Shana Poplack: Borrowing: Loanwords in the speech community and in the grammar

(New York: Oxford University Press. 2018. 246 p.)

Shana Poplack's *Borrowing* consists of 12 chapters, each addressing a specific aspect of lexical borrowing. The studies presented in the volume focus on bilingual speech and language contact. The main focus is primarily on other-language (or donor-language, L_D) materials in a recipient language (L_R).

The first chapter introduces the author's concepts in her book and provides their definitions. This chapter also adumbrates the following chapters' content cohesively. Chapter 2 summarises the main principles of variationist sociolinguistics and discusses their application in issues regarding research with bilingual data. This part explains why studies on monolingual vernacular can help identify linguistic patterns in bilingual speech. It also emphasizes the practicality of quantitative measures and elaborates on the methods used to identify patterns and differentiate between language-mixing types, namely, code-switching (here, 'CS') and borrowing. Chapter 3 presents corpora-based linguistics on which the studies in the book are carried out. The main corpus referred to throughout the volume is the Ottawa-Hull French Corpus, discussed in detail in this chapter. Other corpora from earlier times are presented from the Ottawa-Hull francophone community in order to have data that are also suitable for a diachronic investigation. The fourth chapter aims to clarify the nature of L_D material occurring in spontaneous bilingual speech, especially focusing on lone L_D-origin items. Here, the author assesses whether the borrowed forms are similar to attested loanwords, whether they are in an early stage of becoming loanwords, or "whether they tend to retain features of their source" (p. 40). In chapter 5, the author reviews the study she and her co-workers carried out on Tamil-English spontaneous bilingual speech. She considers several conflict sites, meaning areas of the two languages where structural differences occur – such as word order and inflections. Quantitative methods are applied to compare English-origin with native Tamil nouns in terms of variable inflection. The results (of case-marking analysis) reveal that most of the lone English-origin nouns behave the same way as their Tamil counterparts. In the next chapter, Poplack deals with the presence or lack of linguistic integration and examines bare noun phrase (NP) structures. Bare forms show no surface signs that would indicate a clear difference between the processes (whether code-switching or borrowing) by which the L_D material was created; however, their syntactic patterns can shed light on conflict sites where disambiguation is possible. As there are plenty of examples of bare NPs in isolating languages like Wolof, Fongbe and Igbo, the author turns to French-Wolof, French-Fongbe, and Igbo-English bilingual corpora. Bilingual speech in these language pairs provides an abundant testing ground for comparing unmixed L_D, L_R, and mixed patterns. Summarising the results, "The overwhelming

majority of the lone L_D-origin items were found to display quantitative parallels to their relevant L_R counterparts…" (p. 96), thus adopting L_R grammar. She, therefore, concludes that these forms are recognized as borrowings. In chapter 7 Poplack reviews previous studies carried out on other language pairs (namely, Persian-English, Turkish-English, Ukrainian-English, Igbo-English, Japanese-English and Tunisian Arabic-French), which have yielded results which, according to her, confirm her hypothesis regarding lone L_D-origin items in an otherwise L_R context: "...lone L_D items were found to behave in ways consistent with L_R, regardless of language pair." (p. 121). Chapter 8 seeks an evidential basis for current assumptions regarding the development of loanwords in a diachronic approach. The three datasets studied are reported to represent 19th, 20th and 21st century stages of vernacular Quebec French. The first assumption tested here is the Diffusion Assumption, which claims that L_D-origin items "typically increase in frequency and spread from speaker to speaker" by time (p. 126). The second assumption is the Graduality Assumption, meaning – in short – that nonce L_D-origin items go through stages of integration (starting with retaining L_D grammar, like CS), before fully operating in L_R grammar. These assumptions are refuted by the results of the studies presented in this chapter. Chapter 9 reviews a claim that Identity Assumption, which is distinguishing borrowing from CS (in the case of single-word code-switches), is not possible. The author uses several analyses of the Ottawa-Hull French Corpus to argue that borrowing and CS are indeed different language mixing strategies and are quite distinguishable from each other. She concludes that most lone L_D items are borrowed, that is, pattern with L_R grammar just like established loanwords, while CS applies L_D grammar, and thus these concepts are distinguishable. In chapter 10, Poplack examines the phonetic aspects of borrowing, a frequently considered issue in discussions of linguistic integration. As in previous chapters, the author compares borrowings and CS, but only their phonetic realizations are considered here. Her default expectation was that the phonetic realization of borrowings should be (just like in morphosyntactic realization) consistent with the L_R, while code-switches match L_D phonetics. As the results do not support this expectation, the author concludes that "individuals do not systematically integrate their borrowed words phonetically into L_R, at least not any more than they do their unambiguous L_D (code-switched) stretches" (p. 183). Therefore, phonetic realization is not a reliable indicator for linguistic integration or, at least, it can "proceed independently" (p. 185) from morphosyntactic integration. Chapter 11 considers several extra-linguistic factors, which play a role in borrowing and sharing the borrowed items within a speech community. The community is grouped by several factors: English proficiency, the neighborhood of residence, occupational class, age, gender, and education. This chapter also contains a report on content analysis, which proved to be a successful method in determining the participants' attitudes towards their languages in contact. The last chapter of the book summarizes the key findings of

the author, assesses the methods used in the analyses of the studies, and draws conclusions based on the results presented in previous chapters. Among the main findings, morphosyntactic integration into L_R grammar of most L_D items (thus becoming borrowings) is probably the most important. Community norms also play an important (if not the most influential) role in the borrowing behavior of individuals.

In the first chapter, Poplack discusses her terminology in detail; however, she does not provide a comparison of her concepts and labels with other linguists' works. The reader cannot be sure of how she decided which language is the *recipient* and which is the *donor*. It would be beneficial to compare her work and Myers Scotton's (1993) MLF model, for example, as Poplack's *recipient* and *donor* language concepts appear parallel to Myers Scotton's *matrix* and *embedded* language labels. However, there is no overt discussion of other theories in the book with explanations or arguments for why Poplack's ideas are superior to those of competing approaches. The availability of the corpora is also a considerable issue regardless of the references provided to their description, as the reader cannot inspect the data directly or investigate the broader context of these examples. The data collection took place in interview settings, so the issue of possible linguistic accommodation arises. As the Ottawa-Hull French corpus was collected for a study of French, not for a study on bilingualism (even though the participants themselves are bilinguals), the interviewer probably addressed the participants in French (however, there is not much clarity regarding this process in the book under review).

The strength of this work lies in the immense size of the corpora dealt with, the several language pairs, their conflict sites under examination, and the quantitative methods used. The use of content analysis to check the participants' linguistic attitudes is an exemplary method. Overall, the book is instrumental in many ways to help one understand how language-mixing works in bilingual speech, and anyone interested in the topic is encouraged to read it.

References

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Duelling Languages: grammatical structure in codeswitching.* Oxford. Oxford University Press.

ATTILA SALAMON
Multilingualism Doctoral School
University of Pannonia
salamon.attila@phd.uni-pannon.hu