

Current Trends in Linguistics

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*Linguistics in
Oceania*



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Linguistics in Oceania

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ENGLISH AND OTHER GERMANIC LANGUAGES

D. C. LAYCOCK

INTRODUCTION

Linguistic history is not political history. Many of the political upheavals and jockeying for power among European nations left no trace in the languages of either the colonizers or the colonized, so that if we were, today, to attempt to reconstruct the political history from the languages alone, we would obtain only a very shadowy version of the truth. On the other hand, a politically insignificant event — the presence of a lone missionary on a Pacific island, for instance — can have far-reaching linguistic consequences.

Nevertheless, some knowledge of the history of the area covered in this article¹ is essential to the full understanding of the linguistic history, and some such knowledge on the part of the reader is assumed. Some general references of historical value for little-known areas are Russell 1852, Keesing 1950, Coulter 1957, Oliver 1961, and Robson 1963; a general bibliography for most of the area is Taylor 1965, and a linguistic bibliography is provided by Klieneberger (1957). As the whole area is undergoing extreme political, linguistic, and cultural change, works on culture change in general are relevant, and are cited for some regions, as are some books on education; to the latter should be added a general survey of education (UNESCO 1955–66; also, UNESCO 1961), and, specifically for the Pacific, Elkin 1937a and Wedgwood 1955–56 — the last two on the spread of English.

This article deals exclusively with the history of English, German, and Dutch, in the area cited; no other Germanic languages have exercised any discernible influence. The emphasis is on the influence of these languages on the orthography and lexicon of native language encountered; other types of influence, such as those on syntax, overall phonology, intonation, and the creation of new words from internal resources, are all relevant, but are barely documented.

As English covers such a wide geographical area, the account of its influence is subdivided into the traditional linguistic/cultural/racial/geographical divisions of Indonesia (including Madagascar), Micronesia, Polynesia, Melanesia, and Australia. No distinction is made between the different types of English introduced — British

¹ From Madagascar to Easter Island, including Australia, New Zealand, and all the Pacific dependencies and states, but excluding all of the mainland of Asia except for Malaysia.

English, American English, Australian English — although this is a field that could well be explored.

The principal source for language contact in general remains Weinreich 1963; relevant also are Vildomec 1963 and the papers on multilingualism in *Anthropological Linguistics* 4/1, 1962. An extensive literature exists for languages in contact, especially for America and Africa, but, while the problems in Oceania are comparable, no examples are cited, as the relevance is indirect.

An important consequence of the introduction of English, and to a lesser extent of German, into the Pacific, has been the creation of a widespread English-based pidgin, in a number of forms; this is barely treated here, as it forms the subject of another article, by Wurm, in this volume; the best modern reference is Hall 1966. It is interesting to note, however, that in the very areas where a lingua franca or pidgin has developed the tendency has been for this to act as a kind of 'buffer' language between the introduced European language and the native languages, by reducing the amount of direct linguistic contact; the influence of the European language on the native languages has therefore usually been through the intermediary of the lingua franca or pidgin.

The English dialects that have grown up in Australia and New Zealand are briefly dealt with, as also the influence of native languages on the European languages.

Owing to the wide geographical coverage of this article, some foreign publications of apparent value could not be located; this fact is indicated in the text, and also by starring the items in the bibliography.

GERMAN

German official influence in the Pacific dates from about 1884 (annexation of north-east New Guinea and the Bismarck archipelago); acquisition of Samoa, the Carolines, the Marianas, Nauru and Bougainville followed in the next two decades (see Wegener 1903). All of these possessions were lost to Germany during the First World War, after less than thirty years of consolidated German administration; however, some Germans who remained in the islands — particularly missionaries — continued to exert a linguistic influence for many years afterward.

Also, German linguistic influence extends back an additional thirty years, to the establishment at Apia (Samoa) of a trading depot, by the firm of Godeffroy and Son in 1856; from this center, trading activities were carried on throughout much of Micronesia, and also in Fiji and Tonga. Nevertheless, the amount and type of German contact were not sufficient to make much of an impact on native languages, apart from a few loanwords scattered throughout the Pacific; thus, Samoan *penisini* 'benzine', *kamupani* 'company'²; Buin (Bougainville) *amariŋ* 'arm-ring',³ *arapaita*

² Possibly from English, but German is more likely.

³ Almost certainly not from English. Buin material from fieldnotes of the author.

'work'. In Dehu (Lifu, Loyalty Is.), not directly in the line of German influence, we find (in Tryon 1967) *beisin* 'broom', *bona* 'bean'. Solenberger (1962) records a more extensive influence of German in the Marianas:

In the short period from 1899 to 1914 a small staff of Germans so impressed those inhabitants of the Northern Marianas who were educated within that period that they still show a marked preference for German speech, literature, music and dances. Use of German by both islanders and some of the recent American administrators carries the prestige of a somewhat authoritarian efficiency which the islanders are fond of ascribing to the Germans. In 1952 most Chamorro and Carolinian leaders were products of the German Volksschule, and the handwritten German alphabet remained in use for personal correspondence in Carolinian — which is rarely written otherwise.

Neuhauss (1911) reports a less efficient situation in northern New Guinea; he says (p. 121) that the Catholic missions gave instruction in German, but the students' knowledge is limited to rote reproduction, and they cannot understand the simplest questions in German; they speak with each other a German *Kauderwelsch* almost as bad as Pidgin. The general feeling of many Germans — and, apparently, many natives — in the German dependencies was that German was too 'complicated' to be used in education; hence the spread of Melanesian Pidgin, deplored and viciously attacked by German administrators, but nevertheless used in all daily dealings with the indigenes of Melanesia. It is, in fact, in Pidgin that the greatest German influence in the Pacific is to be perceived; about eighty words of German origin, or about 5% of the total entries, are to be found in Mihalic 1957.⁴ Many of these words have entered native languages via Pidgin, as is also the case with the English content of Pidgin.

DUTCH

The history of the Dutch language in what is now Indonesia, whither it was borne by explorers, traders, a few clerics, and — much later — colonists, can be conveniently taken as beginning with the seventeenth century. The Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602, and for the next two hundred years this company exerted great political and economic influence in the whole archipelago. The linguistic influence, however, was not so great in this period. In the first place, Dutch had to compete not only with Malay, which the European powers had spread from the port of Malacca to each of the islands they contacted, but also with English, Portuguese, and, for a short time, Spanish. Throughout the seventeenth century the prevailing language in the Dutch headquarters of Batavia for dealing with the indigenous population was

⁴ Count made by author. Many of these words — e.g. *esik* 'vinegar', *gewer* 'rifle', *hobel* 'plane', *maisel* 'chisel', *supkar* 'wheelbarrow' — are now being replaced by English-derived words: *piniga*, *masket* or *raipel*, *plen*, *sisel*, *wilbero*. Other words (*Gris Got*, *kaiser*) have virtually disappeared, without replacements. Still others (such as *blut* 'blood', *bros* 'chest', *gip* 'poison', *haiden* 'heathen', *kakao* 'cocoa', *meta* 'measure', *rausim* 'expel', *tabak* 'tabacco', *tais* 'swamp') are an integral part of the present Pidgin vocabulary.

what de Klerck (1938) refers to as a 'Portuguese jargon'. De Graf (1949:174) states the case thus:

Karakteristiek voor de Nederlandse wijze van koloniseren is, dat men er nooit in geslaagd is het *Nederlands* door een belangrijk deel der bevolking te doen aannemen. Valentijn acht het zelfs onjuist, want dan zouden de Indonesiërs achter al je geheimen kunnen komen. Ook bij de burgers moest het Nederlands met Portugees en Maleis om zijn bestaan vechten. Merkwaardig is, dat terwijl van hogerhand op de bevordering van het Hollands werd aangedrongen, de Kerk haar sanctie aan de veeltaligheid gaf door de stichting van Maleise en Portugese gemeenten.⁵

Also, the administration of the indigenous people was left largely to their own princes and chiefs, with the result that there was little linguistic contact between the administrators and the administered, and such as there was depended on the use of 'Bazaar Malay' or the Portuguese lingua franca. Education of the non-European peoples was virtually non-existent, and the handful of missionaries made little impact.

The translation of the Dutch East Indies from the control of the Dutch East India Company — with a brief British interregnum — made little practical difference for another hundred years. Only at about the end of the nineteenth century was education in Dutch introduced into primary schools in Indonesia, and, in spite of the fact that applications for positions in centers of Dutch education were higher than the authorities could grant, it was some time before Indonesian children could benefit from it. By the time of Indonesian independence after the Second World War, however, most of the Indonesian leaders were fluent in Dutch, and many had received higher education in that language — notwithstanding a shortsighted, and shortlived, attempt by the *Hollandsch Inlandsch Onderwijscommune* to restrict the use of the Dutch language by Indonesians (Alisjahbana 1949). The developing nationalism of the last period, and the increasing interest in what was to become Bahasa Indonesia as a national language, led to a wholesale borrowing of Dutch words on the part of Dutch-educated Indonesians, and it is in this period — the first fifty years of the twentieth century — that the greatest Dutch influence on the Indonesian language took place. Not only lexicon, but also grammar, was affected, especially in the development of new passive forms. With the prohibition of the Dutch language during the Japanese occupation, the new national language developed further along these lines, and has continued to develop until the present day. Attempts at regulating neologisms and standardizing grammar are made by the Indonesian Language Committee,⁶ with recommendations being published in *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia* (1948–57), *Medan Bahasa* (1951–59), and *Bahasa dan Budaya* (1952–); these periodicals are surveyed by Teeuw (1961). For accounts of the development of Bahasa Indonesia, see Drewes 1948, Alisjahbana

⁵ The reference is to Valentyn (1724–26). See also de Haan (1922; chapter 20, on 'kerk, school, wetenschap, drukpers').

⁶ According to Drewes (1948), it has been the policy of the language committee to prefer to borrow new lexical items from other Indonesian languages, or Arabic, and to turn to Dutch or other European languages only if no suitable word can be found elsewhere; but this policy has not prevented a large influx of Dutch-derived lexical items.

1949, Nugroho 1957, and Janssens 1958; the vexed question of Malay versus Dutch as an official language in the 1930's is argued out by Brugmans (1931), Esser (1938) and Hooykaas (1939). Teeuw (1961) provides an extensive bibliography of studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia.

As many Indonesian dictionaries do not list common words borrowed from European sources, it is not always easy to see the extent of Dutch lexical influence. Some lists and other data are given by Donselaar (1892), Nypels (1930), Kwee Kek Beng (1936), and Wijngaards (1951). Approximately 10% of the items entered under *s*, for example, in Pino and Wittermans (1953) are Dutch borrowings, which penetrate deeply into all levels of the vocabulary. Few of these borrowings appear in peninsular Malay.

Structural changes have been caused by some of the borrowings; thus, *mensol* 'to sole' (not **menjol*), *sinjalir* 'to signal' (not **menjinjal*). On the phonological level, many new consonant clusters, such as initial /sp/, /st/, /sk/, are now permitted.

Perhaps the greatest influence of Dutch on Bahasa Indonesia, however, has been on the orthography, which differs from the English-influenced orthography of the Malay peninsula; for a full treatment of the differences, see Carr 1951; also, Fokker 1897. After independence the Indonesian authorities substituted *u* for the Dutch *oe*, and ceased to write accent marks on the three varieties⁷ of *e* found in modern Indonesian; otherwise, no changes were made in the orthography, which remains adequate except for some inconsistencies in the treatment of foreign words — those from Arabic and Sanskrit no less than those from European languages.

Dutch influence on Javanese has been comparable to that on Bahasa Indonesia, but less extensive because of the lesser use of Javanese in international contexts.⁸ Most of the influence has been indirect, through Bahasa Indonesia, and this is certainly the case with the other languages of Indonesia — including Irian Barat. For one account of European, mainly Dutch, influence in many parts of the archipelago, from a Protestant mission viewpoint, see Kraemer 1958, and, for the general impact of Western civilization, Schrieke 1929.

ENGLISH

Indonesia

In the extreme western half of the Indonesian area, on the island of Madagascar, the English influence was brief but far-reaching, for it was English missionaries who devised the Malagasy orthography in use today. Ferrand (1903) makes a not unjustified comment:

⁷ Two phonemes.

⁸ Nevertheless, the standard orthography of Javanese is of Dutch origin. Berg (1941) advocates a completely 'rational' spelling of Javanese and Madurese, by the otherwise unnecessary letters of the Roman alphabet to represent unusual values; thus *v* = /ə/, *f* = /ŋ/. Such a system appears, however, to have little chance of acceptance.

En 1826, six ans après l'ouverture de sa première école, la *London Missionary Society* installa une imprimerie à Tananarive, et publia, l'année suivante, une traduction de la Genèse. Le Merina, dialecte parlé jusqu'alors, venait d'être doté de l'alphabet anglais. Une transformation aussi importante que l'adoption d'un système graphique et la fixation d'une orthographe, entreprise par des Européens non-linguistes, récemment arrivés à Madagascar, peu préparés certainement à cette tâche délicate et malaisée, ne laissait pas que d'être audacieuse ...

The principal objections to the orthography are that *o* is used for /u/, *ao* for /o/, and *y* for final /i/; some writers also criticize *j* for [dz].

English influence on the lexicon has not been as great as that of Arabic, Swahili, or even French; the following is a list of typical nineteenth-century borrowings, again from Ferrand 1903: *pensily* 'pencil', *penina* 'pen', *pejy* 'page', *penefo* 'penknife', *kaoma* 'comma', *solaitra* 'slate', *bilaotra* 'blotting-paper', *baolina* 'ball', *sekoly* 'school', *matso* 'match'. The semantic concentration on education is obvious, and due to the missionary interest in schooling.

In the Malay peninsular and archipelagic area the influence of English has been more intense and of longer duration. After early conflicts with other European nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the English consolidated their control, in the nineteenth century, of the Malay peninsula, Singapore, and parts of Borneo. English became the language of government and, later, of most higher education, while Malay — often in the form of 'Bazaar Malay', with simplified morphology and syntax, and a high proportion of loanwords from English — was the language of daily commerce.⁹ In this context it is not surprising that the English influence on Malay was extensive. The first major impact was the introduction of the Romanized orthography, in general use from about 1900, after some debate (see Anonymous 1878, 1882, 1904; Crawford 1848; Maxwell 1882; and, for some present-day criticisms, Alisjahbana 1965). The last-named writer also mentions some of the English-derived lexical innovations in Malay, such as *universiti* 'university', *steshen* 'station', *lektrik* 'electric', *polis* 'police', *talivishen* 'television'; there are many more, but modern Malay, like modern Indonesian, has nevertheless shown some resistance to the importation of words from Western languages, preferring to take them from Arabic and Sanskrit or other Indonesian languages. The greater development of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language has meant that in recent years Malays have turned to Indonesia for solutions to their lexical problems.

English has influenced Malay syntactically as well, resulting sometimes in an Anglicized, unidiomatic Malay; for examples, see Brown 1956. Gullick (1953) comments:

As a general conclusion to this paper it is suggested that in its problems of translation the Malay press tends not so much towards the introduction of new foreign words as to the use of Malay words in new and extended meanings. The influence of English on the development of Malay is thus seen in the extension of the meaning and usage of Malay words.

⁹ For the present overall language situation in Malaysia, see LePage 1964. For the year 1957 he cites the following literacy figures: Malays literate in Malay, 65%; in English, 8%.

Malay words are given secondary or metaphorical meanings which are not usually the natural development of their previous usage in Malay; they acquire these new meanings because the English word which corresponds in primary meaning or usage is also used *in English* in the extended sense now borrowed.

Osman (1961), dealing with the rise of Malay literature, also comments on the English influence. The Institute of National Language (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka) has since Malaysian independence supervised the development of Malay through its periodical *Dewan Bahasa* (1957–; surveyed for the first three years by Teeuw (1961)). A somewhat popular account of its work is given by Syed Nasir bin Ismail (1966).

Nothing is available on the English influence on other Indonesian languages under British or former British control, but J. Prentice¹⁰ says that some of these, such as Murut in Sabah, are much more able, morphologically and phonologically, to assimilate foreign words, and as a result have a high proportion of English loanwords in their lexicon.

The linguistic history of the Philippines took quite a different turn from that of the rest of Indonesia. A purely Spanish colony until 1898, these islands underwent virtually no other foreign linguistic influence — if we except a brief British occupation of Manila in 1762–63 — until they fell into American hands during the Spanish-American war. The impact of English — American English — was dramatic. Schools in English were established in 1901, and the Filipinos accepted the tuition with such enthusiasm that by 1918 the census recorded more English-speaking than Spanish-speaking Filipinos. (For beginnings of American education, see Alizona 1932; Lacuesta 1958.) In the same year, 114 periodicals being published, 28 were wholly in English, 27 wholly in Spanish, and 24 wholly in local languages (Benitez 1954:344; see also Yabes 1957).

The progress of English was so rapid that it seriously interfered with plans for the promotion of Tagalog (renamed Pilipino) as the national language; arguments on the future language of the Philippines include Lopez 1931, 1932; Panlasigui 1932; Hartendorp 1938; and Buck 1940; see also Frei 1949–50. However, the Japanese occupation during the Second World War favored, as in Indonesia, the growth of the national language, and after the establishment of the Republic of the Philippines in 1946, Tagalog was well-placed to receive complete acceptance, though English continues to be the favored second language in education.

English speakers arrived in the Philippines too late to establish the first orthography of Tagalog; but the former Spanish orthography was revised, with some English influence, towards the end of the nineteenth century (Rizal 1893; Manuel 1935). English influences on the lexicon have, however, been extensive; a long list of English borrowings,¹¹ in which sporting terms predominate, is given by Lopez (1944);

¹⁰ Of the Australian National University; personal communication.

¹¹ These are: *basketbol*, *besbol*, *bóliból*, *indorbesbol*, *putbol*, *golp*, *tenis*, *boksing*, *tim*, *kapten*, *katser*, *pitser*, *plebol*, *homran*, *ining*, *parbol* ('foul ball'), *ring*, *pait*, *nakaut*, *áperkát*, *paul*, *raket*, *skúl*, *titser*

Jimenez 1924 was not seen. Santos (1937–38) suggests means of enriching the Tagalog lexicon from internal resources, and from dialects and related languages, in addition to borrowing from European languages. Whinnom (1956:53) suggests that the omission of the article before proper nouns in Tagalog perhaps derives from English influence.

The English spoken by Filipinos has also developed recognizable regional characteristics, apart from the lesser degrees of competence in English often termed ‘Bamboo English’ (see Pablo 1938; Hemphill 1962; Larson 1963; and Buenaventura 1963). The overall linguistic scene in the Philippines is summarized thus by Whinnom (1954).

After three hundred and fifty years of Spanish occupation less than 10 per cent of the population spoke Spanish; after fifty years of American occupation less than 2 per cent speak Spanish, and 37 per cent speak English; three languages are acknowledged as official languages — English, Spanish, and Tagalog; and at least five million Filipinos do not speak any of these three tongues.

A decline in the standard of English is reported in the 1950’s and 1960’s, at least partly as a result of the departure of thousands of American nationals after independence.

As usual in areas where one indigenous language becomes a lingua franca or official language, the other Philippine languages — over seventy of them — have become of interest only to their speakers and a handful of linguists and missionaries. Under these conditions the impact of a foreign language such as English is much lessened; such interference as takes place is usually through the medium of the common language, Tagalog. In the same way the Spanish contact vernaculars still spoken in the Philippines have come under the influence of English (Whinnom 1956).

Two useful bibliographies on Philippine linguistic subjects are Welsh 1950 and Houston 1953.

Micronesia

The area now known as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands has been subjected throughout its history to a series of influences from Spanish, German, Japanese and English intruders — the last only since the last war. But not all the English linguistic influences on the Micronesian languages of the area date only from U.S. control; a number of early loanwords, from the usual Pacific sources of missionaries and traders, are recorded by Hall (1945), and for Marshallese by Lang (1926). The orthography of the latter language is discussed in an official pamphlet by Smith (1951). Meller (1959) gives some information on the extent of English competence amongst Marshallese legislators (23 fluent English, 10 limited English, 37 no English) and reports that ‘far more than half of the Marshallese adults cannot speak English in any form’. For the

program, risés, miting, garden, absen, balediktoryan, bódebíl (‘body-building’), *diyás* (‘jazz’), *hulahula, kabaré, parti, piknik, tosmaster, opis, manediyer, tsip* (‘chief’), *kombensiyón, ispiker, lider*.

Carolines, an account (Alkire 1960) of general culture contact is available, and Garvin's article (1954) on the problem of a new spelling for Ponapean typifies the difficulties of the whole area — and, in fact, of much of the Pacific:

There was no question of the need for a major spelling reform on Ponape; for a speech community of about 5700, most of the adult and adolescent members of which are at least partially literate, I counted after my arrival at least five different spelling systems in varying degrees of use and disuse. The reasons for this proliferation of orthographies are to be found in the unusual acculturative history of the island: after the first contact with Yankee whalers in the 1820's, no fewer than four major Western or Westernized nations have at one time or another drawn Ponape into their political and cultural sphere of influence, with the attendant influx of missionaries, administrators, seafaring and armed forces personnel, and — within limits — even colonists. In the 1840's, the Boston Mission inaugurated an extensive program on the island, in the 1870's Spain acquired it as part of its Oceanic colonies and sold it to Germany after the Spanish-American War. Early in the First World War, Japan occupied the island and kept it after the Versailles Treaty as a League of Nations mandate. The end of the Second World War saw, first Military Government and Civil Administration by the U.S. Navy, and later American civilian administration as part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Protestant Missions have been active on the island since the 1840's, Catholic Missions since the Spanish rule. The population is at the present about evenly divided between Catholics and Protestants. With the changes in political administration, mission groups of different nationalities succeeded each other, although the religious affiliations of the islanders remained largely unaltered. Each of the various missions published its own literature in Ponapean and, most unfortunately, used its own orthographic inventions, creating various degrees of language loyalty to them. Hence the minor graphemic Tower of Babel which I encountered. Needless to say that none of the systems in use, either singly or — as was frequently the case — in combination, has been particularly adequate for purposes of functional literacy.

The language situation in the Marianas, including Guam, is described by Solenberger (1962). The political history of Guam, however, has been similar to that of the Philippines, with the result that the penetration of English has been deeper. The island's legislature is conducted wholly in English (Meller 1959), but no information is available on the influence of English on Chamorro. Throughout the whole Trust Territory English is rapidly becoming the lingua franca, as no uniform pidgin developed there.

A bibliography (Kunz 1959) of the languages of the Gilbert and Ellice Is., and Nauru, shows no entries directly relevant to this paper, but it does give the history of mission influence and Bible translation in the area, from which some deductions of English influence can be made. The first translation into Gilbertese was made in 1857 by an American missionary, Rev. Hiram Bingham, who was thus responsible for fixing the orthography. Bingham records (1908) that his dictionary of Gilbertese contains, out of over 12,000 entries, '500 Gilbertized foreign words which occur in Gilbertese books printed since 1857, principally in the Bible, the Geography, and the Arithmetic'.¹²

Nauru was under German influence until after 1914, but since that time education has been conducted in English, to such an extent that the Nauru *Report* for 1965–

66 was able to state that 'English is used freely by educated, and is understood by all, Nauruans'.¹³ Not seen, but almost certainly of interest, is the report (1938) of the Nauruan Language Committee on the possible introduction of a new orthography.

Polynesia

Whatever the later political affiliations of the various Polynesian islands, virtually all share one thing in common: the fact that the first European language really encountered by them was English, brought first by Captain Cook and his men, spread by whalers and traders, and consolidated by missionaries — the last being by far the most important, owing to their longer stay and greater concern with native education (see brief account by Wonderly and Nida (1963)). The main English-speaking mission in the area was the London Missionary Society (LMS; for a history of its activities see Lovett 1899), although the American-based Boston Mission (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions — ABCFM) played an important part. Missionaries¹⁴ were largely responsible for fixing the basic orthography of Polynesian languages, although the inability of some to appreciate the non-phonemicity of voicing in stops in these languages necessitated some later corrections, chiefly French-inspired (see Gifford 1924 (Tonga); Drollet 1922 (Tahiti); Wise and Hervey 1952 (Hawaii)).¹⁵ They were also responsible for the earliest stratum of foreign words in these languages, though not all are English; the intractability of English spelling and phonemic structure forced them to go to other languages, principally Latin, Greek, and sometimes

¹² Typical of these are the following selected almost at random: *aonti* 'ounce', *aoki* 'hawk', *embaia* 'empire', *eriñ* 'herring', *iunaki* 'eunuch', *inti* 'inch', *ōniki* 'onyx', *ōriwa* 'olive', *uabu* 'wharf', *uira* 'wheel', *m'āne* 'money', *manna* 'manna', *b'aketi* 'bucket', *kaō* 'cow', *kirete* 'glade', *ribaietān* 'leviathan', *rute* 'duty', *taekiti* 'tax', *tābu* 'soap', *wain* 'wine', *warekēno* 'volcano'. All the names of the English months are also included.

¹³ This result is probably due to the small native population (about 2500). However, the accuracy of the above report is somewhat to be doubted when it makes statements such as the following: 'There is no information available about the first inhabitants of Nauru. The Nauruan language provides no clue to the origin of the people; its structure and many of its words do not appear to have any relationship to Polynesian, and certain characteristics distinguish it from typical Melanesian tongues.'

¹⁴ It should be noted that, until quite recently, the bearers of the English language to the Pacific have been Protestant missionaries; Catholic missions operated in French, German, or Spanish. This has often resulted in competing orthographies (as reported for Ponapean, above), and different versions of biblical names and other loanwords, being used by adherents of different faiths.

¹⁵ The principal defects of the Polynesian orthographies in use are:

1. non-symbolization of the glottal stop (in many cases);
2. vowel length marked by a macron rather than by doubling the vowel, which more closely reproduces the Polynesian phonemic pattern;
3. the representation of [ŋ]; in Samoa this is written unambiguously but perhaps confusingly as *g*; elsewhere the digraph *ng* is used. In Fiji and the Solomons, the Samoan value of *g* has been retained, and [ŋg] represented by *q* (elsewhere by *ngg*).
4. the use of the inept digraph *wh* for the Māori [p];
5. confusion as to the phonemic status of [u] and [w], variously, and often incorrectly, represented

Hebrew, for the words necessary to convey Biblical and Western concepts; thus Samoan *agelu*, *epikopō*, *ekalesia*,¹⁶ *satauro*, *ti'akono*, *ti'apolo* from Greek, *auro*, *filo*, *leona*, *povi* from Latin. English-derived words from the same period include names of the weekdays and months, some schoolroom terms, and trade items; for a very full list, without comment, in one Polynesian language, see Rere 1951. Two short notices, unavailable for inspection, deal with the early period of linguistic contact (Campbell 1899; Hale 1899). A few other early borrowings are given by Crawford (1850).

The words introduced by the English-speaking missionaries, and adopted into Polynesian languages, in the first half of the nineteenth century, are almost all that remain of English influence in the Polynesian areas that came under French control in the middle of that century (Vernier 1948). In areas that remained or came under British or American control, however, a second influx of English borrowings has begun, and is still continuing, as a result of the greater proportion of English speakers now resident in the islands, and of increasing sophistication and westernization in general.

Not all the regions of Polynesia can be dealt with separately; for some, no information is available, for others the situation is manifestly a duplicate of that existing elsewhere. Some data on culture contact in the whole area is provided by Belshaw (1957).

Tonga provides something of an exception in Polynesia, being largely independent of English control, though not of influence. The contact situation there, and the spread of English, is described by Koch (1954, 1955). Churchward's Tongan dictionary (1959) includes English borrowings:

In spite, however, of its outstanding facilities for word-formation, the Tongan language has not been slow to borrow and assimilate words from other languages, particularly English, with which it has no vital connexion. Of the thousands of such words now in common use, I have included all that I have come across, together with a number of technical and ecclesiastical terms that I have gathered from various sources ...

Here and there I have gone a step further: after consultation with my native assistant, I have invented a Tonganized form of an English word that has not yet been assimilated but whose assimilation is almost certain to be called for later. See, for example, *palafini* (paraffin) and *paikeleti* (pikelet)

New Zealand is also unusual, in having a much larger proportion of English-speaking inhabitants than elsewhere in Polynesia; nevertheless, the influences on Māori have followed the general Polynesian pattern: early mission-inspired borrowings, followed in the modern period by new words made necessary by the fact that the Māori people live an increasingly European way of life in a predominantly European environment. Words of the earlier period include those to be found in any school Māori

¹⁶ 'Church', in the sense of adherents, or as administrative organization. 'The word *church* meaning the building in which the services are held is *falesa*: *fale* 'house', *sa* 'holy'. Church in the sense of a church service or a church sect is *lotu*' (Marsack 1962, whence also the examples quoted in the text).

reader, such as Waititi 1962;¹⁷ the later borrowings have not yet been documented. For culture change and Māori education in general, see Bird 1928, Jackson 1931.

The furthest development of English language influence in Polynesia, and also the best documented, is to be found in Hawaii. Great attention has been focused on Hawaiian Pidgin, which qua pidgin is outside the scope of this article (bibliography Tsuzaki and Reinecke 1966); nevertheless, many articles on Hawaiian Pidgin contain valuable information on the use of English, on various levels, in Hawaii. (For history of Hawaiian Pidgin, see Smith 1933; Voegelin and Voegelin 1964.) Thirty years ago the linguistic situation with regard to English and Pidgin could be summarized thus (Reinecke 1938):

“PIDGIN”				“GOOD ENGLISH”	
Extremely broken makeshift English	Broken but fairly adequate English with marked foreign peculiarities	Inadequate substandard dialectal English	Fluent and adequate but substandard dialectal English	Distinctly dialectal but acceptable English	Standard American English, with local peculiarities
Mostly spoken by immigrants			Mostly spoken by immigrants' descendants		

The language situation in Hawaii is not of course simply an interaction of English and Hawaiian; other languages (Japanese, Cantonese, Portuguese, Korean and Ilocano, to name only the most important) play a part (Aspinwall 1960). The problem of promoting a ‘standard’ English in this environment has taxed educators and sociologists (Reinecke and Tokimasa 1934; Smith 1942; Carr 1960; Hormann 1960; Kasdon and Smith 1960).

Modern loanwords in Hawaiian are discussed by Day (1951), and briefly by Pukui and Elbert (1957: introduction). Judd, Pukui and Stone (1945) also treat the subject briefly. A detailed account of the phonological adaptation of loanwords is provided by Carr (1951). Of marginal interest to the study of English in the Pacific, but symptomatic of the mobility imparted to Oceanic languages by Europeans in the nineteenth century, is a mention by Stefansson (1909) of Hawaiian words introduced by whalers into Eskimo trade jargon.

On one previously uninhabited island of Polynesia, Pitcairn Island, there developed an English dialect with an extensive Tahitian admixture, as a result of the settling there of the H.M.S. *Bounty* mutineers; this dialect has been studied by Ross (1961) and Ross and Moverley (1964). The transfer of some of the Pitcairn islanders to Norfolk Island, several times during the nineteenth century, influenced the English dialect

¹⁷ Examples from page 15: *kāpata* ‘cupboard’, *karaka* ‘clock’, *māhita* ‘master’, *pahi* ‘bus’, *pene* ‘pen’, *pere* ‘bell’, *pikitia* ‘picture’, *pouaka* ‘box’, *pukapuka* ‘book’, *rūma* ‘room’, *rūri* ‘ruler’, *taraiwa* ‘driver’, *tioka* ‘chalk’.

spoken there; this has been studied by staff members of the University of Queensland, but no publication has been located.

Melanesia

The linguistic history of Melanesia, at least for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is much like that of Polynesia, with two important exceptions: first contact with Europeans tended to be less, owing to the uncompromising hostility of many Melanesian groups, and Polynesia escaped the devastation and social upheaval wrought by the blackbirders. These last contributed greatly to the spread in Melanesia of an English-based pidgin, not so much by their own use of it as by the uprooting and transporting of thousands of Melanesians, of whatever origin, to the fields of sugarcane in Queensland, where the consequent mixing of linguistic groups made the use of some lingua franca inevitable (for history, see Wawn 1893). In Queensland, too, these Melanesian natives were brought more into contact with Australian English than would have been the case in their homelands; but such borrowed words as entered the native languages, particularly those of the Solomon Islands, entered via Pidgin.

Otherwise, the Polynesian pattern was repeated. English-speaking missionaries — the LMS, the Melanesian mission, and some Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides — settled and evangelized where they could. The LMS station in the Loyalty Is., which took over from the Melanesian Mission (history, Fox 1958), and continued during the early years of the French regime (Macfarlane 1873), had an indirect influence on southern Papua; mission-trained Lifuans and Mareans were taken in 1871 to southern Papua and the islands of Torres Straits, to assist in Bible translation — with the result that the Miriam, Motu, and Dobuan Bibles show many Lifuan constructions and loanwords in Lifuan form.¹⁸

The influence of English on the French spoken in the Pacific has been thoroughly described by Hollyman (1963); a similar, but shorter, list of items introduced into French is given by O'Reilly (1953).

Little information is available on the influence of English in Fiji. An article by Beauclerc (1910) is of doubtful value, even if his central theme is ignored; of ten presumed early loanwords in Fijian given at the end of his paper, all are patently non-English. The same author deals with 'corruptions' in Fijian (1915), in a similar vein.

¹⁸ Ray and Haddon (1893) give examples of the Lifuan influence, and also of the Samoan influence, since Samoan missionaries preceded Europeans into many of the mission fields of Melanesia.

The problem of the translation of the Bible into native languages, for which a journal (*The Bible Translator*) exists exclusively, is not one of direct concern to this paper, but it has some relevance to the matter of introduced loanwords. A typical account of the problem of translation — that is, finding native equivalents of foreign concepts — is given by Leenhardt (1951); see also King 1913. Transliteration problems in a language with a phonemic structure very different from English are discussed by Doble (1950).

More modern information is not available, if we discount a brief article by Schütz (1963) on lexical differences between generations in Fiji, but without specifying English influence. Capell (1941) lists less than a hundred English loanwords¹⁹ (most of them from the nineteenth century) in a dictionary of some 6500 entries. Fiji largely escaped the use of Melanesian Pidgin as a lingua franca, perhaps because of the spread of a single native language (Bauan). Schools, till 1900 largely in the hands of missions, and conducted in the vernacular, were slow in providing English instruction, but now most Fijians have had some direct contact with English in the schools (see Mann 1935).

If little data can be found for Fiji, even less can be found for the British Solomon Islands (where however the lingua franca is a form of Melanesian Pidgin, with consequent lessened impact of English), and for the New Hebrides, whose history of whalers, sandalwood traders, missionary martyrs, and, finally, the Anglo-French condominium, should make an interesting study. An English-based pidgin, with some French influence (Beach-la-Mar) is the lingua franca, though Mota (a New Hebridean language) also has some currency, as a result of its use as a lingua franca by the Melanesian Mission until 1928.

In the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, English has been the official language of administration and education for the whole period of Australian control, but the extensive use — necessary in such a multilingual area — of two lingue franche, Melanesian Pidgin and Police Motu, has meant that the use of English has until recently been confined to a small educated elite in Port Moresby and Rabaul, with little influence on the native languages, except for the usual loanwords introduced into Bible translations. New Guinea Pidgin is, however, English-based, and Police Motu contains a high proportion of English loanwords, and many native languages have taken a large number of ultimately English words from these sources. This aspect of language contact, and other facets of bilingualism, are discussed by Fischer (1962) and Laycock (1966a). Official policy on Pidgin is treated by Hall (1959), other aspects of bilingualism by Salisbury (1962) and Schlesier (1961). Relevant articles on culture change and education, all with observations on the place of English, are Groves 1936; Williams 1928, 1951; Elkin 1937b; and Pittman 1960.

From Papua comes the following extract from a letter by the Rev. H. Newton in 1914 (cited by White (1929:50)); the description is non-technical, and the language is the Melanesian Wedau in Papua, but the type of linguistic contact described is relevant throughout the Pacific:

The language is very powerful in assimilating new words. An English word is taken notice of, the pronunciation adapted, a prefix and a suffix perhaps added, a vowel thrown in here and there to separate consonants, and lo and behold! it is at home at once; and when you hear the word and, thinking that it is a new one, inquire the exact meaning of it, the natives

¹⁹ Some examples selected at random: *afapeni* 'halfpenny', *keresi* 'water-cross', *kope* 'copy', *lokamu* 'prison' (from 'lock-up'), *ovisa* 'policeman' (from 'officer'), *same* 'psalm', *sofia* 'soldier', *tarausese* 'trousers', *vaudi* 'pound', *waini* 'wine'.