

Readers of this book soon discover that D'Arcy has restricted the scope of his survey in two ways that may further disappoint them. He focuses his attention almost exclusively on Fiji, Polynesia, and Micronesia—here all somewhat misleadingly glossed as “Remote Oceania.” He repeatedly also says he is writing only about the period between 1770 and 1870, although much of the information he relates is based on sources dating back only to the twentieth century, a limitation that may help explain why his generalizations often have a seemingly timeless quality about them—so timeless that what he says could as well apply also to the Caribbean or (dare I suggest it?) Melanesia or Indonesia.

I was struck in this regard by what he reports in chapter 3, “Communication and Relative Isolation in the Sea of Islands.” A decade ago, a prominent Australian linguist accused two of my colleagues and me of seeing the Sepik coast of New Guinea as a model for the rest of the Pacific—evidently a silly thing to do. Didn't we know, he scoffed, that there is a big difference between how people live their lives in New Guinea and in the central Pacific? Perhaps, but what D'Arcy reports about the web of social, economic, and political ties between communities and localities in the farther reaches of the Pacific sure sounds a lot like what my colleague Robert L. Welsch and I have been reporting about human relationships along New Guinea's northern shores.

Because of its disapproving tone and narrative construction, this book is less the book I was hoping it was when I began reading it. Nonetheless, D'Arcy convincingly establishes

beyond a doubt that it is indeed unfortunate we know so little about the nexus between Islanders and the sea. The Pacific is not the only place where foreigners have not listened long and carefully enough to what local people can tell them about the dance of life that those dwelling beside the ocean must lead to survive and prosper. In the late 1970s, the archaeologist Peter Bellwood published a pioneering survey of South Seas archaeology, titled *Man's Conquest of the Pacific* (1978). I have always felt this book was wrongly labeled for several reasons, starting with the obvious truth that the sea is not a beast that can be conquered. However, in the twenty-first century it is painfully true that we now know the sea is a place that can be destroyed. Let us hope that it is not too late to learn about Oceania's particular needs and offerings.

JOHN EDWARD TERRELL
Field Museum of Natural History,
Chicago

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Borrowing: A Pacific Perspective, edited by Jan Tent and Paul Geraghty. Pacific Linguistics 548. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 2004. ISBN 0-85883-532-0; xi + 330 pages, tables, figures, bibliography. A\$99.00 (including GST).

It is a truism that the Pacific is where East meets West, where cultures sometimes clash and often influence each other. Nowhere is this more apparent than in language. Many European languages—especially local varieties thereof—have borrowed from Pacific

languages. Given the sociohistorical context, it is not surprising that the opposite influence—of European languages on Pacific ones—has been far greater. In some extreme cases, this resulted in language death, or conversely in the creation of new mixed languages, known as pidgins and creoles. But in most cases, local languages have been maintained, while incorporating elements from the intruding languages.

The presence of some European languages in the islands of the Pacific, such as German, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese, proved to be temporary (if lengthy for some). French has enjoyed more permanency. But the language that has most influenced the indigenous languages of the Pacific is undoubtedly English. The present volume contains several chapters dealing almost exclusively with English loanwords in Pacific languages, such as Ulrike Mosel's chapter on the study of borrowing and language planning in Samoan (chapter 12); Ross Clark's on English loans in Ifira-Mele (chapter 2); Jan Tent's on lexical borrowing in Fiji English (chapter 16); Ray Harlow's on borrowing and its alternatives in Māori (chapter 7); and Albert Schütz's classic study of English loanwords in Fijian, specially edited for this volume (chapter 14).

While many believe that English was the first European language to influence Pacific languages, Paul Geraghty and Jan Tent present a case for the earlier borrowing from Dutch (chapter 6). They document and discuss in great detail six or seven words that were apparently introduced into some languages of Polynesia by Dutch visitors before the arrival of the

English. The authors—who are also editors of this volume—argue that these words subsequently spread to many other Pacific languages through contact. This latter point—that, as Paul Geraghty put it, “Pacific islanders were far more mobile than has generally been believed” (65)—is one of the most interesting realizations to emerge from the book. Indeed, lexical borrowing between sometimes very distant languages can constitute powerful evidence for such mobility, in the absence or paucity of historical and archaeological evidence. (Unfortunately, no maps are provided in the book, so the reader does not get a full picture of the great distances involved.) A study that bucks this trend is Wolfgang Sperlich's (chapter 15), which demonstrates that, contrary to previous claims, there are no signs of Samoan and East Polynesian substrata in Niuean.

In addition to the mutual influence between European and Pacific languages, and the influence of Pacific languages on each other, one more interesting case is discussed. This is the influence of Hindi on Fijian and Fijian English, as well as on the few Dravidian languages spoken by small groups in Fiji, discussed by France Mugler (chapter 13).

This book is an important contribution to our understanding of the process of linguistic borrowing, not only in the Pacific, but also in general. As can be expected from such a wide-ranging volume that brings together papers written by different authors in different periods, their quality or relevance is not always even. Yet the original papers first published in this volume—which constitute the bulk of the chapters—do exhibit a degree of

cohesion and make frequent references to each other.

As Terry Crowley pointed out, “there are surprisingly few comprehensive studies providing quantitative information about the distribution of loan words in ordinary usage in Pacific languages” (49). However, the Pacific is far from unique in this respect; the same could be said for most languages of the world. Many of the purported universals that one tends to read in general studies of lexical borrowing—that nouns are more commonly borrowed than verbs, that basic vocabulary is more impervious to borrowing than specialized vocabulary, or that function words are borrowed less frequently than content words—are based more on impressions than on quantitative comparative studies. In this respect it might be worth mentioning that a large cross-linguistic study of lexical borrowing is currently under way, coordinated by the Department of Linguistics, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (see <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/lwt.html>).

While of most interest to linguists, especially those familiar with Austro-nesian languages, this book also has plenty to offer to the generalist. Non-linguists, however, might choose not to read the papers in the order in which they are presented. The book begins with an edited version of a paper by Bruce Biggs on direct and indirect borrowings in Rotuman (chapter 1). It shows that Rotuman—spoken on Fiji’s northernmost island—exhibits two very different sets of sound correspondences with Proto-Eastern Oceanic, a reconstructed language from which it is said to derive. Biggs’s arguments,

supported by copious data, convincingly indicate that Rotuman borrowed a significant portion of its vocabulary from languages of the Tonga-Sāmoa area, located hundreds (sometimes many hundreds) of miles away. It is a classic study, as insightful today as when it was written four decades ago. However, a person without a background in historical linguistics may find it difficult to follow the argument or digest the linguistic evidence without some prior preparation. Luckily—or more likely, prudently—the book also contains contributions that supply the reader with this necessary background. An outstanding example is Paul Geraghty’s study of borrowed plants in Fiji (chapter 5). While the chapter’s topic may appear to be specialized, in fact it includes a mini crash course in historical linguistics, providing accessible explanations to key concepts such as reconstruction, shared innovations, subgrouping, lexical replacement, and borrowing itself. The uninitiated would be well advised to read this chapter first. Other chapters that might be useful to read before proceeding to more specialized or technical ones are those contributed by Ross Clark (chapter 2) and Terry Crowley (chapter 3), which discuss why languages borrow words in the first place. Crowley’s chapter also deals with attitudes to borrowing and its impact on the recipient language. As to the question of why study borrowing, John Lynch’s foreword provides a forceful statement: “The study of borrowing can tell us quite a lot about who was in contact with whom, the nature of the contact, the direction in which cultural items moved, when these contacts took place, and so on. It

is thus an important tool in the reconstruction of the linguistic, social, and cultural history of a people, a country or a region” (xi).

A contribution that will delight linguists and general readers alike is Robert Langdon’s discussion of the mysterious Tsaina (chapter 9), a group of shipwrecked men apparently originating from Southeast Asia, who settled on Futuna centuries before European contact. Perhaps the most original contribution is John Lynch’s (chapter 10), which discusses two interesting cases of non-borrowings—that is, language contact situations where significant borrowing might have been expected to take place, but did not. These are the surprisingly small influences of the languages of the Loyalty Islands and southern Vanuatu on Bislama (this English-based creole used a *lingua franca* in these areas) and the even smaller influences of German on Samoan, despite the Germans’ long presence in Sāmoa, including as colonial masters.

How loanwords are nativized in the recipient language is discussed by several authors. The discussion is mostly limited to phonological adaptation: which native sounds and sound combinations are used by speakers to represent foreign ones. A notable exception is Robert Early’s study of morphosyntactic adaptation of loan verbs (chapter 4). He examines the Epi languages of Vanuatu, and shows that one particular strategy—attaching an inflected auxiliary verb meaning “to be” to an uninflected borrowed verb—is an areal feature borrowed among Epi languages.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the bulk of the discussion in the

book is devoted to lexical borrowing. This is indeed the most tangible kind of linguistic borrowing, and hence the easiest for the linguist to access and analyze. Moreover, source languages of the borrowed items can usually be pointed out with a reasonable degree of certainty. However, lexical borrowing is by no means the only kind of linguistic borrowing: the structure of a language can also be affected by other languages, in addition to its lexicon. One contributor who analyzes in some detail the results of structural interference is Ray Harlow (chapter 7). He discusses the transfer of syntactic and semantic features from English into contemporary Māori, via the speech of bilingual speakers for whom English is presumably the dominant language (155–159). This chapter is also helpful in putting borrowing in its wider context of lexical expansion. This also includes formal adaptation of existing words (eg, by affixation, reduplication, and compounding), semantic shift (changes affected to the meanings of existing bases); and *ex nihilo* coining (when words seem to appear out of nowhere).

This book is undoubtedly a very welcome addition to the study of Pacific languages, as well as a significant contribution to the study of language contact in general. The editors are to be congratulated for bringing together such an interesting and diverse collection of insightful studies.

URI TADMOR

Jakarta Field Station,

Max Planck Institute for

Evolutionary Anthropology

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