



DOI: 10.2478/linpo-2020-0014

REVIEWS

Dineke Schokkin. 2020. *A Grammar of Paluai. The Language of Baluan Island, Papua New Guinea*. Pacific Linguistics [series], vol. 663. Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. xxv + 434

Alfred F. Majewicz

International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies, Sęszew
e-mail: majewicz@amu.edu.pl

*The Manus Province of Papua New Guinea
is home to ca. 31 languages
few of which are described.
(Boettger 2015: 1)*

The work, which we present here to draw to it a special attention of linguists involved or interested in the first place in general and typological studies on language, can and should be considered a milestone (even if small) posted by more than one path of progress in linguistic research. It constitutes an exceptionally extensive (412 pages of – very user-friendly – print) grammatical description of a small (between 2,000 and 3,000 speakers, p. 1) tongue classified, together with five other tongues¹ as South-Eastern group of the Eastern subdivision² of what is labeled as Admiralty (~Admiralties) cluster (~group) of the Oceanic branch of the large³ Austronesian family of languages, and spoken on Baluan (on older maps Saint Patrick Island) and neighboring Pam (cf. f.n. 28) islands in Papua New Guinea (PNG).

¹ Lenkau, Lou, Nauna, Pak-Tong, and Penchal, of which Voegelin & Voegelin 1977 listed Lou as a dialect of Baluan, Nauna as a dialect of Rambutjo, Tong as a dialect of Pak (Lenkau and Penchal not listed). Meier and Meier 1979:340-1 classified Baluan together with only two other languages – Mok (in use “on Mbuge, Ndrihol, Peli islands”) and Tawi (“spoken on Tawi and on the opposed coastal strip of Manus”); Sakiyama 1993: 55 as “South-Eastern Admiralty” lists “Nauna, Baluan, Pak, and the like” (-*nado* <ナウナ語, バルワン語, パク語, など>; in 1992: 420-421, Sakiyama simply listed – in a little strange order – 24 Admiralty-Western languages, no Nauna on the list).

² In Voegelin & Voegelin the languages are listed in the entry „Admiralty-Western Islands (geographical)” under “Group II” (1977: 11-12), Lynch & Ross & Crowley differentiate between “two well-defined” (2002: 99) “Western Admiralties family” (four languages listed) and “Eastern Admiralties family” (26 names on the list, the five mentioned in f.n. 1 included; *ib.*, 878-879).

³ Probably the world’s largest.

The name of the cluster is geographic – all the (about 30–34) <Admiralty languages> are native to the Admiralty Islands, in turn part of the Bismarck Archipelago on the Bismarck Sea northeast of the coast of New Guinea. The subarchipelago constitutes a separate (and the smallest among 22 altogether) administrative unit on the provincial level of the state of Papua New Guinea – the Manus Province with its administrative center in Lorengau, the only urban district in the Province, situated on Manus Island, by far the largest piece of land in the unit (over 90% of the entire area of the Province⁴). Because of this overwhelming disproportion, the island group is also known as Manus Islands. The Province is part of Papua New Guinea Islands Region, one of the four major administrative divisions of the country.

Remoteness, isolated location, unattractiveness for economic exploitation, and the fiercely manifested immunity of the natives to succumb to anybody and anything kept the aliens away from the region for centuries⁵ and the islands practically remain one of the most inaccessible inhabited places on Earth⁶.

One of the consequences of this inaccessibility is that (using the wording of the author of the book under scrutiny here:) “Linguistic research on the languages of Manus Province is relatively scarce, especially when compared to the considerable amount of anthropological work that has been done” (p. 3)⁷. Indeed, she needed only eighteen lines

⁴ 1,940.2 km² according to UNID 1980. The area figures for the Island as well as the Province differ, depending on the source, from 1,554 and 1,943 km² to 2,000 and even 2,100 km²; often simple arithmetic subtraction operation with data from the same (not one) source “reveal” that the territory of the Province is *smaller* than its largest island component. Only the first of the non-UNID figures, quoted from a ²1954 / ³1974 Soviet source (BSE), unambiguously refers to the island (*Манус остров*; Admiralty Islands became part of the PNG state in 1975). “There are 160 islands” in the Province, “ranging from Manus [...] (104 km long by 28 km wide) [...] to tiny coral atolls, most of which are uninhabited” (Wheeler 1988: 266).

⁵ History annals record but four significant Western visits to (–,“discoveries of”) Manus: that of Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón, born in Spain, who “discovered” and landed on Manus on August 25, 1528 placing it on maps as *Urays La Grande* (other sources record only the circumnavigation of the island and landing on the uninhabited small Murai islet where the party was attacked by armed canoeists – hence perhaps the name <Great Uray> for Manus), and again approximately a year later (the toponym for what now practically is the easternmost portion of Manus where Momote Airport is situated, Los Negros Island, is said to be another Spanish mark in the region; according to another opinion, it should rather be traced to an American Military airbase there toward the end of world war II and shortly after); that of Willem Cornelisz[oon] Schouten and Jacob Le Maire navigating along the north coasts of New Guinea in 1616; and that of Philip Carteret who gave the Admiralty Islands the present name in 1767. In 1884-1914 the northeastern part of New Guinea found itself under the German rule (as Kaiser-Wilhelmsland; traces of the period remain in such names as Bismarck Sea or Bismarck Archipelago); as a 1988 tourist guidebook elegantly formulated it: “German law and order, however, did not arrive on Manus until 1911. [...] Manus is a rugged, relatively infertile island and this, combined with the fierce independence of its inhabitants, encouraged the German and Australian colonisers to leave it pretty much alone” (Wheeler 1988: 264).

⁶ The guidebook referred to in f.n. 5 and 4 bluntly states that “Manus is the most isolated and least visited province in PNG” (Wheeler, *ib.*). Marginally, it is interesting to observe that one of the first liberation (terms “emancipation” and “independence” are also used in this context in literature) movements against colonial rule in today’s PNG had its roots in Manus and its leader, Paliau Maloat, came from Lipan, a village on Baluan island where Schokkin was staying and collecting Paluai language data for her grammar presented here! (cf. Otto 1991; 2020, Kais 1998; Fitzpatrick 2014).

⁷ She specifically names 18 anthropological works, the widely known 1930 study on “growing up” on Manus by Margaret Mead and its sort of a sequel on “cultural transformation” between her visits on Manus

(1.5. section of the first chapter, p. 5) for her summary note on the “Existing descriptions of neighbouring languages”. One reads here that “the only other Admiralties with a published full-length grammar is Loniu (Hamel 1994)”.

Such a statement makes a comparison imperative. Published as the Australian National University pre-Mouton Pacific Linguistics⁸ series C volume 103, Hamel 1994 expands over 275 (+ x) pages, of which 161 pages (173-264) have been used for the “Lexicon Loniu to English”, 24 pages (235-258) for “English to Loniu findex”, and 7 pages (259-265) for appendices⁹. Hamel completed her work with two linguistically glossed texts, one on “Making a yam garden” and one legend (266-272) – and Schokkin completed the core part of her book also with two texts (395-422): one being “a traditional legend” and the other on “Planting yams”. Deducting the introductory chapter and including the texts in both cases – Hamel’s grammatical description covers 174 pages. The print density is more or less the same.

Among more extensive works on Admiralty languages Schokkin (*ib.*) mentions also grammatical sketches of Seimat (Wozna & Wilson 2005), Lou (Stutzman 1997), Wuvulu (Hafford 2014), Lele (Bottger 2015), Koro (Cleary-Kemp 2015), and “for Titan, an extensive text collection¹⁰ [...] adapted, translated into English and provided with a sketch grammar by Bower (2011)”. “More limited items” Schokkin exemplified with “a sketch grammar of Kele in Lynch et al 2002” (i.e., Ross 2002). Besides, she points to a 2007 grammatical description of the Mussau-Emira language “spoken on the islands of the St. Matthias Group, located east of Manus in New Ireland, and [...] considered closely related to the languages of the Admiralties” (*ib.*)¹¹.

(1956) and Otto’s 1991 “exploration of the recent historical development of Baluan culture” included (Schokkin cooperated with Otto in research on Baluan – cf Schokkin & Otto 2017 – and used his language recordings, wordlist, and map of Baluan, cf. below in the text and f.n. 30). On the “relative scarceness” in the quotation see also Ross 2002: 123.

⁸ The ANU <Pacific Linguistics> (1963-2011) is since 2012 continued as a series by de Gruyter Mouton.

⁹ “Plant and tree names”, “Bird names”, “Shells”, “Canoe parts and related words”, “Fish names”, “Plant parts, body parts, and kin terms”, “Inalienably possessed nouns expressing spatial relationships”, and “Roots with short and long alterants”.

¹⁰ Collected and published by Josef Meier as “Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitätsinsulaner” (the language is referred to as *die Moanussprache*) in installments in *Anthropos* 2 (1907) /4, 646-667 and /5, 933-941, 3 (1908) /2, 193-206 and /4, 651-671, and 4/2 (1909), 354-374; in vol. 7/2 (1912), 501-502 Meier printed a short response to criticism from ethnologist and anthropologist Fritz Graebner, and in vol. 9/1-2 (1914), 326-329 another response of this kind entitled “Eine neue Kritik meiner „Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitätsinsulaner” addressed to ethnologist Wilhelm Müller and concerning mainly his source informant Po Minis; both in the section “Analecta et Additamenta” of the journal. P[aul] Jos[ef] Meier (1894-1945) was a German missionary and ethnologist who worked among natives of New Britain’s north-eastern Gazelle Peninsula. As he himself admitted in the introduction to, and with regard to the source of, his texts, “[...] ich nicht selbst in den Admitalitätsinseln wohne, ja überhaupt nie jene Inselgruppe in Augenschein genommen habe” (this quotation (2/4: 646) is far from being critical, it simply is used to emphasize that all other authors mentioned, Schokkin included, did work “on location”). This author had no access to, and failed to identify, another, apart from Bower 2011, posthumous English publication of Meier’s texts mentioned in literature as (Meier, Josef. 1978. “Myths and Legends of the Admiralty Islanders”. *Oral History* 6/2, 78-93). Titan is spoken in several locations on the Admiralty Islands, also on Baluan, see further in the text.

¹¹ *Mussau Grammar Essentials* by John and Marjo Brownie. 2007. Ukarumpa: SIL. Review by Juliette Blevins in *Oceanic Linguistics* 49/1 (2010), 298-301.

Wozna & Wilson's description (including a 5-page "interlinealized text" on pp. 92-96) covers 91 pages. Stutzman's thesis provides a fragmentary description of Lou¹² focusing on the fragment announced by the title which extends over 141 pages (a 11-page text again included in the count). Hafford's documentation¹³ is 155 pages long. Bottger's "topics"¹⁴, together with 91 pages of "Interlinearised and glossed texts", took 306 pages of print (result very close to Schokkin's grammar – cf. above). Cleary-Kemp's study is, similarly to that of Stutzman, a fragmentary description, also focusing on the verb phrase (here the limitation goes even further) and its descriptive core, including 7-page typological characteristics introducing rudiments of the structure of the language studied, ca. 252 pages¹⁵. Bown's work consists of three parts: grammar, vocabulary Titan-English with English finderlist, and the texts – of all 466 pages ca. 155 pages belong to the grammar¹⁶.

All the above positions the grammar under consideration on the top among the really few Admiralty source materials available to those interested in language structures but not necessarily being Austronesianists.

Counting rather than estimating the number of the world's languages in the 1970s and 1980s, aiming at an accurate and reliable picture of the global linguistic situation, revealed the existence of 6,500-7,000 ethnolects that could – on various (very often extralinguistic) reasons – be given the status of independent languages rather than their sub-classifications (dialect clusters, dialects, subdialects¹⁷, "variants", "varieties", etc.). Some side results and a byproduct of those endeavors in turn were statistical figures making researchers realize that more than half of these ethnolects were endangered or seriously endangered and predicted to face extinction within the few coming decades; no more than 5% of the entire possible number of languages were more or less fully described, with more or less comprehensive reference grammars, both-way dictionaries, handbooks, etc., existing (you may insist on disbelieving until you realize that it is ca. 350 languages – of the total of 7,117, the figure provided by SIL in the 24th edition of *Ethnologue* in 2020); no more than 20% of them (i.e., 1,300-1,400) had any description, be it partial, outdated, amateurish, unverifiable, and not many more have been recorded in any way

¹² "[...] a closely related variety" of the ethnolect of which Paluai is another one: "[...] it can be said Lou and Paluai are considered separate languages based primarily on cultural and political, rather than linguistic, grounds" Schokkin, 5); "an incomplete draft version" of Stutzman's *Lou Grammar Essentials* "provided for SIL-PNG" with ca. 68 pp. of the language structural description, dated 1994, and a "rough draft" of *Lou-English Dictionary* coauthored by her, dated 2013, can be found in the Web.

¹³ His "purpose" declaration (p. 10) "is to document the Wuvulu grammar" and provide "a presentation of the most important features of the language" (*ib.*); "Part II" is a 63-page Wuvulu-English "Vocabulary".

¹⁴ "Phonology", "Open Word Classes" (verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs), "Closed Classes" (personal pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, interrogatives, prepositions, connectors, negators, particles), and "Clause"; compare with the contents structure of Schokkin 2020 summarized below in the text.

¹⁵ One should take into consideration, however, that the study is comparative, so it naturally uses language data from numerous (in this case 36) tongues.

¹⁶ An informative – and affirmative – review of Bown 2011 by Joel Bradshaw appeared in *Oceanic Linguistics* 53/1 (2014), 187-190.

¹⁷ I.e., what in e.g. Slavonic linguistics is classified as *govor* ~ *говор* ~ *hovor* ~ *gwara* ~ *govorica* (versus *dialekt* ~ *диалект*), cf. also *parler* or *Mundart* versus *dialecte* / *Dialekt*).

(a major part, perhaps even most of the *still* existing languages were (and are) *still* known only by their glottonyms, and their very existence was (/is) barely admitted).

The drastic conclusion was that very many languages not only faced extinction but also could remain unrecorded, uninvestigated, and irreversibly doomed to oblivion and not only scholars realized that no effort should be spared to record them for future generations destined to live in the world that would be much less diversified linguistically. One of the two most efficient basic ways of saving these irreplaceable assets of mankind civilization was to urgently start recording such ethnolects still remembered and record as much as possible from elderly informants of what they remember from the languages of their youth no longer passed to younger generations¹⁸. Realizing this necessity mobilized scholars¹⁹ to rush on fieldwork expeditions and academic institutions and publishers to initiate such projects and undertakings like e.g. Mouton Grammar Library (MGL), Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim (ELPR) Project, Studies on Newly Discovered Languages of China (ZXYYC) and its sister-series Studies on China's Minority Local Ethnolects (ZSMYFYC)²⁰. Within some three decades several hundreds of often large size and comprehensive grammars and dictionaries saw the light of the day in print²¹. No wonder, therefore, that it was assumed necessary to prepare and publish in 2007 the "revised" *Second edition* of Asher and Moseley's monumental atlas of the world's languages "to ensure that the work is as up to date as possible" offering "results of fieldwork undertaken" in early 2006 (*ib.*, p. 1). This very fact that it appeared in print only fourteen years after the appearance of its first edition speaks volumes about how improbably our knowledge of the actual linguistic picture of our globe increased within the few recent decades mentioned.

¹⁸ Having them recorded one can analyze the data and reconstruct and describe the structures of such languages later; the other way was to reconstruct and make accessible unpublished data recorded when today's moribund or dead languages were still used naturally in all domains of everyday life, and preserved in various institutional and private archives. One cannot prevent language death --- one cannot petrify the current linguistic situation --- but both ways indicated can be extremely instrumental in rescuing the languages in question, even if unavoidably in some petrified form.

¹⁹ But also e.g. missionaries, Bible translators, etc.

²⁰ Respectively, 中国新发现语言研究丛书 *Zhongguo Xinfaxian Yuyan Yanjiu Congshu* and 中国少数民族语言方言研究丛书 *Zhongguo Shaoshu Minzu Yuyan Fangyan Yanjiu Congshu*. Many descriptions of still other "newly discovered languages of China" have been released outside the series, published by Minzu Chubanshe in Beijing and other cities in the south, Yunnan Chubanshe, Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe, often by small local institutions throughout the country (see Majewicz 2005). Asher & Moseley 2007:1 use a similar phrase: "the discovery of new languages".

²¹ E.g. over 80 MGL titles (not all but perhaps in the majority of cases the very first full descriptions of respective languages) have been listed and 45 ZXYYC and 6 ZSMYFYC volumes – by far not all of the series – found their places on this author's shelves by 2013. Among particularly active publishers of such materials have been (again, few examples only) Pacific Linguistics (since 2011 within Mouton), SIL International, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies Institute of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), University of Hawai'i (PALI Language Texts) and many other university publishers worldwide, Lincom Europa (Languages of the World/Materials), Soviet/Russian Academy Nauka Publishers (e.g., Languages of Asia and Africa series), Routledge (Descriptive / Essential Grammars), North Holland (Lingua Descriptive Studies), Brill, Benjamins, etc., and, of course, Mouton.

Nevertheless, you will not find the glottonym <Paluai> in Asher & Moseley 2007 and, as expected, it does not appear in the naturally less-up-to-date, otherwise important, highly valued and widely used, reference compendia like Voegelin & Voegelin 1977, Meier & Meier 1979, Kamei et al. 1992-3, and not even in Lynch et al. 2002.

Voegelin & Voegelin 1977: 11 list <Baluan> among “Admiralty Western Islands (geographical [classification])” in “Group II. On Manus [...], adjacent small islands and the Hermit Islands. [...] D[ialect]s also Lou, Pam. Baluan Island, 2°35’S 147°00’E”.

Meier & Meier 1979: (305-)340 list <Baluan> as belonging to the southern group of the Manus subbranch (*Untierzweig*) in the Melanesian branch (*Zweig*)²² of the Austronesian family (*Sprachfamillie*) spoken “on Lou, Pam and Baluan” islands.

In Kamei et al. 1992-1993 (no separate entry for Baluan; in the separate entry for Lou, Sakiyama on p. 1027, mentions “languages of the Baluan (ババルアーン) and Pam Islands”), the glottonym <Baluan> (ババルワン語²³1992: 420; 1993: 55, 815, 699) has been used. Sakiyama 1992: 420 listed Baluan under Admiralty Western Islands (アドミラルティ・西部諸島諸語 *Adomirariti seibu shotō shogo*) and in 1993: 55 more precisely as Admiralty South-Eastern Islands subgroup of Admiralty Islands languages (アドミラルティ諸島グループ語群、南島諸島語群 *Adomirariti shotō gurūpu gogun, nantō shotō gogun*).

Lynch et al 2002 decided against placing Baluan (and seemingly quite a large number of other glottonyms) in their (therefore) very poor index to their sizable volume of 900 pages²⁴. Among Southeast Admiralty f[amily]” (p. 879) one finds two items of interest here, namely <Baluan-Pam> and <Lou> treated as two separate languages. The same one finds in Lewis 2009: 605, 622 and 862 (map; it is the latest, 16th, *Ethnologue* edition on this writer’s shelf, in its recentmost 24th edition just checked online, the glottonym <Paluai> is used).

In Asher & Moseley 2007: 109 (section “4.5.7. New Britain (Papua New Guinea)” table 4.5. under “South-east Admiralty”) and map 30 (“New Britain and New Ireland”), in turn, <Baluan-Lou-Pam> is classified as one language with 1,000 speakers.

In a Russian dictionary of glottonyms for a prospective large-scale compendium “Languages of the World” (Yartseva 1982: 81-82), Baluan is listed as a dialect of the Baluan-Lou-Pam (балуан-лоу-пам) group of dialects (Lou and Pam being the other dialects of the group) classified (as “South-Eastern subgroup”) under “Eastern group of the Admiralty Islands languages”²⁵ (*подгруппа юго-восточных островов восточной группы языков островов Адмиралтейства*) – precisely as in Asher & Moseley’s (“as up to date as possible”, cf. above) *Atlas* twenty five years later.

²² “There is no ‘Melanesian’ subgroup of Oceanic. [...]” as one reads in Lynch et al. 2002: 10.

²³ The names for the island – *Baruan* – and for the language – *Baruwan* – differ in the Japanese notation.

²⁴ Neglecting even items from the list “of Oceanic languages, by subgroup” from pp. 878-890. The reasons provided at the beginning of the index fail to sound reasonable (many buyers of the book expected they were purchasing a very much needed reference source of information and not a, say, detective story to be read once from desk to desk). The editors (Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus P. Himmelmann) of *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar* from the same “Routledge Language Family Series” (2005) offer an incomparably more handy and friendly tool.

²⁵ 72 glottonyms for languages, dialects, and groupings have been listed under “Eastern group”.

Schokkin decided to use the glottonym *Paluai* instead of the “more commonly known to the wider world [...] Pam-Baluan” (p. 1) on the grounds that the former is preferred by its native speakers, actually being their endonymic and homophonic ethnonym, toponym, and glottonym at the same time²⁶. Thus, it turns out that Baluan-Lou-Pam, Baluan-Pam or Pam-Baluan have been but sequences of toponyms (more precisely, nesonyms): names of islands where the language(s) is/are in use (moreover, *Baluan* being an exonym, probably a distortion of *Paluai* resulting from mishearing).

Schokkin’s *Grammar* under consideration here is based on her 2014 PhD thesis and the number of speakers of Paluai quoted above from Asher & Moseley was contested already there (p. 1) as “clearly outdated” (cf. the beginning of this review). From both versions one learns that “Every member” (2014: 3) “All members of the community on Baluan Island acquire(s) Paluai from birth as their native language, with a few exceptions such as in-married women and the Titan speakers in Mouk village” (2020: 3; “except the Titan speakers in Mouk village” 2014: 3). To this writer it sounds much more optimistic as far as endangerment is taken into account than Voegelins’ 1977 knowledge that “Little or no linguistic information is available for these [Admiralty-Western] Austronesian languages, which are being, or have been, replaced by Neo-Melanesian” [i.e. Tok Pisin] (p. 11; cf. similar opinion in Asher & Moseley 2007: 109: the Oceanic Austronesian languages “of the Admiralty Islands are being increasingly replaced by New Guinea Pidgin [= Tok Pisin] as the first language”). Schokkin is, however, aware of, and touches the problem of the contact with, and influence from, Tok Pisin (2020: 3 – here signaling it only, and more extensively in 2014: 4-6) but sends the reader to her 2017 paper on the subject. She sees “a rather bleak picture for the future” (2014: 4) but it is so that a break in the intergenerational transfer of language guarantees its death and loss while even intensive and influential language contact does not. What reinforces this author’s optimism are Schokkin’s own confessions that “there was a lot of community support for [her] language documentation project, as people felt a need to preserve their language and culture, which are both under pressure” and that “quite a few people were keen in participating in the project”, local authorities and VIPs included (p. 6), as well as that “Paluai [...] is vibrant and actively transmitted intergenerationally, unlike many indigenous languages of Papua New Guinea” in “Conclusions” of Schokkin 2018 (p. 83). Languages emerged, evolved, are evolving, and will evolve to finally die or give birth to new

²⁶ Such a decision should be welcomed: first, it is... trendy – examples of geographical renaming by replacing exonyms with endonyms all over the world can easily be found on maps (cf. haphazardly coming to mind Zimbabwe, Burkina Faso, Jibouti, Eswatini, Myanma(r), Beijing, Guangdong, Karnataka, Kolkata, Varanasi, Chennai, Mumbai, Odisha, Harare, N’Djaména, Nuuk, Vanuatu, Kiribati, Swaraj Dweep, and hundreds of other toponyms, or, for that matter, e.g. Rangiaroa and some 60 other proposals for the Cook Islands, not yet on maps), but it concerns also ethnonyms, glottonyms, and other onomastica (e.g. Titan, Kilivila, Romani, Rrom(a), Inuit, Itelmen, Khant(y), Mansi, Saami, Yugyt, Yupik, Heiltsuk, Nuuchahnutl, Kwak’wala, Nivkh–Nivh(gu), Uilta, etc); second, if one intends to protect and save small, “lesser-used”, and usually endangered tongues (as well as cultures), the introduction, use, and propagation of endonyms of the studied communities is a very good step to start with. Actually, it was exactly *the glottonym* in the titles of Schokkin 2013; 2017, Schokkin & Otto 2017 but above all in the title of the book under consideration here that attracted the attention of this writer strongly enough to reach for the volume and spend with it some pandemic time, sufficient to trigger these remarks.

languages. English, for that matter, *toutes proportions gardées*, a small and strongly endangered language during and after the times of the 10th century Norman conquest of England which Romanized overwhelmingly its lexicon, a millennium later is the sole language with the global sphere of influence, having forced out (by openness not physical force) the language of the conqueror descendants from the very same global position. For Paluai, it is English (and the local government policy) which is the source of both endangerment and opportunity: “The official educational policy in PNG is to facilitate and encourage the use of local vernaculars in elementary schools. [But] this policy does not work well. [...] the financial burden [...] mainly lies with local communities, and thus there is often no funding or expertise for school materials in the local language. [...] Elementary school teachers are usually local people [who] can provide education in the vernacular [but] teacher training is minimal [...]. Unfortunately, people tend to blame vernacular education rather than lack of teacher training for the fact that children have insufficient command of English [...] good command [of which] is seen as a prerequisite for successfully completing higher education [...] highly valued in Paluai culture. In fact, the Provincial Government of Manus now seems to have completely abolished teaching in the vernaculars, since it is seen as a barrier for the acquisition of English” (Schokkin 2018: 76).

Seeing and taking into their hands the grammar of their language elegantly published by a prestigious publishing house, the Paluai speakers may feel proud and motivated to cherish and retain it, the Paluai youths may find fluency in their native tongue a trump card – this writer is familiar with such developments the native tongue from a burden (e.g., an additional class at school when friends play soccer outside) turned into something trendy, swanky, impressing and attracting the opposite sex. The lot of Paluai depends thus solely on these youths.

Paluai “is spoken in two locations: on Baluan Island²⁷ and on nearby Pam Island²⁸ (see Figure 1)” (p. 2). The “Figure” referred to (on the same page) is a microscopic “Language map of Manus Province”, far too small for an elderly professor with his sight naturally impaired to be of any rational use²⁹. The diameters of the two most important places on the map for the entire book – Baluan and Pam Islands – are, respectively, 3 millimeters and less than 1 millimeter for the “bigger” (Pam Mandian) of the two latter islands drawn. Moreover, there is no map at all for the very Baluan Island³⁰ or at

²⁷ A circle-shaped dormant stratovolcanic island (14 km², 16 km coastline) about 70 km southeast of central Manus.

²⁸ There are two Pam (Pam Mandian and Pam Lim) islets between Baluan and Lou Islands, Pam Mandian, some 4 km northeast of Baluan, being populated (“about 300 people” as one reads in Otto 1991: 4). In certain sources Baluan is indicated as “the main” of the Pam Islands. Baluan, Pam and Lou Islands constitute one Balopa Rural Local Level Government Area. These Pam Islands must not be confused with the Fam islands, more and more often – and more properly (as endonym) – named Pam Islands, part of Raja Ampat archipelago in West Papua Province (former Irian Jaya) in Indonesia, (north)west off Doberai (~Vogelkop ~Bird’s Head) Peninsula, westernmost recess of New Guinea Island.

²⁹ Much more transparent and friendly is the (otherwise primitively sketchy) Map 30 in Asher and Moseley’s *Atlas* mentioned above

³⁰ There is a half-page map of Baluan in Schokkin 2014 (p. 10) copied from a full-page and transparent map in Otto 1991: 46. The 2014 copy is not provided with necessary explanations. One would expect at least

least its inhabited northern region. In such a situation writing that “The Baluan population is spread over six villages, most of them on the north coast” (2020: 4)³¹ seems meaningless. No data for the situation on Pam provided.

Schokkin informs vaguely that “the linguistic data on which [her] work is based were collected during four field trips to Baluan Island, totalling about 11 months” (p. 5) which again tempts one into reaching for the 2014 version of the grammar in search for possible more satisfactory details. And... it pays: here one finds that the data “were collected during three field trips to Baluan [...]: a pilot trip of two weeks in June 2010, and two lengthy trips, one of about seven months in 2010-2011 and one about three months in 2012” (pp. 24-25). Not very precise but much more informative. “In addition”, she wrote (*ib.*), “a wordlist compiled by [...] Otto and several recordings made by him during field trips in the 1980s and 1990s were used”. Not only: in 2014 she also reprinted Otto’s map but... see f.n. 30 and 31.

Schokkin “spent most of” her “time in Lipan village” living “there with a local family, by whom” she “was adopted” (2020: 6, she uses the term “immersion fieldwork”). What about the remaining time – even if “most” meant, say, 90% of her time – what other places she visited (even if in order to make an attempt at updating Otto’s map! practically all settlements on that tiny island could in no time be visited on foot – and if not – one would like to know the reasons). Interestingly, Lipan – the village prominently running through the writings on Baluan, and one of the nine wards in Balopa (cf. f.n. 28) with the only primary school (and one of the three schools on the island) – does not appear even in such a source as a 1982 gazetteer (Peterson et al.) listing “approximately 27,700 entries for places and features in Papua New Guinea”³².

such a map updated after almost a quarter of the century and supported by a detailed orientation in what is what, especially by the researcher who spent almost one year on the (small area) location. Probably, a situational sketch on Pam drawn with the local help and knowledge would also be possible in view of the facts that “inhabitants of the two islands regard their customs as very much alike, and there is considerable intermarriage” (p. 2; intriguing is e.g. the role of the Buiat Community School there in strengthening – or weakening – the language preservation).

³¹ In the 2014 (p. 10) version, the information is ambiguously expanded: “Most villages are near the shore, but there are a couple of small hamlets on the flank of the mountain”; it is not clear whether the six villages include these hamlets or they are separate entities. The Otto 1991: 46 map shows exactly six villages (Perelik, Parioi, Sone, Manuai, Lipan, and Mouk~Mok) and five “hamlets” (Poiom Puli, Pungkanau, Loye, Pungap, and Pumbanin) but they all seem to be located on the northern coast, while satellite photographs disclose settlements also on the eastern and southern coasts and separate household structures on the western coast – all of them absent from Otto 1991 map but from the text one learns e.g. that “There is a small settlement on the south coast and a number of families live in isolated places near the coast, up the hill and even on the rim of the crater” (1991: 2). On a 1957 [?] topographic map of the island, apart from the coastal Barely (Perelik), Bariyoe (Parioi), Sone, Bunca, Sabobarubay, Loye, Lipan and Mok settlements (the last of them (“huts on stilts”) situated rather on the south-eastern coast of the tiny island Mok offshore north-east of Baluan), two settlements – Manui and Molikud (and seemingly one more unnamed) – have been localized inlandward from Bareley upward the Saboma (~Sabroma, on Otto 1991: 46 map Malsu) Crater, the central and highest (254 m) point of Baluan.

³² Hence such a strong emphasis is put in the present text on the importance of seemingly insignificant data related to the exact time and detailed location of the fieldwork but also to the “entire world” of the language studied. On the other hand, Schokkin wrote (p. 6) that she “managed to record people from villages

The first chapter in Schokkin 2020, entitled “The language and its context”, covers six and half pages of print (1-7), while the corresponding chapter in Schokkin 2014 PhD version (“Background information”) extends over 25 pages and a half. Usually, it is so (and seen as normal) that a published monograph resulting from a PhD thesis and the typescript thesis differ because the requirements to be met differ in the two cases: the author of both is requested to reduce the contents of the thesis to suit some – expected – standard of an academic publication. The reduction results in turn from discussions, criticism, advice, verification, time distance, increase of knowledge and experience, etc., and has its reflexes in customary acknowledgements customarily ending with reassurance that ‘all decisions, choices, interpretations, errors, etc., remain the – *sole* – responsibility of the author’. In the case of the introductory chapter in Schokkin 2020 the result of this reduction process is, in this author’s perception, a bit too far from optimal³³.

Diametrically different is his impression about the grammatical part of the book. It is organized into eleven (2-12) chapters as a rule ([{sub-}sub-]sub-) classified into subchapters, sections, and subsections, all precisely displayed in the table of “Contents” (ix-xviii) which, together with the “List of Figures” (xix), “List of Tables” (xxi-xxii)³⁴, list of “Conventions and abbreviations” (xxiii-xxv), “References” (423-428), “Subject Index” (429-431), and “Author Index” (433-434) practically guarantee a quick and precise orientation in the entire quite bulky volume³⁵.

The consecutive chapters are devoted to “[chapter] 2 Phonology” (8-56; phonemes and their realizations – 14 consonants (four of them with “marginal phonemic status” 9-10) seven vowels characterized with the use of spectrograms (9-39), syllable structure (8-9), and prosodic features (40-54); a section on practical “orthography” (2.4, 54-56) concludes the chapter); “3 open Word classes” (57-117; here nouns (58-83), verbs (84-102)³⁶, adjectives (102-106), adverbs (107-115) are discussed and special tables (32-34, pp. 116-117) “summarizing the distinguishing criteria” for these lexical categories³⁷); “4 closed Word classes” (118-163; discussed are pronouns (118-123: three persons, four numbers – singular, dual, paucal, and plural, their object and possessive forms – all,

all over the island” and “witnessed a large number of traditional ceremonies, which are part and parcel of daily life on Baluan, and recorded several”.

³³ Its contents should preferably be closer to that of Schokkin 2018.

³⁴ 15 “Figures” and 88 “Tables” respectively listed.

³⁵ To be sure, not all is ideal, e.g., indigenous terms (like e.g. *polpolot*, and the like) should find their places in the subject index, otherwise e.g. starting acquaintance with the book from the appended texts, one is at a loss finding a series of occurrences of the word <polpolot> and its derivatives in the metalanguage (412); in Schokkin 2014: 12 and 2018: 78-79 we found a short but very useful section on “traditional arts, crafts and speech genres, now moribund” very suitable for insertion in the introductory chapter in Schokkin 2020, alas absent there.

³⁶ Both characterized as „the two major word classes in Paluai” which „form truly open classes to which new items are added constantly e.g. through borrowing or through derivational mechanisms such as compounding” (57), reduplication, suffixation (80-83, 94-99ff.).

³⁷ The chapter includes a section (3.5, 105-106) labeled “Forms that appear in more than one word class” – this author fully understands the practical advantages of such interpretations but rather opposes them on the ground that they violate the <logical postulate of classification> that *each of all* of the objects to be *classified* must belong to *one and only* one class and *none* of them can be left unclassified.

except for singular, inclusive or exclusive), demonstratives (124-129, three basic forms for ‘this/here’, ‘that/there’, and ‘that far/over there’ and three special purpose derivatives), prepositions (129-132), numerals (133-138), quantifiers (139-146), interrogatives (146-150), “negation and mood markers” (150-151), “conjunctions and clause connectors” (151-155), “interjections and formulaic words and phrases” (156-157), and forms with prefixed *ta-* and its allomorphs (157-163); “**5** noun phrase” (164-174), “**6** verbal predicates” (175-224, the category of aspect on pp. 180-196, “reality status” (realis/irrealis 201-209), modality (209-221), and “structural properties of the verb complex”, 221-4); “**7** non verbal and copula predicates (225-237, comparative constructions 235-237); “**8** “grammatical relations and valency (238-271), “**9** Serial verb constructions” (272-301), “**10** Speech act distinctions and polarity” (302-323, moods – interrogative, imperative, negations); “**11** dependent clauses” 324-358, “combining main clauses” 358-361); finally, “**12** an intriguing “preliminary review of striking discourse and pragmatic phenomena”, 362-391).

The presentation of the entire material (“collected exclusively on Baluan [... but most of the description applies to the Pam variety as well” – “native speakers insist that the varieties spoken on Baluan and Pam are the same”, p. 2) is a textbook one, with abundance of records of authentic language production used to exemplify and illustrate the grammatical description and argumentation, competently and consistently sub-glossed with a morpheme-for-morpheme and natural (“literary” or “standard”) English translation in every respective thematic (topic) section and chapter, and essentials transparently tabulated, not only making the search for desired information in, and the use of, the volume quick and easy, but also helping to better absorb and remember the findings.

At the beginning of the present review Schokkin 2020 was pronounced a milestone in linguistic research – because it is one as the first so comprehensive description of an Admiralties cluster (sub-subfamily) language. Simultaneously, it is a new, attractive, accessible, easy to use, and evidently reliable source of so far non-existing linguistic data from an area that only recently started to be penetrated by trained linguists excellently prepared for the “immersion fieldwork” data collecting, analyzing, and converting the analyzed material into a standard academic descriptive grammar which – as in this particular case – offers a lot not only to highly specialized Austronesianists but also to specialists in general linguistics in pursuit of arguments and facts indispensable for theoretical reflection on language, typologists greedy for examples of “unusual”, “deviant”, “exotic”, so far hardly described language phenomena from tongues not quoted before by other colleagues typologists, but also to anthropologists and ethnologists always eager to support their studies with linguistic arguments.

Schokkin’s 2020 Paluai grammar is a pioneering publication in the field of studies in Admiralty Islands languages – in spite of the fact that she herself mentioned a few “existing descriptions” of some of these tongues, among them some that – just like originally her own book – were PhD and even MA dissertations. There are grounds, therefore, to hope that Schokkin 2020 harbingers a crop of Admiralty language grammars, possibly also dictionaries, and text anthologies in the very near future, and this reviewer is just about to ready a special shelf space for the occasions.

References

- Asher, R[onald] E. and Christopher Moseley (eds.) 2007. *Atlas of the World's Languages, Second edition*. Routledge.
- Boettger, Juliane 2015. *Topics in the Grammar of Lele – A Language of Manus Island, Papua New Guinea*. PhD thesis. Cairns: James Cook University College of Arts, Society and Education.
- Bowern, Claire 2011. *Sivisa Titan. Sketch Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary. Based on Material Collected by P. Josef Meier and Po Minis*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- BSE 1954. “Манус” [entry <Manus>]. *Большая советская энциклопедия. Второе издание 26 магнитка-медуза* [„Great Soviet Encyclopedia, second edition”, vol. 26]. Москва [Moscow]: Государственное научное издательство «Большая советская энциклопедия». P. 235³⁸.
- Clarey-Kemp, Jessica 2015. *Serial Verb Constructions Revisited: A Case Study from Koro*. PhD dissertation. Berkeley: University of California.
- Fitzpatrick, Phil 2014. “Paliau Maloat – how one man changed Manus forever”. *PNG Attitude – Keith Jackson and friends* online.
- Hafford, James A. 2014. *Wuvulu Grammar and Vocabulary*. PhD dissertation. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i at Manoa.
- Hamel, Patricia J. 1994. *A Grammar and Lexicon of Loniu, Papua New Guinea*. Canberra: Australian National University Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies.
- Kais, Kakak 1998. *The Paliau Movement*. Manus. Papua New Guinea – Buai Digital Project (2000 pnbuai.com).
- Kamei Takashi & Kōno Rokurō & Chino Eiichi (eds.) 1992. *Gengogaku daijiten // The Sanseido Encyclopedia of Linguistics* vol. 4, *Sekai gengo hen // Languages of the World, Part Three*. Tōkyō: Sanseidō.
亀井孝・河野六郎・千野栄一 編著 1992. 言語学大辞典 第4巻. 世界言語編下-2. 東京: 三省堂。
- Kamei Takashi & Kōno Rokurō & Chino Eiichi (eds.) 1993. *Gengogaku daijiten // The Sanseido Encyclopedia of Linguistics* vol. 5, *Hoi, gengomei sakuin hen // Supplement & Index*. Tōkyō: Sanseidō.
亀井孝・河野六郎・千野栄一 編著 1993. 言語学大辞典 第5巻. 補遺・言語名索引編. 東京: 三省堂。
- Lewis, M. Paul (ed.) 2009. *Ethnologue. Languages of the World. Sixteenth Edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.
- Lynch, John, Malcolm Ross and Terry Crowley 2002. *The Oceanic Languages*. London and New York: Routledge [2011 paperback edition used].
- Majewicz, Alfred F. 2005. “Research Results on ‘Newly Discovered Minority Languages’ in China”. *Linguistic and Oriental Studies from Poznań* 7, 113-38.
- Mead, Margaret 1930 (1962). *Growing up in New Guinea. A Comparative Study of Primitive Education*. New York: Blue Ribbon Books.
- Mead, Margaret 1956. *New Lives for Old. Cultural Transformation – Manus, (1928-1953)*. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.
- Meier, Georg F. und Barbara Meier 1979. *Handbuch der Linguistik und Kommunikationswissenschaft Band I. Sprache, Sprachentstehung, Sprachen*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Otto, Ton 1991. *The Politics of Tradition in Baluan. Social Change and the Construction of the Past in a Manus Society*. PhD dissertation. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Otto, Ton 2020. “Maloat, Sir Paliau (c. 1907-1991)”. *Australian Dictionary of Biography* online.
- Petersen, Boyd D. & William R. Garren and Charles M. Heyda 1982. *Gazetteer of Papua New Guinea*. Washington, D. C.: Defence Mapping Agency.
- Ross, Malcolm 2002. “Kele”. Adapted for Lynch et al. 2002:123-47.
- Sakiyama Osamu 1992. “Meraneshia goha // Eng. Melanesian Languages” and “Rougo // Lou”. Entries in Kamei et al. 1992:414-25 and 1027-9, respectively.
崎山理1992。メラネシア語派 英 Melanesian languages」。ロウ語」。
- Sakiyama Osamu 1993. “Oseania shogo // Eng. Oceanic languages”. Entry in Kamei et al. 1993:52-60.
崎山理1993。オセアニア諸語 英 Oceanic languages」。ロウ語」。

³⁸ BSE ³1974 (vol. 15, 340) repeats the same area figures; population figures are: in BSE 1954 – “ca. 13,000”, in BSE 1974 – “22,000 (1969)”.

- Schokkin, Dineke 2013. "Directionals in Paluai: Semantics, Use, and Grammaticalization Paths". *Oceanic Linguistics* 52/1, 169-91.
- Schokkin, [Dineke] Gerda Hendrike 2014. *A Grammar of Paluai. The Language of Baluan Island, Papua New Guinea*. PhD thesis. Cairns: James Cook University School of Arts and Social Sciences.
- Schokkin, Dineke 2017. "Contact-Induced Change in an Oceanic Language: The Paluai-Tok Pisin Case". *Journal of Language Contact* 10, 76-97.
- Schokkin, Dineke 2018. "Language Contexts: Paluai, also known as Pam-Baluan (Papua New Guinea)". *Language Documentation and Description* 15, 65-86.
- Schokkin, Dineke and Ton Otto 2017. "Relatives and Relations in Paluai". *Oceanic Linguistics* 56/1, 226-46.
- Stutzman, Verna 1997. *A Study of the Lou Verb Phrase*. MA dissertation. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.
- UNID 1980. "Papua New Guinea", entry "Manus"³⁹. United Nations Environment Program. *UN System-Wide Earthwatch Web Site Island Directory*.
- Voegelin, C[harles]. F. and F[lorencia] M. Voegelin 1977. *Classification and Index of the World's Languages*. New York/Oxford/Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Wheeler, Tony ⁴1988. *Papua New Guinea – a travel survival kit*. South Jarra, Victoria: Lonely Planet Publications.
- Wozna, Beata and Theresa Wilson 2005. *Seimat Grammar Essentials*. Ukarumpa: SIL.
- Yartseva, Victoria Nikolayevna В[иктория] Н[иколаевна] Ярцева (ed.) 1982. *Языки и диалекты мира, проспект и словник* [languages and dialects of the world, prospectus and list of glottonyms]. Москва: Издательство Наука [Moscow: Nauka Publishers].

³⁹ No other of the Admiralty Islands appears on the UNID 1980 list.