

volume which will be required reading for many years to come.

### References

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*A grammar of Tauya*. By Lorna MacDonald. Mouton Grammar Library 6. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990. xii + 385. DM198.00.

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Tauya is one of the languages of the Upper Ramu Valley in the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea. It is classified by Z'graggen and Wurm as a member of the Brahman Stock-level Family, Adelbert Range Superstock, Madang-Adelbert Range Subphylum, Trans-New Guinea Phylum. MacDonald's work is the first to be published about any language of the family apart from word lists. That in itself renders the work a valuable contribution to the linguistic world. With over 1400 examples plus 30 pages of glossed text, there is a wealth of data provided.

As is typical of TNGP languages, Tauya has a correlation between high vowels and plural pronouns, a basic SOV word order, postpositions, most modifiers following the noun, fairly complex verbal affixation, a distinction between medial and final verbs, and the existence of a switch-reference system. Unusually, it exhibits only one series of stop phonemes but two fricative phonemes, and there is a conflation of 1st and 2nd person in pronouns and some verbal affixation for both singular and plural forms, (rather than the frequent conflation in 2nd and 3rd persons of non-singular forms).

The grammar is primarily descriptive with no statement made about the author's

theoretical perspective and, appropriately, very little theoretical jargon is used. A bias towards semantic and functional explanations for differences in form shows up at various points such as the observation that gerunds and relative clauses differ not only in that gerunds are more noun-like, but also that they refer to more permanent conditions. The lack of heavy theory combined with other aspects of her style makes the presentation easy to follow. Rather than make extensive cross-references, she restates relevant points and repeats examples wherever appropriate. At times, however, this is carried to redundant extremes, such as examples (539) and (541), which are virtually identical and are given in support of a restatement of the same point.

The first chapter provides a brief overview providing background information, typological features and linguistic affiliation. The second chapter describes the phonology with most of the discussion being of rules that apply specifically to pronouns or to the boundary between verb stem and suffix. Four types of morpheme boundaries are postulated to account for the data. Unfortunately, there are several inconsistencies in the presentation. For example, the distinctive feature chart for vowels does not include the feature [low] but several rules refer to it. Over half the book (204 pages) is given to the third chapter, which is inappropriately entitled Morphology. In addition to morphology, the chapter also describes word classes and the structure of noun and verb phrases, and in so doing provides much information that is relevant to the structure of both simple and complex sentences. The fourth chapter focuses on four topics of syntax—relative clauses, conditional sentences, ergativity and left dislocations. It pulls together and fills out information that was stated in various sections of the morphology chapter and adds proposals of the diachronic origins of some features. The final chapter consists of two interlinearised texts.

Four word classes are initially proposed, with adjective and adverbial particle being 'fairly easily defined' but nouns and verbs being 'more elusive'. Subsequently, however, there is no mention of adjectives and most words having a noun modifying function are described as

nouns. The elusiveness of defining nouns and verbs is due largely to an attempt to classify fully inflected words rather than word stems. Thus, she discusses whether medial verbs are nouns or verbs and concludes that subordinate medials are more noun-like whereas coordinate medials are closer to verbs. If word classes were based on the stems (as indeed verb sub-classification is), clearer definitions could be given and the observations concerning the status of medials would be relevant to the contextual function of the full word. The failure to distinguish between a word's or root's class and its function in a specific instance may also explain the 'disappearance' of adjectives. They are defined as 'those constituents which accompany and modify a noun.' Thus, perhaps, when a 'noun' such as *orou* 'long' has a qualifying function she would call it an adjective though that is not made clear.

Some aspects of possession are worth noting. Nouns are subclassified according to both derivational and semantic criteria. Unusually for Papua New Guinean languages, the subclass of inalienable nouns (inflected for person and number of the possessor with a prefix) consists of body parts and related items but excludes kin terms. However, some kin terms, as well as some body part terms, have suppletive stems which are used only for 3sg possessors.

Verb stems are similarly subclassified on the basis of two sets of criteria: derivational and syntactic. The syntactic criteria yield five classes: intransitive, transitive, transitive/intransitive, impersonal and imperative (a small class of defective verbs that occur only in imperative forms). There is, however, a rich system of aspectual and derivational suffixes that interact with these syntactic classes in various ways which are summarised in Table 1. These suffixes also exist as stems themselves, which MacDonald proposes as at least possible origins; the meanings as stems are given under the forms.

Only coordinate medials employ the switch-reference system; most of the subordinate medials have the same structure as finals except that they replace the mid suffix with a subordinating suffix. Within the coordinate medials, same subject forms are not marked for person and number of the subject. Different subject (DS) forms are so marked using a combination of the two sets of suffixes that occur on the finals (aorist and future). The aorist set does not differentiate between non-3rd persons. The DS forms use aorist forms plus the 2nd person future forms thus avoiding the 1st/2nd person ambiguity while neutralising the tense distinction. (As is typical, coordinate medials are dependent on the final verb for tense and mood.)

As subordinate medials, MacDonald describes assertives, counter-factuals and complement clauses, the first two of which she points out also occur finally and so are not true medials. Elsewhere she describes subordinate inconsequential clauses and argues that they are 'derived as left-dislocated complement clauses'. Complement clauses, inconsequential clauses and relative clauses all use the same subordinator *na*, which she glosses differently in each case though noting the identity. The challenge in trying to unite the uses of *na* would arise from the fact that it is also the possessive suffix for non-pronominals.

Relative clauses, which in Tauya are pre-head, are discussed in terms of the Keenan-Comrie accessibility hierarchy; subjects, objects, some oblique objects and some genitives can be relativised. The NP to be relativised can be within a complex sentence containing coordinate medials (same and different subject) but not from within a subordinate or nominalised clause; thus a NP such as 'the man who I saw and I went to Brahman' is perfectly acceptable.

Ergativity is a very superficial feature in Tauya. The ergative case marker *-ni* is only obligatory if the object is human, intransitive subjects can be in the ergative case (frequently if it is an actor, never if it is a patient but sometimes even if it is inanimate), and syntactically the language is nominative/accusative. MacDonald discusses the hypothesis that ergativity in Papuan languages is

derived from a passive but argues that, for Tauya, 'a much simpler and more superficial origin' is that it arose from a reanalysis of the 3sg object pronoun. Her proposal appears quite sound for the ergative uses of *-ni* but she makes no attempt to explain its other functions which she lists in the beginning of the section as: a cause marker on coordinate and complement clauses, source, instrument and adding assertiveness.

Left dislocation can be applied in Tauya not only to NPs but also to complement clauses, coordinate clauses and some adverbs. She proposes that inconsequential clauses in Tauya, one of whose functions is to encode a clause that can not be interpreted as having a causal relationship with its matrix clause, are a derivation from left-dislocated complement clauses that reinterpret their not being case-marked as their not having a case relation with the matrix.

One further shortcoming is the failure to define terms, some which have several definitions in current usage. For example, 'perfective' for Tauya seems to mean specifically 'completed', and 'vocative case' appears to be used not as a relation within a clause but to mark an utterance (apparently just a NP, such as a name or kin term) which is used to get someone's attention. Even some common terms seem to be used in unusual or inconsistent ways. For example, in discussion of the status of the phoneme /r/, she counts suffix-initial instances as exceptions to its

TABLE 1: ASPECTUAL AND DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

Stem	<i>ti</i>	<i>-mene</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>fe</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>-te</i>	<i>-'ofe</i>
	identify	existential	'stop'	'get'	'belly'?
intransitive	perfective intensive	stative	less intense transitive	less intense short time	impersonal (be → feel)
transitive	perfective intensive	stative	ditransitive perfective	compound	
trans/intrans	perfective intransitive	intransitive	transitive perfective		
impersonal	intensive		transitive (add causer)	inceptive	
noun	intransitive		transitive	inceptive	

<sup>1</sup> This suffix cannot occur on stems that have an inherently punctual meaning. A suppletive form *minu* is used optionally to specify plural subject reference; since inanimate subjects require a 3sg subject suffix regardless of number, this can serve to remove the ambiguity.

<sup>2</sup> The reduced intensity meaning applies only to verbs of emotion. When the object is human, the transitivity use has two forms—main verb##auxiliary versus main-suffix—which differ in terms of lesser or greater degree or directness of effect, respectively (e.g. kill by sorcery versus kill by shooting). Finally, *-fe* also has an optional suppletive form indicating plurality, in this case of the object; this again serves to disambiguate number reference when the referent is not human.

distribution being 'generally restricted to medial position'. The term 'compound' is used for juxtaposed nouns or verbs regardless whether they form a single word or two; some of the phonemic rules apply across a compound boundary but it is not clear whether this includes both types.

Regardless of the shortcomings I have referred to, the volume retains the quality of being a valuable addition to the library of anyone seeking real data of 'exotic' languages, especially those of Papua New Guinea. It contains an abundance of data, is well laid out and, for the most part, is clearly presented.

*Currents in Pacific linguistics*. Ed. by Robert Blust. Pacific Linguistics C-117. Canberra, Australian National University, 1991. xi + 560pp. AUS\$48.50.

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This volume honours Dr George Grace, professor at the University of Hawaii since 1964 and 70 years old when the book was published last year. The 34 authors share Grace's interests in Austronesian linguistics and ethnolinguistics, the themes (and subtitle) of the book. For over thirty years Grace has been closely involved with the mapping of the relationships between the 1000 or so languages of the Austronesian family, allowing Pacific peoples to understand important aspects of their history over the past 3500 years, including their migrations.

Most of the papers are too specialised for non-linguists, which will give the book only

a narrow market. For the linguist, the range of papers is stimulating—phonology, syntax/ semantics, sociolinguistics, and different aspects of language change and historical Pacific linguistics. Papers are short (10 or so pages) and relatively dense. The following descriptors provide a few whiffs of the contents.

Harlow on 'Consonant dissimilation in Maori' provides interesting data and draws attention to Maori phonology as an under-researched area. Building on a series of consonant alternations, Li shows in Sediq (an Austronesian language of Taiwan) that vowels delete in the syllable immediately before the accented penultimate syllable, provided they are word-initial and a true consonant intervenes (i.e. not [h] or [ʔ]). In the latter case, the preceding vowel assimilates completely with that of the accented syllable. Vowels preceded by a consonant with the same following context become [u] or [ə] according to dialect.

Mosel's 'Semantics and syntax in Samoan' is a clear exposition of the differences between the person-oriented syntax of English as opposed to the anti-person oriented syntax of Samoan. Also writing on Samoan, Cook argues strongly for the definition of 'subject' as a conflation of S and A. Lichtenberk ('Reciprocals and depatientives in To'aba'ita') suggests that the latter forms are derived (as intransitive verbs, for example 'the enemy is very frightening'), and on the basis of distribution, argues for this development as post proto-Oceanic.

Moyse-Faurie on Xârâcùù (an explanation of the pronunciation would have assisted the uninitiated) illustrates verb serialisation and explains two morphological developments—a tendency for some verbs to contract with the main verb, and a tendency for others to separate from the verb phrase. The paper illustrates that neighbouring (New Caledonia) languages (Ajië and Tiri) have corresponding developments but in the main use non-cognate morphs. Also on New Caledonian languages is Hollyman's 'Personalised and non-personalised possession: final consonants in Kumak and other languages of Far Northern New Caledonia', which charts the likely historical development of a system of personal possessive suffixing.

Good's study of determiners in Hote (an Austronesian language of Morobe Province, PNG) may eventually show that they are 'discourse' markers of some kind. Tchekhoff examines aspect in Tongan and two South Australian languages (Diyari and Yandruwandha) and