

BRADSHAW, Joel and Kenneth L. Rehg (eds): *Issues in Austronesian Morphology: A Focusschrift for Byron W. Bender*. Pacific Linguistics 519. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, 2001. vii + 287 pp., bib., tables. Price: A\$64.90 International A\$59.00 (paper).

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As this book is devoted to Byron W. Bender, it aptly starts with two articles on his work (by Alfred Capelle and G.W. Grace) and a bibliography. Twelve papers on a wide variety of morphological issues in Austronesian languages follow. The book is not organised around a specific theme or sub-area of morphology; consequently, the papers vary considerably in languages discussed, topic, and even length (between eight and sixty pages). It is also important to point out that the majority of the articles are not theoretically oriented; many (though not all) avoid using explicit theoretical frameworks. Even so, theoretically-oriented readers will find several of the articles engaging, a point discussed further below.

Despite the variety of the articles in terms of morphological sub-area, it is possible to make a broad division between diachronically- and synchronically-oriented papers. However, I should point out that my classification of papers into diachronic and synchronic is not entirely fair as a number of the "synchronic" papers discuss diachronic issues and vice versa (e.g., Sheldon Harrison on the effect of synchronic phonological conditions on diachronic reconstruction in Gilbertese).

Six of the twelve papers deal with diachronic issues. Three of these papers focus on reconstruction of proto-morphemes: Robert Blust on Proto Austronesian *qali-/kali-, Andrew Pawley on the Proto Polynesian *-Cia* (passive/ergative) morpheme and Malcolm Ross on four Proto Oceanic morphemes. The other three papers deal with issues of morpheme change or loss: Terry Crowley's with the loss of Erromangan possessive morphemes, John Lynch's with innovations in possessive markers in Southern Vanuatu and Lawrence Reid's with agreement morphemes in Northern Philippine languages.

The other six papers focus more on synchronic issues. Two of the papers deal with morpho-syntactic/semantic issues: Waruno Mahdi discusses the syntactic classification of proper nouns and personal pronouns in Indonesian, and Wolfgang Sperlich describes the semantics and syntactic function of reduplication in Niuean. I would classify the remaining four papers as dealing primarily with morpho-phonology (i.e., those by Harrison, Kenneth Rehg, Joel Bradsaw and Frank Lichtenberk). These papers are of particular interest to a wider audience, not just Austronesianists, but theoretically-oriented phonologists and morphologists as well.

Rehg's previous work on Pohnpeian (formerly "Ponapeian") has received a great deal of theoretical attention, and this paper revisits the motivation for many previously reported processes. Rehg is clear that he aims to provide "informally stated" rules, but in a number of places he suggests that the data could be expressed

in modern theoretical frameworks (e.g., p.223, fn.7). Certainly, Rehg's new data seems more amenable to analysis in recent surface-oriented phonological theories. For example, a surface constraint on foot minimality could well account for the vowel lengthening in /masa/ → [mãs] (cf. degenerate foot *[mas]); an opaque interaction of extrinsically ordered rules of lengthening and apocope no longer appears essential. The description in Rehg's paper is certainly one that should be consulted by the many people interested in Pohnpeian phonology.

Bradshaw's paper on irrealis marking in Jabêm (Yabem) provides another fascinating set of data. On low-toned verb stems, the irrealis is realised as prenasalisation of all voiced stops and [s] in the stem: e.g., [ta-daguc] 'we follow {realis}' cf. [ta-"da"ɠuc] {irrealis}; [ga-som] 'I/we search {realis}' cf. [ja-"som] {irrealis} (p.77). Interestingly, the irrealis is not overtly marked on stems that do not begin with a voiced stop or [s]: with a few exceptions, stems that start with a voiceless stop or sonorant have the same form in the irrealis as in the realis. Bradshaw's data hint at a truly fascinating [+nasal] featural morpheme: while most featural morphemes simply attach to a single host, the Jabêm irrealis surprisingly spreads to all available hosts, much like a tonal morpheme.

I found Lichtenberk's paper on thematic consonants in Manam and Toqabaqita particularly engaging. As in the famous Māori case, there are many verbs where a consonant appears before vowel-initial suffixes (e.g., Manam *moŋor-aʔi* 'spit out-transitive'), but not when the root is bare (cf. *moŋo*).

On the one hand, Lichtenberk deals a significant blow to the idea that the thematic consonant is part of the root. This approach takes the form [suburawaŋ-aʔ-i] 'sweat out' as evidence that the root is underlyingly /suburawaŋ/. However, unlike Māori, Manam allows [m] and [ŋ] word-finally. So, the bare root /suburawaŋ/ should surface as [suburawaŋ]; however, it does not—it appears as [suburawa] (p.132).

Lichtenberk also identifies problems with an account that assigns the thematic consonant to the suffix. Under this account, the form [ʔozoma] 'husk-{nominaliser}' would consist of the root /ʔozo/ and the suffix's suppletive allomorph /ma/. However, the thematic consonant also appears with other suffixes: e.g., [ʔozom-i] 'husk it'. In addition, the [m] only appears after the root when both suffixes are present, and not before the final suffix as well: i.e., [ʔozom-i-a], *[ʔozo-mi-ma]. The proposal that thematic consonants are part of the suffix clearly encounters problems in explaining these (in)consistencies. In short, Lichtenberk's paper raises new and significant issues for the thematic consonant controversy.

Given the vast number of Austronesian languages, the book does well to cover as wide a variety as it does. However, it is worth bearing in mind that this book does not aim to discuss a well-distributed representative sample of Austronesian languages; instead, it contains studies of a select few Austronesian languages, with most from the Oceanic subgroup. To be precise, seven papers deal with Oceanic: two on Western Oceanic languages (Bradshaw—Jabêm, Lichtenberk—Toqabaqita and Manam), and five on Central-Eastern Oceanic languages (Crowley and Lynch on Erromangan languages, Harrison on Gilbertese, Rehg on Pohnpeian and Sperlich on Niuean). Some Western Malayo-Polynesian languages are also discussed (Mahdi—Indonesian, Reid—Northern Philippine languages); no paper focuses on

Formosan languages. Finally, proto-languages are the specific focus of three papers (Blust—Proto Austronesian, Ross—Proto Oceanic, Pawley—Proto Polynesian).

To conclude, there are papers that will prove interesting to theory-oriented readers; for (morpho-)phonologists, Lichtenberk's article is especially significant, and the articles by Rehg and Bradshaw raise significant data-related issues. However, given the aims of the majority of the articles, I would recommend this book mainly to those linguists interested in historical and descriptive issues in Austronesian—and particularly Oceanic—languages.

BRESNIHAN, Brian J. and Keith Woodward: *Tufala Gavman: Reminiscences from the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 2002. 623 pp., bib., glossary, index, map. Price: F\$60 within University of South Pacific region, US\$60 outside University of South Pacific region (paper).

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This volume is a gem of oral history: a collection of reminiscences from former French and English administrators primarily covering the 30 years of the Anglo-French Condominium Government of the New Hebrides/Nouvelles-Hébrides, that somewhat comical institution that lasted almost 75 years until the Independent Republic of Vanuatu was born in 1980.

The authors are a suitably eclectic collection of very varying skills: primarily former government officials with a sprinkling of ni-Vanuatu along with officials' wives, several missionaries, and a linguist for good measure. Many of the government officials had long careers in the colonial service in other countries, and their stays in Vanuatu in some cases span more than 20 years, with some even continuing to serve for short periods under the new Republic Government. Naturally the detail and content of the 41 contributions vary greatly owing to the very different experiences encountered and impressions gained, from those in senior official positions to those of lesser rank during different eras. They range from very detailed discussions of political developments leading to Independence by two former British Resident Commissioners to another account which simply talks of the devastating cyclone of 1959. The refreshing aspect of this book is that it does not claim to be anything more than a collection of reminiscences; it is simply offered as a different angle on Vanuatu's colonial past. While there is a growing corpus of material being published on the Condominium period and its aftermath, and volumes of official Condominium Government Papers becoming increasingly available, this collection adds another dimension which derives from a rapidly diminishing resource base—six of the authors passed away before the book was published. Also included throughout the publication is a substantial collection of private photographs of various occasions and personalities which would have otherwise never come to light. While some