

Atlas of languages of intercultural communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas, 3 vols. Ed. by Stephen A. Wurm, Peter Mühlhäusler, Darrell T. Tryon. 1996. Berlin: Mouton-de Gruyter.

Reviewed by Gerhard Leitner, Freie Universität Berlin

The *Atlas of languages of intercultural communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas* (henceforth the *Atlas*) deals with particular linguistic responses to the demands of intercultural communication in the 'Pacific Hemisphere'. As it preumes the existence of an 'Atlantic Hemisphere', Europe and Africa are excluded. For its vast area, it surveys contact from the distant past into our period and shows that language development cannot be seen as on-going, irreversible processes of diversification, as the development of ever more branches on the well-known *family tree*. It emphasises the convergence of languages and of cultures, in addition to diversification, it shows that diversity is natural, indeed it constitutes a basic human need. It might, but does not, define that aspect of the history of human communication as tidal waves that shift between proximity and distance.

The Atlas consists of three volumes. Volume One contains 151 (mostly) multicoloured maps, the other two total 1622 pages of text. There is a 'subject finder list', which is a lot more than a keyword index, of nearly 170 pages that makes the Atlas extremely accessible. References are grouped under regional names, such as "Australia", sub-headings like "General remarks on Australia" or "Koines and Aboriginal lingue franche", and index phrases with page references. An extensive table of contents and codes at the head of maps that indicate which text(s) relate to them make the Atlas even more user-friendly.

The Atlas is the culmination of an idea circulated from the early 1980s. Given the scale it reached and the value it means for an understanding of communication patterns in the world, it has attracted considerable outside funding (UNESCO, ACH). But the amount of innovative thinking on how to map out knowledge that is conventionally represented in the format of written discourse, the co-ordination of dozens of experts world-wide, the enormous editorial task that has implied, the consideration of minute technical and other details cannot have been 'paid for' by funding. The result is a product well worth the cost of over one thousand deutschmarks and deserves to be in every university library.

This review will look at the Atlas from the perspective of scholars interested in Australia and relevant, adjacent regions. I will omit all of Asia (with some exceptions), the Middle East, north and south America, and most of New Zealand. My review will be critical but that should not detract from the praise that the Atlas deserves. I will address the following topics:

- (i) General aspects of the Atlas, e.g. its structure and ordering, the content of the maps and texts, the underlying 'philosophy' about language contact, the effects of contact.
- (ii) A survey of the Atlas with regard to the coverage of Australia
- (iii) Language contact and its effects in Australia from the earliest known (inferable) periods
- (iv) An evaluation of the Atlas in comparison with its sources and other available materials

To begin with (i). The Atlas divides its hemisphere into (i) the Greater Pacific Basin, Southeast and South Asia, Arabia and East Africa (=Volume One) and (ii) East, Central and West Asia, the Americas (=Volume Two). To quote:

"For the purposes of this Atlas, the Pacific Hemisphere is to be defined as comprising the Greater Pacific Area as its core, ..., to which the hinterland and far hinterland areas of Southeast, East and Northeast Asia and the Americas are added. In the light of this, the Atlas covers Australasia (Australia, New Zealand, and the New Guinea area including the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Caledonia); Insular and Continental South East Asia comprising Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Burma and also Nepal and some relevant areas of India adjacent to these countries; the Indian subcontinent (South Asia); China; the Philippines, Taiwan, and the Japan area; all the Asian parts of the former USSR; Mongolia; the Bering Strait and Alaska; and the North American and South American continents with Central America" (1996:xix)

There is no comprehensible reason for casting the net that way, except the pragmatic one that the editors are hoping for an *Atlantic Atlas* to follow. But would it not have made sense to include some parts of the Atlantic hemisphere? After all, some creolists argue for the continuity of maritime pidgin, etc. But, of course, that theory holds for European language-based pidgins and creoles, while other themes relate to other parts of the world. The overall structure is arbitrary and is bound to be so. And yet, it would have been useful to argue the points more elaborately. Coverage of some region is surprising. The chapter on "Metropolitan languages" deals with

the spread and the history of post-colonial languages in the Pacific Basin from the 19th century. As a consequence, the role of the United States from the 19th century is ignored.

In complex language situations within or across national, tribal, or other entities, bi- or multilingualism is one of the responses to the needs of intercultural communication. The rise of *languages of intercultural communication* is another—and in a sense it need not exclude multilingualism. Those languages denote "languages employed by speakers of different languages whose cultures display differences of varying magnitude" and expresses the fact that language and culture are closely connected (p xx). But the terms commonly used are *languages of wider communication*, *lingua francas*, and *contact languages*. Native (traditional) languages, koinés, or metropolitan languages illustrate the first two terms. Mission or church languages, administrative languages, and the ethnolects of metropolitan languages are other examples. It frequently happens that these languages are reduced in form and function to suit specific situations or domains, or altered in other ways (*nativization*, *institutionalization*) so that they are no longer identical with those forms used by 'native speakers'. They are then called *contact languages*. But the boundary between them and the creation of new forms of communication, such as jargons, pidgins, or creoles, is a fluid one, and the Atlas remains vague in the terminology used throughout its contributions. In sum, the Atlas focuses on (i) contact languages and, to a lesser extent, (ii) languages of intercultural communication. It follows from this decision that, what are called, *metropolitan languages*, a term for English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, German, Russian, Japanese, and (the creole) *Tayo*, exclude native language uses. All that should be done is to discuss their spread and distribution in the region. Thus, the chapter on Australia ignores mainstream AusE, and migrant languages are addressed only briefly by Clyne. It is quite inconsistent that the chapter on New Zealand covers extensively (with no maps) mainstream New Zealand English and non-English migrant languages.

The Atlas's depth depends on available knowledge and it succeeds in condensing (and often critically evaluating) past research. In some areas though special studies were commissioned for its purpose. And one must praise the achievements of the Atlas. A case in point is the history of pidgins in Australia. While the formation of a pidgin in New South Wales pidgin and Tasmania had been well studied, little was known about Western Australia, the Northern Territory, South Australia, or even Queensland. The Atlas commissioned special studies and so is able to present a coherent view of contact languages (more on that below).

Let me conclude with a note on the overall perspective. Problems with the family tree model have been alluded to above. It is Mühlhäusler's vision of the naturalness of language diversity and language contact that informs this Atlas. Languages occupy a social space and fulfil a range of social and personal functions. And that is more than saying that a language is 'the language of country X'. Language encapsulates what a society *knows*. It defines the way it looks at reality. If there are more than one language in a society or in adjacent societies, they interact and depend on each other's position. The imposition of languages or the selection of a local language as mission language impacts upon the entire ecology, rather than on the languages in the immediate surrounding. Language revival or maintenance, thus, requires the definition of its place in the wider ecology before a traditional language can become a lasting vehicle of communication in the future. The Atlas makes this point well for many parts of its hemisphere.

Let me turn to (ii), Australia and those parts of the Atlas that are on, or refer to, Australia. As it is not easy to identify the range of relevant sections and maps, the following table may be helpful. The most relevant maps are in bold letters; useful maps not mentioned in the Atlas are added in brackets.

text	relevant maps	section title	author(s)
001	1-4, 19, 20	General remarks on Australia	Clyne
002	5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 20	Post contact languages in mainland Australia since 1788	Mühlhäusler
003	5	Koinés and indigenous lingue franche in Australia	Mühlhäusler, Amery
004	27	Early language contact in Tasmania	Crowley
005	6, 7, 19-21	Pidgin English in New South Wales	Amery, Mühlhäusler
006	6, 7	Language contact and pidgin English in Victoria	Clark, Mühlhäusler, Amery
007	8, 9	Pidgins and creoles in Queensland	Mühlhäusler
008	10, 16, 21, 53, 54, 56	Nineteenth century language contact in South Australia	Dineen, Mühlhäusler
009	11(-13), 14, (15, 44)	Post-contact languages in Western Australia	Mühlhäusler, McGregor
010	12, (13), 14, (15), 21	Post-contact Aboriginal languages in the Northern Territory	Mühlhäusler
011	13	Aboriginal English	Eades
012	8, 9, 11, 12, 15-18.	The diffusion of Pidgin English in Australia	Mühlhäusler

53-55			
014	no maps	New Zealand English: speech	Gordon
015	no maps	New Zealand English texts	Deverson
031	35, 36	The English language in the Pacific region	Siegel
037	39	Spanish in the Pacific	Lipsky (Mühlhäusler, Duthin)
039	41	Dutch in the Pacific area	Mühlhäusler
040	41	German in the Pacific area	Mühlhäusler
042	44	Japanese language in the Pacific	Mühlhäusler, Trew
043	29, 32-34, 52, 126	Precolonial patterns of intercultural communication in the Pacific Islands	Mühlhäusler, et al.
044	28, 45, 77, 110, 111, 116, 118, 119, 126	Post-contact pidgins, creoles and lingue franche, based on non-European and indigenous languages	Mühlhäusler, et al.
045	27, 47, 49, 51, 52	English derived contact languages in the Pacific in the 19th century (excluding Australia)	Tryon, Mühlhäusler, Baker
046	27, 46-51, 59	English derived contact languages in the Pacific in the 20th century (excluding Australia)	Mühlhäusler, Baker
047	48	Palmerston English	Ehrhart-Kneher
048	55	Productive fellow	Baker
049	56, 57	The development and diffusion of pronouns in Pacific Pidgin English	Baker, Mühlhäusler
050	47, 53-58	The origins and diffusion of Pidgin English in the Pacific	Baker, Mühlhäusler
138	150	Modern media in the Pacific area and their role in intercultural communication	Mühlhäusler, Philpott, Trew

Table 1: A survey of relevant chapters (and maps) to Australia

There are 28 texts and 43 maps in all. Obviously, some sections are more central than others. And that holds, of course, for the texts and maps in the chapter entitled "Australia". I will turn to them in greater detail below, but continue a brief survey of other texts that relate to Australia. Texts 014-015 on mainstream NZE, which have no maps to go with them, make passing remarks on the role of mAusE. More important is the chapter "Metropolitan languages". Text 034 is on the current status of English in the Pacific. Map 34 just reflects the current status and contains information found elsewhere. The more interesting map is 35 which outlines the major *econo-cultural* routes of the spread of English in the 19th century. It may be of interest, in passing, to add that the United States did not play a role until after the Spanish-American War. But its 20th century impact would have been well worth illustrating. Texts 037, 039, 040, and 042 are on Spanish (marginal), Dutch and German (very relevant), and Japanese (more relevant in the current period than the 17th century), respectively. As for 037, Spanish, it is clear that that language would not play a substantial role in the far east because of the division of the world into Protestant Holland and Catholic Spain that was maintained until well into the 17th century. Spanish played a role worthy of mention only after World War II when thousands of South Americans emigrated to Australia. Dutch and German, which are dealt with in 039-040, however, have played a formative role in Australia's settlement. And their 19th century (and earlier) role is in map 41. The role of Japanese is set out in 042 and on map 44, which contains the relevant data on the Japanese south of Broome and their pearling activities in Cape York early this century. A more general note is called for at this point. What is surprising is the low coverage of the spread of English and of non-English migrant languages in Australia in contrast to that of other 'metropolitan' languages. Given what is contained about other metropolitan languages, the exclusion of English in Asia and elsewhere is left unexplained. The role of the non-English migrant languages in Australia is, however, made up for in text 001 and maps 1-4. The Atlas clearly reflects its more modest early history that confined the endeavour to the Pacific.

The next section with the heading "Pidgins (General and English)" contains additional texts and maps of interest. The texts 043-046 survey pre- and post-colonial communication patterns that relied on local languages or contact languages, based on English or other languages. The first two are particularly instructive since they address the problem of intercultural communication (across vast areas) from a comparative perspective. The languages of wider communication and contact languages are seen in their interplay prior to and after colonisation. And even the texts on English-based contact languages, of course, bear upon Australia. That information relates to texts in the chapter on Australia. The following texts 048-050 turn to specific linguistic features of contact languages, i.e. Palmerston English (which is similar in origin to Pitcairn and Norfolk English), the origin and uses of the noun *fellow*, the pronoun system(s), and a range of other key properties.

Let me now address (iii), i.e. specific issues on Australia. The image of Australia as a multicultural country with dominant English and complementary Languages Other Than English receives little coverage (Clyne T001). It is

preferable to turn to Collins/Blair (1989) or Clyne (1991). T002 and T003 deal with contact languages and the uses of indigenous languages as lingua francas, respectively. T002 introduces the whole range of responses to the new contact situation or, rather, the complementary processes of the sudden destruction of the traditional ecology and the introduction of new languages, but highlights the pidgins. T003 is more focused, but is "venturing into waters which have been largely uncharted" (p 22). It shows that indigenous language solutions have indeed been adopted. T002 makes use of quite a number of maps, although it is not clear at all why it excludes maps 7 and 10 (on South Australia).

Texts 004-010 survey socio-historical aspects of States and Territories. Much has been published elsewhere, in particular on New South Wales. But the texts on South Australia, Western Australia and Queensland have been specifically commissioned and, thus, contain new information. The crucial role of New South Wales pidgin is well-confirmed (cf. T005) but Mühlhäusler argues for an independent tradition in the west. That is more than likely given the large contribution Western Australia has made to loans in mAusE (Leitner, forthc.). Map 27, which includes Tasmania, is can be ignored. Maps 6-7 and 19-21 survey historical aspects of settlement, in partic. land exploration, early types of contact, foundation dates of States, etc. T008 on South Australia covers lot of ground. Unlike the other texts in this sequel it goes into linguistic detail, mentions non-English-speaking migrants, and reflects upon the validity of data and theoretical issues. As a result of its scope it has a large number of maps to go with it. Much of the text would figure better in T012 (below). T009 on Western Australia also covers new ground and quite logically looks at language contact irrespective of the type of results. It mentions the pidgins/creoles used by indigenous Australians, but also Afghan, Chinese, and Malay pidgins, as well as Aboriginal English and indigenous lingua francas. In addition to maps 11, 14 maps 12 (on stock routes in the Kimberleys), 13 (on Aboriginal English), 15 (pidgins and creoles all over Australia), and 44 (on early Japanese contact) are useful complements. Text 011 Aboriginal English and makes the point of its double source, as a learner-induced variety and one resulting from de-pidginization or decreolization. It surveys some key features. Since it is the only text on that topic it would have benefited by relating some features, like *fellow* (or *mob*, not included anywhere), to maps 16-18 and map 55. The accompanying map 13 is of little value with green spots in the middle of nowhere. The short final text 012 on the diffusion of Pidgin English winds up the main themes of the preceding texts. It makes use of most maps already mentioned but, once more, ignores South Australia. References to particular linguistic features in maps 16-18 and 53-55 are, I believe, somewhat premature. They would best be covered along the texts in the chapter on Pidgins, i.e. T043-T050. Although the titles of some texts exclude Australia, all of them bear upon Australia in one way or another. The central ones are T045, T046 and T050 and maps there. And that set amounts to the best coverage of pidgins and creoles in the wider Pacific context. The final text of some relevance to the current scene of indigenous-white contact is 138, which confines itself to mass media.

T014-T015 make passing remarks on the role of mAusE for mNZE. T034, T037, T039, and T040 cover the uses of metropolitan languages as languages of wider communication in the Pacific region. All of them also relate to Australia. That is in line with overall policy but does add some details for T001 on Australia in general and for contact languages.

To turn to (iv), an evaluation of the Atlas. It is, as I have said, a splendid product of innovative thinking but has of course, deficiencies, many of which have been mentioned. But let me add a few others. For one, the maps and texts are not related well enough, with one exception: Clyne's introductory text on Australia. That text is written as a complement to the maps, i.e. it explains the maps. All other texts are independent of maps. They leave it to the reader to figure out what is relevant on the maps mentioned at the end of the text. Secondly, the frequent lack of precise dates or periods is quite irritating. Maps 7 (on land exploration) and 14 (on stock routes) fail to indicate the relevant period; the bottom right map and the text leave arrows between missions and reserves unexplained (presumably they mean movement). Map 36 on the 19th century spread of English in the Pacific would well have benefited from dates for trade commodities, such as sandalwood, whales, pork. Many maps, of course, are precise, e.g. map 10 on SA and map 11 on WA. Map 8 on post-contact languages in Queensland marks the development from 1800 to the present. The initial date should perhaps have been 1850. Some maps duplicate information, as do maps 6 and 6 (both on land exploration and early contact). Thirdly, maps often mark incredibly large areas for some feature whose significance must be quite small. A case in point is the use of German in Australia and New Zealand (map 41). Four, information that is considered important in the text is sometimes missing on the maps. Text 009 refers to the role of the Japanese in the pearling industry in Western Australia from the 1880s but details are missing on map 44 (on the Japanese language). Five, some texts must have been written in great haste, eg. the summary article T012. It repeats itself several times and mentions "The analytical framework employing 100—diagnostic grammatical constructions and lexical items..." (p 143). It

would have been useful to either mention them or to refer to a publication where they are discussed. Six, it would have been good to cross-refer the reader to related texts. I have tried to show how texts can be grouped and where information within texts is continued elsewhere. And finally, abbreviations are sometimes not defined, eg. 'CPE' etc. in T007; of course, some can be deciphered but CPE cannot.

Some maps must be compared with similar ones in, e.g., *The historical atlas of Australia*. To mention the ones on land exploration in New South Wales (map 6), stock routes (parts of maps 12, 14), missions/schools and reserves (parts of map 14, map 21), boundaries of States and Territories (map 19), land controlled by Aborigines (map 20). Map 6 compares favourably with *The historical atlas* (pp 53ff); it covers more details from NSW. Maps 14 and 21 are also more informative than *The Historical atlas*. It has names and dates for reserves, but not for missions and schools. The competing maps distinguish major periods (1788-1979, 1980) and show the denominations (p 140). As for stock routes (maps 12 and 14) *The historical atlas* is superior for its national coverage. The Atlas under review compares well with it but the latter contains more detail. One wonders why it is not mentioned anywhere in the book, nor why editors have not drawn on its expertise.

The bibliographic references are sometimes oddly false. The Cambridge University Press is located in London (p 433), in Great Britain (p 435), and in Cambridge. Brigham Young University, which is in Utah, USA, appears to publish from Hawaii (p 433), Pergamon Press, which is Oxford, has no place (p 434). But overall, editing has been very careful and misprints are extremely rare.

Critical remarks aside, the Atlas is excellent in putting together available research about Australia's pre-colonial, post-settlement and current language ecology from the perspective of contact between British settlers and other, mainly Aboriginal communities. As mentioned earlier, it adds new dimensions and is critical about much that has been written in the past. For researchers interested in all aspects of the language dimension of Australia, in partic. the non-English migrant languages, the use of *The historical atlas of Australia*, Jupp's *The Australian people* (1988), and, possibly, Jupp/McRobbie's *Australian languages - an introductory atlas* (1989) is helpful.

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