

shows that the real function of the antipassive construction is to express imperfective aspect. Starosta demonstrates the power of lexica across a range of languages, including Austronesian (in 'Grammar, perception and reality').

Chowning ('Proto-Oceanic culture: evidence from Melanesia') adopts a conservative approach to assigning status to reconstructions. Thus, items are called proto-Melanesian only if attested from geographically distant parts of Melanesia. This paper synthesises evidence from both Polynesia and Melanesia.

McGinn ('Pronouns, politeness and hierarchy in Malay') makes interesting observations on how pronominal forms reflect subtle socio-cultural reality and on how power is shared among Malay speakers. He raises the issue of foreign scholars' interpretations of Malay pronominal forms and of the method (in this case Brown and Gilman's rule) used in analysing societies other than their own.

Verhaar ('Questions and answers in Tok Pisin') discusses dialect variations in the forms for asking questions, and shows that Tok Pisin grammar is developing and becoming more sophisticated than was originally thought.

The range of topics in this volume is wide, and readers will find much new information and discussion. The standard of production is high.

*Language, education and development: Urban and rural Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea.* By Suzanne Romaine. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992. xvii + 392 pp. A\$130.00

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Suzanne Romaine is Merton Professor of English Language at the University of Oxford and has written widely on pidgins and creoles, including Tok Pisin. The book under review (hereafter referred to as LED) is

dedicated "long ol pikinini bilong Papua Niugini" [to all the children of PNG].

Romaine first visited PNG in 1982 and again in 1986 (remaining until May 1987), so it is surprising that some of her comments on educational policy and practice are not current. In addition, and as I shall mention in more detail later, she engages in "missionary bashing", despite the long history of their contribution to education and development using both Tok Pisin (TP) and the vernaculars.

LED consists of 9 chapters, a number of figures, extensive tables, and a detailed bibliography and index.

Chapter 1, the introduction, outlines a brief overview of the colonial past, couched in terms like "the playground of Europeans", the "exploitation of resources", "lifestyle that was...superior" (p.3), "cultural and racial superiority", "educate indigenous people in order to convert them" (p.21) and so on. Statements like these throughout LED on the government and missions reveal that Romaine is not as objective nor impartial in her views as one would have expected.

Chapter 2 deals with the historical development of TP in which the labour trade and plantations, as well as the establishment of missions, contributed to its use as a lingua franca. Romaine claims (p.23) that, "The very concept of discrete languages is probably a European cultural artefact fostered by processes such as literacy and standardization." If I understand this claim, it is that the people of Papua New Guinea had no personal language or dialect recognition and that Europeans worked all of this out for their own classification purposes. This would be akin to suggesting that there were no recognized native categories like "fish" and "eel", but that the colonial naturalists worked out such a taxinomial division for their own scientific purposes.

Organizations like SIL ("a religious organization", p.49; "United-States-based fundamentalist mission group", p.340) are mentioned, but usually only negatively. For example, Romaine maintains that it and missions are biased towards producing religious materials and cites Lynch (1979) to support this view. What LED does not furnish is any evidence that the University or scholars like Romaine have provided any kind of vernacular (or TP) materials for the village (or urban) people. Romaine admits later (p.86) that adult literacy

does not have high priority and says that there are a "few classes" which are run by missions and by SIL. Again this seems to ignore completely the range of vernacular literacy classes that have been going on for years and are thoroughly documented in the bibliographies of SIL. Finally (p.340), SIL is said to exert linguistic control of the country and that linguistic research in PNG should have "secular goals" because "[m]ission literacy was not intended to liberate, but to indoctrinate." This in itself is certainly a theological viewpoint by a secular scholar.

Chapter 3 looks at the colonial rule, including the pre-colonial and so-called post-colonial society and concludes that

Colonial rule transformed traditional communities from their small-scale agricultural subsistence base into a society which today has most of the hallmarks of the social and political inequalities associated with stratification in modern developed countries. (p.55)

And how did this happen? By the introduction of TP and English, such that the "linguistic ecology" was disrupted. This imposition in the use of language "is an act of linguistic imperialism designed to produce and control a workforce" (p.55). Much of this chapter is a harangue of the missions and the changes which they are said to have forced upon the people. Again literacy is seen as the tool of the missionary and "has seldom emerged as a response to needs inherent in traditionally oral societies" (p.72). Romaine quote Mühlhäusler (1988) who questions the value of vernacular literacy as promoted by missionaries in the Pacific.

The Australian government does not come off much better, although its "policies in its territories of Papua New Guinea were more benevolent than at home, where Aborigines were excluded from citizenship, state schools, and legal equality" (p.74n).

When English is "withheld" the motivations are said to have been "paternalistic and racist" (p.80). The Lutherans "believed the best way to indoctrinate the indigenous peoples was through the use of vernacular languages" (p.81). Further, "[v]illagers became distrustful of missions which taught in the vernacular in the belief that they withheld the truth" (p.85).

Romaine finally gives limited credit to literacy as a value in a developing society in the middle of chapter 3. There she comments several times again on the "linguistic ecology" (pp.86,92,97) and the particular factors that affect it, such as the presence of expatriates and the concomitant exposure to English.

Chapter 4 speaks to the methodology that is used in LED. The Morobe and Madang provinces were the major

areas studied and fieldsites were chosen where interviews with children at community schools took place, using plastic animal figures, puppets, and pictures. In addition a variety of written materials were used, including the Pidgin New Testament (which Romaine finds "noticeably archaic", p.258).

The next four chapters (5-8) describe in detail the kinds of changes that have taken place in the lexicon, phonology, morphology, and syntax of TP.

Lexical borrowing is influenced by social and cultural factors and these are disrupting the existing semantic fields in TP and leading to greater lexicalization. The result has also been a greater gap between urban and rural TP because of the greater use of English loans in the town areas.

The phonological adjustments in TP include expansion of phonemes on the one hand but a reduction of certain common forms on the other. The core phonology is said to consist of the stops /p t k b d g/, the nasals /m n ŋ/, the fricatives /s h/, the continuants /w l y/, and the flap /r/ alternating with /l/ (p.179). There is considerable variability: /p/ with /f/; /r/ with /l/; /s/ with /sh/ and /ch/; and /h/ with its absence.

The morphological variation and change includes the inclusive/exclusive distinction and plural markings, both of which are documented historically and currently. The section on the inclusive and exclusive pronouns is repeated in Romaine (1992) in almost exact wording.

The syntactic changes described include the use of *bai* to mark futurity, predicate marking and how relative clauses are formed. *Bai* is seen as a morphophonological reduction of the adverbial *baimbai* such that it becomes a preverb tense marker in many cases. Romaine compares the development of *bai* in TP with other areas of the Pacific.

The predicate marker (*i*) has been much discussed, especially by Sankoff (1980), where it is described as a clitic appearing before and after elements in complex verb phrases. These elements are the Tense-Mode-Aspect markers like *bin*, *save*, *laik*, *mas* and *ken*. There has also been a phonological reduction of these markers, particularly among creolised speakers.

Romaine gives various suggestions as to how the relative clause marking originated, both from a substrate and superstrate perspective. The data from other languages are extensive and indicate that relativisation marking comes from various sources, such as that represented by the bioprogram thesis of Bickerton (1981) or the substratum argument of Keesing (1988).

LED concludes with a speculative chapter on TP language policy and standardization. Romaine concludes

(p.318), erroneously, that “post-Independence governments have not committed themselves to any clear-cut policy on language. In November 1986 the Ministerial Committee Report outlined a philosophy of education for PNG. This policy, which has been adopted by Cabinet and is now used widely throughout the country, was a result of the work of Sir Paulias Matane (Chairman) and members of the Ministerial Review Committee. There were 23 recommendations and number 13 directly changed the course of future education: “that the vernacular language be used as the medium of instruction in the early years of schooling and English be used in later years” (p.48). Since June 1989 the government has actively supported and encouraged this policy (Robert Litteral, personal communication).

LED is a well documented study of certain types of TP linguistic variation with supporting data. However, the average reader will find it heavy with syntactic argumentation on such variation as well as polemic about the role of the missions and the colonial government in PNG.

## References

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This volume presents what the editors call “a new approach to variation and convergence” (p.7) in social dialectology. The philosophy behind the approach, outlined in the introduction, follows that of other sociolinguists (such as Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) in advocating the examination of performance to see if there is any focussed variety rather than starting with the assumption that there is a “code” and that variation is incidental. The editors point out that variation or “linguistic diversity” is an important source of data in its own right, not simply to show relationships between ways of speaking and social status or class (as in Labovian correlational sociolinguistics), but to understand the meaning that these ways of speaking have to members of the speech community.

As indicated by the title, the book also concentrates on convergence (and its opposite, divergence). This notion has two separate but related meanings. The first comes from accommodation theory of social psychology and refers to the process in face-to-face interaction of adjusting one’s speech to that of another, either making it more similar (convergence), or emphasizing differences (divergence). The editors point out that few if any “fine-grain interactional and grammatical analyses” (p.4) have been done