

Philippe Maurer. *The former Portuguese Creole of Batavia and Tugu (Indonesia)*, 2011, vii + 352 pp. London: Battlebridge Publications.

Reviewed by Anthony P. Grant (Edge Hill University)

This book describes and documents the extinct Portuguese-lexifier creole (hereafter just *Creole*) formerly used in certain places in Java, and which has been documented from two of these, namely Batavia (now the capital Jakarta) and the village of Tugu to the northeast of Batavia. It has been extinct for upwards of thirty years, since the death of the last semi-speaker in Tugu in 1980 (it does not seem to have survived the 19th century in Batavia), although it has left a sizeable legacy of loanwords in Malay-Indonesian and other languages, many of them of everyday occurrence (Tadmor 2009). Although the longest and best-known investigation of this language was conducted over a century ago (Schuchardt 1891), records of this and similar speech varieties are attested from 1692 to the 1970s, and are mostly written in Dutch, German and Malay, including a Tugu Creole translation of the list of words and sentences drawn up by Karel Frederik Holle in the late 19th century and used to document dozens of languages of what is now Indonesia; this list was collected by H.H. Noosten in 1937 (printed formerly in França 1995; Dr. Uri Tadmor, now of De Gruyter publishers [Berlin], has collated the original form of this). The Portuguese never occupied Batavia, so that it must have been brought there by others, and the modern city dates from the Dutch reconstruction of 1619.

Maurer has provided a great service to creolistics in assembling this material (most of which was collected in Tugu) between the covers of one book, in analysing and cataloguing it. The book comprises the traditional triptych of grammar, texts and dictionary.

We have lexical and textual material from both varieties and, as no contemporary grammatical sketch of the language was compiled (as happened, for instance, with some other Luso-Asian varieties), the book's structural observations (largely syntactic, as the language has little bound morphology) are mostly extracted from these by Maurer as the result of textual and lexical analysis. What we are dealing with here is a limited and closed (if fairly extensive) corpus, collected by other people with other priorities decades or centuries ago, to which Maurer has rightly applied the kind of analytical approach which Bloomfield (1917) applied to his collection of Tagalog texts, accounting for the facts of the language within the boundaries of the materials available, and the results are indeed pleasing.

Maurer has a long and distinguished record of documenting Portuguese-lexifier creoles (Maurer 1995, 2009 are especially noteworthy achievements) and he has kept comparative data from its closest 'Malayo-Portuguese' or Luso-Asian relative, Papia Kristang of Malacca (as

documented by Ian F. Hancock, Alan Baxter, and Patrick de Silva) firmly in mind in the course of this book.

The book is divided into eight chapters with the usual front and back matter. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-6) is an introduction describing the community which spoke the language (they now speak Indonesian) and the sources which document it. Chapter 2 (pp. 7-18) provides information on phonetics and phonology; this information is perforce limited because we do not have sound recordings of the language, but the transcriptional system used in the book is explained, Creole sounds are classified, and the syllabic canons are listed and exemplified. The spelling system is clear enough, with <ch>, <dj> and <ë> used for the postalveolar voiceless and voiced affricates and for schwa respectively. I note that when citing from the *Nieuwe Woordenschat* Maurer has preserved the original Dutch-influenced Romanisation of Malay, using <j> and <oe> where modern Bahasa Indonesia spelling requires <y> and <u>, and he keeps the contemporary Dutch orthography too in cases where he cites words from both sources. Although Papia Kristang preserves /z/, this sound has become /dʒ/ in Batavia and Tugu Creole. The eight vowels reconcile as five phonemic vowels /ieaou/, while the maximal syllabic canon is CCVC, the minimum V, and all the intermediate possibilities seem to occur.

Chapter 3 (pp. 19-110) is given up to morphosyntax, and this is approached through an analysis of the phenomena recorded in the creole as they occur in the language itself, rather than relying on the imposition of European grammatical categories upon the data. The treatment of morphosyntactic phenomena seems to be comprehensive. The major sections relate to the noun phrase (3.1; pp. 11-53) and the verb phrase (3.2; pp. 53-91). Simple sentences are dealt with in 3.3 (pp. 91-102) and complex sentences in 3.4 (pp. 102-110). The discussion of complex sentences includes a treatment of coordination as well as of different kinds of dependent clauses (temporal, manner, causal, and complement clauses), all of which are exemplified from the corpus. However, relative clauses are separated from these; they are discussed within noun phrases and are treated there (3.1.7; pp. 46-49). The grammar of the creole is typical of Creole systems of morphosyntax: there is sparse bound morphology, noun plurals are optionally marked by reduplication (*filu filu* 'boys', p. 23), and Tense-Aspect-Mood indicated by particles which are not compulsory. There is a suffix only recorded in the Batavia variety, *-ndu*, which serves as a gerund in certain kinds of dependent clause (64ff, 106ff), and other suffixes only recorded in Batavia Creole indicate diminutive status (*alfont-inyu*. 'little elephant' and *bak-inya* 'calf', both on p. 24) Serial verb constructions are infrequent but present in the corpus (pp. 73-75).

Chapter 4 (pp. 111-116) is much briefer and discusses the patterns of word-formation – derivational affixation and compounding – which are found in the material. Chapter 5 is also short (pp. 117-126), and discusses the elements in Creole which are not taken from Portuguese. The sources of such influence are Dutch, Javanese (unsurprisingly for a language spoken in Java; I

assume the speech stratum from which these derive is Ngoko), and also Indo-Portuguese. The major source of influence is Malay, and this influence transcends the borrowing of lexicon to affect semantics and syntax. Nonetheless between 75.5 and 77% of the lexicon of the creole comes from Portuguese, and much of the lexicon from other sources is acculturational, relating to Javanese realia (plants, animals, items of material culture and the like).

Chapter 6 (pp. 127-194) contains the texts, comprising religious texts, narratives and some songs and nursery rhymes, in addition to a number of single sentences; these are each presented in multiple-line frameworks. The first line presents the text in the orthography used in the book, the second in their original orthography, the third line giving English glosses, the fourth the gloss in the original work (and materials from the *Nieuwe Woordenschat* 1780 provide both Dutch and Malay glosses, making essentially the entire contents of this work available) and the final line providing a running free English translation. The sample sentences in the grammar are furnished only with standard orthography, English gloss and English translation but references to the sources are always provided.

The seventh chapter contains a Creole-English wordlist, with each word marked as to source and with information showing whether it was recorded from Tugu or Batavia Creole or both, with page numbers and original orthographies of the source materials provided. An index to this, rather than a true English-Creole dictionary, is provided on pp. 307-328, while references to works referred to in the book are found on pp. 329-330. Reproductions of Creole sentences from an anonymous 1780 Dutch-Malay-Creole phrasebook (*Nieuwe Woordenschat* 1780) are included as an appendix (pp. 331-342), with an analysis of the Creole texts of 1692 from the Thuringian gardener Georg Meister provided after this (pp. 343-348). An index of subjects occupies pp. 349-352.

One topic which is honoured more in the breach is that of diatopic differences between Batavia and Tugu Creole. Maurer makes it easier for us to identify the sources of each sentence and lexeme, so that we can know which form was attested at which time and in which place. Furthermore, little is said about diachronic differences between earlier and later recordings of the creole, and no list of dialectal differences is produced. But, given that the periods of attestation of Batavia Creole and Tugu Creole are mostly different and do not much overlap (in any case Batavia Creole was maybe extinct when Schuchardt's work was published), and given the relative lack of overlap between the datasets for the two varieties (only about 800 of the c. 2150 lexemes recorded for either variety are found in both varieties), this is not too surprising. Nonetheless, it would not usually be safe to assume that, because a particular form or construction is not attested for one of the two varieties, it would not be used in that variety. Incidentally, the 100 or so words in the collection referring to realia which do not have equivalent names in English are listed in the Creole-English section of the glossary but are not similarly

indexed in the English-Creole section; these forms are listed together in the introduction to that section.

The proofreading is good; the English is usually excellent, although one does notice the continental European use of full stops in larger numbers, a case where the Anglophone world requires commas. I also noted *Paaw* for the correct *Paauw* on p. 330. A more detailed contents page would also have been welcome.

A word should be said about the handsome black and white illustrations which adorn the cover and which are also used at several points in the book itself. Some are old photographs but most are 18th century woodcuts, and they enhance the book's appearance considerably.

In addition to illustrating what can be gathered from an analysis of a varied but not exactly large (and certainly now 'closed') corpus, this book elegantly brings the totality of Batavia and Tugu Creole data in an accessible form to a much wider circle of creolists. Would that all pidgins and creoles had benefited from the skills in description and the aptitude for philological endeavour which Maurer shows in this work.

References

- Anonymous. 1780. *Nieuwe Woordenschatm uyt het Nederduitsch in her Maleedsch en Portugeesch, zeer gemakkelyk voor de errst op Batavia komen*. Batavia: Lodewyk Dominicus.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1917. *Tagalog texts with grammatical analysis*. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol 3 (parts 2, 3 and 4). Urbana: University of Illinois.
- França, António Pinto da. 1995. *Portuguese influence in Indonesia*. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
- Schuchardt, Hugo. 1891. Kreolische Studien IX. Über das Malaioportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 122. 1-256.
- Maurer, Philippe. 1995. *L'angolar*. Hamburg: Buske Verlag.
- Maurer, Philippe. 2009. *Principense*. London: Battlebridge Publications.