

that unique human skill: articulate speech. Speech probably evolved some two million years *after* man's ancestors had achieved upright posture.

The book is well illustrated by line drawings, it has a useful bibliography and an index. All in all it is a more than satisfying book. Although originally prepared for an audience with at least *some* knowledge in the general field, the book is written in clear, if occasionally slightly pedantic, language and no one will have difficulty in following it. No doubt some readers will enjoy actively trying out some of the examples considered by Tobias. Some executives will surely look at their typists with renewed respect in the light of the knowledge that each of her hands flying across the keyboard is a finely-tuned partnership of 30 joints and more than 50 muscles, all controlled by that marvel of process-control engineering—the brain. To such a skilled practitioner I now commit this review!

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Cattle and Culture: The Structure of a Pastoral Parakuyo Society. ARVI HURSKAINEN.

Helsinki, Finnish Oriental Society, 1984. (Studia Orientalia, Vol. 56.) xiv + 319 pp., maps, photographs.

Hurskainen's book, although he does not say so, appears from its production, content and style to be a doctoral thesis, complete with preliminary abstract, review of the literature, extensive discussion of "theory and method" which involves more "school" and name dropping than critical analysis, and a thin history of his 318 subjects, whom he believes to have been under-enumerated but did not actually count for himself (p. 87), before he launches into the more substantial ethnography which occupies the latter two-thirds of the volume. The thesis which he attempts to demonstrate is Lévi-Straussian in essence—that "the principles which are the basis of, and give impetus to, the realisation structures" are dualistic (p. ix). The virtue of such an approach is that it enables the author, or evangelist, to incorporate all his data into a cohesive paradigm with the elegant charm of a chemistry textbook equation. Its drawbacks are no less familiar.

The Parakuyo are a part of the Maasai cultural group, who are found scattered over much of Tanzania from the north-eastern region to near the south-western border. The remnant in Bagamoyo district seem somewhat like the societies of *Tristes Tropique*, who have drifted down from or been driven out of the main Maasai region into a coastal district where, despite being ground between the upper stone of tsetse and the nether stone of villagization and land hungry neighbours their culture and their lands have survived.

The substantive chapters are characterized by a lack of solid ethnographic data on the Parakuyo themselves, for which comparative material from other plains and highland Nilotes (from Turkana to Arusha) does not fully compensate, and poor proof-reading, including tables which either do not add up (p.100) or do not illustrate the point made in the text (p. 101). They communicate an impression of excessive haste, both in the field and in the writing up.

Hurskainen finds what he seeks, with a little help from his predecessors elsewhere in the culture area, but since two is the lowest prime number into which any taxonomic category can divide, and three can be incorporated into any dualistic model as A and B opposed to each other on one axis and (A + B) opposed to C on another, the discovery tells us more about the method than the Maasai. With so many important questions coming to the reader's mind—like, how and why ethnic minorities preserve their individuality against a state dedicated to homogeneity—for which a systematic analysis of the people's way of seeing the world, and their ecological niche in a complex society would provide explanatory elements, it is sad to find so much energy dissipated in a largely tautological game.

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Dictionary of Bahamian English. JOHN A. HOLM WITH ALISON W. SHILLING. New York, Lexic House Publishers, 1982. xxxix + 228 pp., maps. \$42.00.

Dr Holm, and Miss Shilling, have written a most interesting and scholarly dictionary. The Bahamas lie between Florida and the Caribbean. Bahamian English is a variety of English which has retained English obsolete or dialectal forms. It has an African influence, possibly a considerable one; the dictionary shows a considerable number of items of African origin, and the sample sentences suggest that an African influence is to be found in the syntax as well.

The *Dictionary of Bahamian English* contains over 5500 entries for words and expressions used in the Bahamas and not generally found in the current standard English of Britain or North America. The introduction contains excellent sections on creolization, the historical background of Bahamian English, the phonology and syntax, and the lexicographical procedure evolved in compiling the dictionary. The lexicographical procedure entailed rechecking all the entries at each island. The sources complementing the data from the many informants included collections of Bahamiana, the works of naturalists and anthropologists, cookbooks, graffiti, and student essays. Sample sentences are given especially when

this aids the definition or shows the semantic or syntactic peculiarities of an item.

The etymological work entailed consulting a variety of dictionaries, particularly the unabridged *Oxford English Dictionary*; in some instances, an item occurs in the literature of the Bahamas at an earlier date than the first quotation in the *OED*. Plants and animals are given with their scientific names where this was possible. Where the form does not occur in the Bahamas generally, the island or islands where it occurs is given. Attestations and the possible etymology of Pan-Creole forms are likewise given.

Among Bahamian forms which are obsolete or dialectal in standard English are *ager* "fever with chills" (ague); *arm-hole* for "armpit"; *ax* for "ask" (Old English *acsian*, *axian*); *badder* as a comparative of "bad"; *boar* for "male of certain animals" (e.g., boar lizards); *bring forth* "to bear offspring"; *fainty* "faint, weak, inclined to swoon"; *fair*, *fear* /fi:/ "moderately" (*It fear drisslin'*, i.e., it's about to rain); *nary* "negator" (*I ain' had nary a bite t' eat fer three days*).

Some items show semantic shift, e.g., *fly-by-night* "one who talks irresponsibly"; *fire place* "a place out of doors where a fire is often built"; *foot* by semantic extension to mean "the leg and foot" (an African calque); *popular* "notorious" (*Taxis are popular for speeding*); *tired* "tiresome" (*This movie tired*); *evening* "the period from noon until dark" (*My classes start at one o'clock in the evening*).

Other curious forms include *bad-lucked* "unlucky"; *be bo ben* as a formula for ending a story; *ceement* /siyment/ "cement" (stressed on the first syllable); *couple* to mean "a few" (five, six, eight or more); *different from* "except, with the exception of" (*I'se the strongest man in the land different from the giant*); *Joe Sanky crab* "a small crab" (cf. Mende *jokenge* "crab").

Among the items of African interest are the following:

bad-bad "very bad". This is an African calque, which the authors compare with Yoruba *burukuburuku* "very bad(ly)" (lit. bad-bad). Kongo also has a reduplicated form, *-ambimbi-imbi* "very bad".

belly "pregnancy", as in *Dat girl get belly again. Boy, she mussy can't stop getting children!* The authors describe this as a Pan-Creolism, and give examples of its occurrence. The construction occurs also in the Gulf of Guinea creoles, as in São Tomense *e sa ku 'bega* "she is pregnant" (lit. she is with belly). Bentley in his Kongo dictionary gives *kala ye vumu* (lit. to be with belly) for "be pregnant", and translates *vumu* as "the abdomen, belly, stomach, pregnancy".

dark water "deep water". The authors point to the occurrence of *black water* for "deep pool" in Cameroonian English. In the Gulf of Guinea,

Principense has *ɔ'mali 'petu* "deep sea" (lit. sea black < Portuguese *mar* "sea", *preto* "black").

boy-child "son", *girl-child* "daughter, girl". The authors describe these as Pan-Creolisms, and give examples of similar constructions in creoles and African languages. Similar constructions occur in the Gulf of Guinea creoles, as in São Tomense *'mina-mɔsu* "boy", *'mina-mɔsa* "girl" (*'mina* "child" < Portuguese *menina*; *mɔsu* and *mɔsa* < Portuguese *moço*, *moça* "boy", "girl").

right-right now "immediately". As the authors point out, similar African reduplication for emphasis is found, as in Kongo *onó-ono* (lit. now-now). It is a feature of the Gulf of Guinea creoles that the form for "quickly" seems to be a reduplicated form of Portuguese *já* "already", as in São Tomense *'nja-nja*, Angolar *jě-'ja*, or Principense *ži 'za*. This could, however, be a calque of a Portuguese reduplicated form *já, já* "now-now, immediately".

hear "to understand". As the authors point out, this is an African calque. They give the Twi example *wó tè brɔfɔ* (lit. Do you hear English?) "Do you understand English?". "Hear" and "understand" are normally one concept in Bantu as well.

have "there is", as in *Have butter in barrel*. This is given as a Pan-Creolism, with examples. The Bantu languages where the existential verb is also the verb "to have" could possibly have provided the model.

akee/ákiy/, "a tree", *Blighia sapida*, or its edible fruit. Its etymon is given as Kru *a-kee*. There need be no relationship, but Negreiros refers to a creeper known in São Tomense as *áqui l'aki/*; its leaves, he says, are used in medicinal baths.

Geechee occurs in Bahamian English to mean "a rustic Black American from the South" (*A Geechee is what you would call a Merican who's work field*), or the speech of such a person. It occurs in Gullah and U.S. Black English to mean a Gullah or any Black person whose speech is peculiar or unintelligible to the hearer. For its origins Turner directs us to "a language and tribe in the Kissy country (Liberia)", and cites Mende *giji* "a country called Kissy". It puzzled this reviewer considerably to come across this form, which occurs in São Tomense, a very distant creole in the Gulf of Guinea. In that language *'folo* (< Portuguese *forro*) originally meant a freed slave, and now means a São Tomense speaker: *'folo gigi 'ci* are *forros* who have never spoken Portuguese.

coot "to copulate" (vulgar). The authors suggest words which resemble this one in form and meaning in some Caribbean and African languages.

Awamete with ghata = tortoise

Aphelium a common Black language feature

not at all the name

This is not African but for the Gullah in NE GA. where there were Negroes of the night kind to

he knows the name

A form *'kota*, in the creole of São Tomé, is in all likelihood a cognate of the Bahamian one. *'kota* in São Tomense can mean either "to cut" or "to copulate energetically". I was told that one cannot say simply "she cut"; it must have an object. However, it could occur finally in an offensive sense, as in *'mwala se ka 'kota* "This woman moves a lot in sexual intercourse".

maul means "a heavy wooden club" in Nassau, but "pestle" in the island of Mayaguana. The authors point to a similar reversal in the Haitian and Cape Verde creoles. The same reversal is found in the Gulf of Guinea, in the creole of Príncipe island: *'dumu* is a "pestle" in both Angolar and São Tomense, but *u'dumu* is a "mortar" in Principense. Principense has no single word for a pestle, which is *upu 'dumu* (< *u'pa u'dumu*) lit. mortar stick.

eggs "eggs, testicles". The authors point out the parallel with colloquial American Spanish "huevo" and *zêf* in Reunion Creole French, which have the same meanings. In both São Tomense and Principense, *'ovu* (< Portuguese ovo "egg") means both "eggs" and "testicles".

sick as a verb meaning "to be or become ill", as in *I thought Papa couldn't sick*. The authors attribute this change of class to an obsolete verbal use of the word in English, plus a tendency of adjectives to become verbs under the influence of African syntax. In the creole of São Tomé, *'dwēci*, from the Portuguese adjective doente "ill", has likewise become a verb, as in *e 'bila 'dwēci* (lit. he turn be-ill) "He became ill again".

so "thus" (after adjective and adverb). This Caribbean form is thought by the authors to be derived from English "so", but with concurrent influence of African words and syntax, e.g., of Twi *sò* "thus". An intensifier *so* in the creole of São Tomé is not derived from Portuguese, and there could possibly be a relationship between these forms. Compare Bahamian *De okradem long so* with São Tomense *E ka be bwa so* "He sees very well" (lit. he habitual see good very).

somebody "person", as in *Dey set two sheet, an' fix it under bed like it was somebody layin' down*. A parallel is found in the Gulf of Guinea creoles, none of which has incorporated "pessoa", the Portuguese word for "person". Instead, for the concept "person" they have incorporated "ninguém", the Portuguese word for "nobody", as in São Tomense *nin'ge ~ nge*.

Calalu "a leafy plant, *Amaranthus gracilis*, eaten like spinach". The authors mention some examples of the occurrence of this word, which has

a very wide distribution on both sides of the Atlantic. In São Tomé, where it is a stew regarded as typical of the island cuisine, it is called "calulu" in Portuguese, and *'kalu* in the creole—apparently the only instance of this term in disyllabic form. There could be a relationship between São Tomense *'kalu* and Portuguese caldo "broth", and there is support for this in that *'kaldu* means "stew" in the Portuguese creole of Senegal.

yinna, yenner "you, pl.", as in *What can I do with yenner?* The authors compare these to similar forms in African substrate creoles, and attribute these resemblances to the convergence of a variety of African sources, e.g., Umbundu *yenu*, Wolof *yena*, Yoruba *nyín*. The similarity to the South-Eastern Bantu 3rd person *sing* form *yena* is so obvious that one wonders if there could be any relationship.

jumby "ghost, evil spirit". The authors mention the wide occurrence of cognates of this word, the best known of which is Haitian *zōbi*, whence English "zombie". In the island of São Tomé, the word occurs in Angolar creole as *'fumbi* "soul, ghost"; it occurs in São Tomense as *zum'bi* and *kazum'bi*, but its speakers say, "A gente de Angola trouxe isso, não havia cá, são palavras angolares, e significam alma do outro mundo". The São Tomense terms, they say, are *'alima 'dotlo 'mündu*, *'alima*, or *de 'füntu*.

pickannini "baby" (old term, now used with Haitians). This form, derived from the Portuguese diminutive "pequenino", is of very wide occurrence, being found, for instance, in Australian creole, in Taki-Taki in Surinam, in Fanakalo, and in South African English. It is not derived from the Portuguese creoles, none of which seem to have this diminutive.

them /dem/ after a person's name, indicating family, friends, and associates. As the authors illustrate, this is a Pan-Creolism, and they trace it to African languages. Among their examples, they mention the similar use of *and-them* in South African English. Valkhoff was of the opinion that a similar construction in Afrikaans was due to Bantu influence.

The *Dictionary of Bahamian English* should prove most valuable for those interested in varieties of English, English-based West African pidgins and creoles, and African linguistics, as well as lexicography, language contact, and processes of creolization.

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