suggesting the usefulness of various conceptual apparatuses in the analysis of Japan. Thus, for example, Sans (p. 286) deals with a certain formulation about Japan—the interlinkages of the LDP, big business, and bureaucracy—and goes on to outline alternative explanations for a certain facet of Japanese politics. Similarly, Kodwe (p. 111) argues against the cultural explanations of Japanese workplace behaviour as put forward by earlier scholars of this society.

In these kinds of examples the elaboration of alternative explanations is actually governed by the group model of Japanese society itself, i.e. by the most prevalent formulation about Japan.

Other scholars use general conclusions in order to highlight the special (but, of course, not unique) circumstances of Japanese society and culture. Thus for instance, Befu (p. 50) mobilizes exchange theory in order to illuminate practices associated with corruption, while Asumi (p. 140) uses findings and theories about friendship developed outside Japan to explain internal change and variation within it. This kind of exercise is most evident in the piece by Moyer and Sugimoto, which argues for the conceptual contiguity of Japanese and western-based cases taken from Japan. This is of course no unique point for many areas in Japanese studies which have been characterized by a certain parochialism and 'imperviousness' to external intellectual developments. In this respect many of the essays which appear in this volume are clear exemplifications of the way in which Japanese studies have begun to open up to wider theoretical currents.

Yet for all this, two contributions—the ones by Plath and by Pharr—seem to be of more lasting significance not only for 'Japan specialists' but for anyone interested in the social sciences. Both essays—although each in its own way—show how Japan can serve as a strategic case not only for comparative purposes but also for the reformulation of theory. Plath (p. 69) does this by explicating how certain Japanese conceptions of the self may uncover Western ideological biases and fascinations with the individual as a monad entity, while Pharr (pp. 244–7) demonstrates how the special manner in which status shapes conflicts in Japan may produce to modify conflict theory and to generate new hypotheses for research around the world. It is these kinds of works, I would cautiously suggest, that will stand at the forefront of future Japanese studies. It is in these kinds of interpretations that the substantial contribution of studies of and about Japan will be found.

Let me conclude with a point that is related to something that the editors (pp. 23–7) very correctly point to as a lacuna in research about Japan (and that has always fascinated me about edited volumes based on conferences or meetings). This point involves the need to engage in a serious sociology of Japanology in order to understand the limits or potentials of Japanese studies: i.e. the patterns of resource exchange, organizational and government interests, and academic policies that underly the processes of producing and propagating knowledge about Japan.

Sugimoto and Moyer suggest that we should be fully aware of the links between vested governmental interests and the promotion of certain 'correct' understandings of Japan. Interestingly, in one of the marginal parts of the text—the preface (p. xiv)—we are told that among other funding bodies, the Japan Foundation funded the book (and the colloquium on which it is based) possible. If this is so, then any serious sociology of Japanology promises to be both complicated and fascinating.

EYAL BEN-ARI


Hayu is a western Kiranti (Nepali: Kiranti) language. Although it is spoken in four districts and neighboring portions of Kathmini-Palanchok and Sindhuli districts in eastern Nepal. The Hayu are known in Nepal as Hayu but in their own language call themselves warj. Extant ethnic Hayu villages are to be found in an elongated region along the southern part of the course of the Koshi River above its confluence with the Sun Kosi, whence the Hayu homeland extends down the Sun Kosi as far as the latter's confluence with the Khot Koshi. Amongst the settlements of ethnic Hayu, the Hayu tongue only survives as a living language in one community at Murejor and Bar Dede, a few km. south of the district centre of Ranechhap, and at a second community at Manedhi and Asamara, on the southern slopes of the Maha Shivaratree Keh. Michailovsky's grammar is based on the dialect of Murejor, where he conducted field work accompanied by his wife and colleague Martine Mazaudon, but Michailovsky also devotes attention to the grammar of the community at Manedhi and Asamara, particularly in his chapter on Hayu phonology.

Michailovsky's book is a rewritten version of his doctoral thesis, 'Grammaire de la langue hayu' (1981), based on additional field work at Murejor in 1984. La langue hayu is an exquisite work of descriptive linguistics and consists of five chapters which consecutively deal with the Hayu people and their language, Hayu phonology, the verbal morphology, the non-verbal morphology and the syntax of the language. The book is richly illustrated with examples and diagrams and includes two native texts complete with interlinear morpheme glosses and translation. Throughout the book, throughout the glossary, all Hayu items and utterances are glossed wherever they occur, and both a concise index of important Hayu words, particles and morphemes as well as a well-done subject index are provided by the author. The generous use of tables and diagrams, especially in ch. ii, along with the clarity of Michailovsky's expository prose make the vagaries of Hayu grammar, especially its complex morphology, readily accessible to the reader.

In his avant-propos, Michailovsky indicates his adherence to Prague School structuralism in matters of phonology and his theory-neutral but structuralist-inspired approach to morphology and syntax. The author explains this choice of framework as follows: 'Dans notre
étude de la morphologie et de la syntaxe, nous n'avons pas cherché à adhérer à un cadre théorique précisé. Les données de l'étude, bien que non constituées de faits, même et peut-être surtout quand on est amené à transgresser la théorie cadre. À l'inverse, Michaelovsky s'attache à la définition des structures morphologiques de Hurva verbal inflection based on what I believe to be a more thoroughgoing segmentation of the Hurva endings and on the identification of discrete functional positions or slots occupied by these morphemes in the affix string of inflected verb forms. I rely entirely on the data provided by Michaelovsky (Grammaire de la langue hurva, 1981) for my morphemic analysis, drawn up in order to isolate and formally and semantically define discrete entities required for a systematic comparison of the Hurva verb with the constructions of other Kiranti languages. Since the minor differences in detail in Michaelovsky's and my approach to the morphemic analysis of the Hurva verbal data are made amply clear in that article, I adhere to Michaelovsky's 1981 orthography for the Hurva half-open vowel, i.e., /e[iph]/ and orthographic /e[,i], /e[,j]/.

Chapter 1 is a general introduction to the Hurva and their language. The author's factual descriptions of the indigenous ethnic ritual and other Hurva traditions provide detailed data on the Hurva variety of indigenous Kiranti shamanism, furnishing valuable material for those who study the indigenous Kiranti religions in the context of pre-Buddhist, pre-Hindu Asian shamanism. In this chapter, the author explains his methodology with verbal descriptions (pp. 41–4) of what it is like to work with Nepalese informants in the Himalayan cultural context. The chapter also includes an excellent survey of Tibeto-Burman subgroups in Nepal and of work which has been done in this field (pp. 36–41). The author also broaches the subject of the morphological comparison between indigenous Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Hurva, and Nepali, the Indo-Aryan language franca of Nepal. Michaelovsky's appreciation of Himalayan areal norms (pp. 34–5) is reminiscent of Kirsten Relf's experience (The Aima language, 1955, 48–50) and personal communication of April 1986) with Aima which, she recounts, generally translates more readily into some close Japanese equivalent than into either Danish or English. Certainly, the efficacy of Michaelovsky's employing four different systems of transcription for Nepal: in a scholarly publication of this type is questionable, in particular when some of these systems do not enable an unambiguous rendering of either the native orthography or the phonological makeup of Nepal words (pp. 11–12), e.g. "Marni" (Nep. Maneh), "hata" (Nep. Buddha). On the other hand, Michaelovsky provides a concise and highly relevant explanation of Nepal phonology in his discussion of Nepali loans in Hurva (pp. 73–4).

Chapter 2 is not only a phonology of the language but also a thorough and enjoyable lucid account of morphophonological processes in Hurva, complex regularities of great interest which give the appearance of being quintessentially Kiranti in character. For example, the assimilation and allophony of Hurva finals operate according to three distinct systems of regularity, depending on whether these finals occur (1) word-finally, (2) morpheme-finally in word-internal position or (3) syllable-finally in morpheme-internal position.

In ch. 3, the author provides a description of Hurva verbal morphology. Like most Kiranti languages, Hurva distinguishes eleven pronominal forms. In addition to the personal pronouns, there is a dual alongside the singular and plural, as well as an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person. Hurva intransitive and reflexive verbs show agreement with one actant, whereas the transitive verb agrees with both the agent and the patient (or beneficiary) of the action.

In his analysis of transitive morphemes, Michaelovsky identifies elements in the complex, but segmentable, conjugational endings of the Hurva verb. In an article on the verbal morphology of Proto-Kiranti (Van Driem, Acta Linguistica Hafniensia, 22/2, 1990), I provided a somewhat different morphological analysis of Hurva verbal inflection based on what I believe to be a more thoroughgoing segmentation of the Hurva endings and on the identification of discrete functional positions or slots occupied by these morphemes in the affix string of inflected verb forms. I rely entirely on the data provided by Michaelovsky (Grammaire de la langue hurva, 1981) for my morphemic analysis, drawn up in order to isolate and formally and semantically define discrete entities required for a systematic comparison of the Hurva verb with the constructions of other Kiranti languages. Since the minor differences in detail in Michaelovsky's and my approach to the morphemic analysis of the Hurva verbal data are made amply clear in that article, I adhere to Michaelovsky's 1981 orthography for the Hurva half-open vowel, i.e., /e[iph]/ and orthographic /e[,i], /e[,j]/.
quelque sorte, vers le locuteur ou, dans le cas de 3→2, de l'extérieur vers l'interlocuteur et direct forms expressing the transitive relationships 1→2, 1→3, 2→3 and 3→1 in which 'action verbale se déroule en partant du locuteur ou de son interlocuteur vers l'extérieur'. Michaiłovskaja adopts the terms presented in her dissertation (see the International Journal of American Linguistics, 32/1, 1966) who uses the terms for Algonquian. The typological phenomenon of just such a dichotomy in the transitive scenarios in the conjugation has long been described by Uralic linguists, using terms such as tärzyan and tärzyan, Objektkonjugation and Subjektkonjugation or centripetal and centrifugal (Castén, Grammatik der samojedischen Sprachen, 1854; Collincier, Comparative grammar of Uralic languages, 1960; Kortlandt, Journal of Indo-European Studies, 1965; Van Driem, art. cit., forthcoming). The relevance of the inverse vs. direct distinction to Haya is that the endings of inverse transitive forms are identical to those of the corresponding intransitive forms. So, although the inverse/direct dichotomy is particularly clear cut in Haya, Michaiłovskaja (p. 113) clearly points out that there is no morphological marker for either a direct or inverse scenario. A similar phenomenon is observed in Limbu where the endings of 3s→1 and 3s→2 are identical to those of intransitive first and second person, forms. As, argued elsewhere (Van Driem, art. cit., forthcoming), the Haya situation does not reflect an underlying distinction between inverse and direct forms in Karanti and demonstrably reflects the split-ergative system discussed above. Michaiłovskaja is therefore quite right to point out that the person hierarchy which manifests itself in the apparent inverse/direct dichotomy as well as in a certain degree of formal symmetry between the inverse and the corresponding direct forms is connected with the predicate with which specific morphemes encode person and number of actant in Haya and its counterparts in Karanti languages in general.

Thirdly, Michaiłovskaja explains that, within the transitive conjugation, Haya differentiates between a regular transitive and an applicative conjugation. On the basis of this distinction, Haya transitive verbs may be divided into three groups (p. 91): (1) transitive verbs distinguishing a regular and an applicative conjugation, (2) transitive verbs lacking an applicative conjugation, and (3) transitive verbs conjugating only according to the applicative paradigm. In the applicative paradigm, the verb shows perfect agreement not with the object of the action, but with the beneficiary, e.g., non-applicative <pok + koe> [polok] 'il le leve' vs. applicative <pok + ko> [pokko] 'il le leve pour lui' (p. 89). With the exception of verbs with open stems or verbs with alternation between an open stem and a stem-final /t/ (discussed on pp. 99–103), the endings of the applicative paradigm are identical to those of the regular transitive paradigm except in 1s→3, 1p→3, 1p→2s, 2s→3 and 3s→3 forms (p. 99).

Interestingly, the perfect conjugation of Limbu reflexes of the Tibet-Burman directive /t/-suff- fix, Michaiłovskaja (in J. A. Matsioff and D. Bradley (ed.): Linguistics in the Sino-Tibetan area, 1985, 366) describes the category directive in Tibetan-Burman as covering a range of related meanings from 'causative' to 'applied', 'benefactive' and 'malfunction'. From Michaiłovskaja's excellent discussion of ditransitivity and actant coding in Haya transitive verbs (La langue haya, 1988, 39–44), it is clear that just such meanings are those conveyed by the Haya transitive /t/-suffixed verbs. In her previous publication, Michaiłovskaja (art. cit., in Matsioff and Bradley (ed.), 1985, 368) notes that Haya applicative /s/-t reflects the same Tibet-Burman directive /t/-suff which Michaiłovskaja was the first to see reflected in the Limbu material. Moreover, Michaiłovskaja clearly points out that the difference between the applicative and non-applicative meaning of a verb is lexeme-specific (La langue haya, 1988, 91, 140f.) and that the relationship between the non-applicative and applicative meaning of a verb is sometimes highly specialized and verb-specific (La langue haya, 1988, 143–4).

All this could corroborate an alternative approach whereby, rather than assuming distinct applicative and non-applicative transitive conjugations in Haya, one might argue that the transitive verbs /t/ distinguish in paradigmatic position from the applicative. In fact pairs of lexically distinct allocific verbs, viz. (of a non-applicative) verb and its directive (applicative) derivative. The fact that verbs with an open stem show /t/ ~ /t/ of apophony in their non-applicative conjugation, whereas their applicative counterparts show no such apophony, strongly suggests that there exist pairs of lexically distinct verbs, e.g., <ro + sro> [rsro] 'il me place' (comme berger) vs. the apophonic open stem <r→ t→ r> vs. <r→ t→ r> [rsro]. 'il me la poste' with the stem /t/ (example from p. 105). Also in cases when a particular verb, e.g., /s/('savoir') or /s/('chercher') gives the appearance of having a stem-final /t/ in reflexive forms only (p. 106), there are semantic reasons for assuming two separate allocific verbs, e.g., a non-applicative transitive verb <me> 'chercher' vs. an applicative (directive) reflexive <me> 'se chercher'. This would leave us with two classes of verbs in Haya, one of verbs which show a simple pattern of paradigmatically conditioned stem alternation and another of verbs which do not.

Pairs of verbs vs. verbs à racine alternants en /-t/-/ 'i.e. pairs consisting of an open stem verb and its applicative counterpart with stem-final /-t/-, preserve entirely distinct paradigms, e.g., <bu + sbo> [busbo] 'tu me portas' vs. <bu + sbo> [busbo] 'tu me le portas' (p. 105). <bu + sa> [busa] 'je te cherche' vs. <bu + no> [buso] 'je te cherche' (p. 100). Such verbs show no stem alternation. On the other hand, the class of applicative verbs of which the non-applicative derivand is not an open stem verb as well as the applicative verbs which lack a non-applicative counterpart prescribe the applicative final /t/ only in 1s→3, 1p→3, 1p→2s, 2s→3 and 3s→3 forms. In other words, this class of applicative verbs in final /t/ exhibits a simple pattern of paradigmatically conditioned stem alternation. The non-applicative <pok + koe> [pokok] 'je le leve' vs. applicable <pok + co> ['pokk'] 'je le leve pour lui' in contrast to non-applicative <pok + sro> [pokko] 'tu me
leva/leva' vs. applicative <pstk + -sto>/ (alternatively, <pstk + -sto>), although I shall not adopt this analysis (pstkstjy) tu leva/ il leva pour moi' (re-analysed examples from pp. 84–90). The paradigmatically conditioned stem alternation explains the homophony in l-2, 2-3, 3-1/2, 1d-2/3 and 2p-3 forms between a verb like <nek> 'leaver quelqu'un' and its allomorphic applicative (directive) derivative <pstk > 'leaver for quelqu'un'.

In this approach, one must presume that the final /s/ in this class of applicative verbs causes the /k/ of the first plural pronominal suffix <ke> to elide (in l-1p and l-3p-2/3) as well as the /k/ in the third person patient pronominal <ke> (in l-1S/3p, 2S-3 and 3-3 forms) and the /s/ of the l-1S pronominal <ssjy> 'son' (in l-1S/N-1S forms), e.g., <suj > 'suer'.

Elsewhere in the paradigm, this does not happen regularly. For example, the BST parternese <ke> morpheme <-sja> y 'il me donne' (re-analyised example from p. 160), <guz suj + -sto>/ [gu seul dis] 'tue moi mes pox' (example from p. 142), before the l-2 pronominal <sujy> 'son', e.g., <suj + -sto>/ [suj seul dis] 'je te tue' (example from p. 142), <ha + -sto>/ [ha seul dis] 'je te donne' (assessor) (re-analyised example from p. 156). (For the morphemic analysis used here, cf. Van Driem, Acta Linguistica Hafniensia, 1999.)

The difference in semantic content between a non-applicative verb and its applicative derivative in Hayu (pp. 139–44, 191) is of the same nature as the difference in meaning in comparable pairs of Limbu verbs studied by Michaelovsky (1985). Since a Hayu dictionary would have to specify this difference in meaning for the verbs which distinguish un paradigmatic applicatif d'un paradigme non-applicatif or, as I contend, between all such non-applicative/applicative pairs of verbs, I propose that it would be more satisfactory to list separately as distinct entries non-applicative verbs and their applicative derivatives, e.g., <hut > 'steal something' vs. <klhut> 'rob someone, steal something from someone' (p. 108), <hut> 'look for something or someone' vs. <klhut> 'look for something on behalf of or for the benefit of someone' (patient) (p. 101, 109). The lexicon of Hayu verbs would have to specify whether the verb showed stem alternation (e.g., <rok > = rok > 'utiliser un animal (patient) pour labourer, labourer un champ pour quelqu'un (patient)'), <hut > ' (donner)' or whether it did not (e.g., <hut > 'porter sur le dos', <hut > 'faire porter quelque chose par quelqu'un (= patient'), <rok> 'labourer').

The fact that Hayu verbs, such as 'to give' or 'to kill', invariably conjugate as applicatives with the second person ending of their stems in the lexicon as <hut > = hau and <sij > = shi. The vowel length in Hayu <hut > = hau 'give' would in this way also be a feature of the lexeme, rather than being exclusively the result of morphophonological processes. Recall that vowel length in Hayu is only distinctive in an open first syllable of a polysyllabic word (pp. 47, 54–6) and that when such an open first syllable is the stem of a verb, it is automatically long (p. 68), e.g., <hau dam-xi ji dam-k' > 'il faut (assessor) donner' (re-analysed example from p. 157) and <hsik ha-hu po-shi> fadik heu portail' 'il se sent bien maintenant' (re-analysed example from p. 160). Specified this way, the long vowel in the Hayu verb 'to give' is also more in line with the long vowels in its Limbu cognates <hur> = hur > 'apportion, share, distribute something and <hur > = hur > 'deal, portion out to, distribute amongst, share between'. The fact that Hayu <hur > = hur 'give' invariably shows patient agreement with the beneficiary, in which respect Hayu <hur > = hur resembles English 'endow' more than English 'give', is likewise a morphosyntactic and semantic feature to be specified in the lexicon. Alternatively, it might prove expedient to accurately define the semantic function of the syntactic category of patient for Kiranti languages (cf. Wierzbicka, The semantics of grammar, 1988, 391).

In addition to Michaelovsky's elaborate treatise on the semantics and morphophonology of the non-applicative/applicative distinction, the author provides a list of 54 intransitive/transitive and non-causative/causative pairs of Hayu verbs reflecting an ancient predisposing process (pp. 106–10). If we adhere to Benedict's reconstruction of Tibeto-Burman derivational suffixes, the prefix suggested by Michaelovsky's list is the Tibeto-Burman causative *- prefix (cf. Benedict, Ono-Tibetan: a prospectus, 1972, 165–6; Michaelovsky, att. cit., 1985, 367–8, 374–5; Van Driem, A grammar of Limbu, 1987, 245–7, 266–7). Michaelovsky also provides a very interesting discussion of Hodgson's work in the middle of the last century on the Hayu verbal paradigm (pp. 104–6).

Fourthly, the diagram on page 102 of Michaelovsky's book would suggest that there exist in Hayu independent verb forms to designate the transitive relationship between a first person inclusive (dual and plural) agent and a second person patient. I have not been able to find an example of such a form in any of the many examples Michaelovsky provides in La langue hayu and have indeed never been able to detect or elicit such forms myself in the Limbu, Dum or Lohorung languages. In response to my attempts to elicit in Limbu, for example, 'you see us in the mirror' or 'we see you in the mirror', I have only attested circumlocutions of the type Khusha anch&lsquo;iha-orr a-dhapa-ssjy you we= mirror-LOC 1 be visible-d-NOM ke-ni
2-see 'You see us (literally: the fact that we are visible) in the mirror.'

More often, informants will go to great lengths to point out the absurdity of my wishing to express a transitive scenario between a first person inclusive and a second person patient. It is quite convincing of course that a first inclusive (dual or plural) reflexive meaning is more plausible. My understandable scepticism on this score leads me to wonder whether the transitive forms suggested by the diagram on page 103 are
an accidental fluke of the diagram, resulting perhaps from the way it was drawn up, or rather because Michailovsky has actually attended cases of Hayu verb forms being used unambiguously to express the transitive relationship between a first person inclusive and a second person antecedent.

It may be noted in passing that Hayu, like Lkhka, probably has separate dual <-*m> and singular/plural <-*me> allomorphs of the reflexive morpheme (p. 112). Also, the Hayu verb <nok(t)> is to be appears to be cognate to Limbu <nur-tu-nu> 'be all right, be suitable, be fitting, be in good health, get well' and to Dumi <nur-nu-mu> 'be good, be all right, be fine', apparently via a verbal stem shift which may have taken place along the lines of 'to fare well' > 'to fare' > 'to be'. A similar development is seen in Indo-European where English be is cognate with the stem of Sanskrit bhūtā 'exist, thrive, prosper' and bhūṣiṇā 'in good spirit'; cf. also Slavonic biznasti 'save, liberate, deliver' and søzba 'fun, pleasure, meriment' with historically the same stem as that of bizni 'to be'.

Fifth, in sections 5.3.5 and 5.9.1, Michailovsky describes the assertive verbal suffix <-*m> (to <-*m> after vowels). This marker of the declarative mode is suffixed only to finite indicative forms and is not found in verbs in the imperative, interrogative, conditional or in verbs expressing the conclusion of a conditionalis reale (pp. 93, 192-3). In a larger syntagm containing a series of coordinated verbs, only the final indicative finite can be marked by the suffix (p. 190). With respect to the exact meaning conveyed by the assertive particle, Michailovsky, with the detached non-presumptuousness of a truly empirical scientific mind, writes: 'Nous ne sommes pas en mesure d'expliquer ces faits' (p. 193). Yet Michailovsky's use of the terms 'asseratif' and 'mode déclaratif' give us a relatively well-defined idea as to the author's assessment of the suffix's meaning.

It is possible that the parallelism between the Hayu assertive marker <-*m> (to <-*m> after vowels) and the final particle yes (to *-*s after vowels), which in Insular Celtic underlies the difference between absolute and conjunct forms, extends beyond the typological similarity pointed out by Kroeber (1909, 78). The distribution of the Hayu suffix and its function as an assertive marker of the declarative mode strongly suggest that this suffix might reflect an inflected form of an old Kírítu copula in sentence-final position, in the meaning 'It is the case that...', i.e. an additional nexus in Jespersen's sense (Jespersen, The philosophy of grammar, 1924, 86 ff). It is probable that the same old Kírítu copula is reflected by the Dumi clause nominalizing and imperative aspect suffix <-*m> (cf. Van Driem, A grammar of Dumi, 1990). It remains a matter of conjecture whether the reflected copula is related to one or both of the ancient auxiliaries presumed in reconstructions of the Proto-Kírítu verbal system (Van Driem, Acta Linguistica Hafniensia, 23) and 1990 and 'Le phénomène des revêtements' (forthcoming). At any rate, the Hayu assertive marker <-*m> (to <-*m>), like the Bahá'í nominalizing suffix <-*m> and the Dumi nominalizing and aspect suffix <-*m>, appears to be etymologically related to the Dumi verb 'to be' for animate referents, the fourth conjugation intransitive verb <gur-<g/>> for inanimate referents, which in Dumi is distinct from the copula for inanimate referents, the fourth conjugation intransitive verb <gur-gur> (p. 114). Intriguing in this connexion is the parallel between the Hayu nominalizing suffix <-*m> (to <-*m> after vowels) and the Newari relatives -mā and -gu for animate referents (replaced in the plural by the plural animate noun suffix pī) and -gu for inanimate referents, both manifestly cognate with the Dumi animate and inanimate copulas <-*m> and -gu (Newari examples from Hargreaves, 'Relative clauses in late classical and Kathmandu Newari', Sino-Tibetan Conference Paper, Honolulu, 1989).

Ji <b>hay-a-gu</b> <i>dheba</i> <lg>(crg) bring_past_conjunct-REL money 'The money I brought'
Dheba <b>hay-mā</b> <i>māsā</i> money-bring-REL girl 'The girl who brought the money'.

The Hayu nominalizing suffix <-*m> is closely related in function to these Newari relatives, e.g. in the adjectives <i>āsīlmī</i>, <i>āsī</i> 'a-bas' and <i>āsī</i> 'superieur, que est en haut', derived from the adjectives <i>āsīl</i> 'a-bas', <i>āsī</i> 'b-haas' and <i>āsī</i> 'haut' respectively. The nominalizing suffix <-*m> in these forms is identified by the author (p. 121) with 'la possessive genitif déterminatif' <-*m> in adjectives denoting colours. Certainly, as a suffix to lexical adjectives which converts them to attributive forms which can be used adnominally the suffix <-*m> is more determinative than genitive in function (p. 168).

Cognate to the Hayu suffix are the Bahá'í nominalizing suffix <-*e>, e.g. ñatong 'I ate vs. ñatonge 'The one that I ate' (Hodgson, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1658, 419), and the Dumi nominalizing suffix <-*e>, e.g. ñata 'I said vs. ñataam 'l that I said'. The function of the Hayu nominalizing suffix <-*m> appears highly similar, if not identical, to that of the Old Persian relative reflected in the modern Persian <i>istaf</i> and of the cognate Old Church Slavonic relative <i>ju</i>, found in the definite forms of Old Church Slavonic adjectives (e.g. belebju domu 'house that is white'), whence the long, adnominal forms of the adjectives derive in modern Slavic languages. The ending of the Hayu infinitive, which in some respects should be considered a verbal noun (p. 171), appears to be the same suffix <-*m> (p. 99).

In all three of these functions (assertive, nominalizing and determinative), the Hayu suffix appears to be cognate with the Dumi nominalizer suffix <-*m>, which like the Hayu suffix, apparently reflects the same element as the Dumi fourth conjugation copula for animate referents <-*m>-<-*m>-<-*m> and the Newari relative-<-*m>. Yet where the Hayu genitive/determinative suffix <-*m> is clearly genitive in function (pp. 166-8), rather than determinative, the Hayu suffix is clearly cognate with the Loharung genitive suffix <-*m> (p. 166 in pronouns). Comparative evidence therefore would suggest that the Hayu genitive/
determinative suffix in nominals <mu> (<mu> in adjectives denoting colours) in its determinative function, whereas the Hayu nominalizing suffix <mi> reflects the same etymology. Furthermore, the Hayu genitive/determinative suffix <mi> in its genitive function probably reflects a distinct etymon denoting genitive case.

The suffix <mi> is the subject of a successful attempt to determine both derivational and functional endings in Hayu nominal parts of speech. A more elaborate discussion devoted to Hayu case endings is given in the fifth chapter under section 5.4. on 'Le syntagma nominal.' The absolutive case in Hayu is unmarked, as is the case in other attested Kiaraw languages. The suffix of the ergative case is <ka>, evidently cognate to the Dumi ergative case marker -<k>- and the Kohorung ergative suffix -<kz>- and the Kohorung ergative suffix -<kz>- and the Kohorung ergative suffix -<kz>-.

Remarkably, although Hayu possessive pronouns are highly specific as to person and number, distinguishing all eleven pronominal categories, the free forms of the pronouns are only specific for number in the second person: gon 'you' (singular), gon-ische 'you' (dual), gon-a 'you' (plural). There is only a single pronoun to express a first person actant gon-a, 'you', covering the meanings 'I' and 'we' (both singular and plural, both inclusive and exclusive), and number is not distinguished in the third person koni 'he/she/it/they' (human), mi 'he/she/it/they' (human and non-human) and i 'il he/she/it/they' (propersonal, human and non-human). The interesting Hayu phenomenon that the first person (gu 'I/we') and second singular (gon 'you') pronouns have special ergative forms, go/a 'I/we' erg and gona 'you(erg) a', has a parallel in Dumi and Kohorung. In Dumi, the singular pronouns og <og> 'I', on <on> 'you' and on <on> 'he/she/it/they' have ergative forms an-a, ana and am-a, with the special allomorph <og> of the ergative suffix which elsewhere, in nouns but also in other pronouns, has the form -<ka>-.

In Kohorung, the six of the eleven personal pronouns which end in -<s> have special ergative forms in -<s>, e.g. kanyka 'we' (plural exclusive) vs. kanyka 'we' (plural exclusive), kanyka 'we' (plural exclusive), and third singular pronoun kha- 'he/she' has a special ergative form kha-<es> 'he/she (ergative)', with the ending -<es> whilst elsewhere, in nouns but also in pronouns, the ergative suffix is -<es>-.

The Haay suffix -<es>- is a veritable treasure-trove of fascinating data and descriptions of grammatical and semantic categories and phenomena in Hayu. Not only the structure of Hayu sentences is dealt with in this chapter, but the internal syntactic structure and morphogenesis of syntactic and semantic categories is small, is exhaustively treated with the aid of numerous well chosen examples. There is a lucid section on reflexivity in Hayu (pp. 164-66), following the section (5.1.5.) on usasativity discussed above. The book consists of many peripheral constructions of the Hayu verb, including a range of modal constructions, a true passive (where the agentive actant cannot be expressed in the syntagm) and different types of causative. A finite modal in Hayu peripheral constructions governs either the bare stem of the main verb or, as in the case of im 'obedient de' and im 'demande de', the genitive stem of the main verb, which in Hayu is the same thing as the infinitive.

The variety of subordinating suffixes or postpositions in Hayu is of great interest to the comparative study of the Kiaraw syntagms. Of these, the nominal suffix <kay> 'just/ly' (pp. 178-9) appears to be the same morpheme as the verbal subordinator <kay> 'just/ly'. However, the subordinator <kay> (p. 182), which might justifiably be termed a co-ordinator, the linear order of the coordinated arguments reflecting the chronological order of the events they denote, appears to be cognate to the Limbu <cry> which has the same function, whereas the 'localist-societal' nominal suffix <kay> (p. 176) would appear to be cognate to the Limbu constitutive suffix <nu>, both in its locative and socratic senses. Have two Proto-Kiaraw suffixes, still distinct in Limbu, conserved to form the Hayu morpheme, or is the eymological relationship, if any, between Hayu <kay> and the corresponding Limbu suffix more complex?

The Hayu suffix -<kun>, which functions both as an ablative suffix in nouns (pp. 175-6) and as a perfect gerund suffix when affixed to verbs (pp. 182-3), appears to be cognate with the Bahing 'gerund of past time' (<ka>-). The Hayu suffix is suffixed to both perfect and non-perfect finite (Hodgson 1858: 411-12) and the Dumi perfect gerund suffix -<ka>- is attached to both verbs and, in an ablative sense, to adverbs. Likewise, the Hayu suffix -<nau> is attached to verbs, yielding a progressive gerund which can either function as a clause modifier or combine with an auxiliary to form a periphrastic progressive tense (p. 148). This Hayu suffix -<noa> is cognate with the Bahing 'gerund of the present and future time' -<na>- which is suffixed to both perfect and non-perfect finite (Hodgson, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, xxvii, 1858, 411-12).

First person plural inclusive is used in an impersonal sense in Hayu as it is in Limbu, Kohorung and Dumi (pp. 173, 191, 153) like French on, but also in much the same way as the second person is used in an impersonal, non-literary sense in colloquial Dutch or English. The Hayu phenomenon of an impersonal first plural inclusive appears to be a widespread phenomenon in languages with a first plural inclusive category, not limited to the Kiaraw area of the eastern Himalayas. A similar impersonal usage is, for example, attributed to the first plural inclusive pronoun, mi in the Mosameric utterance Popolocac (J. W. Veerman-Lechensing, 'Metzotl Popolocac', Ph.D. thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1990).

Hayu has several distinct negative morphemes: -<n> in the imperative, -<na>- in the indicative, -<nau>- negator of gerunds, nouns and attributes. Unlike the negative affixes one observes in most other Kiaraw languages, the negative morphemes in Hayu behave like particles. A parallel for the differentiation of the negative affixes of the impicus fashion can be found in Kohorung where the prefix -<a>- is used in the negation of infinitives, adverbials and imperatives, whereas indicative are negated by the prefix -<n>- in.
the present and perfect and by the suffix "-et" in the non-present.

The affixes of the Hayu negative gerund <nu-stem-sa> (p. 161) appear to be cognate to the Limbu negative perfect gerund <nu-stem-le>, the Lohorung negative perfect gerund <nu-stem-le-re> and perhaps also the Dumi negative perfect gerund <nu-stem-re>. Certainly, the Hayu negative perfect gerund is virtually identical in function to these, as Michalowski's examples (p. 184) show, and perhaps also the Hayu negative morpheme <nu->, functions, or still functions, as a prefix in these forms. As Michalowski remarks, "Il est curieux de trouver toujours la particule negative /nu/ dans cette construction et non /mun/, qu'on attendrait avec le gerondif" (p. 184).

La langue hayu is a major contribution to Sino-Tibetan linguistics and to our knowledge of the indigenous Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. In producing this detailed, well-written state-of-the-art grammar of a language on the verge of extinction, Michalowski has preserved part of the rich linguistic and cultural heritage of the Himalayas for posterity.

GEORGE VAN DRIJN


Aung Tun Thei tackles one of the most important, and intractable, issues in the economic history of Burma under British rule—the essential absence of Burmese from the dominant entrepreneurial positions in the colonial economy. He advances two main ideas. First, that "the apparent absence of Burmese entrepreneurship can be directly attributed to deliberate colonial policies" (p. 42); that the British administration provided no encouragement to indigenous enterprise while favoring foreign economic interests. Second, that despite the "depopulation" of Burmese entrepreneurship by the colonial administration, during the colonial period a considerable number of indigenous entrepreneurs did emerge and indeed thrive; however, they were concentrated in specific activities—in up-country rice milling, moneylending/landowning, brokerage, printing. And, of course, resourceful, energetic Burmese agriculturists were the crucial element in the spectacular growth of the province's major industry—the cultivation of rice for export.

Aung Tun Thei draws on a very wide range of official colonial sources and on the limited body of Burmese materials relevant to this theme. As a result he provides much valuable information, particularly with respect to the Burmese business class (the individuals involved and the nature of their commercial interests) during the colonial period. However, it is by no means clear that Tun Thei has satisfactorily established his opening, principal thesis. Although the British administration may well have sought to suppress Burmese entrepreneurial activity, it does not follow that the essential absence of Burmese from the commanding positions in the economy can be directly attributed to colonial policy. The subordinate position of indigenous entrepreneurship clearly reflected a number of influences, of which the intervention of the colonial state was simply one—and not necessarily a central one. Indeed, it might be argued that a more important consideration here was the fact that foreign business concerns operating in colonial Burma had, in contrast to most indigenous interests, the advantages of long-established international trading connections and ease of access to major, external sources of capital.

IAN BROWN


Hendrik Freerk Tillema (1879–1952) was a Dutch pharmacist who spent nearly 40 years working, travelling and researching in the Netherlands East Indies. Although describing himself as a "consummate kayan", Tillema published some fifty articles and more substantial works covering such diverse subjects as public health and hygiene, tattooing, religion and other cultural phenomena among peoples of Central Borneo. He was also a meticulous photographer; and this finely illustrated volume constitutes an English edition of the results of his expedition to Apo Kayan in 1931–32, first published in Dutch in 1938 as Apo-Kayan. Een filmpje naar en door Centraal-Borneo.

The Apo Kayan is an area of Central Borneo at the head of the Kayan River, populated largely by Kenyah who had displaced Kayan groups during the first half of the nineteenth century. Its isolation and difficulty of access, and the apparent relative purity of Kenyah traditions, appealed to Tillema, whose express purpose was "to record on film and in photographs strange customs, usages, and so on". Although he concentrated on the immediately visual richness of Dayak culture, and tended to describe the Dayaks as 'men of nature', he made valuable observations on agriculture, demography, health, technology, social structure and symbolism.

Tillema's text is in two parts: "The Apo Kayan in word and picture", which is primarily an account of his 44-day journey up-river and his stay in the area; and "The Apo Kayan in picture and word", which is devoted solely to photographic records. His descriptions of the arduous journey through rapids are evocative and will strike a familiar chord with those who have travelled similarly. On the way, incidents such as that of a snake falling from branches overhead prompt Tillema to digress about the effects of trade in snake skins on populations of the smaller rivers and the "great amount of nature in the tropics being disturbed by European ladies" (p. 66). In general, however, his concise account of slash-and-burn