Solomons and Vanuatu.

As the examples of Indonesian and Tok Pisin show, a major language capable of holding sway over a number of distinct ethnic groups must maintain certain prescriptive norms, yet for that very reason it always runs the risk of becoming identified as the language of a specific area. In these nations, how to deal with regional languages, as opposed to the authorized standard language, is a serious problem for government administrators. In the case of Indonesian, the state had only to ratify a preexisting consensus on the common language; standardization was, so to speak, a *fait accompli*. Tok Pisin, in contrast, was precluded for a variety of reasons from becoming the national language at the time of New Guinea's independence. Even today, official documents are usually prepared both in English, Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu. It is unclear whether Tok Pisin will ever supplant English. Although the language of the former suzerain (Australia) retains some prestige, a new variety of English, called Papua New Guinea English (PNG English), has come into existence and is now the focus of research (Smith 1978).

4. THE UNIFICATION OF MICRONESIA THROUGH JAPANESE, PAST AND PRESENT

Japanese was once used to unite various islands of Micronesia. English has since taken over as the common language, but older people use Japanese as an interisland language and memos at markets and the exchange of simple information written in *kana* script can still be observed. As one of the very few examples of the Japanese language surviving overseas without the support of Japanese people, the current state of Japanese in Micronesia serves as a reference point when considering future internationalization of Japanese. Japanese on Taiwan, which came under Japanese

rule in 1895, provides another such point of reference. Even now Japanese is used there as a *lingua franca* among the aboriginal peoples of the island's mountainous regions.[4]

Japan occupied the former South Sea Islands in 1914, and a civil administration was set up in Micronesia in 1918; Japanese language education was practiced in the *tōmin gakkō* 'islanders' schools' (later called *kō-gakkō* 'public schools') as part of the *tōminka seisaku* 'assimilation policy,' which continued in effect for 30 years until the end of the Pacific War (1945). While the use of Japanese was of course encouraged in government offices, there was no official policy for its promotion aside from school education. Asahara has described the relevant political history (1942: 96-97); as for the schools themselves, they practiced a rigid, spartan education. (Aoyagi 1977: 48)

Let us consider the impact of Japanese on the lives of Micronesians. On the positive side, Japanese language education provided a common language for those who spoke different languages and came from different islands; it made natives employable in government offices, on Japanese projects, and in Japanese households as well as capable of dealing with Japanese merchants; and it created opportunities for them to absorb modern culture from outside the islands (Yanaihara 1935: 394-395). On the minus side, the condition that made employability and a common language (particularly the latter) desirable was the concentration of people from various islands in towns; also, it is generally agreed that Japanese, particularly the written language, provided little observable benefit in terms of disseminating modern culture.

On the other hand, the effect Japanese had on the local languages of Micronesia, particularly at the level of loanwords, was immeasurable. For example, on Palauan there are even some phrases borrowed whole, such as *kangkeistér* < *kankei shite-iru* 'have a (non-sexual) relationship' and *skareter* < *tsukarete-iru* 'be tired.' As can be seen in *ng diak skareter* 'he (*ng*) is not (*diak*) tired,' the borrowing is purely lexical and has had no impact on syntax.[5]

The Germans had already set up a simple Latin orthography for Palauan, so the Palauans found the complex Japanese hard to deal with. Izui, who did field work on local languages in Micronesia, also observed Japanese language education there and stressed the need to separate speech from writing (1942: 76-77). There were also some foresightful proposals (never adopted) to foster the promulgation of Japanese

by using the Latin alphabet (Asahara 1942: 103) or to create a Basic Japanese similar to the Basic English for Foreigners of Ogden and Richards (Sekiguchi 1942: 115). Matsuoka Shizuo, who favored using *kana* for the local languages rather than Latin letters, put his theories to the test in a series of research papers on Chamorro (1926), Central Carolinian (1928), Marshallese (1929), and Palauan (1930), but his work had impact neither on policy nor in school materials.

Micronesia is now divided into a number of independent states. The number of people old enough to have been educated in Japanese is steadily dwindling while the number of people educated in English grows. Yet children are still often given Japanese-derived names; *Mineko, Yukitaro*, and *Yosichune* are reported, for example, on Truk (Chuuk) (Sugita 1971: 17). Relationships among the local languages of the various islands are still in a state of flux; none has more than a minority of speakers, but it is quite unlikely that Japanese would ever be chosen as a common language. Recently, however, a segment of the Micronesian population has been taking greater interest in Japanese because their parents use it as a 'secret language.' And perhaps Japanese will attract more attention in Micronesia as a vehicle for understanding different cultures.

The internationalization of Japanese in the modern age has recently been the subject of considerable debate. What, if any, steps can be taken to facilitate internationalization? Empirical data that might aid in answering that question is hard to come by; the surviving usage of Japanese not only in Micronesia but also in Taiwan and Korea, despite the sad legacy of the past, is therefore of potentially great value. The need to investigate the current state of Japanese in these areas and to research the texts and curricula that were used during the prewar period has never been more urgent.

NOTES

1. *Bagero* (or *bagerok*) comes from Japanese *bakayarō* 'stupid ass' and is often an expletive. It thus has something in common with Tok Pisin *raus* 'beat it! scram!' which comes from German *heraus!* 'get out.' Both expressions are shameful relics of the arrogance of colonial administrators. For details, see (Sato 1981: 20).
2. The Section for Examination of Regional Culture in the Office of Historical

and Traditional Values of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture has the duty of recording and publishing oral folk traditions, and issued about 2,000 items in Indonesian from 1976 through 1988. With few exceptions, however, these items are not available on the commercial market. See (Ajip Rosidi 1988).

3. In the standard spelling, [ʧ], which was <tj> in Indonesian and <ch> in Malaysian, are <c>. For Indonesian, this was in a sense a reversion to Old Javanese, where <c> for [ʧ] was already used in the transliteration of Pallava script into Latin letters in the 19th century. (For Malaysian, it was simply a matter of deference to the clerical tradition of Indonesia.) Similar circumstances led to the change of <dj> to <j> in Indonesian for [ʤ] (this sound was already written <j> in Malaysian). See (Asmah 1975: 86).
4. Prof. Kazuko Matsuzawa, personal communication. See also (Maeda 1989).
5. There is no basic general term for 'see shell' in Palauan; it is expressed as *bud-él* '(its) hide.' *bud-él* also refers to human skin and tree bark. But *kai* has been borrowed Japanese and a new folk classification is coming into existence; another general borrowed term is *iasai* ← J. *yasai* 'vegetable.' In Trukese, a number of words like *kacito* ← J. *katsudō shashin* 'motion picture,' all but obsolete in modern Japanese, survive; others have changed meaning, such as *kkumi* 'baseball team' ← J. *kumi* 'school class' and *kookang* 'word shouted into a telephone when a connction is not made' ← J. kōkan '(telephone) exchange.' See (Sugita 1971: 14-16).

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Chapter

7

Pidgin Japanese on Micronesia's Belau

1. JAPANESE-LANGUAGE EDUCATION ON BELAU

On October 1, 1994, the Republic of Belau established itself as an independent Micronesian nation—the last part of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to leave American administration. Today this new country, whose population is just 14,000, is thriving as a destination for young divers and sightseers.[1]

In 1914 Japan began its military occupation of Micronesia, which had been under German rule, and in 1922 it established the South Seas Agency. Japan's control of these islands, including Palau (now officially called Belau), lasted some 30 years until its defeat in World War II. In 1940 the Japanese population of Palau stood at nearly 30,000, far outstripping the native Belauan population. Due to this lengthy Japanese presence, to this day most Belauans over the age of 60 can speak fluent, correct Japanese.

In 1922 the South Seas Agency consolidated the elementary schools that had been founded during the military occupation and the native schools on Belau into a compulsory education system of three-year public schools for native islanders. Students who did well at these schools, known as *honka* (primary course) schools, went on to two-year supplementary courses. In 1926 a training institute took form to teach students the knowledge and skills needed for building and machining work. This two-year school functioned as the only institution of higher education in the South Pacific at the time, with its students chosen from among those who had excelled in the two-year supplementary schools.

At the three-year public schools and supplementary schools particular energy was focused on Japanese language studies as part of a program to make Belauans loyal subjects of the Japanese emperor. Fully 12 hours per week were dedicated to Japanese

studies in all grades. In the first year students mastered the *katakana* phonetic script and in the second year *hiragana*; in the third year they worked on *kana* texts including *kanji* (Chinese characters) as well.

The students at the public schools, who entered the first year at age eight, are for the most part in their sixties or older today. This age group numbered some 1,000 on the islands of Belau in 1990; there were a few hundred more of these senior citizens on Yap Island according to data collected in 1987.

The students who attended the schools in the 1940s, however, when the fighting was fiercest, were pressed into service working for the Japanese forces. They did not receive as thorough an education as the group aged 65 and over today. This older group contains perhaps two-thirds of the elderly population enumerated above. We must also note that girls did not necessarily attend school in the same numbers as boys, a factor that further drives down the current population of living attendees of these schools.

The Japanese language was, of course, promoted in government offices in Micronesia. But few measures were implemented outside the education system to position Japanese as a language of common use, a remarkable situation in areas under Japanese rule. The education carried out in those schools was what one might expect, however, given the corporal punishment and other methods used in elementary education in Japan during that period. Indeed, in an echo of the *hōgen-fuda* used in schools in prewar Okinawa—shameful 'dialect tags' hung around the necks of students who used the local tongues in school—students in the island schools were made to wear tags reading 'I spoke Palauan' until the next offender was caught.

In 1933 Yanaihara, a former dean of Tokyo Imperial University (now the University of Tokyo), went on an observation tour of Micronesia. He described ways in which studying Japanese was benefiting the islanders: (1) it gave inhabitants of islands with divergent languages a common tongue for communication; (2) it gave speakers employment opportunities in government offices and in homes and businesses of Japanese on the islands, and enabled profitable dealings with Japanese traders; and (3) it provided a conduit for bringing modern culture to Micronesia (1935).

Yanaihara's first and second reasons—particularly his first—were no doubt factors that spurred the town-dwelling islanders themselves to push for the spread of Japanese as a common communicational tool. This push was such that no policy was needed to enforce the spread of Japanese. Its influence as a *lingua franca* can be seen to this day. Today the language of common interaction is English, not Japanese. But still older

people from different islands with different languages use Japanese as a communicative language; they even write memos in the marketplace and simple letters to each other using *katakana*. Generally speaking, the people who received schooling under the old Japanese system retain to this day considerable *katakana* literacy. Not so many, however, can still use *hiragana* and *kanji*. Looking last at Yanaihara's third reason, it cannot be claimed that the islanders made use of Japanese to import much in the way of foreign, modern culture.

2. WASHED AWAY BY JAPANESE

One way in which Japanese culture did leave its mark on the region was through the huge amount of Japanese vocabulary that made its way into Palauan. This language in the Austronesian family is estimated to include thousands of Japanese loanwords.

Josephs points out Japanese has obviously been the most pervasive on Palauan, in spite of the fact that Japan controlled Belau for less than three decades (Josephs 1984). The influence Japanese can be observed at many levels from phonemes to adjectives and verbs, phrases, and entire sentences. This is an extraordinary example of interferences effected through language contact.

Palauan does have a Latinized writing system, established during German rule of the islands. Among others, note that *ch* stands for a glottal stop [ʔ].

Palauan borrowed several phonemes from Japanese: /ts/, /h/ in initial position, and /z/ in initial or medial position. Examples of these can be found in words like *tsios* (Japanese *chōshi* 'condition'), *harau* (*harau* 'pay'), himits (*himitsu* 'secret'), *zibiki* (*jibiki* 'dictionary'), and *skozio* (*hikōjō* 'airfield').

The /h/ to /s/ shift in the last example is a feature seen also in the Tokyo dialect of Japanese. Some other features of Palauan—the nasalization of /g/ in medial position, for instance—provide further evidence that students were instructed in Tokyo-accented Japanese. Japanese loanwords beginning with vowels are usually preceded by a glottal stop like that heard in doubled consonants in Japanese: The Japanese *agaru* 'to rise' becomes *changar* [ʔaŋár] 'to increase, to promote' in Palauan.

In Japanese, vowels located between two unvoiced consonants often become unvocalized themselves. Palauan orthography does away with these voiceless vowels in words like *kse* (*kuse* 'habit') and *skoki* (*hikōki* 'airplane'). Here is proof that the language has been molded by the phonetic perceptions of the human ear.

Palauan has also borrowed liberally from Japanese for its adjectives and verbs. Some examples are *takai* (*takai* 'expensive,' only in this sense), *komakai* (*komakai* 'detailed'), *chusui* (*usui* 'thin, weak'), *kotouar* (*kotowaru* 'to refuse'), and *otsir* (*ochiru* 'to fail,' only in this sense). There are even a few instances where the Japanese differentiation between transitive and intransitive forms of verbs has affected Palauan grammatical rules. An example of this is *mauar* (vi. *mawaru* 'to turn') and *mauas* (vt. *mawasu* 'to rotate'). Loanwords like these go beyond the realm of simple borrowed vocabulary and hint at a true mixing of the two languages. It should be noted, though, that more borrowed verbs are used both transitively and intransitively, such as the *changar* described above; this single form covers uses that in Japanese are handled by *agaru* 'to rise' and *ageru* 'to raise.' See the following sentence, 'I promoted him':

Aku mla changar er ngii.
'I (subj.) (past tense) promote (obj. marker) him'

Some nouns that in Japanese are made into verbs by the appendage of the ancillary *-suru*, such as *bakuhatsu* 'explosion,' are used on their own as verbs in Palauan, as in the sentence 'that tank exploded':

Ng mle bakuhats a tangk.
'that (past tense) explode (article) tank'

There are also cases of Japanese adjectives used as Palauan verbs, as in 'the test (*shiken* in Japanese) was easy':

A skeng a mle kantang.
'(article) test (article) (past tense) easy'

As seen in these examples, verbs and adjectives borrowed from Japanese are not used in the same way that they are in the originating language—something that would indicate a more complete mixing of the two languages.

Palauan has a complex system of affixation for its verbs. Taking as an example *koias* (*koyasu* 'to fertilize'), we can see that prefixes, suffixes, and infixes all have a part to play: *meng-oias* 'vt. to fertilize something,' *koiese-ngii* 'to fertilize it,' *k-il-se-ngii*

'fertilized it,' *koias* 'vt. to fertilize them,' *k-il-ias* 'fertilized them.' Here Palauan verb conjugation rules govern the use of the Japanese loanword, and it can be hard in some cases to spot the connection with the etymological *koyasu*.

Some Palauan words are loanwords complete with embedded Japanese verb inflections. Examples are *kangkeistér* (*kankei shite-iru* 'having relation to') and *skareter* (*tsukarete-iru* 'being tired'). The words are used as discrete vocabulary units, as in 'he is not tired':

Ng diak skareter.
'he not being tired'

As seen here, these words are not further conjugated as they would be in Japanese; the borrowing has not extended to grammatical rules.

Some loanwords come from entire phrases in Japanese, but are single words in Palauan. These include *kingatsku* and *kingatskanai* (*ki ga tsuku/tsukanai* 'to notice/not notice') and *otsuringanai* (*otsuri ga nai* 'to have no change'). The affirmative form of this last phrase, *otsuri ga aru*, has not made it into Palauan.

A number of loanwords in Palauan have all but disappeared from use in Japanese. Among these are *katsudō* (*katsudō-shashin* 'moving pictures, movie'), *katsudokang* (*katsudō-shashin-kan* 'movie theater'), *skonki* (*chikuonki* 'record player'), *sarumata* (*sarumata* 'underwear'; used in Palauan for men's and women's garments), and *tsitsibando* (*chichi-bando* 'brassiere'). Some words are used in ways that diverge from their original Japanese meaning: *stangi*, from *shitagi* 'underwear,' means 'a woman's slip'; *meromi*, from *moromi*, means not 'unrefined *sake*' but 'liquor'; *simang*, from *jiman* 'pride, boastfulness,' signifies 'vain'; *siukang*, from *shūkan* 'habitual practice,' is 'a mutual loan association'; and *kadiasang*, from *kajiya* 'blacksmith' with the honorific *-san*, is a 'crowbar.'

There are also words like *kangkodang* 'tourist,' which have slightly shifted in meaning since being brought into Palauan—the Japanese *kankō-dan* refers to a tourist group, while the Palauan term refers to a single tourist. The word meaning 'tourism' is formed by adding the reciprocal prefix *k-l-a-* > *kle-* : *kle-kangkodang*.

Some loanwords have gone so far as to change the Belauans' folk classifications. The word *kai* (*kai* 'shell, shellfish'), for instance, filled a gap in Palauan, which did not have an all-encompassing term for these things, but used the word *bud-él* 'its outer

surface' to describe seashells—a word that was also used for human skin, tree bark, and fruit rinds. Another generic term imported into Palauan is *iasai* (*yasai* 'vegetable'). These loanwords have made the daily life of the islanders more convenient, especially in economic activities like trading and shopping.

3. PIDGINIZED JAPANESE

English is used all around the world. It is subject to varying degrees of pidginization in different locations, a phenomenon that today constitutes a key sociolinguistic research topic. The pidginization of Japanese in the South Pacific is another interesting development. It can be observed, for example, when senior citizens from Yap Island go to a hospital on Belau and speak with the aged doctor there.

The Japanese usage that appears in conversations such as these are used, from the perspective of native Japanese speakers, in unusual ways that show the influence of native languages. This very influence is the essence of pidginization. Pidgin Japanese is a subject that needs to be researched not solely as a phenomenon seen among second-generation Japanese speakers in foreign countries, but as a linguistic development seen when both parents are natives of a foreign land, like the inhabitants of Belau.

One feature of the pidginization of Japanese in Micronesia is the way in which speakers have done away with the difference between *keigo* (honorific speech) and *teineigo* (general polite speech), using a single mode of address in the language. This can be seen in the sentence 'the village head wants to speak with you':

Songtsio-sang nga anata to hanasi-tai des.
'village head (subj. marker) you with wants to speak (declarative marker)'

This sentence diverges from Japanese usage in two ways. First, a Japanese person speaking on behalf of the village leader (*sonchō*) would not append the honorific *-san* to the appellation of someone from his own group; in Palauana the *-sang* is used as a generic polite term. Second, the verb suffix *-tai*, used in Japanese to indicate only the speaker's own desire, is used in Palauan to indicate a third party's desire—here the

village head's interest in speaking with the addressee. These differences are subtle and often difficult for foreign learners of Japanese; in Palauan they appear to have been done away with entirely.

Yet another example of this would be the phrase *watasi no okusang* 'my wife,' in which the honorific form of wife including the *-sang* suffix is used to talk about a person in the speaker's own circle. This use of *-sang* can be seen in personal names as well: Family names on Belau include *Oikawasang, Katosang*, and *Takisang*, echoes of the Japanese names *Oikawa, Katō*, and *Taki*. Some people take as surnames their parents' given names - *Yoshio* provides the root for the family name *Ioshiosang*. Names of professions, too, have retained the honorific *-sang* in Palauan: *kadiasang*, the term described above, can also refer to a blacksmith; and the Japanese *daiku* 'carpenter' has its Palauan equivalent in *daiksang*.

Shibuya found in a 1995 survey on Yap and Belau Islands that many speakers used the Japanese-derived *-suru koto ga dekiru* as a verbal suffix to indicate the capability to do a thing. In Japanese a verb like *kaku* 'to write' is conjugated to make its potential form *kakeru* and its auxiliary form *kakareru*. But these conjugations are avoided in Palauan, where the suffix *koto ga dekiru* is added to the verb *kaku* to handle these meanings (Shibuya 1995; 2002). This is no doubt part of the simplification of a language pidginization.

Some Palauan words are local creations made with Japanese components. An example is *tansiobai*, which combines the Japanese *tanjōbi* 'birthday' and *shōbai* 'sales, business' to signify 'receiving many gifts on one's birthday.' This is similar to the creation in Japanese of new words from English components, such as *gasorin sutando* ('gasoline stand,' rather than the 'gas station' used in American English).

I once ordered a dish called *hutairo-donburi* at a Japanese eatery on Belau. The Japanese words in the name—*futa-iro* 'two colors, two ingredients,' and *donburi* 'ingredients served atop a bowl of rice'—provided no hint of what the dish was: stewed chicken topped with a fried egg, with rice on the side. The Palauan word *donburi* has come to describe food spooned onto rice when eaten. This is another sign that the language has not lost its capacity for new words created from Japanese.

Japanese loanwords have not been imported in the same way throughout Micronesia. On Belau most people understand the word *mago* 'grandchild,' but on many other islands in the South Pacific the preferred term is *kodomo no kodomo* 'child [*kodomo* in Japanese] of a child.' This could also be described as a neologism derived

from Japanese vocabulary.

There are some very interesting words to be found among these Palauan borrowings. On these islands that do not know the four seasons of higher latitudes, the words for winter and spring are *iosiuki* (*yoshi yuki* 'good snow') and *iosiharu/* (*yoshi haru* 'good spring'). Another fasinating derivation for a Palauan word can be seen in *iakkotsiang* 'parrot, parrakeet.' These birds were introduced to the islands by Japanese who kept them as pets, and one might expect the local word for them to derive instead from something like *otakesan*—a standard Japanese phrase commonly spoken to these birds, like 'Polly want a cracker?' in English. One proposed etymology for the Palauan word says that the birds escaped into the wild and mimicked their female owner's name—*Yasuko-chan*, perhaps.

4. THE INFLUENCE ON BELAUAN CULTURE

Many Micronesian parents give their children Japanese names. Names reported on the State of Chuuk include *Mineko, Yukitaro*, and *Yoshichune*, the last perhaps derived from historical hero *Minamoto no Yoshitsune*. Belau, too, is home to many with names derived from Japanese elements like *-tarō—Kintaro, Matsutaro*, and *Aitaro*, to list a few.

Japanese culture has affected Belauan culture in undeniable ways. The traditional Belauan diet, for example, consisted mainly of taro root and unflavored fish. Japanese cuisine has influenced both the ingredients and the preparation methods of Belauan food. The Belauan dish *nitské* (Japanese *nitsuke* 'hard-boiled food'), for example, consists of flavored fish stewed with vegetables.

One of the most popular meals today is *udong*, flour noodles prepared with little broth, like the noodles eaten by Ryukyu islanders. These noodles served with a fried egg on top are called *tamangoudong*, a term including the Japanese *tamago* 'egg.' Other Japanese dishes that have made their way into the language and diet of Belau are *inarisusi* (*inari-zushi* 'seasoned rice in *tōfu* skins'), *makisusi* (*maki-zushi* 'rolled *sushi*'), and *osiruko* (*oshiruko* '*mochi* rice paste in a sweet bean soup'), all of which are served at festive gatherings. The Japanese brought other new foods to the islands, including *siobang* (*shoku-pan* 'white bread') and *chaburabang* (*abura-pan* 'bread deep-fried in oil).

Many Belauan homes are built with Japanese architectural elements, and this is

reflected in the vocabulary used to describe them. Home-building begins with the *tatumai* (Japanese *tatemae* 'a ceremony celebrating the erection of a building's frame'). When a house is completed it may contain a *kéngkang* (*genkan* 'entrance hall'), *mado* (*mado* 'windows'), *demado* (*demado* 'bay windows'), *ténzio* (*tenjō* 'ceiling'), *héia* (*heya* 'rooms'), *tatami* (*tatami* 'reed floor mats'), *nakas* (*nagashi* 'kitchen sink'), *bénzio* (*benjo* 'toilet'), and *nikai* (*nikai* 'second floor'). The house may also have a *déngua* (*denwa* 'telephone'). It will probably be connected to the *déngkibu* (*denkibu* 'electric division,' used to mean 'power plant') by means of *dengkibasira* (*denki-bashira* 'electric or telephone poles'), and to the *dobu* (*dobu* 'sewage ditch'). Roads may be lined with trees called *nangiosakura* ('flame tree'), a neologism using the Japanese words *nan'yō* and *sakura* for 'South Seas cherries.'

5. TEACHING WRITTEN JAPANESE : A LOOK BACK

One of the declared goals of teaching Japanese in Micronesia was to give the islanders a chance to absorb modern culture through the language. But when talented young literary scholars like Nakajima Atsushi were dispatched to the islands to help create Japanese-language teaching materials, they did very little to help students gain access to current Japanese culture through writings in Japanese. Compared with former French colonies, where French literature is still read avidly, Japan's old island territories show little sign of this lasting influence on cultural tastes. It must be said, though, that it would be quite difficult to read Japanese literature by masters like Natsume Soseki using nothing but the *katakana* script.

Observing conditions today, one wonders whether the students needed to learn *katakana* at all. The former students, who underwent corporal punishment while learning these characters, are unfortunately putting them to almost no use in their linguistic lives today.

Postwar language teachers continued to hold tightly to the idealistic position that written Japanese had to be taught as a mixture of *kana* and the more difficult *kanji*. These teachers failed to take a more realistic approach to the needs of average Japanese learners overseas; they showed a lack of consideration for their level.

Looking back on what could have been done differently, if Japan had continued disseminating information written in *katakana* alone after the end of the war, people would likely have been able to keep written Japanese as a part of their linguistic lives.

This would certainly have had no small effect on those people's views of Japan thereafter. It is most unusual in linguistic history for people who have learned—or been made to learn—a written language to be given no opportunity to brush up that language later on.

The question of how to make Japanese a more internationally used language is one that receives much attention nowadays. The time has come to give serious thought to a simpler orthography—perhaps involving the Latin alphabet—that increases the utility of Japanese both within Japan and overseas.

To the Belauans, who already had a Latinized orthography for their language created during German rule, the Japanese language with its complex writing system was far from easy to learn. Izui, the only linguist to take part in the prewar investigations of the languages of Micronesia, observed how Japanese was being taught to students and urged that the written language be removed from the course of study (1942). *Japanese Language and Culture Courses* (*Kokugo Bunka Kōza* 1942) published in series in wartime, contained some extraordinarily bold statements for the time, although the recommendations were never followed. One of them argued, for instance, that Japanese would be spread more effectively if it were taught in the Latin alphabet instead of *kana* and *kanji*, and that a simplified form of Japanese like the basic English learned by foreigners should be prepared for use.

Matsuoka Shizuo, meanwhile, argued for the opposite approach: bringing *katakana* into use as the written form of Micronesian languages. Written grammar texts along these lines were produced in 1926 for the Chamoro language of Saipan, in 1928 for the language of the central Caroline Islands (the Chuuk dialect of Saipan), in 1929 for the language spoken on the Marshall Islands, and in 1930 for Palauan. These efforts did not bear fruit as linguistic policy, however, and produced little in the way of linguistic research material. The idea of applying *katakana* to these languages was from the beginning flawed.

CONCLUSION

The population statistics I introduced at the beginning of this chapter show that the older Japanese-speaking generation is dwindling rapidly. The younger generations that grew up learning English after the war are taking the place of the Japanese speakers at a rapid clip. The pidgin Japanese used as a common language throughout Micronesia is

extremely endangered. But some younger people are developing an interest in Japanese, today a secret language spoken only by their elders. Perhaps Japanese can make a fresh start in Micronesia, building a role as a language for comprehending foreign culture.

Urgent attention is now being focused on ways in which Japanese can adapt to an age of globalization. Areas like Micronesia, Taiwan, and the Korean Peninsula, which were once under Japanese rule, are places where Japanese has developed on its own to some extent. While the use of the language in these countries may come with some historical baggage, studying how Japanese has been spoken there will provide invaluable data to examine as we consider various issues connected with teaching Japanese to foreign learners. The urgent task facing us today is to study the state of the language in those locations—how and to what extent it has been used, and the texts, curricula, and teaching methods used to transmit Japanese to foreign speakers.

NOTE

1. All figures are current as of 1995, when this article was published.

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Chapter

8

Endangered Languages of the Pacific Region

1. LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

The languages that are currently spoken in the Pacific region can be divided broadly into three groups: the Australian and New Guinean languages were formed by people who participated in the region's earliest migrations over a period of 20,000-30,000 years starting several tens of thousands of years ago, and the Austronesian languages spoken by Mongoloid people who migrated from the Asian continent around 3,000 B.C. The region has numerous languages, including 250 Aboriginal languages in Australia and 750 Papuan languages on the island of New Guinea (including the Indonesian territory of Irian Jaya, now called Propinsi Papua) and neighboring areas. There are also 350 Austronesian languages in Melanesia including New Guinea, 20 in Polynesia, 12 in Micronesia and 100 in New Guinea (Comrie, Matthews, and Polinsky 1996). There is wide variation not only among language groups, but also among the families of languages. Few language families have been identified among the languages of Australia and New Guinea using the methods of comparative linguistics. Languages in the Pacific region are also characterized by the small size of speaker populations and by the absence of dominant languages. However, there are usually bilingual people who can speak or at least understand the languages of neighboring populations, and it is believed that this situation has existed for a long time. In terms of cultural factors, it appears that the diversification of languages in the Pacific region was accelerated by the emblematic function of language in the creation of a clear distinction between ingroup and outgroup (Grace 1981).

The languages of New Guinea and the region around it show diverse linkages and wide variations between languages. The Austronesian languages of the Pacific region are mostly classified as Oceanic languages, while the Chamorro and Palau languages of Micronesia are classified into the languages of Western Malayo-Polynesain (WMP,

former Indonesian family), and the indigenous languages of Maluku and Propinsi Papua (Irian Jaya) in Eastern Indonesia into the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) or the South Halmahera-West New Guinea (SHWNG) subgroups. In particular, there are strong similarities between the linguistic characteristics of the CMP and SHWNG languages and those of the Melanesian branch of the Oceanic languages. These linguistic conditions and characteristics are attributable to ethnic migrations within the region over a long period of time, accompanied by contacts and linguistic interference with indigenous Papuan languages. Papuan languages are still found in parts of Indonesia, including Northern Halmahera and the islands of Pantar and Alor and central and eastern Timor in Propinsi Nusa Tenggara. In New Guinea, contact with Papuan languages has caused some Austronesian languages to exhibit a word order change from subject-verb-object to subject-object-verb (Austronesian Type 2) (Sakiyama 1994).

2. LINGUISTIC STRATA

With the start of colonization by the European powers in the nineteenth century, a new set of linguistic circumstances developed in the region. First, pidgin languages based on European and Melanesian languages gradually emerged as common languages. The establishment of plantations in Samoa and in Queensland, Australia, which had concentrations of people who spoke Melanesian languages, was important in providing breeding grounds for pidgin languages. A pidgin language is formed from elements of the grammar of both contributing languages, though the pidgin languages tend to be looked down upon from the perspective of the more dominant of the two parent languages. The region's newly formed common languages, including Tok Pisin, Bislama, and Solomon Pijin (Pidgin), flourished after they were taken back to the homelands of the various speakers. This was possible because Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea were all multilingual societies without dominant languages. The number of speakers of pidgin languages increased rapidly in this environment. At the same time, the continuing existence of ethnic minority languages came under threat.

Examples of pidgins that were creolized (adopted as mother languages in their own right) include Solomon Pijin, which eventually had over 1,000 speakers aged five and over (1976) in the Solomon Islands. Bislama, over spreding about 100 indigenous

languages and the former official languages, English and French, is now spoken by almost the entire population of Vanuatu (170,000 in 1996) and is partially creolized. Of particular interest is the fact that a group of more than 1,000 people who emigrated to New Caledonia have adopted Bislama as their first language. The situation in Papua New Guinea, which has a population of 4,300,000 (1996), is even more dramatic. By 1982 the number of people using Tok Pisin as their first language had reached 50,000, while another 2,000,000 used it as a second language (Grimes 2002).

3. MINORITY LANGUAGES AND COMMON LANGUAGES IN THE PACIFIC REGION

The revised *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing* published by UNESCO (Wurm 2001) provides a brief overview of the current situation in the Greater Pacific Area including Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia (Loyalty Islands), Fiji (Rotuma), Micronesia, Polynesia and Australia. It is a pity that in the *Atlas* language names are missing on the opposite page to the Pacific language map (p.65), probably due to the publisher's error. The following report covers areas and languages that I have researched and endangered languages covered by field studies principally carried out by Japanese researchers.

3.1. Belau (Palau), Micronesia

According to Belau (Palau) government statistics (1990), the total population of 15,122 people includes 61 people living on outlying islands in Sonsorol State, and 33 in Hatohobei (Tochobei) State. Apart from the Sonsorol Islands, Sonsorol State also includes the islands of Fanah, Meril and Pulo An. In addition to the Hatohobei language, the language scattered on these isolated islands also constitutes Nuclear Micronesian (Chuukic) languages, which are mainly spoken in the Carolines. They differ from Palauan, which is a branch of WMP. To lump these languages together as the Sonsorol languages with a total of 600 speakers (Wurm and Hattori 1981-83) is as inaccurate as combining the Miyako dialects of Okinawa into a single dialect group.

The number of Chuukic speakers has declined steadily since these figures were compiled. Starting in the German colonial period of the early twentieth century, people have been relocated from these outlying islands to Echang village on Arakabesan

Island in Belau. Today there are several hundred of these people. Many of those born in the new location only speak Palauan. A study by Oda (1975) estimated that there were 50 speakers of Pulo Annian. The language of Meril continued to decline and has now become extinct.

From the early part of the twentieth century until the end of World War II, Micronesia was under Japanese rule, administered by the South Seas Mandate. Japanese was used as a common language, and its influence is still evident today. The linguistic data on Micronesia presented by Grimes (2002) is distorted by the fact that, while the number of English speakers is shown, no mention is made of Japanese. A study carried out in 1970 (Wurm, Mühlhäusler, and Tryon 1996) found that people aged 35 and over could speak basic Japanese. This group is equivalent to people aged 63 and over in 1998. An estimate based on Belau government statistics (1990) suggests that more than 1,000 of these people are still alive. In the State of Yap in the Federated States of Micronesia, where the percentage of females attending school is said to have been low, we can assume that the number of Japanese speakers has fallen below 500.

It has been suggested that if Japan had continued to rule Micronesia, Japanese would certainly have become the sole language in the region, and indigenous languages would have disappeared (Wurm, Mühlhäusler, and Tryon 1996). This seems an overly harsh appraisal of Japan's language policy. Except in the schools, as a matter of fact no significant steps were taken to promote the use of Japanese. Micronesia previously had no common language for communication between different islands. Even today, old people from different islands use Japanese as a common language (Sakiyama 1995; Toki 1998). However, the role of this Japanese pidgin appears to have ended within a single generation, and in this sense it too is an endangered language. The similar linguistic decline is occurring in Rabaul German Creole (Unserdeutsch) of Papua New Guinea, which developed from German-based Pidgin and is now becoming extinct (Volker 1981). However, Pidgin Japanese continues to be used as a *lingua franca* by Taiwanese in their fifties and older (Wurm, Mühlhäusler, and Tryon 1996), and the number of speakers is estimated to have been 10,000 in 1993 (Grimes 2002).

3.2. Yap, Micronesia

Nguluw Atoll is situated between the Yap Islands and the Belau Islands. The Nguluwan language is a mixture of Yapese and Ulithian, which belongs to the Chuukic family. It has inherited the Ulithian phonemic system and a partial version of Yap grammar (Sakiyama 1982). Nguluwan appears to have evolved through bilingualism between

Yapese and Ulithian, and to describe it as a dialect of Ulithian (Grimes 2002) is inappropriate. In 1980 there were 28 speakers. Even with the inclusion of people who had migrated to Guror village, which is the traditional trading counterpart on Yap Island, the number of speakers was fewer than 50. Speakers are being assimilated rapidly into the Yapese language and culture.

3.3. Maluku, Indonesia

The book *Atlas Bahasa Tanah Maluku* (Taber et al. 1996) covers 117 ethnic languages (Austronesian, Papuan), including numbers of speakers for each language, areas of habitation and migration, access routes, simple cultural information, and basic numbers and expressions. This work is especially valuable since it corrects inaccuracies and errors in the 1977 *Classification and Index of the World's Languages* by Voegelin and Voegelin. It also distinguishes languages and dialects according to their a priori mutual intelligibility. Fifteen languages are listed as having fewer than 1,000 speakers. They include the Nakaela language of Seram, which has only 5 speakers, the Amahai and Paulohi languages, also of Seram, which are spoken by 50 people each, and the South Nuaulu and Fatamanue (Yalahatan) languages, which have 1,000 speakers each on Seram Island. The data, however, are not complete. For example, Bajau languages are not included, presumably because of the difficulty of accessing the various solitary islands where the Bajau people live. The author researched the Fatamanue language in 1997 and in 1998 (Sakiyama 1999), and the Bajau language (2,000 speakers) on Sangkuwang Island in 1997.

3.4. Propinsi Papua and Papua New Guinea, Melanesia

Detailed information about the names, numbers of speakers, and research data for over 800 languages spoken in New Guinea and its coastal regions can be found in the works by the Barrs (1978), Voorhoeve (1975), and Wurm (1982). Nekitel (1998) reckoned languages with less than 1000 speakers are more than half the number (417), including 6 languages (Austronesian: Getmate, Kaniet, Karore, Ahi = Lae, and Papuan: Karami, Mulaha) extinct since 1950. For the present, not only the minority languages but even the majority languages other than a few have yet to be surveyed and researched adequately. There are many languages for which vocabulary collection has yet to be undertaken. It appears that dictionaries or grammars have been published for less than one-tenth of the region's languages. However, the gospel has been published in several

dozen languages using orthographies established by SIL. Papuan languages range from those with substantial speaker populations, including Enga, Chimbu (Kuman), and Dani, which are spoken by well over 100,000 people, to endangered languages such as Abaga with 5 speakers (150 according to Wurm [1982]), Makolkol with 7 (unknown according to Wurm), and Sene with under 10. There are very many languages for which the number of speakers is unknown and more up-to-date information is needed. Also, despite having substantially more than 1,000 speakers (Wurm 1982; Grimes 2002), Murik is in danger of extinction due to the creolization of Tok Pisin (Foley 1986). Moreover, it is questionable whether the present lists include all of the region's languages.

Information about Propinsi Papua (Irian Jaya) is even sparser. A study on popular languages carried out by the author in 1984-85 revealed that Kuot (New Ireland), Taulil (New Britain), and Sko (Irian Jaya) all had several hundred speakers and that, in the case of Taulil in particular, an increasing number of young people were able to understand what their elders were saying but could no longer speak the language themselves. There has been a rapid shift to Kuanua (Tolai), an indigenous language used in trade with neighboring Rabaul, which is replacing Taulil (Sakiyama 1988, 1989).

3.5. Solomon Islands, Melanesia

The total population of the Solomon Islands is 390,000 (1996). There are 63 Papuan, Melanesian, and Polynesian indigenous languages, of which only 37 are spoken by over 1,000 people (Grimes 1996). The Papuan Kazukuru languages (Guliguli, Doriri) of New Georgia, which were known to be endangered as early as 1931, have become extinct already, leaving behind just some scant linguistic information. The Melanesian Tanema and Vano languages of the Santa Cruz Islands and the Laghu language of the Santa Isabel Islands were extinct by 1990. This does not mean that the groups speaking them died out, but rather that the languages succumbed to the shift to Roviana, a trade language used in neighboring regions, or were replaced by Solomon Pijin (Sakiyama 1996).

3.6. Vanuatu, Melanesia

The situation in Vanuatu is very similar to that in the Solomon Islands. The official view, written in Bislama, is as follows:

I gat sam ples long 110 lanwis evriwan so i gat bigfala lanwis difrens long Vanuatu. Pipol blong wan velej ol i toktok long olgeta bakegen evridei nomo long lanwis be i no Bislama, Inglis o Franis. (Vanuatu currently has 110 indigenous languages, which are all very different linguistically. On an everyday basis people in villages speak only their local languages, not Bislama, English, or French). (Vanuatu, 1980, Institute of Pacific Studies)

Among the Melanesian and Polynesian indigenous languages spoken by 170,000 people, or 93% of the total population (1996), there are many small minority tongues. These include Aore, which has only a single speaker (extinct according to Wurm and Hattori [1981-83]); Maragus and Ura (with 10 speakers each); Nasarian, and Sowa (with 20); and Dixon Reef, Lorediakarkar, Mafea, and Tambotalo (with 50). If languages with around 100 speakers are included, this category accounts for about one-half of the total number of languages. The spread of Bislama has had the effect of putting these languages in jeopardy except to make dominant vernaculars such as Uripiv, Hano etc. survive, although languages with no information, or not well known at all, come up to two-thirds or more (88) of the whole (Lynch 1994).

3.7. New Caledonia, Melanesia

New Caledonia has a total population of 145,000 people, of whom 62,000 are indigenous. As of 1981, there were 28 languages, all Melanesian except for the one Polynesian language Uvean. The only languages with over 2,000 speakers are Cemuhi, Paicî, Ajië, and Xârâcùù, along with Dehu and Nengone, which are spoken on the Loyalty Islands.

Dumbea (Païta), which is spoken by several hundred people, has been described by . Shintani and Païta (1983). And Osumi (1995) has described Tinrin, which has an estimated 400 speakers. Speakers of Tinrin are bilingual in Xârâcùù or Ajië. Nerë has 20 speakers and Arhö 10, while Waamwang, which had 3 speakers in 1946, is now reported to be extinct (Grimes 2002). Descendants of Javanese, who began to migrate to New Caledonia in the early part of the twentieth century, now number several thousand. The Javanese language spoken by these people, which has developed in isolation from the Javanese homeland, has attracted attention as a new creole language.

3.8. Australia

When Europeans first arrived in Australia in 1788, it is estimated that there were 700

different peoples in a population of 500,000-1,000,000 (Comrie, Matthews, and Polinsky 1996). By the 1830s Tasmanian had become extinct, and today the number of Aboriginal languages has fallen to less than one-half what it once was. However, Tsunoda left detailed records of the Warrungu language, the last speaker of which died in 1981, and the Djaru language, which has only 200 speakers (Tsunoda 1974, 1981). Yawuru, which belongs to the Nyulnyulan family, reportedly has fewer than 20 speakers, all aged in their sixties or older. The language is described by Hosokawa (1992).

CONCLUSION

The Pacific has been heavily crisscrossed by human migration from ancient to modern times. All Pacific countries except the Kingdom of Tonga were colonized. This historical background is reflected in the existence of multilevel diglossia in all regions of the Pacific.

Depending on the generation, the top level of language in Micronesia is either English (the official language) or pidgin Japanese (used as a lingua franca among islands). The next level is made up of the languages of major islands that exist as political units, such as Palauan, Yapese and Ponapean. On the lowest level are the various vernaculars spoken mainly on solitary islands.

In the Maluku Islands of Indonesia, local Malay languages such as Ambonese Malay, North Maluku Malay and Bacanese Malay, form a layer beneath the official language, Bahasa Indonesia. Under them are the dominant local languages, such as Hitu, which is spoken by 15,000 people on Ambon Island, and Ternate and Tidore, which are spoken in the Halmahera region. These are important as market languages. On the lowest level are the various vernaculars.

In Papua New Guinea, standard English forms the top level, followed by Papua New Guinean English. Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu are used as common languages among the various ethnic groups. Beneath these layers are the regional or occupational common languages. For example, Hiri Motu is used as the law enforcement *lingua franca* in coastal areas around the Gulf of Papua, Yabem as a missionary language along the coast of the Huon Gulf, and Malay as a trade language in areas along the border with Indonesia. On the next level are the ethnic and tribal languages used on a day-to-day basis.

An example of a similar pattern in Polynesia can be found in Hawaii, where English and Hawaiian English rank above Da Kine Talk (also called Pidgin To Da Max 'Pidgin all the way' for fun!), which are mixtures of English and Oceanic languages and are used as common languages among the various Asian migrants who have settled in Hawaii. Beneath these are ethnic languages, including Hawaiian and the various immigrant languages, such as a common Japanese based on the Hiroshima dialect, as well as Cantonese, Korean, and Tagalog.

All of the threatened languages are in danger because of their status as indigenous minority languages positioned at the lowest level of the linguistic hierarchy. Reports to date have included little discussion of the multilevel classification of linguistic strata from a formal linguistic perspective. It will be necessary in the future to examine these phenomena from the perspectives of sociolinguistics or linguistic anthropology.

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PART THREE

Individual Language Studies

Chapter

9

The Characteristics of Nguluwan from the Viewpoint of Language Contact

INTRODUCTION

Ngulu Atoll (which must be pronounced [ŋuluw] so as not to be confused with [ŋulu] 'yawn,' so it will be spelt Nguluw after this) is situated in the southwestern part of the Yap Administrative District and consists of several islets among which only one, Nguluw Island, is inhabited at present. Nguluwan is spoken by 28 individuals and some people in the village of Guror in the municipality of Gilman' on Yap. Nguluw has a *sowäy* relationship with Guror in the same way as seen between Ulithi and Yap, which refers to the system of tenancy, to the kinship units involved and the goods exchanged (Lessa 1966: 36)

It has been mentioned until now that Nguluw people are bilingual, both in Yapese and Ulithian, and that Nguluw is Yapese in culture (Quackenbush 1968: 23, Bender 1971:435). However, as a result of my field study from August to December 1980, it became clear that this is not correct, particularly in regard to its culture. Nguluwan culture can be said to hold a hybrid aspect in the sense that not only aspects of Yapese culture such as the style of building domiciles and women's wearing of leaf skirts '*yuuw*,' etc., but also Ulithian aspects such as the canoe house, kinship, knowledge of astronomy, earth-oven cooking, men's wearing of breech cloths '*maath*,' the ceremonial anatomization of turtles and so on, are preserved, as it were, forming a perfect whole.

According to legend, a man called *Halengloi* who came from the island of Mogmog in Ulithi Atoll to Gagil district in Yap, married a woman who lived in the village of Gachlaw in Gilman'. After some days had passed, he sailed to the south in order to reach an island which he had never been to before but knew about. After

coming back from this island called Nguluw, he and his wife told the chief of Guror that they would like to go to live on Nguluw. This is the reason why Nguluw belongs to the chief of Guror who maintains the *sowäy*, and why Nguluw people have the customs of both Ulithi and Yap, speaking both these languages (Lessa 1961: 45-47). It is worth citing here, for example, that there were two routes for the influx of breadfruit trees '*yithaw*,' the one with seeds, named '*bugil*,' originating from Yap, and the other without seeds, '*mafow*,' from Ulithi. The making of preserved breadfruit in the earth, '*mar*,' was transmitted from eastern Oceanic culture.

The daily language used by present Nguluw (Nguluwan) is, nevertheless, neither Yapese nor Ulithian in the strict sense of the word, although we can define it as a quite peculiar dialect among Yapese dialects. The Ulithian-speaking generation belonging to the higher age group is on the decrease; on the other hand, people living in Yap are apt not to want to reveal their own dialect. If we compare Yapese, Nguluwan and Ulithian only by using the 100 item list established by Swadesh, the peculiarity of Nguluwan will be noticed (see Appendix 2).

However, its historically stratified traits appear in the bilingual way of naming reefs, or passages such as *Tholop* in Ulithian (*thaw* 'channel' + *-lap* 'big'), *Thubcholniga* (*dubchol* 'channel' + *ni* 'of' + *gaaq* 'big' in Yapese) with the same meaning, or *Thochigchig* (*achig* 'small' in Yapese) with blending from both. Furthermore, some names are given to indicate the direction of outer islands, such as Sorol (1, 4, 15, 16), Palau (2, 13) and Yap (14), having more than one passage because navigation is affected by the wind and ocean currents both from the east and west (see Appendix 3).

The first European report on the people of Nguluw was made by Warren Hastings of the British East India Company on December 29th, 1787. Turmeric ('*rëng*') was known about at that time, and it was written that islanders who came alongside the ship were 'much painted about their bodies, a great quantity of hair on their heads' (Hezel 1979: 16). *Rëng* was used until recently as a betrothal present from bridegroom to bride, and vice versa, a belt made of shell '*bul*.'

From the viewpoint of cultural contact, some interesting words are left, namely, *lapis* 'pencil' (Yapese *pinsal*) which originated from Spanish (*lápiz*), and *kaybak* 'adze' (Yapese *tow*) from Palauan (*chébakl*) are peculiar to Nguluwan, although such borrowings might not have occurred very long ago (see Appendix 1).

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1. Nguluwan has eight vowel phonemes contrasting the long and the short in the same way as in Yapese (Donguch dialect). We transcribe it as follows. Notice the difference with the official spelling in parentheses:

ii	i	uu	u
ee	e	oo	o
ëë (ea)	ë [æ]	öö (oe)	ö [œ]
ää (ae)	ä [a]	aa	a [*a*]

In addition, the vowel phonemes of Ulithian (Mogmog dialect) are:

ii	i	uu	u
ee	e	ëë	ë [ə,ʏ,œ]
ää	ä [æ]	oo	o
aa	a [a,*a*]	öö	ö [ɔ]

1.2. The consonant phonemes of Nguluwan in transcription are:

p	t	ch	k	-
b (bw)	-	j [ʤ]	g	-
f	th [d,θ,ð]	s	-	h
m (mw)	n	-	ng	-
-	l	r	-	-
w	-	y	-	-

Compared with Yapese, the most outstanding discrepancy is devoid of glottalized (or ejective) consonants such as *p'* , *t'* , *k'* , *f'* , *th'*, *m'*, *n'*, *ng'*, *w'*, *y'*, and glottal *q* as seen in Yapese.

1.3. The following phonemic correspondences are observed between Yapese and Nguluwan:

1.3.1. All glottalized words in Yapese correspond to the words without

glottalization (or ejectivization) in Nguluwan.

1.3.2. The labio-velars *bw* and *mw* appear as variants for *b* and *m* merely in Nguluwan. The occurrence of these sounds can be explained by the resulting vowel reduction, that is, apart from vowel quality, Yapese *bVqV-* and *mVqV-* (or passing through the process of *bVV-* and *mVV-*) correspond to Nguluwan *bwV-* and *mwV-*, even though influence from Ulithian can not be disregarded (see below.)

Yapese	Nguluwan	
ba aray	bwaray	'here is'
athboon	yathibwon	'his gall bladder'
buqöy > *buöy	bwoy	'squeeze'
mööm	mwom	'easy'
mööy	mwoy	'come (singular) !'
pumoqon > *pumoon	pumwon	'man'

1.3.3. As for Yapese *q*, the following correspondences are shown:

Yapese -iq	Nquluwan -iy	
periq	periy	'his forehead'
piiq	piy	'give'
liiq	liy	'kill'
diriq	thiriy	'fathom'

Yapese -oq	Nguluwan -wä	
taawoq	taawwä	'ladder'
woq	wwä	'path'
abruwoq	wubrwwä	'hollow in the tree'
tabwoq	tabwwä	'not deliver a thing from hand to hand'
However,		
yabwoq	yabwa	'digging stick for taro'

Yapese -q-	Nguluwan -w-, -y-	
naqun	nawun	'house'

maqut	mawut	'taro patch'
tooqäär	toowaar	'deep'
bäqud	bäwuth	'liqht (not heavy)'
raqën	rayan	'its color'
raqay	rayay	'hundred'
However,		
ngaqon	ngoon	'full moon'
And,		
paqag	pag	'my hand'

This last case occurred for such morphological reasons as the result of having been analysed as a series; *pan* 'his hand' and *pam* 'your hand,' instead of taking over *paaq* 'his hand' and *paqam* 'your hand,' as in Yapese.

Nguluwan *ring-ag* 'hear,' corresponding to Yapese *rungqag*, is exceptional as well, but with *ring-* having a complete off-glide, its precise transcription must be as above, not as *ringag*.

1.3.4. As for semivowels such as *w* and *y*, the relationship between Yapese and Nguluwan is as follows:

Y apese	Nguluwan	
arrow	yarrow	'land'
öör	yawur	'coconut leaf midrib'
ëch	yeech	'stone fish trap'
ulöch	wulöch	'strip of coconut leaf'

The above examples have the glide sounds at the beginning of words. On the other hand, some words occur with nonproductive initial elements such as *yi-* or *wu-*, of which the former is supposed to relate to the Ulithian noun derivative *yi-* 'it, that' (*yilux* 'ocean side of an island' = *yi-* + *lux* 'back'), but the latter cannot be traced to its source.

Yapese	Nguluwan	
löq	yilä	'skull, coconut shell'
chen	yichin	'tree heliotrope'

gääg	yigäg	'I'
gol	wugol	'cross-bars on a canoe'
thän	wuthan	'his navel'
deq	wuthe	'span between the thumb and forefinger'

And possibly,

amngin	*wu-amngin >waamngin	'its fruit'
ayong	*wu-ayong >wuyang	'shark'

1.3.5. No regularity can be found in the vowel correspondence between Yapese and Nguluwan, but regarding word final with the semi-vowel, the next tendencies are shown:

Yapese -ow	Nguluwan -aw	
gadow	yigathaw	'we (in., dl.)'
chogow	chagaw	'covet'
tapgow	tapagaw	'coconut leaf mat'
sabow	sabaw	'ringworm'

Yapese -öw	Nguluwan -ow	
sipöw	sipow	'machete'
yöw	yow	'house beam'

Yapese -ëy	Nguluwan -ay	
fëëy	fay	'pick up'
magëy	magay	'left behind'
komëy	komay	'rice'

Yapese -öy	Nguluwan -oy	
u röy	wu roy	'here'
fööy'	foy	'seedling'

1.3.6. The different phonemes *d* and *th* in Yapese merge into *th* in all positions in

Nguluwan.

1.3.7. *j* occurs only in loanwords like *joori* 'rubber sandals,' a borrowing from Japanese *zōri*.

1.3.8. The dentals *t, s* and *l* have a tendency to be heavily palatalized; that is, they are followed by a sound almost like *y* or *i* as pointed out in Ulithian (Elbert 1947: 11).

The Nguluwan phonemes, on the whole, are quite extraordinary compared to those of the other Yapese dialects. We could say that such innovations are much indebted to Ulithian influence.

Lastly, the Ulithian consonant phonemes are compared:

P		t	ch	k	x [g, x, γ , h]
-	bw	-	-	-	-
f		th	s	-	-
m	mw	n	-	ng	-
-		l	r	-	-
w		-	y	-	-

2. POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

We will make mention of some noteworthy points viewed from the point of language contact in this section, too.

2.1. In the so-called Trukic lanquages, possession is generally expressed by the construction consisting of a categorical classifier with possessive suffix, followed by a possessed noun. Examples in Ulithian are:

paa-i yiix	'my fish for bait' (paa- 'bait')
xolo-i yiix	'my caught fish' (xolo- 'a catch')
xala-i yiix	'my cooked fish' (xala- 'cooked food')
xocha-i yiix	'my raw fish' (xochaa- 'raw food')
law-i yiix	'my kept fish' (laaw- 'child')

Besides this alienable possession, inalienable possession, which denotes an intimate relationship such as that of body parts and kinship, and things considered

to be inalienable, takes a possessive suffix directly after a noun itself. Ulithian examples:

meta-i	'my eye' (maat- 'eye')
tama-i	'my father' (taam- 'father')

Compare (Sohn 1973 : 271) :

liyooso-yi	'statue of me'
yaa-yi liyooso	'statue owned by me'

2.2. However, the Yapese possessive expression is entirely different from the Trukic languages in that the former has no such categorical classifiers except for two main categories: a pronominal suffix system for inalienable things and a preposition *(ro-)* + pronominal suffix system for alienable things.

gätuw rog	'my cat' (gätuw 'cat')
fakag	'my child' (faak 'his child')

2.3. In Nguluwan we can observe that *gatuw rug* 'my cat' and *fakag gatuw* 'my child cat = my kept cat' appear in parallel. Likewise:

wuchub rug	'my drinking coconut'
nunug wuchub	'drinking coconut as my drink'

choob rug	'my pandanus mat'
tagilig choob	'pandanus mat for my sitting place'

The latter expressions in each sentence, apparently being appositional, are obviously made by tracing a model (viz. *calque*) of Ulithian construction, whatever the difference in meaning may be.

Table 1

		Subject			Object	
		independent	pre-positioned	post-positioned	post-positioned	independent
Sg.	I	Yigääg (gääg)	gu- (gu-)	-gu (-gu)	-eg (-eg)	The same as the subject form
	II	yigur (guur)	ga- (ga-)	-mu (-mu)	-em (-em)	
	III	yifir (iir)	ø- (ø-) yi- (I-)	-ø, -i (-ø, -i) -ni (-ni)	-ø (-ø)	
Dl.	I	Yigathaw (gadow) in. Yigamaw (gamow) ex	The same as on the left-hand side	intr. -tha···gaw (-da···gow) in. -gu···gaw (-gu···gow) ex.	-thaw (-dow) in. -ma (-mow) ex.	
				tr. -tha···uw (-da···ew) in. -gu···uw (-gu···ew) ex.		
	II	Yigamew (gimew)		intr. -mu···gaw (-mu···gow)	-mew (-mew)	
				tr. -mu···uw (-mu···ew)		
	III	yiyaw (yow)		intr. -ra···gaw (-ra···gow)	-raw (-row)	
				tr. -ra···uw (-ra···ew)		
Pl.	I	Yigathäth (gadäd) in. yigamäth (gamäd) ex.		intr. -tha···gäd (-da···gäd) in. -gu···gäd (-gu···gäd) ex.	-thäth (-däd) in. -mäth (-mäd) ex.	
				tr. -tha···eth (-da···ed) in. -gu···eth (-gu···ed) ex.		
	II	yigameth (gimed)		intr. -mu···gäth (-mu···gäd)	-meth (-med)	
				tr. -mu···eth (-mu···ed)		
	III	yiyäd (yäd)		intr. -ra···gäth (-ra···gäd)	-räth (-räd)	
				tr. -ra···eth (-ra···ed)		

3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND TEMSE-ASPECT MARKERS

3.1. The personal pronoun system is the selfsame as that of Yapese except for the dialectal difference in pronunciation. In Table l, Yapese is shown in parentheses.

3.2. Both pre- and post-positioned forms must be distinguished in accordance with tense-aspect markers, for which we can differentiate primary words (A) as temporal auxiliaries from multi-functioned words (B) such as adverbs, prepositions and so on (see Table 2).

Table 2

	After the pre-pd.	Before the post-pd.
A	-bë (-bë) -maa (-maa) (-ma) -raa-	ka- (ka-) bi- (bääy-) mu- (u-) ø- (ø-) (-raa-)
B		nga (nga) 'to' yugu (yugu) 'already' ri (ri) 'very' maag (m'aag) 'join' la (a) 'before'

If we arrange them according to the function referring to Jensen's terminology (1977b: 195-198, 203-215), we obtain the following (see Table 3).

Table 3

Non-perfect	Future	-raa- (simple) bi- (definite) mu- (habitual)
	Imperfect	-bë (continuous) -maa (habitual)
Neutral		ø-
Perfect	Perfect	ka- (perfective) mu- (habitual)

Their usage is illustrated by the following sentences:

Ga bë marwel.	'You are working.'
Yiyaw bë marwel.	'They two are working.'
Ga maa marwel.	'You usually work.'
Yiyaw maa marwel.	'They two usually work.'
(Ga ma naang.	'You know (it).'[stative] only in Yapese.)
Ga raa marwel.	'You will work.'
Raamu [raam] marwel.	'do.'
Yiyaw raa marwel.	'They two will work.'
Raara [raar] marwel gaw.	'do.'
Kamu [kam] marwel.	'You have worked.'
Kara [kar] marwel gaw.	'They two have worked.'
Bimu marwel.	'You will surely work.'
Bira marwel gaw.	'They two will surely work.'
Mumu marwel.	'You used to work.'
Mura [mir] marwel gaw.	'They two used to work.'
Mu marwel.	'You work (worked).'
Ra marwel gaw.	'They two work (worked).'
Ngamu marwel.	'You are about to work.'
Nagara marwel gaw.	'They two are about to work.'
Yugumu [gum] marwel.	'You work now.' or 'You have already worked.'
Yugura [gir] marwel gaw.	'They two work now.'
Ka rimu marwel.	'You have indeed worked.'
Ka rira marwel gaw.	'They two have indeed worked.'
Magmu marwel.	'You set to work.'
Magra [magar] marwel gaw.	'They two set to work.'
Lamu marwel.	'You work first.'
Lala marwel gaw.	'They two first.'

Examples above concern sentences with intransitive verbs, but the nexts are sampless with transitive verbs:

Ga bë guy.	'You see (it).'

Ga bë guyeg.	'You see me.'
Yiyaw bë guy.	'They two see (it).'
Yiyaw bë guyeg.	'They two see me.'
Kamu guy.	'You have seen (it).'
Kamu guyeg.	'You have seen me.'
Kara guyuw.	'They two have seen (it).'
Kara guyuw yigäg.	'They two seen me.'
Mu guy.	'You see (saw) (it).'
Mu guyeg.	'You see (saw) me.'
Ra guyuw.	'They two see (saw) (it).'
Ra guyuw yigäg.	'They two see (saw) me.'

The use of independent pronouns is limitde within the relative clause, such as:

yigur ni yigur bwäy wu Thonguch	'you who stay at Colania'
Yigur (= i 'personal article' + yigur) ë kamu män nga Thonguch.	'It is you who went to Colonia.'
Yigur (= i + yigur) ë sensey.	'It is you who are a teacher.'

For the last case, the normal expression is *ga ba sensey*, in which *ba* functions as a stative marker by using it with nouns and adjectives.

Notice that a post-positioned subject of the dual and the plural cannot take a post-positioned object suffix; that is, no two suffixes come together.

3.3. The perfective marker *ka-*, probably traceable to the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian particle **ka,* which denotes that 'the idea expressed by word base has been realized or accomplished with regard to him' (Gonda 1952:25), holds an aspectual use. Examples are :

Ka gabul.	'Good night!' = 'It has become tomorrow.'

Ka fël.	'Good day!' = 'It has become nice.' (Greetings on meeting and parting)
Ka manigil ë chiney.	'It's good now.'

The *ka-* can be used as future marker in the principal clause of either an adverbial clause, or a conditional clause as in the following:

Raa methilip, sana ka talimar.	'If at seven, maybe it'll be dark.'

The perfective marker can be used as the imperative as well, as seen in the 'perfect imperative' such as '*Be gone!*' '*Have done!*' in English and '*Itta! itta!*' = '*Be gone!*' in Japanese. Likewise in Ulithian, sa, one of the tense-aspect markers, is characteristic of not only perfectivity, but the imperative:

Xo sa mwongoy.	'You have eaten.' or 'Eat!'

This phenomenon seems to be almost universal as Havers has pointed out (1931: 42), therefore it is unnecessary to call into question whether two different lexical items happen to be homophonous and divide it into *sa* (A) and *sa* (B) (Sohn 1973: 110-115)

3.4. Although *bääy* in Yapese means both 'there is' and 'definite future marker,' *bääy* in the latter meaning changes into *bi-* in Nguluwan, presumably influenced by Ulithian *bwe* 'future marker' (Sohn 1973: 110), for which the Nguluwan pronounciation is usually *be*. This Particle may connect with Chamorro (Western Malayo-Polynesian in the Mariana Islands) *bai* 'future marker for the first person,' or Buli (Eastern Malayo-Polynesian of southern Halmahera in Indonesia) *bo* 'future marker,' and permits reconstruction of the proto-form **be*.

3.5. Verb phrases without a tense-aspect marker are 'neutral' with regard to tense, and such phrases are generally translatable by using the simple past, present, future, or imperative according to either the discourse (context) in which they are uttered or adverbial words such as *fowap* 'yesterday,' or *chiney* 'now' within sentences. Similar instances can be found in Malay ('*kamu makan*' = 'you ate, you are eating, you'll eat, or in Chinese ('*nin chi* [您吃]' = you eat'), as well.

3.6. *nga* also means 'to' as a preposition.

Kagu wän nga Thonguch. 'I've gone Colonia.'

The difference between prepositional 'to' and its inceptive (or ingressive) aspect is not so serious as for them to become merged, because, whereas the meaning ot 'to' indicates a certain direction in space, the meaning of 'to' indicates a certain direction in space, the meaning of 'inceptive' is to point in the direction of the time expected to begin, the common use of directional preposition and future marker is found in Malay (*akan* 'to, future marker'), and in Italian (*per* 'to, be about to'), too.

3.7. In Nguluwan, *ka-* 'perfective' or *nga* 'inceptive' do not become *ku-* or *ngu-* before *gu* 'I' as in Yapese, for which Jensen set up Rule B (*a + gu → /u + gu/*) (1977b: 71, 95). Nevertheless, for phrases with the above-mentioned (B) words, the following phonetic alternations take place as a result of contraction (viz. *crasis*) and assimilation:

yugu + gu → [gug]
yugu + mu → [gum]

yugu + i → [gii] (definite)
yugu + ni → [gin] (indefinite)

The meaning of *yugu*, although summarized as 'further, different, still more' (Jensen 1977b : 304), seems to be similar to the Japanese adverb '*mō*,' which indicates not only the past but also futurity, as in the following examples :

Yugui [gii] marwel. 'He (already) keeps on working (Now he is working).'
'Karewa *mō* hataraiteiru.'

Ka yugui marwel. 'He has already worked (Now he doesn't work.)'
'Karewa *mō* hataraita.'

Other similar usages are:

Yugui tayem.	'It's time now.'	'*Mō jikan-da.*'
Yugui pire.	'It's enough.'	'*Mō takusan-da.*'

Gu ba yathaag yugu reb. 'I want one more.' 'Watashiwa *mō* hitotsu hoshii.'

Both *yugu* and *mō* can be used in the case where a matter is beyond the fiducial point of the speaker's consciousness. Moreover, *yugu* and atransitive verb *yigey* 'add to, put with' are definitely cognate words, although no such derivation exists for Japanese *mō*.

3.8. The imperative is made more polite and gentle by the use of *la* in Nguluwan in the same way as *a* 'priorative marker' in Yapese (Jensen 1977b: 214).

Lamu marwel. 'Please work (singular)!'

On the other hand, a Ulithian particle *le* indicating 'immediateness' can be used also as 'jussive marker' (Sohn 1973: 113, 117).

Xo sa le mwongoy. 'You eat immediately!'
Xo le mwongoy. 'You should eat !' or 'Please eat !'

The irregular phonemic correspondence between Yapese *a* and Nguluwan *la* is probably explainable by the interposition of Ulithian *le*, in so far as the polite imperative is concerned.

4. FOCUS COSTRUCTION

4.1. Focussed sentences are more preferred in the daily talk of Nguluwan than in Yapese; as for examples:

Thonguch ë ka guub riy. 'It is Colonia that I came from.'
Thonguch ë kagu wän riy (ngay). 'It is Colonia that I went to.'
Thonguch ë bway ë bank riy (ngay). 'It is in Colonia that there is a bank.'
Waab ë gu gargël riy (ngay). 'It is in Yap that I was born.'
Re kaybak ney ë gu töy ë muw riy (ngay). 'It is with this adze that I made a canoe.'

The first sentence, for example, is related to the normal sentence *ka guub wu*

Thonguch 'I came (have come) from Colonia,' but the focussed (or topicalized) *Thonguch* comes at the beginning of a sentence dropping the preposition *wu* 'from, at, in,' and either of the impersonal pronouns *riy* 'or it, at it, from it' or *ngay* 'to it' has to be obligatorily added, as it were, anaphorically.

4.2. Parallel expressions can be seen in Ulithian too. Compare the following examples :

Yi sa bwuthox më Thonguch.	'I can from Colonia.'
Thonguch mele yi sa bwuthox yiyang.	'It is Colonia that I came from.'
Yi sa lox Thonguch.	'I went to Colonia.'
Thonguch mele yi sa lox yiyang.	'It is Colonia that I went to.'

Mele, denoting 'this,' can be used as focus marker, while on the other hand, *yiyang*, which is a [+ locational] noun (Sohn 1973 : 196), occurs anaphorically in a commentative phrase often with the preceding *më* 'at, from, to' :

Yi mëlaw më Yap.	'I was born in Yap.'
Yap mele yi mëlaw më yiyang.	'It is in Yap that I was born.'

This topicalization is very close to the Japanese double subject '*-wa* (=*mele*) *-ga*' construction as well, but in the case of Nguluwan, interference with Ulithian should not be ignored.

APPENDIX 1 : Some biological names

In the following are shown some examples. The reader will realize that there are two origins in this sphere too.

	Yapese	Nguluwan	Ulithian
'coconut crab'	ayuy	(yaaf	yaf)
'type of crab'	äfrëq	(gafrëy	xafërë)
'stingray'	(röl	rol)	faay

'flying fish'	(gög	gog)	mongor
'*Lethrinus miniatus*'	(nguruq	nguru)	xösux
'*Gephyroberyx japonicus*'	(nguun	ngun)	moltamwoch
'*Caranx sexfasciatus*'	ngol	(yatham	yatham)
'*Adioryx spinifer*'	yoch	(sara	sara)
'*Naso lituratus*'	irngal	(bilgaley	bwolxaley)
'butterfly fish'	gëëp	(rigirigir	rixrixer)
'true giant taro'	(lääk'	wulak)	bwolox
'false giant taro'	(laqiy	layiy)	fële
'true taro'	(mal	mal)	yööth
'breadfruit tree'	(thow	yithaw)	mäy
'*Asplenium nidus*'	chaath	(rogotaf	roxtaf)
'*Calophyllum inophyllum*'	biyqöch	(säfäng	Ifaluk: sevang)
'*Morinda citrifolia*'	(mangälweg	malwëg)	löl
'*Guettarda speciosa*'	(balaw	balaw)	yuuth
'banyan tree'	(aaw	yaaw)	xulio
'*Polypodium scolopendria*'	goob	yäbab	chichiy

APPENDIX 2 : Comparative basic vocabularies

	Yapese	Nguluwan	Ulithian
1. all	gubin	gabin	paxal
2. ashes	awat	yawat	fëlang
3. bark	keeruq	keru	xiil
4. breast	thuuth	thuuth	thuuth
5. belly	duguniney	thigininey	siiy
6. big	gaaq	gaa	pallëng
7. bird	archëq	yarchëy	määl
8. bite (tr.)	k'ääd	kääth	xusuw
9. black	rungduq	rungthu	rucuppung
10. blood	rachaq	racha	ccha
11. bone	yil	yil	yangayang
12. burn (intr.)	yik'	yiik	xus

13. claw	k'uyung	kuyung	kku
14. cloud	mänileng	tharamey	tharami
15. cold	ulum	wulum	xalefëng
16. come	yib	yiib	bwuthox
17. die (intr.)	yiim'	yiim	mas
18. dog	poos	---	pees
19. drink (tr.)	unum	wunum	yulemi
20. dry	malik'	mälik	ppal
21. ear	teel	tayil	taleng
22. earth	buut'	buut	fayileng
23. eat (tr.)	kaay	kaay	xangi
24. egg	faak	faak	fäthi
25. eye	miit	lanimiit	maat
26. fat	maam	maam	kiriis
27. feather	wul	wul	bwööl
28. fire	nifiy	nifiy	yäf
29. fish	niig	niig	yiix
30. fly (intr.)	changëg	changag	yäl
31. foot	aay	yayiy	pece
32. full	sug	sug	ssëx
33. give	piiq	piy	xalle
34. good	mänigil	manigil	mommay
35. green	---	---	---
36. hair	piy	pey	yällichëmw
37. hand	paaq	pan	xumwoch
38. head	lölug	chig	chiimw
39. hear (tr.)	runggag	ring-ag	rongo
40. heart	gum'irchaq	ramiracha	bwull
41. horn	gagëy	---	---
42. I	gääg	yigäg	ngaang
43. kill (tr.)	liiq	liy	lliy
44. knee	bug	bugun	chimwelpuxuy
45. know (tr.)	naang	naang	xula
46. leaf	yuuw	yuuw	chëë

47. lie (intr.)	mool	mol	yol
48. liver	ääd	yääth	yääs
49. long	n'uw	nuw	lëllay
50. louse	yanuk	yenuk	xuus
51. man	pumoqon	pumwon	maal
52. many	boqor	pire	chölap
53. meat	ufin	yifin	fethëx
54. moon	puul	pul	maram
55. mountain	burey	---	tayyit
56. mouth	l'ugun	langan	yaaw
57. name	fithngan	fithingan	yiith
58. neck	bilel'ugun	bileligin	yuuy
59. new	biqech	beech	täföy
60. nose	p'ethngun	pethung	bwööth
61. not	daa-	thaa-	te
62. one	taqreb	tareb	seew
63. person	chaaq	chaa	yaramat
64. rain	n'uw	lang	yuuth
65. red	roow	roow	chëccha
66. road	woq	wwä	yal
67. root	lik'ngin	wogar	wëxar
68. round	lulbuy	tililbuy	?
69. sand	yaan'	peyan	ppi
70. say (tr.)	yöög	yög	sëër
71. see (tr.)	guy	guy	weri
72. seed	lakath	yawöch	fathax
73. sit (intr.)	pär	pär	marothi
74. skin	yalach	biyech	xiil
75. sleep (intr.)	mool	mol	mäsër
76. small	achig	yachig	wächich
77. smoke	aath	yaath	bwërag
78. stand (intr.)	saak'iy	saakiy	suu
79. star	t'uuf	tuuf	fiis
80. stone	malang	malang	fääs

81. sun	yaal'		yaal		yaal	
82. swim (intr.)	nöng		nöng		yaaf	
83. tail	pachan		pachan		paach	
84. that	-nir, -nëm		-nir, -nëm		-la, -lay, -lwe	
85. this	-ney		-ney		-le	
86. thou	guur		yigur		xeel	
87. three	dalip		thalip		sulow	
88. tongue	balwoth		bulowoth		leew	
89. tooth	nguwol		ngolën		ngii	
90. tree	gak'iy		gëkiy		yirä	
91. two	ruw		ruw		ruwow	
92. walk	yään		yän		tharelox	
93. warm	---		---		---	
94. water	rään		rän		chäl	
95. we	(in.)	(ex.)	(in.)	(ex.)	(in.)	(ex.)
	(dl.) gadow	gamow	yigathaw	yigamaw	---	
	(pl.) gadäd	gamäd	yigathäth	yigamäth	xiich	xaamam
96. what	mang		mang		metha	
97. white	wëchwëch		wechwech		pwech	
98. who	miniq		miniy		yitey	
99. woman	bpin		bpin		fäfel	
100. yellow	mägchöl		rëngarëng		rangarang	

APPENDIX 3 : Nomenclautre of passages into the atoll (see the next page).

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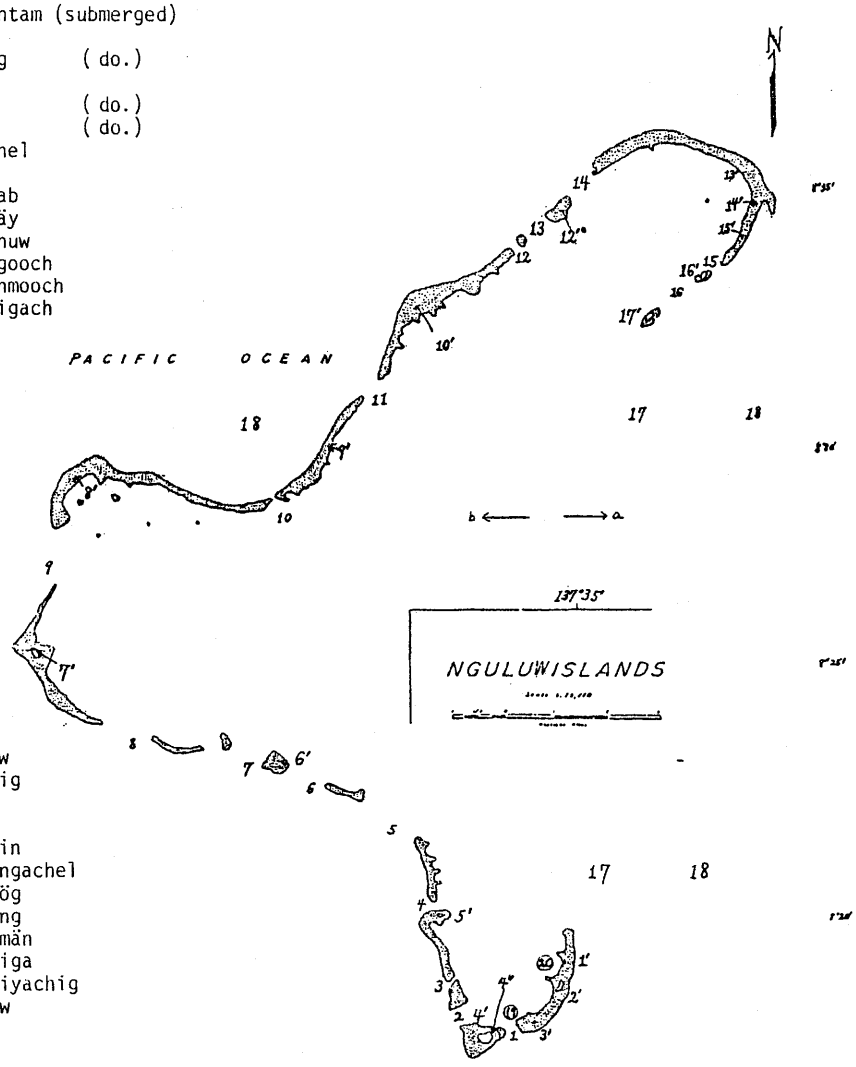
APPENDIX 3

Island & Reef

1'. Thonungantam (submerged)
2'. Wochalug
3'. Yennichig (do.)
4'. Nguluw
4". Yalang (do.)
5'. Lechgol (do.)
6'. Yalangachel
7'. Gapinam
8'. Lolegachab
9'. Wocholeläy
10'. Ligachannuw
11'. Ligachnigooch
12'. Yochamuchmooch
13'. Rurwaneligach
14'. Tapeyap
15'. Giyath
16'. Miseran
17'. Lathaw



Channel

1. Thosorol
2. Thonipalaw
3. Thochigchig
4. Thosorol
5. Tholop
6. Thonugoppin
7. Thoniyalangachel
8. Thonapergög
9. Thoniyarong
10. Thoniyugumän
11. Thubcholniga
12. Thubcholniyachig
13. Thonipalaw
14. Thoniyap
15. Thosorol
16. Thosorol
17. thagaw 'reef not emerged from the sea'
18. rigur, ligach 'open sea'
(19). Liyarafich 'place of the nooth (type of Lethrinus)'
(20). Mareg 'place of the chilibwoth (type of snapper, Aprion virescens)'
a. fathag } 'currents'
b. yothbil

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Chapter

10

Nominals of Fatamanue, Seram Maluku: A Subgrouping Argument in Central Malayo-Polynesian

INTRODUCTION

The Fatamanue language (also called Atamanu) is a vernacular found at Desa Haruru (locally pronounced [fululu]), near Kota Masohi, and at Desa Yalahatan, Kecamatan Amahai, Propinsi Maluku, Indonesia, and is spoken by about 500 persons at Haruru and 700 at Yalahatan. According to *Atlas Bahasa Tanah Maluku* (Language Maps in Maluku) published in 1995, Atamanu is spoken by 1000 persons. One more Atamanu dialect area existed at Desa Awaiya, as found in Wallace's wordlist, but it is said to be now extinct (Collins 1983:38).

Desa Yalahatan was established by settlers from Desa Haruru about two hundred years ago and was put under the control of Desa Tamilow. The name Yalahatan is said to come from the Arabic *Alahatala* (= *Allāh ta'ālā*) 'God Most High,' and traditional customs including *baileu* 'custom-house of Seram' are still practiced there, no longer in Desa Haruru. At present, there is a slight dialect variation between the two villages.

This study is primarily concerned with the Haruru dialect. Fatamanue is classified into one of the languages of Three Rivers, a subgroup of Nunusaku, East Central Maluku, Central Maluku, Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) of the Austronesian language family (Collins 1983:37), which is located between Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) and northeast South Halmahera West New Guinea (SHWNG) languages of the same family.

Fatamanue is genealogically close to the Alune language under the Amalumte group of the Three Rivers languages, though the two languages are not mutually understandable as the examples below show(see Figure 1). Alune is cited from (Yonadab Latue et al.1991):

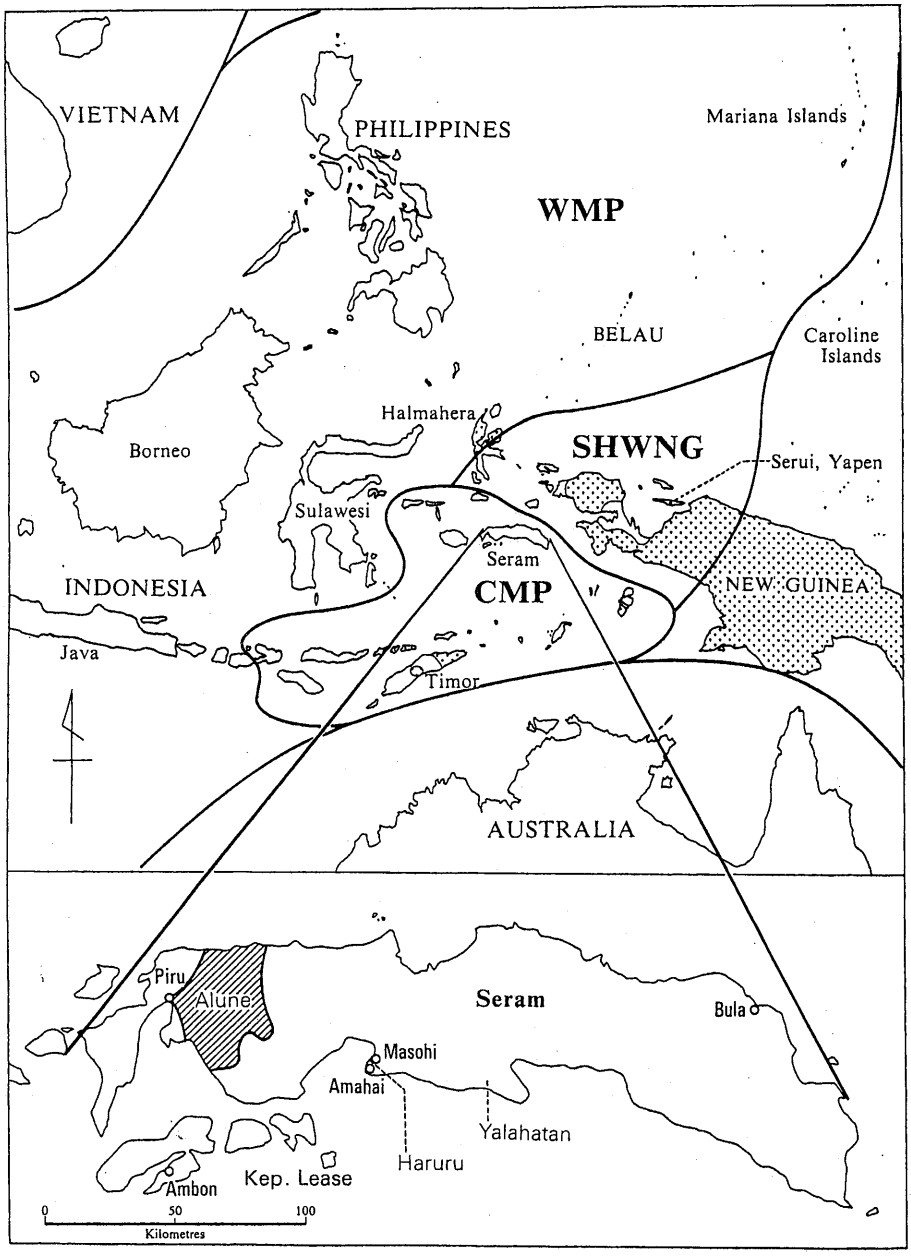

Figure 1 Geographic distribution of languages in Maluku, Indonesia
(: Papuan languages)

Fatamanue: Hahu e-sol we. / Hahu re-mere sol we. 'That pig run already.'
Alune: Apale mere e-naya peneke. (e- : —human: 3rd sg.)

Fatamanue: Uli papa-i i waru-u. 'Uli's father hit me.'
Alune: Uli ama-i i-teta-ku. (i-: +human: 3rd sg.)

Fatamanue: Aiya i-ana lowe-si. 'That king told to them.'
Alune: Kamale mere i-beteke lolo-si.

1. PREVIOUS FATAMANUE MATERIALS

Little has been published on the Fatamanue language. A short vocabulary was collected by Wallace under the name of the Awaiya language (No.37), which is explained to be recently settled there having moved from the inaccessible interior (1869:271). The Awaiya vocabulary in his list reveals some problems: apart from including items improperly, such as *wuri* 'banana' (probably confused with a neighbor Nuauluan *uri* 'banana'), *wana* 'child' (mistaken for *u-ana* 'my child'), *aleani* 'door' (*aria-ni* means 'its key'!), and *lahuwy* 'flower' (unknown, should be *kupane* 'a flower'), the phoneme /r/ is often mistaken for /l/ such as *lalah* 'blood,' *lila* 'bone,' *laini* 'leaf,' *lili* 'post,' *ulane* 'rain,' *lalani* 'road,' *luau* 'two,' etc., which should be *rara*, *ruri*, *rau-ne*, *ri-ri*, *ura-ne*, *rara-ne*, *rua*, respectively, in both dialects, although having the correct notation like *ilahe* 'large' (should be *ela-e*), *waele* 'water,' *teluli* 'egg,' and so on.

Holle's list also contains the Atamano dialect from the Lima languages (*sic*) for No.225, which was collected in 1939 (1981:53-67). However, entries such as *lopone* 'ashes' (Holle 483) or *manuwe* 'bird' (844) are a singular form (should be given as *lopon-* or *manu-* for a noun stem), although correct forms such as *luti-* 'skin' (121), *ape-* 'saliva' (125), etc., are included. Verbal and adjectival stems are almost given their correct forms such as *ninu-* 'drink' (130), *tiwa-* 'know' (1195), *tota-* 'bring' (1291), *naru-* 'high' (1087), or *felu-* 'new' (1153). Collins also refers to some Atamanu vocabulary in his comparative study (1983:43,44,58). But, Holle and Collins did not touch on the phonological and grammatical details as I am going to argue in this chapter.

2. PHONOLOGY

Fatamanue has five vowels with short versus long */i,e,a,o,u/* and sixteen consonants */p,t,k,b,d,g,f,s,h,m,n,ng,r,l,w,y/*. Word stress is phonemic. Fatamanue allows only open syllables except endings with nasals *-m, -n,* and *-ng*.

In some cases the Haruru *f* is pronounced *h* in Yalahatan, such as H.*fala-* : Y.*hala-* 'hand,' H.*fatu-*: Y.*hatu-* 'stone,' H. *fau-*: Y.*hau-* 'smell,' H.*fuei-*: Y.*huae-* 'fruit,' H.*fula-*: Y.*hula-* 'moon,' H.*fulu-*: Y.*hulu-* 'feather,' H.*fusu-*: Y.*husu-* 'bow,' H.*fifi-*: Y.*hihi-* 'tooth,' H.*felu-*: Y.*heru-* 'new,' H.*lopo-*: Y.*laho-* 'ashes,' etc. and the irregular correspondence between H.*rai-* :Y.*lai-* 'leaf' is unexplained.

Fatamanue has two stress patterns as seen in some languages of Maluku. The majority of words are stressed on the penultimate syllable. Some stress falls on the final. But, the stress remains in its original position, even when plural or other suffixes are added. This stress pattern is similar to the Big Nambas's of Vanuatu (Fox 1979). Compare the two Fatamanue pairs below:

ai 'tree': aí 'foot' (cf. u-ái 'my tree': aí-u 'my foot')
ana 'to shoot an arrow': aná 'child' (cf. si ána 'they shoot an arrow' : si aná 'their child')
ata 'four': atá 'stir up' (cf. ata-ne 'chopsticks')
ina 'mother': iná 'to sting' (cf. ina-a 'mothers')
isa 'one': isá 'to throw'
mata 'to die': matá 'an eye'
nia 'snake': niá 'to seek'
uru 'hard, severe': urú 'rice'
utu 'louse': utú 'happiness'

An unpredictable stress pattern is seen in some Austronesian languages besides Big Nambas, such as the Philippine and Formosanlanguages of Western Malayo-Polynesian. But while it is difficult to find the regularity of stress correspondences among these languages, it iscorrect to assume that languages that have phonemic stress might developed it secondarily some time after they split off from most of their other relatives (Lynch 1998:82).

3. NON-AUSTRONESIAN SUBSTRATUM

Capell suggested eleven main points in which Papuan languages may be contrasted with Austronesian languages, treating as the former as if it were grouped under a particular typology (1969:65-67). Wurm also mentioned that noun class systems are often manifested by a two-gender system in Trans-New Guinea Phylum, or a multiple class system in Nor-Pond Subphylum and in Leonhard Schultze Subphylum (1982:58). As far as Fatamanue is concerned, Capell's type 3 (i.e., number and case may be marked in nouns) and type 4 (i.e., gender and/or class is liable to be present) are involved. The Fatamanue free pronouns are as follows:

		Sing.	Plur.
1st	incl.	Yau	ite
	excl.		yami
2nd		yale	imi
3rd		ire (+human)	sire/si
		re (-human)	
		i (indefinite)	

The form of the third-person singular is distinguished between human beings, non-human beings such as animals, plants, and things, and non-defined (or impersonal) subjects. *i* functions as a predicate marker when the subject is a singular noun, and *si* for the plural subject. It is typically Melanesian.

Interestingly enough, Fatamanue has a gender-like classification for color categories: *mite-* 'black' and *mara-* 'red' belong to 'man' colors, and *puti-* 'white,' *lala-* 'blue,' *malaria-* 'spotted,' *poro-* 'yellow' to 'woman' colors. These categories are not linguistic, but are reflected especially in the folk classification of fish.

As in most Oceanic languages, Fatamanue also shows a distinction between inalienable and alienable possession. Inalienable possession involves suffixation of pronominal forms to nouns referring to kinship excluding descendents, or parts of the body excluding *head-hair*; alienable possession involves other types of nouns in which the pronominal forms are prefixed to nouns. This categorical division does not coincide with Collins'statement: in most Central Maluku languages, head-hair, fingernails and veins are alienable nouns, but body-hair, bones and blood are

inalienable (1983:27).

4. FORM AND FOMATION OF NOMINALS

In this chapter I discuss the form and formation of nominals of Fatamanue focusing the next five categories.

4.1. Alienable/inalienable possession

Fatamanue has the following possessive constructions:

Inalienable *fala* 'hand' by a possessive suffix.

		Sing.	Plur.
1st	incl.	yau fala-u	ite fala-ma
	excl.		yami/yam fala-ma
2nd		yale fala-m	imi/mi/im fala-mi
3rd		ire fala-i (+human)	sire fala-si
		re fala-i (−human)	
		i fala-i (indefinite)	

Alienable *ana* 'child'; *luma* 'house' by a possessive prefix.

		Sing.	Plur.
1st	incl.	yau u-ana; u-luma	ite amana (<ama-ana); ama-luma
	excl.		yami/yam mi-ana; mi-luma
2nd		yale mu-ana; mu-luma	imi/mi/im mu-ana; mu-luma
3rd		ire ni-ana; ni-luma	sire si-ana; si-luma
		re ni-ana; ni-luma	
		i ni-ana; ni-luma	

In both cases the free pronoun is used pleonastically before the combination as seen in the above. This double possessive form is found also in the Austronesian languages of the Maluku and New Guinea regions, i.e., Buli, Waropen, Serui, etc. of SHWNG languages and Motu of the Papuan Tip subgroup of the Western

Oceanic group, and others. This double possessive spreads from the Papuan languages of Timor (i.e.,Bunak), Indonesia, until the languages of New Guinea. As a whole, this double use is a result of the combination of Austronesian and Papuan elements, as Capell pointed out (1944-45:32).

Fatamanue has no special categorical classifiers, as are found generally in the languages of Island Melanesia including SHWNG, and this is a fundamental characteristic in which CMP languages differ from SHWNG ones.

Next are examples from Serui, a language of SHWNG spoken on Yapen Island located in Cenderawasih (= Geenvink) Bay of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Inalienable possession for some body parts is marked with obligatory possessive suffixes, and the pronominal forms are prefixed to nouns, except for the singular. Contrast the following (data collected at Jayapura in 1982):

		Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st	incl.	-hu	tu--mi	to--mi	ta--mi
	excl.		au--mi	anto--mi	ame--mi
2nd		-mu	mu--mi	munto--mi	me--mi
3rd		-ne	u--mi	ito--mie.--mi	

Nouns which belong to the set of alienably possessed nouns are expressed by using the categorical classifier *ne* (etymologically the same as a third-person suffix), which is suffixed for the plural.

		Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st	incl.	ne-hu	tu-ne	to-ne	ta-ne
	excl.		au-ne	anto-ne	ame-ne
2nd		ne-mu	mu-ne	munto-ne	me-ne
3rd		ne-	u-ne	ito-ne	e-ne

Thus: *ure-hu* 'my eye,' *nehu munu* 'my house,' *nehu indai* 'my father,' and *fi ne-hu* 'that which I possess,' etc.

In Serui there is a three-way distinction between singular, dual, and plural nu ers belonging to the commonest pattern of Oceanic languages, which start from the SHWNG languages including Biak, Tarpia, Tobati, etc., of Irian Jaya, Indonesia.[1]

4.2. Pluralization for nouns

Nouns in Austronesian languages are invariable in form. However, there are exceptions in some languages in Polynesia and Melanesia. For example, most Anejom nouns are capable of showing a distinction between singular and non-singular by deleting the singular marker (Lynch 1982:103).

Most Fatamanue nouns show a distinction between singular and plural. There are six groups for number-making systems. In the following list stems having stress on the final are indicated only for the singular. The Proto-Austronesian (PAN) forms are referred to (Wurm and Wilson 1975). Note that **R* is a palatal fricative [γ], **h* is equivalent to **q*, and to **h*.

(Abbreviation used in the list: PMP: Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, POC: Proto-Oceanic, PAMS: Proto-Ambonese, PMLS: Proto-Malaitan, PPN: Proto-Polynesian, and Mal.: Malay)

	Sing.	Plur.	PAN
1) -zero/-a group :			
wood	ai-	ai-a	*kayu/*'ai (PMLS)
tail	alu-	alu-	
child	aná-	ana-	*anak/*ana' (PAMS)
eel	apaté-	apate-	
dog	asú-	asu-	*asu
cassowary	asuari-	asuari-	(Mal.kasuwari)
adze	ate-	ate-	
pig	fafu-	fafu-	*babuy/*vavu(y) (PAMS)
rice grain	fala-	fala-	(Mal. beras)
hand	falá-	fala-	*palaj 'palm'
trunk	fatái-	fatai-	*batang
stone	fatú-	fatu-	*batu/*vatu (PAMS)
mouth	fifi-	fifi-	*bibiR 'lips'/*vivi (PAMS)
milkfish	folo-	folo-	
betelnut	fuá-	fua-	*buhaq 'fruit'/*vua (PAMS)
fruit	fuéi-	fuei-	
hair	fula(wái)-	fula(wai)-	*bulu/*vulu (PAMS)
foam	fusi-	fusi-	*buja/*buda (PAMS)

boat	haká-	haka-	*bangkaq/*waka (PAMS)
stingray	harí-	hari-	*paRi/*pari (PAMS)
horn	hikurí-	hikuri-	
seed	hini-	hini-	*beniq
wing	ihurini-[2]	ihurini	
mother	ina-	ina-	*ina
meat	isi-	isi-	*bizigo/*vidigo (POC)
butterfly	kailói-	kailoi-	
trousers	katá-	kata-	*kata (PAMS)
clothes	lafi-	lafi-	*lambar 'fabric'
plate	lai-	lai-	
sago palm	lapiá-	lapia-	*rumbiya/*lebia (PAMS)
mudskipper	lasiako-	lasiako-	
finger	lati-	lati-	*zari
root	lamuti-	lamuti-	*Ramut/*ramut (PAMS)
house	luma-	luma-	*Rumaq/*ruma (PAMS)
skin	luti-	luti-	*kulit
wife	(ma)fina-[3]	(ma)fina-	*binay/*mavina(y) (PAMS)
rat	malafa-	malafa-	*lavaw/*malavaw(PAMS)
egg	(man)telulí-	(man)teluli-	*teluR/*telur (PAMS)
husband	manuwei-	manuwei-/manuway-	
knife	masaari-	masaari-	
herring	mate-	mate-	
fat	miná-	mina-	*minyak/*mina (PAMS)
teeth	nise-	nise-	*ngisi (PAMS)
snake	nia-	nia-	*nwaa (PMLS)
island	nusa-	nusa-	*nusa
gall	olu-	olu-	*peju/*pelu (PAMS)
star	ona-	ona-	
sago cake	paú-	pau-	
fog, smoke	poui-	poui-	*kabut/*kopu (POC)
blood	rará-	rara-	*DaRaq/*dara (PAMS)
liver	(ri)atá-	(ri)ata-	*qatay
post	riri-	riri-	*DiRi/*diri (PAMS)

needlefish	seru-	seru-	
cat	siá-	sia-	*siga (PAMS)
breadfruit	sune-	sune-	
nipple	susú-	susu-	*susu
jackfruit	tafelá-	tafela-	
feces	(ta)tai	(ta)tai-	*tahi/*tai (PAMS)
egg	telulí-	telulí-	*teluR/*telur (PAMS)
belly	tiá-	tia-	*tiyan/*tia (PAMS)
lake	tifú-	tifu-	
spear	tua-	tua-	*tumbak/*tuba'(PAMS)
musk deer	tuitúi-	tuitui-/tui-	
tree	uéi-	uei-	
orange	umusí-	umusi-	
goat	une-	une-	
fire	usa-	usa-	
heart	usu-	usu-	*pusuq/*pusu(PAMS)
louse	utu-	utu-	*kutu
sago beater	wetí-	weti-	
2) -zero/-ma group :			
foot	aí-	ai-ma	*kaki/*'ae (PMLS)
loin	awá-	awa-	*awa (PAMS)
father	ama-	ama-	*ama
neck	enu-	enu-	*enu (PAMS)
feather	fulú-	fulu-	*bulu/*vulu (PAMS)
intestines	futuá-	futua-	*bituka/vatuka(PAMS)
shoulder	mamalá-	mamala-	*abaRa
eye	matá-	mata-	*mata (PMP)
voice	na-	na-	
bone	rurí-	ruri-	*DuRi/*duri(PAMS)
nail	taríi-	tarii-	*tadigi (PAMS)
ear	tirina-[4]	tirina-	*telinga/*taringa(?PAMS)
knee	tufalu-	tufalu-	*tuhud/*tulu(PAMS)
head	ulu-	ulu-	*ulu
face	wara-	wara-	*paras

3) -e/-a group :			
flesh	amu-e	amu-a	
arrow	arú-	aru-	
lump	la-	la-	
mosquito	manisí-	manisi-	
bird, chick	manu-	manu-	*manuk
salt	tasí-	tasi-	*tasik 'salt water'
flame	uerí-	ueri-	
4) -le/-la group :			
saliva	ape-le	ape-la	*ibeR
earthworm	fiá-	fia-	
bow	fusú-	fusu-	*busuR/*vusur(PAMS)
mat	ilo-	ilo-	
forest	ipé-	ipe-	
flyingfish	kewú-	kewu-	
iron	mamó-	mamo-	*momol (PAMS)
cuscus	maré-	mare-	
prawn	mitá-	mita-	
night, black	mite-	mite-	*maite (PAMS)
coconut	niyé-	niye-	*nyiuR/*niwer(PAMS)
custom-house	osá-	osa-	
wind	uoí-	uoi-	
seed-breadfruit	ulu-	ulu-	*kulur
river, water	waé-	wae-	*wayeR/*wayer
5) -ne/-na group :			
fish	iá-ne	ia-na	*ikan
smell	fau-	fau-	*bahu
gold	fulawá-	fulawa-	*bulaw/*vulawan(PMS)
flower	kupá-	kupa-	*kembang 'bloom'
sand	lasá-	lasa-	
ashes, dust	lopó-	lopo-	*Dabuh/*ndapu(POC)
cloud	meré-[5]	mere-	
name	nalá-	nala-	*ngajan/*ngala(PAMS)
body	patá-	pata-	*badan

insect fly	pepé-	pepe-	
road	rará-	rara-	*dalan
leaf	rau-	rau-	Dahun/*dau(PAMS)
mount	saré-	sare-	*sakay/*saka(y)(PAMS)
earth, land	tomó-	tomo-	*tempet 'place'
herb	tupu(wá)-	tupu(wa)-	*tubuq 'grow,medical herb'
rain	ura-	ura-'long rain'	*quzan/*udan(PAMS)
banana	uta-	uta-	*punti/*pudi(PAMS)

6) -te/-ta group :

box	bué-	bue-	*peti
mangrove	laha-	laha-	
mojarra	mirá-	mira-	
ant	osó-	oso-	
hornbill	sopo-	sopo-	
vein	ula-	ula-	*uRat/*urat (PAMS)
cord, band	walé-	wale-	*waret (PAMS)

The next has no plural forms:

rainbow	(ta)fará-	---	*fula (PMLS)
south	fala-te	---	*baRat 'west'/*varat(PAMS)
moon	fulá-	---	*bulan/*lau(PAMS)
left side	kale	---	*ku-bali (PAMS)
sky	lanté	---	*langit
sun	liamatái-[6]	---	
tongue	mei-	---	*maya(POC)/*mea(PMLS)
nose	nua-	---	*nora (PMLS)
sea	olou(-fafa)-[7]	---	*lahud/*lau(PAMS)
thousand	rihu-	---	*ribu/*livu (PAMS)
east	timu-le	---	*timuR/*timur(PAMS)
happiness	utú-	---	(Mal. untung)
right side	wana-ne	---	*wanan/*ku-wana(PAMS)

The word for 'person' is made a distinction between *alesei* and *tumata*, the

former being used only for a single person, but the latter derived from POC **tam(w)ata* being used for more than one person.

Generally, the single expresses the plural by simply adding the suffix *-a* as in Group 1. On the other hand, most human and body part names take *-ma* for the plural as in Group 2, which will relate to the pronominal plural suffix. It is evident that most items in Group 5 are derived from an original form with the final consonants *-n*, *-ng*, or otherwise at least from the word accompanied by the possessive suffix PAN **-nya* : POC **-na* 'its,' as in *lopo-ne* 'dust' derived from POC **ndapu-na* 'its dust.' We can point out that proto-forms which end with **-k*, **-t*,**-l*~**-R*~**-r* have a tendency to become Group 3, Group 6, and Group 4, respectively. These residual forms must prove in which final phonemes the proto-forms have been involved. There is a similar case in the Samoan (a Polynesian language) morphology, in which the so-called passive suffix *-ia* is preceded by a consonant like *-fia*,*-g*[ŋ]*ia*,*-lia*,*-mia*,*-sia*,*-tia*, or -'*ia*. In most cases, this consonant is explained as 'thematic,' i.e., a consonant which belonged originally to the stem or simple word (Churchward1951: 71,122).

4.3. Compounding

In addition, nouns in Fatamanue may be formed by compounding.

1) Noun + noun:

uoi timu-le	(wind - east)	'an east wind'
fala wana-ne	(hand - right)	'the right hand'
fala-m wana-ne		'your right hand'
fuei uru	(fruit - rice)	'a grain of rice'
rau uei	(leaf - tree)	'the leaf of tree'
riri luma	(post - house)	'a pillar of a house'

There is little to be said regarding the morphology, as the above examples show. The modifier normally follows the modificand, but when the order of the words is inverted, the singular modificand as a final element usually takes the possessive suffix *-i*.

lia-mata-i	(day? - eye)	'the sun'
fafu mina-i	(pork - fat)	'lard'

fafu mina-mina		'much lard'
wae-le fatai(<fatai-i)	(water-trunk)	'a river'
wae-la fatai		'tributary streams'
niye-le fatai	(coconut - trunk)	'a coconut trunk'
niye-le fatai-a		'coconut trunks'
umusi fuei(<fuei-i)	(orange - fruit)	'an orange'
umusi-a fuei-a		'oranges'

2) Noun + adjective:

umusi fuei masi	(orange-fruit-sweet)	'sweet orange'
umusi fuei-a masi		'sweet oranges'
yau u-umusi fuei		'my orange'
yau u-umusi-a fuei-a		'my oranges'
yau u-umusi fuei masi		'my sweet orange'
wae otu	(water- hot)	'hot water'
wae o-otu-ne	(water- very hot)	'boiling water'
ate ete	(adze - sharp)	'a sharp adze'
ate ete-ete		'a very sharp adze'
ate-a ete-ete		'sharp adzes'
oso-ta mite-na	(ant - black)	'black ants'
fula-ne apou-apou	(moon- very round)	'a full moon'

3) Noun + verb:

wae sona	(water - flow)	'a stream'
wae ninu	(water - drink)	'drinking water'
liamatai saa	(sun - come out)	'a sunrise'
tomo muturu	(place - sleep)	'a bed'

4.4. Pluralization for adjectives

Adjectives also behave like nouns basically as seen in the above examples. They take the same suffixes for pluralization as in nouns, and occur in the last element of a compound.

	Sing.	Plur.	PAN
1) -zero/-a group :			
new	felu	felu-	*baRu/*veru (PAMS)

thick	fetélu	fetelu-/fetelu-ta	
thin	mimintang	mimintang-	
rotten	pulu	pulu-	*buRuk/*buru (PAMS)

2) -zero/-ma group :

There seems to be no example for this group, since the application of the suffix *-ma* is, I believe, restricted in inalienable nouns.

3) -e/-a group :

hard, big	ela-e	ela-a	
low, short	lolo-e[8]	lolo-	
little, small	olie	oli-	*doi (PAMS)
high, tall,	naru-e	naru-	*nadu (PAMS)
shallow	rolo-e	rolo-	

4) -le/-la group :

heavy	aipi-le	aipi-la	
green, blue	lalá-	lala-	
yellow	poró-	poro-	*felo (PPN)
white	puti-	puti-	*putiq/*buti (PAMS)

5) -ne/-na group :

dry	mamala-ne	mamala-na	
black, night	mité-	mite-	*qitem/*maite (PAMS)
old	tawái-	tawai-	*tuwa/*matua (PAMS)
true	tui-	tui-	*tuqu

6) -te/-ta group :

red	maraná-[9]	marana-ta	*ma-iRaq/*maira(PAMS)

However, in comparison with nouns, there are fairly irregular, unbalanced, or non-plural forms such as:

Long (time)	apú	---	
far	(a)ráu-e	---	*zahuq/*dau (PAMS)
near	amasu	amasu-ta	
all	efu-e	---	

long (distance)	etéi	---	
many	feá	fea-na	
bad	kakápa	---	*kavaya (PAMS)
sour	maalim	---	*maling(POC)/*makalinu(PAMS)
soft, tender	male	---	*malu(PAMS)
sweet	masi	---	*mamis/*manis
hot	otú	---	
slippery	parisina	---	
cold	peta	---	
hard, severe	uru	---	*keras

Some undergo complete reduplication:

round	apou-le	apou-apou
sharp	ete	ete-ete

4.5. Demonstative adjectives

Finally, there is a closed class of demonstratives. The list below is complete[10]:

		Sing.	Plur.
nea	(+human)	ire	sire
	(−human)	re-ire	
far	(+human)	i-mere	si-mere
	(−human)	re-mere	

Examples:

1) Yau liye ano-lia i-mere mei Fululu.
I look pl:child-small +human:that at Haruru
'I looked those children at Haruru.'

2) Asu re-ire i ete fala-u.
dog −human:this linker bite sg:hand-my
'This dog bite my hand.'

3) Tumata si-mere riata-si ira.

people +human:those liver-their sick
'Those people have a liver disease.'

4) Wau-te re-mere yau ana-(e)-i.
deer —human:that I shoot-(directive marker)-sg.object
'I shot that deer = That deer was shot by me.'

CONCLUSION

Although the present state of knowledge of most languages in Seram, even restricted to the languages of Three Rivers (i.e., Proto-Northwest Seram level), is still much too incomplete for reconstructing proto-forms, Fatamanue words shown without proto-forms in this chapter can be compared as surrounding language data accumulate in the future.

Fatamanue is no more than one of the CMP languages spoken in Seram, and the main evidence supporting the existence of CMP is hitherto based on the assumption of I. Dyen's lexicostatistical analysis or the phonological innovations from PAN (1965). The status of the CMP subgroup of Proto-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian is said to be uncertain (Lynch 1998:47). Moreover, one important problem remaining to be solved is said to be the boundary between the CMP and SHWNG subgroups (Tryon 1995: 34). Especially, the question may be raised, apart from a close approximation to Ambonese languages (PAMS), as to why Fatamanue and Malaitans (PMLS) have some of the more striking lexical similarities, as seen for items 'tree,' 'snake,' 'foot,' 'rainbow,' 'nose,' and so on.

In this chapter I argued that Fatamanue itself shows Melanesian phonological and grammatical features, presumably caused by a non-Austronesian substratum, and also argued the genealogical reason for it being situated in the middle of WMP and SHWNG.

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NOTES

1. In this sense, Buli, Sawai, etc. of the south Halmahera languages are exceptional to the SHWNG languages, because a three-way distinction is not found.
2. *ihurini* is normally pronounced [ihurin].
3. *mafina* is used both for referring and for calling.
4. *tarina* is an irregular form for **telinga*.
5. *merene* is normally pronounced [mereni].
6. *lia-* is unexplained. 'day' is called *petu*.
7. The present folk-etymology analyzes *olou-fafa* into 'at (= *olou*) the sea (= *fafa*)'!
8. *lolo-e/lolo-a* are normally pronounced [loloke/loloka].
9. *maranate* is normally pronounced [marnate].
10. Adverbs of location related to demonstratives are as follows: 'here' *me-ire*; 'there' *re-ma* (*-re*); 'there (near hearer)' *me-rée*.

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Chapter

11

The Phonological Systems of Tarama-jima and Minna-jima Dialects in the Ryukyu Islands

INTRODUCTION

Tarama Island (Tarama-jima) is located in the Ryukyu Islands at approximately 24° north latitude and 125° east longitude, almost halfway between the islands of Miyako and Ishigaki. It is about 8 kilometers wide east to west and 6 kilometers long north to south. It is composed of the districts of Shiokawa and Nakasuji, which are separated by a road 5 meters wide that runs down the middle of the island. Minna Island (Minna-jima) is located 10 kilometers north of Tarama Island. It is 1.5 kilometers wide and 0.7 kilometers long, and it is governed as a single district of the village of Tarama. Both islands are included in Miyako District. The total populations in the December 1959 census were 3,040 for Tarama and 141 for Minna, but since then, ever-increasing numbers of residents have left the islands. Minna has only one family of 7. The only published studies of the Tarama dialect are fragmentary reports by Nakasone (1961: 20-43) and Kitamura (1960: 94-105), and to this point, there have been no published studies of Minna at all. Due to their geography, they are still considered marginal areas of Okinawa Prefecture, and this has hindered surveys until now.

In the following study, I apply labels to lexical items that are used exclusively in one or more dialects. Thus, items from Tarama, Minna, Shiokawa, and Nakasuji are labeled T., M., S., and N., respectively.

There are virtually no lexical or grammatical differences between the Tarama and Minna dialects, but they are almost completely different phonologically. (It is particularly worth noting, given the geographical position of Minna, that the central vowels characteristic of the Sakishima Islands are not found there.) However, the entire phonological system of Minna is included within that of Tarama, so I have decided to describe the two dialects together.

1. PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

1.1. Tarama and Minna have the following inventory of phonemes.

Consonants: /p, b; t, d; k, g; s, c, z; š, č, ž; m, n; r; h, '/

Semivowels: /j, w/

Vowels:

/a, i, i̱, u, e, o/ (T.)

/a, i, u, e, o/ (M.)

Syllabic (mora) consonants:

/L, M, N, Q/ (T.)

/N, Q/ (M.)

If I symbolize consonants, semivowels, and vocalic elements as /C/, /S/, and /V/, I can describe the mora structures of these dialects as follows:

/CV/, /CSV/, /CVV/, and /CSVV/. (See the discussion about the phonetic feature /i̱ / of Miyako dialacts including Tarama in Appendix 1 and 2.)

1.1.1. The /CV/ pattern does not allow combinations of /t,d,n,r/ with /i̱ /.

1.1.2. The occurrence of [e] in the /CV/ pattern is extremely rare, but Tarama exhibits the following examples, which makes it noteworthy in the Miyako Island group. This combination is completely absent from the Minna dialect. In both Tarama and Minna, [e] appears in the /CVV/ pattern, while [o] appears only in the /CVV/ pattern.

T. /peruma/ [peruma] : M. /pamagaN/[pamagaŋ] 'a crab (*Ocypode cordimana*)'

T. /magare/ [magare] : M. /magara/ [magara] 'intestines'

T. /žuumaaše/ [ʤu:ma:ʃe] : M. /zuhunagi/ [dzuɸunagi] 'wagtail' [1]

1.1.3. In the /CSV/ pattern, /m, k,'/ may appear. In addition, the /w/ that appears in the /S/ position may occur only in the pattern /'wV/.

The only occurrences of /m, k/ with /j/ are the following:

/mjuui/ [mju:i] 'niece, nephew'

/mjuutubaiaL/ [mju:tabaka⌊] 'divorce'

/kjuu/ [kju:] 'today'

1.1.4. The patterns /CVV/ and /CSVV/ both represent series of vowels, but when I look at /CV/ and /CVV/ side by side, it is convenient to offer the following phonological interpretation (Hattori 1961:12-15).

T. /huka'iM/ [ɸukaim] : M. /huka'iN/ 'deep sea'
/'agai/[agai/ 'Well!'
T. /ku'usɨ/ [kuusɨ] : M. /ku'usu/ [kuusu] '(small + bull) calf'
/kuuN/ [ku:ɲ] 'don't come'
T. /'uhu'u'ja/ '(grand + father) uncle'
/huu/ 'to eat'
T. /'apa'ɨ/ [apa^{z}ɨ] : M. /'apa'ii/ [apai:] 'unflavored rice-ball'
T. /paɨ / [pa^{z}ɨ] : M. /pai/ [pai] 'fly, insect'

In Shiokawa and Nakasuji, there is a contrast between the so-called long vowels and diphthongs, but for the sake of simplicity, I can describe them both as /CVV/.

S. and M. /'oo/ [o:] : N. /'au/ [au] 'blue'
S. /žoošaL/ [ʤo:ʃa:ɭ] : M. /žooša'a'i/ [ʤo:ʃa:i] : N./žauša'aL/ [ʤauʃa:ɭ]
'to be good'
S. and M. /poo/ [po:]: N. /pau/ [pau] 'to creep'
S. and M. /tookee/:N./taukee/ 'alone'
S. and M. /'jurui/ [jurui]: N. /'jurii/ [juri:] 'hearth'

Note, however, that they share the following words in common:

/ku'i/ 'voice,' /nibu'i/ [nibui] 'throat,' /u'ibi/ 'finger,' etc.

Furthermore, in Shiokawa and Minna, the plain forms of the verbs that correspond diachronically to the quadrigrade *ha-gyō* verbs appear as both /'uu/ and /'oo/, and it is useful for explanatory purposes.

S. and M. /'uu/ /'oo/ 'to quarrel'
S. and M. /'aruu/ /'aroo/ 'to wash'

S. and M. /baruu/ /baroo/ 'to laugh'

Note, however, that 'to buy' appears only as /koo/ and that /kuu/ is not permitted.

1.1.5. /r/ appears at the beginning of a word only in the example /ruu/ 'oar.'

1.1.6. [s] does not appear except in the syllables /sɨ/ Tarama or /su/ Minna. The following are the extremely rare exceptions:

/saatii/ [sa:ti:] 'with all one's strength'

S. and M. /soo/ [so:] : N. /sau/ [sau] 'rod'

M. /saši/ [saʃi] 'ladle'

Note, however, that [s] does appear in the geminate consonant pattern /QsV/.

1.1.7. [ts] appears only in the syllables T. /cɨ/ and M./cu/.

1.1.8. [dz] appears only in the syllables T. /zɨ/ and M. /zu/.

Note, however, that [dz] does appear in the geminate consonant pattern /QzV/.

1.1.9. /d~ž/ [d~ʤ] can be functional variants or *fakultative Variationen* (Trubetzkoy 1958:42-43):

/maaduN/ [ma:duŋ] or /maažuN/[ma:ʤuŋ] 'together'

/dani/[dani] or / žani/ [ʤani] 'seed'

/puuduu/ [pu:du:] or /puužuu/ [pu:ʤu:] 'tobacco pouch'

1.1.10. /L/ represents [l̩], a syllabic retroflex lateral unusual even in the Ryukyu dialects, although the same sound has been observed in the Sawada dialect on Irabu. On Minna, [l̩] invariably corresponds to [i], [2] and it can occur in positions other than the initial.

T. /nuuL/ [nu:l̩] : M. /nuu'i/ 'to go up'

T. /naL/ [nal̩] : M. /na'i/ 'fruit, to become, to sound'

T. /'jaLtuda/ [jal̩tuda] : M. /ja'ituda/ 'brother-in-law'

T. /tuLna/ [tul̩ɳa] : M. /tu'ina/ 'Don't take!' 'Do you take?' (c.f. ***1.2.2.***)

T. /tuLdusɨtaL/ [tul̩dusɨtal̩] : M. /tu'idusuta'i/ 'have taken (polite form)'

T. /kaLLa/ [kal̩l̩a] [2] : M. /ka'iša/ [kaiʃa] 'lightness'

1.1.11. /M/ represents [m], which is found only on Tarama and is in phonemic contrast with /N/. On Minna, [m] corresponds to /N/ [n, ŋ], which naturally gives rise to such homonyms as those listed below. /M/ can occur in any position.

T. /Mkee/ [mke:] : M. /Nkee/ 'toward'
T. /NkeeN/ [ŋke:ŋ] : M. /NkeeN/ 'long ago'
T. /NdaNkee/ [ndaŋke:] : M. /NdaNkee/ 'to where?'

T. /kaM/ : M. /kaN/ 'god, upper part'
T. /kaN/ : M. /kaN/ 'crab'
T. /'amaM/ : M./'amaN/ 'don't knit'
T. /'amaN/ : M./'amaN/ 'hermit crab'
T. /QsaM/ [ssam] : M. /QsaN/ 'louse'
T. /QsaN/ [ssaŋ] : M. /QsaN/ 'don't know'
T. /kɨM/ [k^{s}ɨm] : M. /kiN/ 'a plant (*Panicum miliaceum*)'
T. /kɨN/ [k^{s}ɨŋ] : M. /kiN/ 'clothes'

Compare: T. /kɨmu/: M. /kimu/ 'heart, liver' and T. /kɨnuu/ : M. /kinuu/ 'yesterday.'

It is quite unusual to have to posit the phoneme /M/, even in the Ryukyu dialects, and it is therefore an important point to note.

1.1.12. /N/ represents [n,ŋ], and it may occur in any position.

/Nkagiwaari/ 'Be pleasing to eat'
M. /NN/ [m:][3] : T. /MM/ [m:] 'a plant (*Ipomoea batatas*), to be ripe, to step on'
M. /'ikiNdoo/ [ikindo:] : T. /'ikɨMdoo/ [ik^{s}ɨmdo] 'Let's go.'

1.1.13. /Q/ represents a glottal stop, which turns the following consonant into a geminate consonant. It is syllabic and may stand at the beginning of a word. However, it appears only before the following consonants: /b/, /t/, /d/, /s/,/c/, /z/, / š/, /č/, /ž/, and /h/.

1.1.14. /QbV/ is pronounced either [vvV] or [ʊʊV], and /bu/ is pronounced either [βu] or [bu]. [v] never occurs as a single consonant, and it is not recognized as a phoneme. /'w/ is sometimes pronounced as [w], [β], or [vv] as well. [4]

/'w[w/β/ vv]eebuL/ 'to be driving'
M. /'w[w/β/ vv]eeQta/ 'have had planted'

1.1.15. /QhV/ is pronounced [ffV], and /h/ itself is pronounced [ɸ]. (The glottal fricative [h] does not exist on Tarama or Minna.) [f] never occurs as a single consonant and is not recognized as a phoneme. /QhV/ and /hV/ are often stylistic allophones of one another, probably because [f] is a sharper sound than [ɸ] and makes a stronger auditory impression (Hattori 1957: 90).

/Qhu/ [ffu] or /hu/ [ɸu] 'black'
/Qhuu/ [ffu:] or /huu/ [ɸu:] 'to eat'
T. /QhanNkɨ/ [ffaŋkˢɨ] (/haNkɨ/ [ɸaŋkˢɨ]) 'to bite'

1.1.16. The contrast between long vowels and diphthongs was described in ***1.1.4.***, but there are also some examples like the following that do not quite seem to follow any discernible laws of phonological correspondence.

S. /'jaanzɨkɨ/ [ja:nadzɨkˢɨ] : N. /daanazɨkɨ/ [da:nadzɨkˢɨ] (/daNnazɨkɨ/ [dannadzɨkˢɨ])
'to bar one's way'
S. /šutiɕɨ/ [ʃutitsɨ] : N. /šutaɕɨ./ [ʃutatsɨ] 'cycad'
S. /'umuɕɨ/ [umutsɨ]: N. /'umaɕɨ/ 'fire'
S. /'ičuhu/ [itʃuɸu] : N. /'ičahu/ [itʃaɸu] 'cousin'

Both Shiokawa and Nakasuji speakers consider each other to have 'a funny accent.' Viewed in terms of such overall phonological changes as /'au/→/'oo/ or /d/→/'j/, Nakasuji has a more archaic sound than Shiokawa. At the same time, Shiokawa seems more inclined to maintain traits of the Okinawan dialects, while Nakasuji seems more inclined to maintain traits of the southern Sakishima dialects.

1.2. Pitch Accent

The dialects of Tarama and Minna have the so-called uniform accent characteristic of the Miyako Islands as a whole, in which there are no phonologial contrasts in pitch. In other words, they have a 'nondistinctive pitch accent,' in which the final syllable of a

word or phrase is lower than the rest. (For this reason, I have not indicated pitch accent in the preceding examples.)

1.2.1. Within this system, there are a few cases in the Tarama and Minna dialects in which accent distinguishes meanings. I represent them with Tarama accent.

/sɨgiibu⌉L/	'to be putting in'	(1)
/⌊si⌈gi⌊ibu⌊L/	'to be sucking'	(2)

The accent pattern in (1) and (2) can be applied to the following:

/'ukiibuL/	'to be floating'	(1)
	'to be getting out of bed'	(2)
/'ikiibuL/	'to be going'	(1)
	'to be alive'	(2)

The following pattern also exists.

/'eebu⌉L/	'to be sending out'	(3)
/⌈'e⌊ebu⌊L/	'to be quarreling'	(4)

The accent pattern of (3) and (4) can also be applied to:

/peebuL/	'to be creeping'	(3)
	'to be extending'	(4)

These all have surface forms with the suffix /-buL/ 'to be,' and the functionally equivalent but elliptical forms, such as /sɨgii⌉L/ and /'ee⌉L/, follow the general accent pattern, which means that the pairs become homonyms. Note that the base forms of these verbs take such forms as /sɨgi⌉L/ and /'u⌉u/.

1.2.2. The following forms may be considered theoretical pitch accent patterns.

/miiN⌉na/	'Don't look!' [5]	(5)
/⌊mii⌈N⌊na/	'Do you look?'	(6)

/L miima⌈N L na/ 'Don't you look?' (7)

Such verbs as /kuuNna/ 'to come': /kuumaNna/ 'not to come' and /buLna/ 'to stay': /buramaNna/ 'not to stay,' etc. change their functions according to these accent patterns. Note that the base forms of these verbs are /mii⌉L/, /kɨ⌉ɨ/, and /bu⌉L/.

2. PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES WITH JAPANESE

I limit my discussion to particularly noteworthy correspondences.

2.1. Vowel correspondences :

Tarama	Minna	Japanese (Tokyo dialect)
/a/	/a/	/a/
/i/	/i/	/e/
/u/	/u/	/o/
/ɨ/	/i/	/i/ after b,g,h, k, m, č, ž ,š
/i/	/i/	/i/ after other consonants
/ɨ/	/u/	/u/ after c, z, s
/u/	/u/	/u/ after other consonants

See Section **3.** and below for examples. This is merely a generalized and simplified diagram of the vowel correspondences, and there are more than a few words that have completely different etymologies. Here I give the vowel correspondences that illustrate sound changes, based on the phonemic orthography of the Tarama dialect. Standard Japanese is also transcribed according to the phonemic conventions for Tarama.

2.1.1. Tarama and Minna /a/ : Japanese /o/

/nika/ :/neko/ 'cat,' /'atugaL/ : /'otoga'i/ 'lower jaw,' /'ičahu/: /'itoko/ 'cousin,' /'wač akuL/: /'očokuru/ 'to mock' (Kansai dialect of Japan) (cf. T. and M. /baša/ : Japanese /bašoo/ 'a plant (Musaceae),' /kača/ : /kačoo/ 'mosquito net')

2.1.2. Tarama and Minna /M, N/ : Japanese /i,u/

/MM/ : /'imo,'umu/ 'a plant (*Ipomoea batatas*), to be ripe'

/MmariL/ : /'umareru/ 'to be born,' /NdiL/:/'ideru/ 'to come out,' /Nbusɨ/:/'ibusu/ 'to smoke'

2.2. Consonant correspondences :

Only distinctive correspondences are shown in terms of Tarama.

2.2.1. Tarama and Minna /bu/ : Japanese /o/

/buugɨ/ 'sugar cane': /'ogi/ 'a herb (*Miscanthus sacchariflorus*),' /butu/ : /'oQto/ 'husband,' /buduL/: /'odoru/ 'to dance,' /buL/ : /'oru/ 'to stay, to break' (cf. T. and M./'usɨ/: Japanese /'usu/ 'hand mill,' or /'uši/ 'bull,' /'utu/:/'oto/ 'sound,' /'ukɨ/ : /'oku/ 'to put,' and /'u'ja/ 'father': /'o'ja/ 'parent')

2.2.2. Tarama and Minna /pu/ : Japanese /ho/

/puu/:/ho/ 'sail, ear of grain,' /puka/:/hoka/ 'other, outside'

But, Tarama and Minna /hu/ : Japanese /hu/

/huni/ : /hune/ 'boat,' /hutaaL/ : /hutari/ 'two persons'

2.2.3. Tarama and Minna /hu/ : Japanese /ku/

/hučɨ/ : /kuči/ 'mouth,' /huša/ : /kusa/ 'grass,' /huu/ : /kuu/ 'to eat'

But, Tarama and Minna /ku/ : Japanese /ko/

/paku/ : /hako/ 'box,' /kusɨ/ : /koši/ 'loin,' /tuku /: toko/ 'alcove'

2.2.4. Tarama /L/ : Minna /i/ : Japanese /ru, ri, re/

/maL/ : /mari/ 'ball,' /paL/ : /hari/ 'needle,' /'jaL/ : /'jari/ 'spear,' /jaru/ 'send'

But, Tarama /kɨɨ/ : Minna /kii/ : Japanese /kiri/ 'fog'

/kɨsiL/ : /kiseru/ 'traditional tobacco pipe,' /huL/ : /huru/ 'pigsty' (Shuri dialect of the Ryukyus)

/sɨdaL/ : /sudare/ 'bamboo blind,' /'judaL/ : /'jodare/ 'saliva'

2.2.5. Phonological correspondences to Japanese /mi/

Japanese /'umi/ : T. /'iM/ 'sea,' Japanese /miso/ : T. /Mšu/ 'soybean paste'

Japanese /mina/: T. /'Mna/ 'all'

Japanese /mikazuki/ : T. /mɨkazɨkɨ/ 'crescent,' Japanese /migi/ : T. /mɨgɨ/, but M. /nuugi/ 'all'

Japanese /kami/: T. /kabi/ 'paper'

Compare Japanese /miru/ : T. /miiL/ 'to see,' Japanese /mizu/ : T. /mizɨ/ : M. /mizu/ 'water'

2.2.6. Phonological correspondences to Japanese /mu/

Japanese /mukaeru/ : T. /'Mka'iL/ 'to welcome,' Japanese /humu/ 'step on,' or

/'umu/ 'to be ripe': T. /MM/: M. /NN/

Japanese /kemuri/ : /kibusɨ/ 'smoke'

But, Japanese /mugi/ : T. /mugɨ/ 'wheat,' /muširo/ : /muQsu/ 'straw mat'

2.2.7. Phonological correspondence to Japanese /mo/

Japanese /'asemo/ : T. /'ašiM/ 'prickly heat'

Japanese /kumo/ : T. /kubu/ 'spider'

But, Japanese /kumo/ : T. /humu/ 'cloud,' /mori/ : /muL/ 'grove'

2.2.8. Phonological correspondences to standard Japanese /ni/

Japanese /nigiru/ : T. /Ngɨɨ/ 'to grip'

But, Japanese /ni/ : T. /nii/ 'load'

2.2.9. Phonological correspondences to standard Japanese /nu/

Japanese /nugu/ : T. /Ngɨ/ 'to take off [clothing]'

Japanese /nurasu/ : T. /Mnasɨ/ 'to wet'

But, Japanese /nuno/ : T. /nunu/ 'cloth'

2.2.10. Phonological correspondences to standard Japanese /no/

Japanese /nobiru/ : T. /MbiL/ 'to extend'

But, Japanese /noru/ : T. /nu'uL/ 'to ride in'

2.2.11. Phonological correspondences to standard Japanese /cu/

Japanese /cuna/ : T. /Nna/ 'rope,' Japanese /cunagu/ : T. /Nnagɨ/ 'to connect'

But, Japanese /cuki/ : T. /cɨkɨ/ 'moon,' Japanese /cugu/ : T. /cɨgɨ/ 'to splice'

3. EXAMPLES OF VOCABULARY

In general, I cite words in the order /CV/ (/CSV/), /CVV/ (/CSVV/), initial consonant, and others.

3.1. /'a, 'i, 'ɨ, 'u, 'e, 'o/

/'aparagi/ [aparagi] 'handsome'

/'aaN/ [a: ŋ] 'don't quarrel'

T. /'iL/ [i↓] : M. /'iri/ 'gimlet'

T. /'iibɨ/ [i:bᶻɨ] : M. /'iibi/ 'shrimp'

T. /ɨ/ [ᶻɨ] : M. /'ii/ 'to talk, to rebuke, rice ball,' T. /'i'ɨ/ [iᶻɨ] : M. /'ii/ 'the west'

T. /ɨ'u/ [ᶻɨu] : M. /'ižu/ [iʤu] 'fish'

T. /zɨɨ/ [dzɨ:] : M. /zuu/ [dzu] 'ground, letter'

/'utoo/ [uto:] 'to recite,' T. /'uruzɨ M/: M. /'uruzuN/[3] 'spring'

/'uu/ [u:] 'to quarrel,' /'aruu/ 'to wash'

T. /'eegusɨ/ [e:gusɨ] : M. /'eegusu/ 'to sing,' /'eeneeN/ 'have quarreled'

S. /'oogɨ/ [o:g^{z}ɨ] : M. /'oogi/ : N. /'augɨ/ 'fan'

3.2. /'ja, _, _, 'ju, 'je, 'jo/

/'janaša/ [janaʃa] 'disgust,' /'jaQsa/ [jassa] 'cheapness,' /'jarabi/ 'child'

/'jaa/ [ja:] 'home'

/'juda/ [juda] 'branch,' T. /'ju'iL/ [juiɭ] : M. /'jeeru/ 'to get'

/'juu/ [ju:] 'to fasten'

/'jeeM/ [je:m] 'darkness,' /'jeebuL/ 'to be fastening'

/'joo/ [jo:] = /'juu/

3.3. /'wa, _, _, 'wu, 'we, 'wo/

/'wačakuL/ [waʧakuɭ] 'to mock'

/'waa/ [wa:] 'pig,' /'waaraN/ 'not be in (honorific form)'

/'wu'igɨ/ [wuig^{z}ɨ] 'to swim,' T. /'wu'iNna/ : M. /'weeNna/ (cf. ***1.2.2.***) 'Don't plant!, Do you plant?' /'wudaša/ 'thickness,' /'wuu/ [wu:] 'to drive away'

/'weeda/ [we:da] 'rat,' T. /'wu'iQta/ : M. /'weeQta/ 'have had planted'

/'woo/ [wo:] = /'wuu/ 'to drive away'

3.4. /pa, pi, pɨ, pu, pe, po/

/pana/ [pana] 'flower,' 'nose,' /paru/ 'farm,' /paruu/ [paru:] 'to pay'

/paa/ [pa:] 'leaf, tooth'

T. /pizɨ/ [pidzɨ] : M. /pizu/ [pidzu] 'knee,'/piNda/ or /piN(ž)a/ 'goat' (cf. ***1.1.9.***)

/pii/ [pi:] 'intestinal gas'

/pɨ/ [p^{s}ɨ] 'fire,' /pigɨ/ 'hair' (generic word), /pɨdiL/ 'to ebb, kindling'

/pɨɨ/ [p^{sz}ɨ:][6] 'vagina,' /pɨɨgii/ 'crush,' /pɨɨdiL/ 'to excel'

T. /pusɨ/ [pusɨ] : M. /pusu/ 'to dry,' /'upukaa/ 'Milky Way'

/puu/ [pu:] 'sail, ear, to creep,' /puuduu/ or /puužuu/ 'tobacco pouch' (cf. ***1.1.9.***)

/pe/[pe] (cf. ***1.1.2.***)

/peeL/ [pe:ɭ] 'vinegar,' /peeku/ 'hundred,' /peeša/ 'quickness'

/pookɨ/ [po:k^{s}ɨ/ 'broom,' /poo/ = /puu/ 'to creep'

3.5. /ba, bi, bɨ, bu, be, bo/ (cf.***1.1.14.***)

/bakamunu/ [bakamunu] 'young fellow,' T. /baL/ : M. /ba'i/ 'to crack,'

/baaN/ [ba:ŋ] 'in case'

/Qba/ [vva] 'you (to inferior),' /kuQba/ 'calf (of the leg),' /'aQba/ 'oil,' /QbaN/

'don't sell' (cf. ***1.1.14.***)

/'u'ibi/ [uibi] 'finger'

T. /biibuLgaQsa/ [b(β /vv)i:b(β /vv)u⌊gassa] : M. /biibu'igaQsa/ 'a plant (*Alocasia odora*),' /QbiibuL/ [vvi:bu⌊] 'to be selling'

T. /kabɨ/ [kab^{z}ɨ] / : M. /kabi/ 'paper'

T. /Qbɨ/ [vvɨ] : M. /Qbi/ 'to sell'

T. /buL/ [bu⌊] : M. /bu'i'/ 'to be,' 'to break,' T. /sɨbu/ [sɨ β u] : M. /subu'i/ 'a plant (*Benincasa hispida*)'

/buugɨ/ [bu:g^{z}ɨ] 'sugar cane,' /'uQbuL/ [uvvu⌊] 'a plant (*Leganaria siceraria*),' /'iQbuša/ [ivvuʃa] 'weight'

/beetaa/ [be:ta:] 'we (inclusive)'

S. and M. /boo/ [bo:] : N. /bau/ 'stick'

3.6. /ta, ti-, tu, te, to/

T. /tagisɨ/ [tagisɨ] : M. /tagisu/ 'a plant (*Rubus parvifolius*),' /bata/ [bata] 'entrails'

/taa/ [ta:] 'who,' /ba'Ntaa/ 'we (exclusive),' /Qbataa/ 'you (plural)'

/tida/ [tida] 'sun,' T. /pɨticɨ/ : M. /piticu/ 'one,' /pɨtitiL/ 'drought'

/tii/ [ti:] 'hand,' /miiQtii/ 'looking at'

T. /tukɨ/ [tuksɨ] : M. /tuki/ 'time,' /pɨtu/ 'person,' /tuu/ [tu:] 'ten, offing,' /tuuša/ 'distance'

/'uteebuL/ [ute:bu⌊] 'to be reciting'

S. and M. /tookee/ [to:ke:] : N. /taukee/ 'alone,' /butoo/ 'wadded coat'

3.7. /da, di, _, du, de, do/

/nada/ [nada] 'tears,' T. /pɨdaL/ : M. /pida:i/ 'the left'

/dikiL/ [diki⌊] 'to be able,' /šudi/ 'sleeve,' /pɨdiL/ 'firestone,' /dii/ [dii] 'handle'

/miduM/ [midum] 'women,' /bikiduM/ 'man'

/duu/ [du:] 'self, body,' /duutaa/ 'we (inclusive; polite form)'

/deeN/ [de:ŋ] 'much more'

/doo/ [do:] (Japanese /jo/ (suffix of invitation))

3.8. /ka, ki, kɨ, ku, ke, ko; kju/

/kadi/ [kadi] 'wind,' /'akacɨ/ [akatsɨ] 'blood,' /ka'ɨ/ 'shellfish,' /kaa/ [ka:] 'well, skin'

/kičigi/ [kiʧigi] 'beautiful,' /čikigi/ 'match'

/kii/ [ki:] 'tree, to kick' (= /kiL/ 'to kick')

/kɨN/ [k^{s}ɨŋ] 'clothes,' /sɨkɨ/ 'to spread,' /'ukɨ/ 'to put'

/kakɨ/ 'to write, to scratch, hedge'

/kɨɨ/ [k^{sz}ɨ:] [6] 'to come, to wear, to cut,' 'fog,' /sɨkɨɨ/ 'trepang,' /'ukɨɨ/ 'kindred charcoal,' /kakɨɨ/ 'raft'

/kubu/ [ku β u] 'spider,' /paku/ 'box'

/kuu/ [ku:] 'powder, Come!' /'jukuu/ 'to rest'

/keebuL/ [ke:bu꜀] 'to be buying,' /sɨkeeL/ 'to disarrange'

/kootaL/ [ko:ta꜀] 'have bought'

/kjuu/ (cf. ***1.1.3.***)

3.9. /ga, gi, gɨ, gu, ge, go/

/gabaša/ [gabaʃa] 'antiquity,' /kagaM/ 'mirror,' T. /'agaL/ : M. /'aga'i/ 'the east'

/gaana/ [ga:na] 'duck,' /gaasɨ/ 'to dispute'

/cɨgaaN/ 'to have no difference'

/kagi/ [kagi] 'shade'

/pagɨ/[pag^{z}ɨ] 'leg,' /'janagɨ/ 'willow,' /Ngɨ/ 'to take off, ' 'to draw out'

/pagɨɨ/ [pag^{z}ɨɨ] 'clear tone,' /'janagɨɨ/ 'bad man,' /Ngɨɨ/ 'to grip'

/guki/ [guki] 'tub,' /bakaguša/ 'a varie.ty of skink'

/geeMtu/ [ge:mtu] 'lark,' /'upugeeN/ 'a plant (*Sorghum bicolor*)'

S. and M. /goora/ [go:ra] 'a plant (*Momordica charantia*)'

3.10. /ča, či, cɨ, ču, _, _/ (cf. ***1.1.7.***)

/cɨbu/ [tsɨ β u] 'dew,' /cɨkɨ/ 'moon, to prick'

T. /cɨɨ/ [tsɨ:] : M. /cuu/ [tsu:] 'milk, well bucket,' /huQcɨɨ/ 'to move, to be reflected'

/čabaN/[ʧabaŋ] 'cup,' /Nča/ 'just so,' /'ipiQča/ 'a little,' /čaa/ [ʧa:] 'tea'

/čibi/ [ʧibi] 'back'

/piQčii/ 'all day'

/čuukaa/ [ʧu:ka:] 'teapot'

3.11. /ža, ži, zɨ, žu, že, žo/ (cf. ***1.1.8.***)

/'juQžasɨ/ [judʥasɨ] 'to allow to come near'

/'juQžiQti/ [judʥitti] 'coming near'

T. /zɨbu/ [dzɨ β u] : M. /zubu/ [dzu β u] 'pith,' /tuzɨ/ 'wife,' /'juQzɨ/ 'to come near'

T. /zɨɨ/ [dzɨ:] : M. /zuu/ 'ground, letter'

/žaQtu/ [ʥa:tu] 'roughly,' /huQža/ 'whale,' T. /kazaL/ : M. /kaža'i/ 'to adorn'

/'ižaaN/ [iʥa:ŋ] 'don't meet'

/mižuna/ [miʥuna] 'a fish (*Decapterus macarellus*)'

/žuu/ [ʤu:] 'tail,' (sound of invitation), /'ižuu/ 'to meet'

/'ižeeQtii/ [iʤe:tti:] 'meeting with'

/žooša/ [ʤo:ʃa] 'goodness,' /'uNžoo/ 'you (to superior), /'ižoo/ = /'ižuu/ 'to meet'

3.12. /ha, hi, hɨ, hu, he, ho/ (cf. ***1.1.15.***)

/Qha/ [ffa] 'child, arrow,' /QhaN/ 'don't shut'

/QhaaN/ [ffa:ŋ] 'don't eat'

/Qhi/ [ffi] 'Shut!' /Qhii/ [ffi:] 'shutting'

T. /Qhɨ/ [ff^{z}ɨ] : M. /Qhi/ 'to shut, to fall, to give, to snap at'

/Qhu/ [ffu] 'black,' /huku/ 'lung,' /hugɨ/ 'nail'

/Qhuu/ [ffu:] 'to eat' (= /huu/)

/Qhee/ [ffe:] 'eating'

/Qhoo/ [ffo:] = /Qhuu/ 'to eat'

3.13. /ma, mi, mɨ, mu, me, mo ; mju/

T. /ma'ɨ/ [ma^{z}ɨ] : M. /ma'i/ 'rice,' /pɨrumaQsa/ 'rarity,' /mami/ 'kidney, bean'

/maašu/ [ma:ʃu] 'salt,' /maakuša/ 'round'

/micɨ/ [mitsɨ] 'road, honey,' /'imiša/ 'fineness,' /patugami/ 'wild pigeon'

/mii/ [mi:] 'eye, to look at' (= /mii'L/ 'to look at')

T. /mɨmunu/ [m^{z}ɨmunu] : M. /miimumu/ 'new article'

/musɨ/ [musɨ] 'insect,' /tumuruu/ 'to mourn'

/'umuu/ [umu:] 'to think'

/meeku/ [me:ku] 'capital, Miyako Island,' /Mmee/ 'already,' /meesɨ/ 'to burn'

/moo/ [mo:] 'a plant, Algae'

/mju/ (cf. ***1.1.3.***)

3.14. /na, ni, _, nu, ne, no/

T. /naM/ [nam] : M. /naN/ 'wave,' /'ina/ 'dog,' /naa/ [na:] 'name, greens'

/nibu'i/ [nibui] 'throat,' /Mni/ 'breast'

/nii/ [ni:] 'root, load, song of eulogy' (= /niL/ 'song of eulogy')

T. /nuM/ [num] : M. /nuN/ 'to drink, flea, chisel'

/nuu/ [nu:] 'to sew, plain, what'

/neeN/ [ne: ŋ] 'not have'

/noo/ [no:] = /nuu/ 'to sew'

3.15. /ra, ri, _, ru, re, ro/ (cf. ***1.1.5.***)

/kaara/ [ka:ra] 'tile,' /turaN/ 'don't take'

/turi/ [turi] 'calm'

/sɨkuriiL/ 'to collapse'

/'iru/ [iru] 'color,' T. /pɨru/ 'daytime'

/naruu/ [naru:] 'to learn'

/re/ [re] (cf. ***1.1.2.***)

/nareeQtii /[nare:tti:] 'learning'

/naroo/ [naro:] = /naruu/ 'to learn'

3.16. /sa, si, sɨ, su, _, so ; ša, ši, šu, še/ (cf. ***1.1.6.***)

/Qsa/ [ssa] 'whiteness,' /QsaN/ 'don't know,' /Qsakuu/ 'dandruff,' /puQsa/ 'need'

/QsiitaL/ [ssi'taɭ] 'have known'

T. /sɨsɨ/ : M. /susu/ 'meat, soot'

/sɨɨ/ [s^{z}ɨ:] [6] 'to do'

/Qsu/ [ssu] 'white,' /muQsu/ 'straw mat'

/šaki/ [ʃaki] 'alcoholic drink,' /'apaša/ 'tastelessness,' /'umuQša/ 'pleasure'

/ša'ami/ [ʃa:mi] 'Is that so?'

/šigutu/ [ʃigutu] 'work,' /'aši/ 'sweat'

/šiibuL/ [ʃi:buɭ] 'to be doing'

/šuku/ [ʃuku] 'bottom,' /šuN/ 'do not,' /šuL/ 'to shave,' /šuuQcii/ [ʃu:tʧi:] 'after doing'

/še/ (cf. ***1.1.2.***)

4. PHONETIC SPECIMEN OF THE TARAMA (SHIOKAWA) DIALECT

[nisɨkadi tu tida]

(The North Wind and the Sun)

[nisɨkadi tu tida tu ɸuta:ɭ ɳu utsuɨ ndi ga ga de:n na ʧu:ʃa:ɭ ga ti: nuɸu: ga: ju ʃi:buɭ ke: du nma ŋke: to:ka: nu tab^{z}ɨb^{z}ɨtu nu gaito: ju ki: tui tsɨkadzɨkik^{sz}ɨ: ʃu ga mi:rai: taɭ. aŋ ʃi badu tab^{z}ɨb^{z}ɨtu nu gaito: ju padʤasɨ gadu de:n na ʧu:ʃa:ɭ ti: ɸuta:ɭɭa so:dan nudu kimari taɭ. nisɨkade: sa:ti: ɸuk^{s}ɨpadzɨmi: aʃu gadu ɸuk^{s}ɨ ga naka maʃari: tab^{z}ɨb^{z}ɨto: gaito: ju ki:no:ʃi: padʤada tam. nisɨkade: ɸuk^{s}ɨ kuto: jamitti: kundo: tida nu tumuk^{sz}ɨ: wu tab^{z}ɨb^{z}ɨtu ŋke: ataiɭ badu tab^{z}ɨb^{z}ɨto: sɨgu gaito: ju padʤɨtaɭ. aŋ ʃitti: munu utsɨ nisɨkadi mai tida nudu de:n na ʧu:ʃa:ɭ ti: mitumidaka: naraŋ jo: naɭ taɭ.]

(English translation: The north wind and the sun were disputing which was the stronger,

when a traveler came along wrapt in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the travelar take his cloak off should be considered stronger than the other. Then the north wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveler fold his cloak around him. And at last the north wind gave up the attempt. Then the sun shone out warmly, and immediately the traveler took off his cloak. And so the north wind was obliged to confess that the sun was the stronger of the two.)

APPENDIX 1: Criticisim on Hirayama's Thoery, the Apical Vowel of Miyako Islands Dialects in the Ryukyu Islands

In *Kokugogaku*, No. 56, Hirayama takes three pages, beginning on p. 63, to denounce and refute my proposal for an apical vowel [ɿ] in the Miyako dialects, despite referring to it as 'an important question.' It is only natural, therefore, that I, as the poser of this 'important question,' should have the duty of responding.

My surveys of the Ogami dialect made it evident that the following phonemic correspondences and systematic differences exist between Ogami Island and Hirara city.

Hirara	Ogami
/cɨ/[tsɨ]/:/kɿ/	/kɿ/:/kɨ/
/zɨ/[dzɨ]:/gɿ/	
/pɿ/	/pɨ/
/bɿ/	

On Ogami, [ɨ] also appears in the CVɨ pattern and as [sɨ], but that fact is not particularly irrelevant to the subject at hand. In addition, neither /tɨ/ nor /dɨ/ exists in either dialect.

Examples of these correspondences include:

Hirara	Ogami
/nacɨ/'summer' : /nakɿ/ 'to weep'	/nakɿ/ 'summer' : /nakɨ/ 'to weep'
/pazɨ/ 'to be expectedd' : /pagɿ/ 'leg'	/pakɿ/ 'to be expected' : /pakɨ/ 'leg'
/pɿɿ/'vagina'	/pɨɨ/ 'vagina'
/bɿɿ/ 'to sit'	/pɨɨ/ 'to sit'

/pɨɨ/ is hardly ever used for 'fire': /umakɿ/ is used almost exclusively.

In other words, the voiced and voiceless plosives (fricatives) of Hirara have undergone *syncrétisme* (merger) on Ogami and are realized as voiceless plosives. Furthermore, the [ɨ] of Hirara (which occurs only with [ts] and [dz]) corresponds to [ɿ] on Ogami, while Hirara [ɿ] clearly corresponds to Ogami [ɨ]. In addition to this merger, there is no phonemic distinction between the two sounds. Therefore, Hirayama's idea, as stated on p. 64, that the [ɿ] and [ɨ] of Ogami are phonetic variants that occur in certain environments and ought to be viewed as manifestations of the same phoneme /i/ is completely erroneous.

The representation [ɿ] was adopted in order to notate the vowels that give rise to the sharp sibillant [s] or [z] that may arise depending on the height of the tongue tip against the gums, and Luo Chang-pei has also discussed it in *Putong-yuyinxue-wangyao* (p.75 ff.). I would like to show everyone the various notation methods that researchers up till now have used for [ɿ].

According to Hirayama's analysis, Ogami /pakɨ/ 'leg' and /pɨɨ/ 'to sit' become /pagɨ/ and /bɨɨ/, with devoiced /g/ and /b/ (p. 64), but I have never either heard or observed devoiced [b] or [g] from speakers of the pure Ogami dialect. Hirayama, in thrall to the terminology 'centralized vowel,' has followed his own preconceptions to introduce phonemic /gɨ/, /kɨ/, /bɨ/, and /pɨ/ syllables. For that reason, his analysis probably arises from an erroneous view that the diachronic phenomenon is related to the synchronic phenomenon, prompting him to force phonological facts into neat frameworks for the sake of theoretical elegance. The phonological system that is set forth must be one that allows us to predict and reproduce its phonetic manifestations. If we assume that Hirayama's /kɨ/ and /gɨ/ represent [k^{s}ɨ] and voiceless [g^{z}ɨ], what are we to do with Ogami /kɿ/ corresponding to Hirara /cɨ/ and /zɨ/? Unless Hirayama is forced to interpret it as part of the /cɨ/ phoneme, it becomes an allophone (!!) of the aforementioned /kɨ/. I would like the reader to refer to such examples as /makɿ/ 'pine': /makɨ/ 'to wind up, to copulate' (Hirara /macɨ/ : /makɿ/ : /magɿ/).

APPENDIX 2: The Unrounded Tip Vowel of Miyako Dialects in the Ryukyu Islands

INTRODUCTION

The presence of a centralized vowel accompanied by fricatives has traditionally been regarded as one of the major differences between the dialects of the Miyako Islands in

the southern Ryukyu Islands and those of the main island of Okinawa. However, in this chapter, I demonstrate that this is not a centralized vowel but an apical vowel, and I propose the adoption of a new notation for it.

Furthermore, I show that this apical vowel has phonemic status in the dialect of Ogami Island in the Miyako group.

1. HISTORY OF NOTATION OF THE VOWEL

Nevsky may safely be regarded as the first scholar to turn his attention to the Miyako dialects, but he said that the vowel in question was the same as the Russian *yerry* (ы), and he was cited by other researchers thereafter. Nevsky wrote quite a few papers about the Miyako dialects, and in one of them, he recorded words in the following notation (1960).[7]

tabɨ, tab^{z}ɨ 'journey,' *sak^{s}ɨ* 'ahead' 'point of land,' *ik^{s}ɨ* 'to go,' *upuk^{s}ɨ* 'sigh,' *aug^{z}ɨ* 'fan,' *ma:z* 'to go around,' *pa:z* 'to run.'

Iha (1962:190) cites Nevsky's work, but he states, 'In (the vowel) from Yaeyama and Miyako groups, not only the edge of the tongue but the tip approaches the palate, so if there is any motion, it occurs with the sound of friction. Therefore, one perceives the sounds *s* or *z*, as in *p^{s}i, b^{z}i, k^{s}i, g^{z}i* especially when the vowel occurs with a plosive.' He gives the following examples (1943) :

kïn 'clothing,' *ŋgï* 'right [side], *pï* 'fire,' *kubï* 'neck,' *imï* 'taboo,' *iɭï* 'auger.'

Recently, Miyara has been transcribing the vowel as follows (1963):

kïm 'millet,' *ikïm* 'to go,' *mna-pïkajï* 'lightning,' *ajï* 'to be,' kamnajï 'thunder.'

Note that although *ksï, psï, bzï,* and *jï* (but not *gzï*) are found on the 'Nihon hōgen onpyō' (Japanese dialect sound chart) that Miyara created (1944,1947), he has not adopted this orthography in the words cited above.

Since Yogi follows Iha's orthography exactly, there is no particular need to cite his work here (1934).

Nakasone's representations of consonant-vowel combinations are no different from the ones cited before, but he proposes a new orthography for vowels standing alone (1963):

kïnu 'yesterday,' *pïgi* 'hair,' *tuɭ* 'bird' (which could just as well be written [tu^{z}ï]).

Uemura modifies and improves the representation of the fricatives (1959,1962):

zïkɕï 'breath,' [8] *pagʑï* 'leg,' *pɕïgi* 'hair,' *pɕïtu* 'person,' *kabʑï* 'paper,' *ʑïɯ* 'fish,'

jumiuli 'sitting and reading,' Thus he uses the same orthography at the beginning or end of a word when the syllable consists of a vowel.

After mentioning Nevsky's theory, Kitamura discusses the matter as follows (1960): 'In the matter of articulation, the tip of the tongue comes quite near the palate, so when preceded by a plosive, its fricative nature is intensified, and it is often accompanied by a so-called hissing sound, [s] or [z]. Since these occurrences of [s] and [z] are no more than a conditional feature due to the environment, I cannot agree with the practice of including them in phonemic notation.' He thus represents /kɨ/ as [k^{s}ɨ], /gɨ/ as [g^{z}ɨ], /pɨ/ as [p^{s}ɨ], and /bɨ/ as [b^{z}ɨ], and if a vowel stands alone, he represents it as [^{z}ɨ], irrespective of its position within the word: ^{z}ɨ 'rice,' *budu*^{z}ɨ 'to dance.'

2. A PROPOSAL FOR A NEW STANDARD TRANSCRIPTION

As I have seen, some researchers transcribe all occurrences as *ï* (*ɨ*) without adding any indication of the fricative, others use different orthography for vowels occurring in the word-initial, medial, or word-final positions. Some researchers add a semivowel such as *ɨ* or *j* when the vowel stands alone, while others use *z* or *ʅ* itself. There is no consistency in orthography whatsoever.

In fact, these are all the same vowel. In that sense, I can say that Kitamura's notation is the most accurate of the ones I have seen so far. This vowel is produced by keeping the tip of the tongue close to but not touching the gums and sending the flow of air generated by the vibration of the vocal chords through this opening. If there is a preceding consonant, the fricative produced is either *s* or *z*, depending on whether the consonant is voiced or voiceless. In addition, when this vowel is pronounced alone, [z] appears because a soft vocalization occurs before articulation in a gradual onset (*attaque douce*) before all vowels in this dialect, except when the vowel is devoiced. The lips are spread horizontally to a noticeable degree. Referring to this fricative as prevoicing, as Uemura does, is incorrect. Thus this vowel is an unrounded apical vowel, and we can assign it the graphic representation [ɿ] (Luo and Wang 1957: p.74ff.). The orthography used in this book is said to have been borrowed from transcriptions of vowels in Swedish dialects (see also Cen 1959:57). Note that other tongue positions can give rise to *s* and *z*, but in these dialects, it assumes the position described in this chapter. (Note, however, that [ɿ] is not an official designated vowel in the International Phonetic Alphabet.) The presence or absence of this fricative (hissing sound or

fricative shading) in the Miyako dialects, such as that of Hirara, is not phonemically significant, and it may be acceptable to posit that [ɿ] is phonemically /ï/ (/ɨ/). However, in a phonetic transcription, we must definitely use the symbol [ɿ]. Yet until recently, there has been some confusion between phonetics and phonemics.[9] In the Ryukyu dialects, particularly in the Sakishima dialects, we must clearly distinguish between these kinds of unusual vowels in our orthography. We will have to take another look at existing reports on Sakishima dialects and will probably end up conducting surveys to find out whether the vowel in question is [ɨ] or [ɿ].

4. EXAMPLES FROM THE OGAMI DIALECT

The dialect of Ogami, an island located to the northeast of Miyako, has a phonemic contrast between [ɨ] and [ɿ]. Furthermore, its lack of voiced consonants makes it very unusual among the Miyako dialects. I believe that researchers who have been using the notation /C^{s}ɨ/ (with C standing for any consonant) will be forced to set up a /C^{s}ɨ/ : /Cɨ/ contrast when they make their phonemic analysis. The contrasts with the Miyako dialects, such as Hirara, are as follows:

Ogami dialect	Hirara dialect	
[kakɨ]	[kakɿ]	'to write, hedge'
[pakɨ]	[pakɿ]	'leg'
[pɨtu]	[pɿtu]	'person'
[ipɨ]	[ibɿ]	'shrimp'
[ɨɷ]	[ɿu]	'fish'
[uɨ]	[uɿ]	'to exist'
[nakɿ]	[natsɨ]	'summer'
[kɿ:]	[tsɨ β]	'dew'
[pakɿ]	[padzɨ]	'to be expected'
[kɿ:]	[dzɨ:]	'letter, ground'

These examples make it clear that a /ɿ/: /ɨ/ contrast exists.

CONCLUSION

Further detailed surveys will probably uncover more examples like Ogami. In addition, there are undoubtedly sounds other than the vowel discussed here that have been transcribed in a vague manner until now. Despite all the efforts that Miyara has made to think up phonetic symbols, there is no such thing as too much painstaking detail when one is dealing with the variety of vowels in the Ryukyuan dialects, especially in the Sakishima dialects.

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NOTES

1. Other instances of lexical differences between Tarama and Minna include 'a plant (*Leganaria siceraria*)'[uvvuɭ]: [kiŋʃo:], 'sugar cane' [bu:g^{z}ɨ]: [sudʥa], 'to plant' [wuiɭ]: [we:ru], 'to get' [juiɭ]: [je:ru], and 'to sleep' [niniɭ]: [iniru]. There also are lexical pairs on Tarama and Minna that are considered old and new words, such as 'hair' [karadzɨ]: [aka], 'egg' [tunuka]: [kuga], 'fire' [umatsɨ]: [p^{s}ɨ], 'chopsticks' [ume:sɨ]: [pasɨ], and 'feces' [maru]: [ɸuʃu].
2. It is clear from Minna evidence that [-ɭɭ-] is a progressive assimilation of [-ɭʃ-].
3. There also are examples of syllabic [m] on Minna, as in [uruzum], but from a phonemic point of view, this sound may be viewed as /N/.
4. This phenomenon also occurs in Miyako-jima dialects, according to Miyara (1961:371). The /'w/ in the Tarama and Minna words /'weenu/ /'weeree/ 'this' or /'wukasɨ/ 'to float' may have any of the following surface representations: [w], [β], or [vv].
5. /-Nna/ is a regressive assimilation of /-Lna/. Note, however, that /buLna/ 'to

stay' does not undergo this change and that both /'wuiNna/ and /'wuiLna/ 'to plant' are used.

6. The fricative accompanying /p~~ii~~/, /k~~ii~~/, and /s~~ii~~/ shifts from [s] to [z].
7. The Nevsky's document index lists two papers on the *Ayago* (eulogy) of Miyako, but I have based my analysis on the following paper: *Ayago* no kenkyū ni-hen (Two studies on *Ayago*), *Minzoku*, 4(3), 1926.
8. 'Breath' is notated this way in both of Uemura's papers, but *z~~i~~* is a mistake for *i-*. There is no such word.
9. In Tokage no hōgen bunpu ni tsuite (On the dialectal distribution *tokage* [skink], *Ryūkyū hōgen*, Vol. 4), the example from the Tomori dialect of Miyako, [bakag~~i~~] should be [bakagɿ].

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