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Beach-la-Mar to Bislama: The emergence of a national language in Vanuatu. By Terry Crowley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990. xxi + 422pp. AUS\$120.00

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In *Beach-la-Mar to Bislama* Crowley traces the history and development of Bislama, the English-based pidgin spoken in Vanuatu (formerly the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides), from its earliest days in the early to mid nineteenth century until ten years after Vanuatu attained independence in 1980. Crowley's book is a major achievement, bringing together a wealth of material culled from a wide range of sources, largely well-known to Pacific specialists, in a convincingly ar-

gued account of the development of the lexicon and morphosyntax of the language.

Crowley begins by stating that he will "attempt to describe who spoke what to whom during different periods of time, and how they spoke it" (p.1). He maintains that "we have to forget what it means to be historical linguists and become instead linguistic historians" (p.33). By and large his efforts are most successful, although his perspective is somewhat narrow in that his experience has been mainly with urban varieties of Bislama. The importance of a thorough study of rural and regional varieties for an understanding of the history and development of the language is widely acknowledged. Until the results of such a study become available it would be a little premature to accept all of Crowley's proposals.

In his first chapter, 'The language and its name,' Crowley gives a somewhat Francophobic account of the colonial days in Vanuatu as he situates Bislama among the English-based pidgins spoken in Melanesia today. He discusses the importance and role of the three pidgin varieties spoken in the region and reconfirms the Portuguese origin of the name Bislama. In setting up his framework for discussing the development of Bislama Crowley maintains that it is difficult to apply Muhlhuusler's categories [he distinguishes four social varieties of Tok Pisin], to individual utterances and speakers as "they do not describe discrete varieties at all" (p.20). Crowley argues, somewhat erroneously, that there is so much movement between rural and urban areas that there is "constant feeding" between the two, and that it is possible to recognise only the ends of a continuum. This may well be the case between the overcrowded small island of Paama, the island where Crowley carried out his major fieldwork, and the capital Vila. However, Crowley has obviously had little ongoing contact with rural Vanuatu—for the lack of "feeding" between, for example, rural Santo or Malekula and Vila is plain to most observers. His opinion that "educated" versus "less educated" is a better categorisation is difficult to accept, for even Crowley admits that "educated" speakers tend to congregate in urban areas, namely Vila, and to a much lesser extent Luganville.

Chapter 2: 'Language contact in the early years: 1265-1865' begins by looking at pre-colonial contact within the south-west Pacific. Crowley discusses the arrival of the first European explorers, and the history of European contact with Vanuatu down through the whaling era and the period of the sea-slug trade to the establishment of the sandalwood trade so well described by Shineberg (1967). He makes a significant contribution to

the historiography of the development of Bislama in his discussion of the role of the Loyalty Islanders, and to a lesser extent the inhabitants of the New Caledonian mainland. He reports, for example, that over 1,000 Loyalty Islanders were recruited to the Queensland plantations in the period 1863-1875.

'Language contact since 1865' is the subject of chapter 3—it is here particularly that Crowley demonstrates the central position of the Loyalty Islands (along with southern Vanuatu) in the development of Bislama. Apart from the 1,000 Loyalty Island recruits just mentioned, he reports that there were over 1,000 voyages to the Loyalty Islands by ships with English-speaking captains and Loyalty Island crews between 1865 and 1885. Crowley shows that there are more than one hundred Bislama loans in the languages of the Loyalty Islands today. One blemish in an otherwise admirable presentation is his statement that "In fact, the entire counting system of Nengone (Mare, Loyalty Islands) is ultimately of English origin" (p.77). Reference to Tryon (1967:54-55) will show that such is definitely not the case, and that the Nengone numeral system is indigenous. Indeed it is unfortunate that Crowley relies so heavily on secondary sources. In his discussion of the depopulation of Vanuatu during the second half of the nineteenth century (p.99), for example, he quotes Buxton (1926:442-46) as his source for a population figure of 5,000 for the island of Aneityum in 1859. The source of this figure is unknown, but the missionaries are known to have conducted a census of the island in that very year, counting 3,513 souls (Turner 1861:476).

Chapter 4 is devoted to the Bislama lexicon. Crowley questions the previous estimates of the source percentages of Bislama which appeared in Camden (1977) and Charpentier (1979). He calculates the component percentages as: English 84-90%, French 6-12%, Melanesian 3.75%, Other 0.25%. With a Francophone government in power at present, the French figure may well increase even further. In this interesting chapter there are a few errors in Crowley's French etymologies; for example, he assigns the meaning 'washer' to *bulong* < Fr. *boulon* 'bolt', and 'hoe' to *lapios* < Fr. *la pioche* 'pick, mattock'. Among the minor lexical influences on Bislama, *yosi* 'exclamation' eluded Crowley's sourcing net. This word is simply *iosi* 'female genitalia' (Drehu, Loyalty Islands).

The most interesting and original part of chapter 3 deals with the influence of local languages on the Bislama lexicon. Crowley correctly identifies the Efate/Shepherds area as having the greatest input. However, his lack of familiarity with pre-1976 Vanuatu shows in his rejection

of such terms current in the 1960s and early 1970s as *nambuton* 'navel' and *nambembe* 'butterfly'; he is also in error in claiming that *nakarae* 'flying fox' (p.146) is limited to Santo—in a workshop on fauna held in Vila last year it was shown that it is also in common use in Bislama on Malekula and some other islands.

Finally Crowley discusses the scope of the Bislama lexicon—while he is cautious with the interpretation of the early figures (115 items [1845-1870], 415 items [1885-1900]), the figure cited for 1980: 4,000, must be viewed with caution too, as many of the items in the Tim blong Baebol Translesen long Kokonas (1984) list are still unknown in areas outside Vila, naturally enough as they deal with political and administrative concepts which have little place in rural Vanuatu (where incidentally 85% of the population lives).

Chapter 5: 'Emergence of the grammar' is almost a book within a book. Crowley bases his discussion initially on early texts available to him, frequently quoting Clark (1979-80). He shows what structures appeared in the nineteenth-century texts and shows how these have evolved and developed into modern-day Bislama structures. He often mentions "the corpus" (p.187)—by this he presumably means the corpus available to him, often secondary sources. Indeed, largely thanks to the painstaking work of Philip Baker, an even larger corpus is now known to exist in archival form. In spite of this, Crowley has produced a very perceptive and convincing account of the gradual evolution of Bislama morphosyntax in this chapter, in my opinion the best in the book.

In the final chapters, 'More recent developments—more on substrate, superstrate and independent development' and 'Lukluk bak: recurrent themes' Crowley looks at the theoretical issues which have raged in creolistics over recent years. He concludes that Clark's (1979-80) and Muhlhuusler's (1979) terms 'jargon', 'pidgin' etc are too rigidly defined and that all of the developmental stages were in operation more or less simultaneously—thus it would be unreasonable to try to be precise about when and if Bislama was/became a stable or extended pidgin. In terms of substrate versus universals in the formation of pidgins, Crowley is eclectic in his approach, taking the view that both theories are necessary to account for the totality of Bislama development.

In spite of a few problems in perspective, then, *Beach-la-mar to Bislama* is an invaluable resource volume for all pidginists and creolists. Crowley has produced a landmark

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

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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