

In Memoriam, Terry Crowley 1953–2005

Early in the third week of January this year, Oceanic linguists and other colleagues and friends received with utter disbelief the devastating news of Terry Crowley's sudden death at his home in Hamilton, New Zealand, on the weekend of January 15–16.¹ There had been no warning signs, no immediately preceding period of hospitalization, no known illness to give us warning. A fit fifty-one-year-old non-smoker (some might say virulent *anti-smoker*), jogger, moderate drinker, careful of what he ate, he died suddenly from a severe heart attack.

Terry made major contributions in a number of areas: to descriptive studies of Vanuatu languages; to the study of Bislama and, more generally, to creole studies; to the study of the history of the Oceanic languages; to literacy and other sociolinguistic and applied studies in the Pacific; to theoretical and historical linguistics; and, in his younger days, to Australian Aboriginal linguistics. He was, perhaps, the most prolific publisher among all Oceanic linguists. In a reference written in support of his application for a full professorship, Andrew Pawley said of his productivity: "I don't know how he does it. The quantity is staggering. . . . And the quality is uniformly high. His books are meticulously researched and well written, several are based on his own extended fieldwork, and all will stand for a long time as important reference works."

At the time of his death, he was directing a rather large research project on the languages of Malakula, and was himself actively involved in working with about half a dozen languages on that island, most of them moribund. His sudden death has cut short what should have been another fifteen or twenty years of that same productivity, as well as taking away a friend and admired colleague. David Walsh summarized the situation in an email message to me: "He was a good linguist and a good bloke—there's no bloody justice in the world!"

THE EARLY YEARS. Terence Michael Crowley was born on April 1, 1953 (a date he did not advertise widely!) in Billericay, just east of London. The family emigrated from England to Australia when he was about seven years old, and settled on a dairy farm outside the rural Victorian town of Shepparton, some 200 km. north-west of Melbourne. He was dux [valedictorian] of Shepparton High School in 1970.

The following year, he enrolled in a Bachelor's degree in Asian Studies at the Australian National University (ANU). In a personal memoir in Don Laycock's memorial volume (Dutton, Ross, and Tryon 1992:21–22), Terry says that he was interested in languages as a high school student, and in 1968 wrote to Stephen Wurm at the ANU to

1. I am grateful to a number of people who assisted me in writing this obituary, among them John Davey, Diana Eades, Andrew Pawley, Ken Rehg, and Jeff Siegel.

see if there were jobs for such people. A reply came back from Don Laycock (Stephen being, as usual, out of Canberra) assuring him that there were such jobs, and sending him a copy of one of his books on Sepik languages (Laycock 1965), inscribed: "To Terry Crowley, with best wishes for a possible career in linguistics." Prophetic words indeed!

During his bachelor's program, he became interested in Australian Aboriginal languages, under the guiding hand of R. M. W. Dixon. His thesis was on the dialects of Bandjalang (now Bundjalung), and was published as Crowley (1978a). He completed his bachelor's degree with first class honors in 1974, winning the University Medal in linguistics, and for the next year or so worked as a Research Assistant in Bob Dixon's department at the ANU, again concentrating his efforts on Australian languages.

He enrolled in PhD studies in 1976 in that same department. Given that he had majored in Bahasa Indonesia during his undergraduate studies, he was keen to do his doctoral research on an Indonesian language. However, I recall him saying that there were some strained relations between Indonesia and Australia around that time, and this caused difficulties in getting a visa. Accordingly, he decided instead to come to the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) and to do his doctoral research on the language spoken on the island of Paama. He was awarded his PhD in 1980.

TERRY AS A TEACHER. In 1979, before he had completed his PhD, Terry took up his first senior academic post, as a lecturer in the Department of Language and Literature at the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG). Thus began my association with Terry. Our first steps in cooperation were not, however, strictly academic or publication-oriented. Rather, we did a deal that, instead of each of us teaching the normal two courses per semester, he would take three in one semester and one in the other, and vice versa for me, to give us both a chance to get on with research.

In the early 1980s, Ron Crocombe, then the Professor of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific (USP), wrote to me saying that his Institute of Pacific Studies was going to be establishing a Pacific Languages Unit (PLU) in Vanuatu, and asking if I could think of someone who would make a good foundation director. Terry's name immediately came to mind—much as I didn't want to lose him from our department—and during 1983 Terry moved to Port Vila where he established the PLU in a three-bedroom house across from Independence Park. (USP's operations moved to their present site in 1989.)

Here he was presented with a real challenge. There were almost no courses on the books. Teaching was almost completely by "extension": that is, his students were in Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, Kiribati, Solomon Islands, and so on, with only a few in Vanuatu. And although there was sporadic contact with a few students through audio-conference tutorials, as well as the occasional tutorial visit to one or more countries each semester, the courses had to be written under the assumption that these materials would be *all* the assistance that the student would receive: no library, no tutors, no classes, nothing. Terry wrote five such courses, and collaborated with another faculty member in producing a Bislama version of a course book for pre-school teachers. One of his courses, *Introdaksen long stadi blong Bislama*, was on the history and structure of Bislama, and was written entirely in Bislama.

At the end of 1990, Terry accepted an offer of a Senior Lectureship from the University of Waikato, and moved there at the beginning of 1991. He was promoted twice—first to Associate Professor in 1997, and then in 2003 to full Professor—and remained in Hamilton until his untimely death. He also taught short courses at the Australian Linguistic Institute (1992 and 1998) as well as at City University of New York (1986) and the Summer Institute of the Linguistic Society of America at Cornell University (1997). He supervised five doctoral students, and was an external examiner for 12 PhDs and 11 MAs.

Working throughout his academic life in small linguistics departments—at one stage, he was the sole faculty member of the PLU—Terry learned pretty quickly to turn his hand to almost any area of undergraduate linguistics. He enjoyed teaching, and had a clear expository style. Most of all, he was concerned that his students develop some of the same passion about languages and linguistics that was such an important part of his life.

TERRY THE FIELD LINGUIST. Terry enjoyed fieldwork. Each field trip, of course, came with its associated (and often slightly exaggerated) minor medical emergencies: broken ribs, coral cuts, malaria, diarrhea, boils, infected blisters from walking halfway across Erromango, and so on. Each field trip ended with him saying “That’s the last time—never again!” And the next year, he would be back for the next field trip.

His first essays into field linguistics were in his undergraduate days and while he was a research assistant at the ANU. During that period he conducted research into Bandjlang, Djangadi, Gumbaynggir, and Yaygir, all spoken in New South Wales, and Mpakwithi and Uradhi in Queensland, as well as working on Cape York Creole. In addition, he was involved, with Bob Dixon, in trying to put together what was known about the Tasmanian languages, and since 1994 was involved with the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre in the development of a language program in the context of the extinction of the Tasmanian languages in 1876. Despite his mainly Pacific focus since 1976, he continued publishing on Australian languages, his most recent contribution appearing as late as 1997.

His PhD research, as mentioned above, was on the island of Paama in central Vanuatu. Here he found a rather different field context: instead of the somewhat depressing situation of the mainly moribund languages he had worked on so far, Paamese was a vibrant language about half of whose speakers actually resided in Port Vila or elsewhere in the country, due to the pressure of population on the small land resources on Paama.

Apart from some brief fieldwork on the Tolai language while he was at UPNG, Terry in fact did not venture out into the field again till he had moved to Waikato (with one exception to be mentioned below). There were probably three reasons for this: one was that he was writing up much of his Paamese material, and there are thousands of Paamese-speakers in Port Vila; the second was that he was heavily involved in course development and course writing for the new program offered by the PLU; and the third was his burgeoning interest in Bislama. In this latter case, of course, the “field” was all around him: on campus, in the streets and markets of Port Vila, in the nakamals (kava-bars), and so on. So in a sense he did not abandon field linguistics over this period: it is just that he didn’t have to go anywhere to do it.

The exception I referred to above is illustrative of the way he made use of any opportunity. I am not sure of the reason for his visit to Malakula in 1988—possibly a holiday—but when waiting for the plane at Norsup airport in heavy rain he struck up a conversation with one Aiar Rantes, a fieldworker with the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and a member of the one remaining family that spoke the Nāti language. Aiar wanted his language recorded; the rain caused the closure of the airport for a couple of days; and the result of this fortunate set of circumstances eventually appeared—with some follow-up research—as Crowley (1998f).

During the mid-1990s, Terry continued his work on Bislama—because there were a number of ni-Vanuatu students studying at Waikato—and also conducted a brief amount of research on three vernaculars spoken by students there: Gela (Solomon Islands), Mwotlap, and Neve‘ei. Sketches of these languages appeared in Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002). But from 1994 the urge to return to the “real” field bit again. (Terry’s fondness for Vanuatu-style kava may also have had something to do with this.)

In 1993, Terry had Edward Nalial, a speaker of Sye (Erromangan), staying in his house in Hamilton while studying law at Waikato, and over the long vacation he made a social visit to Edward’s village. This led to a number of field trips to Erromango between 1994 and 1998, in which he carried out work not only on Sye, but also on the moribund Ura language. He then turned his attention to Malakula, and again because of a social visit to the village of a ni-Vanuatu student studying at Waikato, Joemela Simeon. Each year from 2000 to 2004 he made lengthy field trips to that island, working not only on Neve‘ei but also on Avava and three moribund languages, Tape, Naman, and Nese.

Terry treated all of his field trips as a social occasion and a cultural learning experience. Not for him working in seclusion, to emerge only when it was time for another tape-recording session. He participated fully in the life of each village he stayed in, helping with gardening and fishing ... and kava preparation and drinking. This attitude of involvement with and respect for the people flowed over into many of his publications, as we will see below.

TERRY AND DOCUMENTATION. When it came to publishing the results of his field research, Terry was unlike many linguists, in two ways. First, he felt it important to get something out soon, rather than waiting years to perfect a book or an article.² He believed that the data were of no use to other linguists if they sat in his notebooks or computer; and that even if he was not ready to publish something “properly,” he did make copies of drafts available to interested linguists. Sitting on my shelves, for example, I have *Naman: A vanishing language of Malakula (Vanuatu)*, 206 pages (submitted to Pacific Linguistics just before his death); *Nese: A diminishing speech variety of northwest Malakula*, 84 pages; and *Tape: A declining language of Malakula (Vanuatu)*, 213 pages;³ as well as *Nabusian Neve‘ei / Neve‘ei Dictionary*, coauthored with Jill Musgrave, 161 pages. (In all of these, the English funderlist has still to be compiled.) All of these were

2. And in this respect he was not always tolerant of publishers. I had a number of grumbling emails from him, along the lines of “If I can write the damn book in six months, why does it take them two years to publish it?”

produced within the last few years, and all are in various stages of completeness; in addition, Terry was well advanced on a similar study of Avava at the time of his death.

The other differentiating characteristic was that Terry strongly believed that much of what he produced should be of use and value to the speakers of the languages themselves. Villagers without much formal education are probably not going to read, or even want to read, grammars of their languages, and it is difficult in any case to make grammars accessible in this way. But dictionaries and collections of texts are another story, as are treatments of phonology, grammar, texts, and vocabulary in a single monograph.

So when it came to his major dictionaries (Paamese and Sye), he attempted to make them user-friendly from the point of view of the educated speaker of the language, *not* from a linguist's point of view. He received some criticism for this, and here is how he reacted to it in the Sye (Erromangan) dictionary: "However, I disagree with this criticism, and intend to present words in this dictionary in shapes that will be easily recognized by Erromangan speakers, even where they do not correspond to the root forms (though the root forms are always indicated elsewhere in the entry)" (Crowley 2000a:xii). So, for example, although most Sye verb roots are vowel-initial, the normal citation form used by native speakers is the nominalized form with the prefix *n-*. So while verb roots like *avel* 'whistle', *elani* 'avoid', *oruc* 'swim, bathe' and *ulevi* 'yield to' can be identified, these all appear under N in the dictionary: *navel*, *nelani*, *noruc*, and *nulevi*.

With regard to single-monograph treatments of moribund languages, Terry adopted another unusual convention, again in the interests of the speakers of the languages (and, in these cases, of neighboring languages as well). The first of these was his monograph on Ura, and here is his explanation and justification. "Although it is traditional to present a grammatical description as an introduction to a dictionary and accompanying texts, I have consciously chosen to present the dictionary first in this volume, followed by a collection of texts, with the phonology and grammar appearing at the end. This is largely out of consideration for people from Erromango who might be interested in learning about Ura. Erromangans [and I should say most Melanesians—JL] invariably see lexicography and the recording of oral tradition—rather than phonological and grammatical analysis—as being far more valuable products of linguistic research, and I would feel far more comfortable knowing that Erromangans opening this book toward the beginning are going to be faced with material that they may be interested in, rather than unintelligible paradigms or discussions of points of morphosyntax" (Crowley 1999a:7–8).

With the two languages on which he did the most research, he also produced collections of texts in a form that could be read by speakers of the language—Crowley (1980a), Crowley and Mael (1984) for Paamese; and Crowley (1997b) for Sye. Again, he saw this as a way of giving something back to the people who had helped him in his research.

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3. After having published *Ura: A disappearing language of Vanuatu*, Terry had trouble in finding more synonyms for "disappearing" to describe the moribund languages he was working on. We had a number of email exchanges of a thesaurus-like nature, and thus Naman was described as "vanishing," Nese as "diminishing," and Tape as "declining." Fortunately, Avava, which he was working on at the time of his death, was not moribund, and he would have had fewer difficulties finding a title.

Just before his death, he had submitted to Oxford University Press (OUP) a book-length manuscript provisionally entitled “A guide to fieldwork.” Terry had received reviewers’ comments, and was aiming at submitting the final manuscript in July 2005. One reviewer said: “It is exactly what is needed in the field, and exactly what is currently missing. For years I have been wishing that I had just this sort of thing to pass on to students.” John Davey, the linguistics consultant editor at OUP, emailed me as follows: “I’d like to consider asking a sympathetic field linguist to complete the work so that it can be published as a tribute to his memory and as the means of passing on some of his experience and wisdom to future generations of students.”

BISLAMA AND PIDGIN/CREOLE STUDIES. It is almost impossible to live in Vanuatu for any length of time and not learn at least some Bislama. However, on his initial visit to Vanuatu, Terry tried *not* to learn Bislama, so that he could become fluent in Paamese and have monolingual elicitation sessions as soon as possible. But once he was back in Port Vila for any length of time, and associating with ni-Vanuatu from all over the country, Bislama became essential. And for someone who seemed to also be a linguist of the other kind—someone who can pick up languages easily—Terry soon became fluent ... so fluent, in fact, that many people found his speed of utterance sometimes difficult to follow.

His first essay into writing on Bislama came in the form of materials for a USP course on Bislama, to be delivered in Bislama. With typical thoroughness, he produced a course book (539 pages), a reader (139 pages), and a 239-page grammar of Bislama—all (except for some of the readings in the reader) in Bislama. These were all in-house materials, and have probably not been seen by too many linguists. The grammar is particularly interesting, because he had to invent a metalanguage to describe grammatical classes and processes (see Crowley 1996a for a discussion on this).

Bislama, and creole studies more generally, remained one of his abiding interests for the rest of his life. In chronological order, his major books on the language were a social and linguistic history (1990a), the first version of a dictionary (1990b), a new dictionary (1995a, 2d edition 2003a), and a reference grammar (2004a).

There was a considerable difference between the first and second Bislama dictionaries (apart, obviously, from simply correcting and updating). In the first, he did not believe it was his role to set an arbitrary spelling standard, and so that dictionary contained variant spellings of words reflecting the various pronunciations reasonably widely used (and usually reflecting phonological differences in speakers’ first languages). However, as he was compiling what he thought would be a second edition (stocks of the first having been exhausted), a meeting was held in Port Vila involving bible translators, media personnel, linguists, and others who were involved in writing in Bislama, to attempt to establish a standard spelling system for the language. Having agreed on a set of orthographic principles (almost all reflecting Terry’s own suggestions), this unofficial committee urged Terry to rework his dictionary so that it would highlight standard spellings (while still commenting, albeit more parenthetically, on major variants). Hence the title “A *new* Bislama dictionary.” On his last visit to Vanuatu he had also negotiated with Georges Cumbo of the Alliance Française to produce a French version of the dictionary. It is hoped that this project will still be able to proceed.

There had been some pressure on Terry to include etymologies in this new version. However, he felt that at least some etymological information might in fact have a negative effect, and add fuel to some of the prejudices held in certain quarters. For example, he felt that if he noted in the dictionary that *puskat* ‘cat’ derives from English *pussy-cat*, or *sitsit* ‘defecate, feces’ derives from English *shit-shit*, this might tend to confirm the view of Bislama being “baby-talk” or “Broken English.”

He contributed a great deal to our knowledge of Bislama and Melanesian Pidgin more generally, being especially interested in two areas: the historical development of the language, and various aspects of morphosyntax. In the former case, he showed, for example, that Early Bislama had a considerably larger vocabulary than had been thought, while on the latter he made seminal contributions in a number of areas, including “predicate marking” and verb serialization. The two strands came together in his work on the development of transitive suffixation.

VERB SERIALIZATION. Mention of serial verbs in Bislama brings us to another of his areas of interest. Again I quote from Andrew Pawley’s reference: “His 1987 paper on Paamese serial verbs proved to be a seminal paper in theoretical work worldwide on serial verb constructions.” He wrote also on Bislama serialization in 1990, and in 2002 OUP published his *Serial verbs in Oceanic: A descriptive typology*. That work was reviewed in this journal very recently (Bradshaw 2004), and readers interested in a detailed evaluation are referred to that review. Joel Bradshaw concludes his review by saying that Terry “has given us a very insightful account of serialization in Oceanic languages and how it relates to similar phenomena in Melanesian Pidgin” (2004:268).

HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES. Terry got into historical studies very early. As a third-year undergraduate student, he wrote an essay that solved the puzzle of the relationship of the Nganyaywana language (spoken around Armidale in northern New South Wales) to its neighbors. This became the first of his long list of publications (Crowley 1976).

His interest in historical and comparative linguistics was not primarily in the area of reconstruction. (Indeed, he would often send me wordlists or mini-lexicons of languages he was working on with an admonition something like “Here you go— happy cognate-hunting!”) Rather, he was more interested in historical morphology, and wrote on various historical developments in the morphosyntax of the Paamese and Erromangan languages.

Two very important papers, however, had a wider scope. In Crowley (1985a), he examined the common noun phrase marking system of Oceanic languages and attempted to reconstruct the Proto-Oceanic (POC) system. Although both *na and *a can be reconstructed as common NP markers, he could reach no conclusions as to what the relationship, or difference, between them was. On the other hand, he did show that in POC it seems likely that *na/*a was *not* used with human nouns and was only occasionally used with animates; it was, however, used with all or most nouns with inanimate reference. This was a major reversal of earlier thinking, and Terry made the following point in this regard: “The main point of the present discussion has, I think, been to try to divert attention from what were originally called “exemplary” Eastern Oceanic languages such as Fijian, to the once less exemplary languages of western Oceania. In the

light of these comments, it may therefore be necessary to reconsider a number of other grammatical reconstructions so far attributed to Proto-Oceanic" (1985a:186). I am not sure if this had any effect on the young(er) Malcolm Ross, but reconsideration is certainly what has happened in the twenty years since this was written.

The other paper was on verb-initial consonant mutation in Central Vanuatu languages (Crowley 1991a). In these languages, certain verb-initial consonants appear in irrealis mode, while realis is marked by changing the consonant to what was thought to have been its nasalized counterpart (i.e., counterpart in Proto-Oceanic). Thus it was assumed that the alternation was between reflexes of *p and *b, *k and *g, and so forth. This in turn suggested a shared innovation of a quite unusual nature. However, Terry's meticulous unraveling of this phenomenon in a number of these languages showed that the alternation was in fact not between the reflexes of POC oral and corresponding nasal consonants at all. Rather, it appears that the so-called "nasal" consonant in the realis originated in a realis prefix *m(V)- with later simplification through assimilation of the nasal + stop cluster. As far as its relevance for subgrouping purposes was concerned, he went on to say: "Although we cannot reconstruct a pattern of verb-initial mutation, or even a nasal vs. oral grade pattern in Proto-Central Vanuatu, we can probably reconstruct an original phonological asymmetry in the language from which the modern system of verb-initial mutation could well have evolved. . . . It is somewhat odd that . . . it should be the irrealis [that] has the primary root and the realis [that] has the secondary, morphologically marked, form of the root. [This] is itself a sufficiently odd innovation that it can be considered as a fairly strong piece of evidence for the existence of a Central Vanuatu subgroup" (Crowley 1991a:218).

There is also, of course, Terry's widely used textbook *Introduction to historical linguistics*. This developed out of course notes he used at UPNG, which were necessary, given that our students there were speakers of English as a second language and most of the existing texts were quite difficult for them to read. The notes also contained examples mainly from Pacific and Australian languages—again, most existing texts at the time seemed to select nearly all their examples from European and sometimes American languages. The first edition of this text appeared in 1987 as a joint publication of UPNG Press and USP's Institute of Pacific Studies. Second and third editions were published by OUP in 1992 and 1997. A few selected excerpts from Bob Blust's review of this textbook (Blust 1996) will illustrate its particular contribution. "It is a great merit of Crowley's book that he relies primarily on examples drawn from non-Indo-European languages to elucidate the principles of historical linguistics, thereby reminding us of the independence of these principles from the particular facts that led to their formulation. . . . Crowley has succeeded in laying out the main outlines of historical linguistics in an exceptionally lucid and engaging style. . . . [The book's] clear and thorough discussion of basic principles makes it one of the most accessible texts in historical linguistics for nonnative speakers [of English]."

SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND APPLIED STUDIES AND ACTIVITIES.

The linguistic climate in Vanuatu abounds with various political and social issues that affect language. First, there is the tension between the two former colonial languages, English and French, and especially their roles in education. Second, there are polarized

attitudes to Bislama, a language that nearly everyone (at least in urban centers) uses most of the time, and yet that is often looked down upon as *langwis blong rod*, an illegitimate or bastard language (cf. *pikinini blong rod*, “illegitimate child”). Third, there are issues in relation to vernacular languages and their place, if any, in the education system—until recently, they had no place at all. And then there are the concerns felt by at least some people in relation to language death and the recording of moribund languages. Terry had strong feelings about all of these issues, and many of his publications were in these areas. He also wrote quite a number of articles in newspapers and magazines, as a kind of public education program.

Despite his work on moribund languages, one particular view that he held quite strongly, and on which he elaborated in a number of fairly recent publications, ran counter to that espoused by linguists such as Mühlhäusler and Dixon, which said in effect that (a) literacy, missionization, and westernization were severely eroding the grammatical structures of Pacific languages, and (b) that, in any event, the vast majority of these languages were likely to die out in the not-too-distant future. Among other publications, his reviews of Mühlhäusler (1996) and Dixon (1997), both published in 1999, strongly argued the opposite: that despite smallish populations and lexical influence from English and other languages, most Melanesian languages are still vibrant, are likely to continue being spoken for generations to come, and remain structurally uninfluenced by other languages.

But it wasn't just a matter of writing about these issues. Terry was also practically involved in a number of activities that related to them, and not only in Vanuatu. Here is a brief selection: (a) member of the *Komiti blong Bislama* (Bislama Committee) for much of the 1980s, a semi-official body dealing with standardization and other issues; (b) local convener for a regional conference on Pacific languages: Directions for the future, August 1984; (c) coconvener of UNESCO workshop on Language development in Melanesia, December 1985; (d) consultant for the Tongan Language Studies component of the senior high school curriculum in Tonga, May 1986; (e) leader of a UNICEF-funded regional workshop on translation for Pacific preschool teachers, June 1987; (f) coconvener of a workshop on Melanesian Pidgin lexicography, June 1988; (g) member of a Melanesian literacy consortium awarded a UNESCO grant to oversee pilot projects in literacy development, 1990; (h) World Bank consultant on pilot projects in vernacular literacy in Vanuatu, 1999.

TERRY THE PERSON. The opinion shared by quite a number of linguists was that Terry must have been a workaholic—how otherwise, they argued, could he have produced the quantity and quality he did without slaving away every waking minute? Certainly, he had a passion for languages and linguistics. But it was by no means an all-consuming passion. He was sociable, and enjoyed skiing, television, bushwalking, gardening, and just hanging out with friends.

His productivity was not, I believe, the result of long hours at the desk seven days a week, but rather of the efficient use of his time. He was an early riser, and had often put in three or more hours of work before his colleagues arrived at the office. He seemed to have the ability to think fast and write fast. He would often send me a

draft of a paper for comment—and even if I sent comments back to him two days later, I would often find that he had already significantly altered the draft version.

His sociability extended beyond being an active participant in village life when he was in the field. His home in Hamilton was a social center for ni-Vanuatu students studying there. Annual Independence Day celebrations and other festivities were marked with a barbecue and a kava session at Terry's place. Parents of ni-Vanuatu students coming to Hamilton for their children's graduation could always find a bed at Terry's place, whether he had met them before or not. He was generous of his time with these students, and was a kind of uncle and adviser to them. At a memorial service held on USP's Emalus Campus in Port Vila a week after his death, it was the Waikato alumni who were the most emotional of the many people attending.

His annual trips to Vanuatu always began with tracking down old friends in Port Vila and heading off to the nakamal to catch up on things over a few shells of kava. Joining him in some of those sessions, I was amazed at just how many people knew him. He enjoyed his kava, and wrote a number of papers and reviews on linguistic matters to do with kava. Kava—at least in its Vanuatu style—tends to be an appetite depressant, and there is the well-known story of the first Oceanic Linguistics conference, which was held in Port Vila. Terry had been warned repeatedly on the day on which the conference dinner was to be held to refrain from drinking kava that evening, in order not to spoil what promised to be a thoroughly enjoyable meal and social occasion. But he bumped into a friend, who persuaded him into a few quick shells. Result: other participants enjoyed a slap-up meal while Terry lolled in a peacock chair the whole evening looking distinctly queasy.

Despite his sociability and his often quirky sense of humor, he was in many ways a very private person: there were things about him that one might never know, or be surprised at when one found out. He was also very modest: he would have been mortified to find out that the *Vanuatu Daily Post* devoted the whole of the front page of its January 19 edition to a report of his death and an evaluation of his contribution to the country, or to discover that the National Cultural Centre plans to hold an annual Terry Crowley Memorial Lecture. But that shows the high regard in which he was held in Vanuatu, and the value that ordinary people put on the work he had done and was doing.

VALE. Terry has left behind an amazing legacy. Pacific linguistics is the richer for his many contributions. He has also left behind a very large circle—or rather overlapping circles—of friends, who are also the richer for having known him.

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