Peter Mühlhäusler et al., Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics No. 2. Pacific Linguistics, Series A, No. 57. Canberra: Australian National University, 1979. Pp. x, 290, 1974, no price available.

Pacific Linguistics has acquired a good reputation for providing a medium in which authors can communicate the findings of their research to a geographically widespread audience. Though *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics No. 2* is a collection dealing mainly with languages spoken in the Pacific area, one paper deals with Sri Lanka Portuguese. The individual papers vary greatly both in quality and in orientation. While some are purely descriptive, they are, nevertheless, important because the data presented will provide the testing grounds for the still-developing postulates of this relatively new subdiscipline. Other papers make important theoretical contributions, not only to pidgin and creole studies, but also to linguistics as a whole. Nine of the thirteen papers were originally presented at the International Conference of Pidgins and Creoles at Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1975. The other four are more recent contributions. All papers relating to the Pacific are mentioned briefly below.

Peter Mühlhäusler, who has already achieved "bigman" status in this area, discusses the problems of communication betwen speakers of rural and urban dialects of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea. Urbanites have tended to borrow heavily from English with the result that comprehension is often difficult for rural people. To bridge the gap, synonymous (or near-synonymous) lexical items from the two dialects are frequently paired both in speech and in writing--so that the urbanite can use the more prestigious, concise, or specific term while still making him/herself understood to speakers of rural Tok Pisin. This performs a double function: it allows the urbanite to demonstrate his/her knowledge of English and fills in lexical gaps in the rural dialect with often more specific items from English. The result is the introduction from English of new lexical items into the rural dialect with the urban dialect as intermediary. Mühlhäusler is perceptive (and, I might add, courageous) to point out the overly neglected parallels between the development of Tok Pisin that is observable right now, and the history of English itself. He suggests that the process by which Tok Pisin is being infused with borrowings from English is parallel to the process by which English became infused with lexical items from Norman French. The implications of this insight for the understanding of language change in general are enormous.

Elsa Lattey uses data from Tok Pisin to discuss the value of variable rules in explaining object deletion. Claiming that variable rules are mainly a descriptive device, she suggests working with the "strategies of inference that are used by speakers" (p. 32) to *explain* linguistic behavior. Unfortunately, the paper suffers from what appears to be anthropological ingenuousness on the part of the author who suggests qualities such as "intelligence and laziness" (p. 26) as universal attributes of language users.

In the third paper dealing with Tok Pisin, Ellen Woolford analyzes the deletion of the predicate marker /i/ according to various environments. Her detailed statistics point to the loss of /i/ from the language in discrete states according to implicational patterns. Woolford notes that "there is no reason to assume that change in pidgin, creolizing, or creole languages is any different in kind from ordinary language change" (p. 45), a point that has not yet made its impact on the general academic community which continues to view these languages as freaks with, at most, only indirect relevance for the understanding. of "natural" languages.

With the care and skill that marks a good writer, William Camden presents copious data on Bislama (Beach-la-mar) and Tangoan, both spoken in Vanuatu, to demonstrate that lexical and grammatical features of Bislama parallel the structure of Tangoan. This suggests that the structures of Bislama are more the result of typological convergence with the Oceanic languages of Vanuatu than of the direct simplification of English. Camden points out that such grammatical features as tense marking on verbs are "missing" from Bislama only in the sense that English has them, while Bislama does not. Both Bislama and Tangoan relegate the indication of tense and number to a higher level discourse. At the same time, such features as the inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person pronouns must be deduced from context in English and might, therefore, be said to be missing in English. Camden argues "that certain features of Bislama are the result of pressure from the Oceanic-type languages spoken in the New Hebrides, rather than say 'simplification' of English" (p. 111).

Margaret S. Steffensen's paper is mainly a description of reduplication in Bamyili Creole spoken in Northern Territory, Australia. She shows that reduplication in verbs, pronouns, and modifiers is semantically motivated, while in nouns, it is pragmatically motivated, marking a baby-talk register. While avoiding a definite stand, Steffensen weighs the possibilities of appealing to substrata, the monogenesis of English-based creoles, and universals in an attempt to account for reduplication in Bamyili Creole.

M. G. Clyne presents data collected from guest workers in Germany and from workers in German-Australian companies in Melbourne in a logically conceived study that follows immigrant workers whose native language is not English or German, and who have gained experience about industry in Germany or Switzerland before arriving in Australia. Among other things, the study touches on: (1) German stereotypes of foreign-talk German; (2) features of pidginized English in Australian industry; (3) differences between Germans and Australians in speaking to immigrants; (4) contact and mixing between pidginized German and English in Australia;

(5) the role of context in disambiguating pidginized utterances; (6) what might be dubbed a "pre-creole continuum" from elliptic to nonstandard speech; (7) relexification; (8) the concepts of pidginization, deep structure, and baby talk as they relate to "pidginization competence;" and (10) the influence of government migration policy on language. Clyne has managed to pack a wealth of information into a single, readable paper. By studying industrial pidgins, he captures, *in vivo,* the twentieth century equivalent of the plantation situation which has been the focus of many pidgin-creole studies.

William Peet Jr. examines data on Hawaiian Creole to evaluate a hypothesis that the shift from accusative to nominative pronoun forms in subject position is partly constrained in copular sentences. The rather novel supportive data, though scant, include utterance elicited from a hypnotized subject at various stages of regression, with the aim of retrieving data from earlier stages of the subject's life.

Ulrike Mosel investigates the sociolinguistic record to demonstrtate that Tok Pisin was virtually unknown by the Tolai until after the establishment of missions and plantations on the Gazelle Peninsula, East New Britain. He also gives the socio-historical background responsible for the disdain the Tolai have for Tok Pisin and the relative imperviousness of the Tolai language to influence from Tok Pisin. The findings presented in this informative and soundly-written paper contrast remarkably with my own observations in northwestern New Britain where Tok Pisin has a fairly high prestige value, and where the local vernaculars are usually heavily larded with borrowings from Tok Pisin.

Overall, the collection points to several theoretical areas in pidgin and creole studies that remain problematic: the role of substrata and language universals; the role of sociological and cultural contexts; and the relevance of the process of pidginization and creolization to an understanding of language change in general. These are processes that are open to direct observation right now. They are almost certainly processes that have acted on the world's languages in the past and, consequently, are of great importance in reconstructing both language and social prehistory. For instance, the current hypothesis relating to the peopling of the Pacific rely heavily on the results of comparative historical linguistics, which, in turn, rest on theories of language change that no longer seem sound in light of the results of research in pidgins and creoles. *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics No. 2,* then, is a welcome contribution to the growing literature in this field.

NOTES

1. Douglas Taylor, "Grammatical and Lexical Affinities of Creoles," in Dell Hymes, ed., *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 293-6.

2. Derek Bickerton, "Pidginization and Creolization: Language Acquisition and Language Universals," in Albert Valdman, ed., *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), pp. 49-69.

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