The Influence of German on the Lexicon of Palauan and Kosraean

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Abstract

German loanwords are found in many languages in the South Pacific, in particular in those areas which were under German administration before WW I. The Austronesian languages in this area differ greatly with respect to the number of lexemes of German origin. The paper focuses on two languages of Micronesia, namely Palauan, with a comparatively high number of German loans, and Kosraean which had no German influence on its lexicon. The paper considers the balance of factors that contribute to the different loanword amounts. That German was taught in local schools for up to two decades did not, by itself, enhance borrowing from German. More weighty factors for the amount of borrowings from German are the length and strength of language contact with English and the use of German as a means of communication in particular settings in the years before WW I.

Keywords

Loanword, Language Contact, Second Language Learning, Language Teaching, Language Policy, Pidgin, Language Attitude, Palauan, Kosraean, German, English, Spanish.

1 Introduction

Most of the languages spoken in Micronesia incorporated German loanwords into their lexicons. These borrowings go back to the two decades before WW I when large parts of Micronesia were under German administration, namely the Northern Marianas, the Caroline Islands, including the Palau Islands, the Marshall Islands and Nauru, leaving Guam and the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati) the only parts of Micronesia not administered by the Germans back then. There are about 25 languages spoken in Micronesia, all of them members of the Austronesian family. Except for two, Chamorro and Palauan, the languages belong to the Oceanic subbranch of Austronesian: the Micronesian languages Carolinian, Chuukese, Kiribati, Kosraean, Marshallese, Mokilese, Mortlockese, Namonuito, Nauruan, Nguluwan, Pááfang, Pingelapese, Ponapean, Puluwatese, Satawalese, Sonsorol, Tanapag, Tobi, Ulithian, Woleaian, and Yapese, and the two Polynesian outlier languages Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro.1 All of these languages were languages of the indigenous population of islands under German administration except for Kiribati (Gilbertese); yet, there were also many migrants from Kiribati in other parts of Micronesia. It can be safely assumed that German was in contact with almost all of the languages spoken in Micronesia at least for a couple of years, in particular because German was also taught in local schools during that time.

Since most parts of Micronesia have seen periods of Spanish, German, Japanese, and US-American administration, the local languages usually contain loanwords from the four languages spoken by the foreign intruders, as well as loanwords from neighbouring Austronesian languages; the latter are less thoroughly marked in the dictionaries available. The languages of Micronesia are comaparatively well documented, in particular due to efforts concentrated at the University of Hawai'i, which published a number of grammars and dictionaries in their PALI series. Counting all the loanwords and their source attributions in six of these dictionaries – the "Marshallese-English Dictionary" (Abo et al. 1976), the "Puluwat Dictionary" (Elbert 1972), the "Trukese-English Dictionary" (Goodenough & Sugita 1980), the "Kusaiean-English Dictionary" (Lee 1976), the "Palauan-English Dictionary" (McManus 1977), and the "Woleaian-English Dictionary" (Sohn & Tawerilmang 1976) – more than 3400 loanwords are found altogether in these six dictionaries which are distributed according to their source languages as shown in table 1.2

Source language	share
English	60,1 %
Japanese	32,9 %
Spanish	2,3 %
German	1,6 %
Others	3,0 %

1 This follows Ethnologue (http://www.ethnologue.com/web.asp). Some of these languages, e.g. Sonsorol and Tobi, are sometimes considered dialectal variations of each other.

2 The sample does not include languages spoken in the Marianas where Spanish is the dominating source language for borrowings.

Table 1: Source of loanwords in six languages of Micronesia.

Although the contribution of German to the loanword lexicon of the languages in Micronesia is relatively small, there are two major reasons why it is probably not as small as table 1 suggests. First of all, there are numerous cases in which loanwords are attributed to English but a closer inspection shows that a German origin is equally or more plausible. E.g., the Woleaian dictionary attributes *spitaal* to English *hóspital* instead of German *Spitál*, which seems the more likely source. The same holds for *pisoof*, attributed to English *bishop*, but probably from German *Bischof*, considering that Woleaian allows final *p* and therefore would have borrowed *bishop* as *pisoop*. Furthermore, there are many lexical items which are very similar in English and German, e.g. *spanner* / *Spanner* into Woleaian *sepaana*, and which are almost always listed as loanwords from English. The second reason concerns the rate of decay of loanwords. In a recent study Miyagi (2000) has shown that about half of the Japanese loanwords in Ponapean as listed in the Ponapean-English Dictionary by Rehg & Sohl (1979) have been lost since the dictionary was published. This has been established by investigating the language use of young adults on Ponape. The data in the dictionary by Rehg & Sohl stem from the early seventies. That means that Ponapean lost half of its Japanese loanwords within 25-30 years. If the rate of decay was similar for German loans in the languages of Micronesia, 75% of the German loans might have been lost between the 50-60 years between WWI and the early 70s, when most of the Micronesian dictionaries were compiled.

This paper is concerned with the fact that the numbers of German loanwords differ considerably from language to language. Based on the dictionaries of the PALI series alone and the source attributions therein, there are 24 German loanwords listed for Palauan (McManus 1977), 13 for Trukese (Goodenough & Sugita 1980), 7 for Marshallese (Abo et al. 1976), and none for Kosraean (Lee 1976).

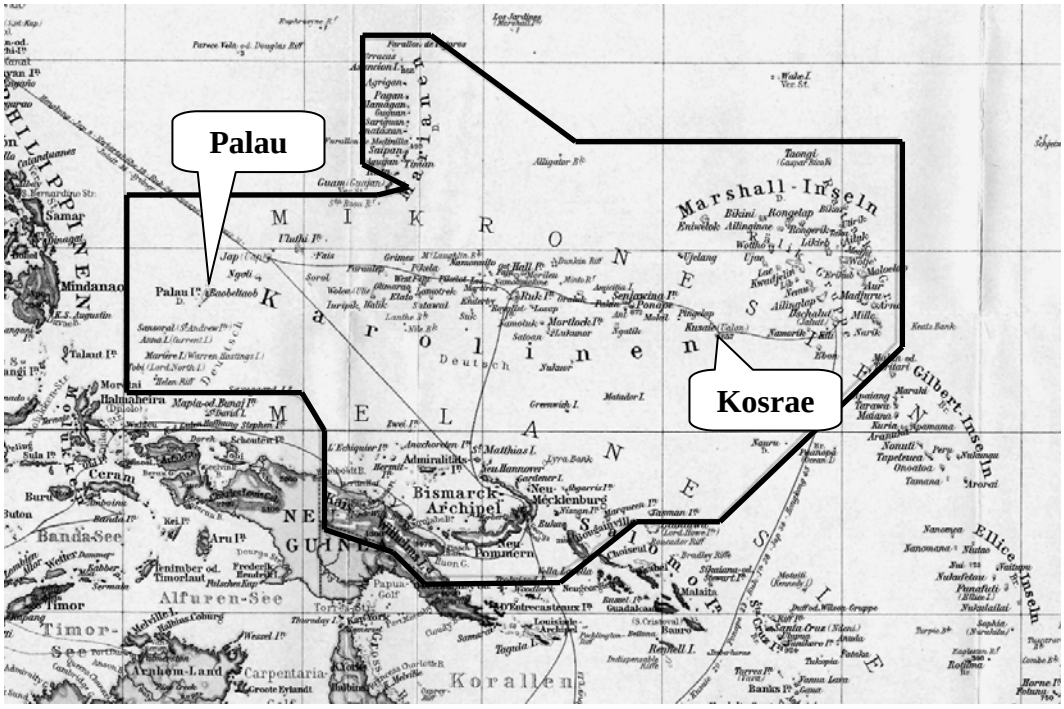


Figure 1: Map of Micronesia showing Palau and Kosrae within the "Gouvernement Deutsch-Neuguinea" (based on Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft 1905)**.**

The aim of these paper is to show why the languages in Micronesia differ so much with respect to their receptiveness for German loanwords. I will focus on Palauan and Kosraean. Section 2 will be about German loanwords in Palauan. In section 3, the history of culture and language contact between Palauan/Kosraean and non-Austronesian speaking people will be sketched. Section 4 contains an account of the role of German as a subject in the local schools. In section 5 I will try to reconstruct the language choices made in communication between Palauans/Kosraeans and Germans. Section 6 will conclude the paper, outlining the factors most important for the observed differences in loanword receptiveness.

2 German loanwords in Palauan

Relying on the source attributions in McManus (1977) and Lee (1976)3 alone, loanwords are distributed in Palauan and Kosraean as shown in table 2.4

Source language	**Palauan**	**Kosraean**
English	23,4 %	78,3 %
Japanese	62,9 %	21,2 %
Spanish	9,3 %	0,0 %
German	4,2 %	0,0 %
Others	0,2 %	0,5 %

Table 2: Source of loanwords in Palauan and Kosraean.

The lack of Spanish and German loanwords in Kosraean and the different weight of English and Japanese as sources for borrowings are the most striking differences for the two languages.

The following list contains German loanwords which are or were common in Palauan. It is based on dictionaries which have been compiled after WW II, namely Roszel (1958), McManus (1960), and as part of the PALI dictionary series McManus (1977) and the most recent dictionary by Josephs (1990). All of these dictionaries rely to a certain degree (i) on a German-Palauan/Palauan-German dictionary by the German bishop and apostolic vicar of the Carolines and Marianas Salvador Walleser (Walleser 1913), (ii) on a Palauan-English dictionary that was compiled by Capell (1948) as part of the "Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology 1947-1949", and (iii) on work done by the Jesuit missionary Edwin G. McManus between 1948 and 1968 (with McManus 1950 being the earliest compilation). Unfortunatley, no lexicographic ressources are available from the time between WW I and the WW II, which would have reflected the Palauan lexicon at a stage closer to the contact time with German.

Except for Roszel (1958), who doesn't mark loanwords, the source language attributions for the following words are based on those given in the dictionaries. No attempt has been

3 Except for a couple of short wordlists, Lee (1976) is the only lexicographic source for Kosraean (cf. Sarfert 1920, Lee 1976: vii).

4 This is based on an overall count of 548 loanwords for Palauan and 614 for Kosraean.

made to re-evaluate these attributions on a large scale. Only in Josephs (1990) are the actual German source words given.

babíer 'paper, letter, book' < *Papier* 'paper'. SOURCE: McManus (1960, 1977), Josephs (1984, 1990). COMMENT: Also in compounds like *blil a babier* 'bookcase' (McManus 1977) or *blib a babier* 'library' (Roszel 1958).

belailés '(type of tapioca)' < ? SOURCE: (McManus 1977). COMMENT: The attribution of belailés '(type of tapioca)' to a German origin in McManus (1977) was probably an error. In Josephs (1990) it is listed as an item of native origin.

bénster 'window' < *Fenster* 'window'. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1960, 1977), Josephs (1984, 1990). COMMENT: concept expressed by a native expression before contact with German, *tuángel*, usually meaning 'entrance' (Walleser 1913).

beríb 'letter' < *Brief* 'letter'. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1977), Josephs (1984, 1990). COMMENT: *briib* in Roszel (1958); also in compounds like *blil a briib* 'envelope', (Roszel 1958).

bilt 'holy picture' < *Bild* 'picture'. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1977), Josephs (1984, 1990).

blasbabiér 'sandpaper' < *Blase* 'bubble' + *Papier* 'paper'. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1977), Josephs (1990). COMMENT: Josephs (1990) adds a '?' to the alleged source word *Blase*. The first part of the loan is mysterious since the German word for 'sandpaper' is *Sandpapier* or *Schmirgelpapier*.

blok 'pulley' < *Block* 'block'. SOURCE: McManus (1977), Josephs (1990). COMMENT: Probably only as part of a block and tackle. The German word *Block* refers to the case that contains the actual pulley.

bost 'post office' < *Post* 'post office; mail'. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1977), Josephs (1984, 1990). COMMENT: From German or English.

bukl 'mound, small hill' < *Buckel* 'hump, bump; (regional) hillock'. SOURCE: McManus (1960). COMMENT: Also in Josephs (1990), but not marked as a loanword.

chamt 'government, aministration' < *Amt* 'office'. SOURCE: Josephs (1990).

chausbéngdik 'know thorougly, memorize' < *auswendig* (adj.) 'by heart'. SOURCE: McManus (1977), Josephs (1984, 1990).

desér 'diesel' < *Diesel* 'diesel'. SOURCE: McManus (1960, 1977), Josephs (1990). COMMENT: *desel* in McManus (1960).

Doits 'German' < *deutsch* 'German'. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1960, 1977), Josephs (1990). COMMENT : In McManus (1977) and Josephs (1990) as *Dóis* and marked as loan from Japanese *Doitsu*.

dolmérs 'interpreter' < *Dolmetscher* 'interpreter'. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1977), Josephs (1990).

hall (interj.) 'Halt!, Stop!, Wait!' < *halt* (imperative sg. of *halten*) 'stop!'. SOURCE: McManus (1960, 1977), Josephs (1990).

kabitéi 'captain' < *Kapitän* 'captain'. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1977), Josephs (1984, 1990).

karmoból ‘phonograph’ < *Grammophon* ‘phonograph’. SOURCE: McManus (1977), Josephs (1984, 1990). COMMENT: In McManus (1977) attributed to Spanish.

kerisíl ‘kerosine’ < *Kerosin* ‘kerosine’. SOURCE: Josephs (1990).

kiló ‘kilogram’ < possibly from *Kilo* ‘kilogram’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), Josephs (1990). COMMENT: In Joseph (1990) attributed to Japanese *kiro*.

kitalóng ‘carpenter’s tool for marking lumber’ < ? SOURCE: McManus (1960), Josephs (1990). COMMENT: In Josephs (1990) listed as native item.

kramatik ‘grammar’ < *Grammatik* ‘grammar’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1960). COMMENT: *gramatik* in Roszel (1958).

kúmi ‘gum, hose, rubber’ < *Gummi* ‘rubber, gum’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), Josephs (1984, 1990). COMMENT: *gumi* in Roszel (1958).

lámbei ‘lantern with handle for carrying’ < *Lampe* ‘lamp’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1960, 1977), Josephs (1984, 1990). COMMENT: Concept expressed by a native expression before contact with German: *cholbídel* (Walleser 1913).

mak ‘fifty cents’ < *Mark* ‘mark (monetary unit)’. SOURCE: McManus (1960, 1977), Josephs 1984, 1990). COMMENT: Also in compounds like *teblo el mak* ‘one dollar’ (Josephs 1990).

mesíl ‘machine, motor, engine’ < *Maschine* ‘machine’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1977), Josephs (1984, 1990). COMMENT: *masil* in Roszel (1958); from German or English; also in compounds like *mesil er a mamed* ‘sewing machine’, *mesil er a katsudo* ‘movie projector’.

mesilkebiér ‘machine gun’ < *Maschinengewehr* ‘machine gun’. SOURCE: McManus (1977), Joseph 1984, 1990).

mitte ‘middle’ < *Mitte* ‘middle’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958).

prister ‘priest (prot.)’ < probably from *Priester* ‘priest’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958).

rrat ‘bicycle’ < *Rad* ‘bicycle, wheel’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1960, 1977), Josephs (1984, 1990).

sengk ‘gift of money to first-born child by father’s family; money given as reward for good work or performance’ < *schenken* (v.) ‘give as gift’. SOURCE: McManus (1960, 1977), Josephs (1984, 1990). COMMENT: The source of the loan could also be *Geschenk* ‘gift’.

serángk ‘bookcase, cupboard, shelf’ < *Schrank* ‘cupboard, closet’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1960, 1977), Josephs (1990).

seráub (n.) ‘screw’ < *Schraube* ‘screw’. SOURCE: McManus (1977), Josephs (1984, 1990). COMMENT: Concept expressed by a native expression before contact with German, *chosóim*, a verb meaning ‘turn, wind, screw’ (Walleser 1913).

silber ‘silver’ < probably from *Silber* ‘silver’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958).

sireng ‘siren’ < possibly from *Sirene* ‘siren’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958). COMMENT: In Josephs (1990) as *sairéng*, attributed to Japanese *sairen*.

slibs ‘necktie’ < *Schlips* ‘tie’. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1977), Josephs (1984, 1990).

suestér 'nun, sister' < *Schwester* 'nun, sister'. SOURCE: Roszel (1958), McManus (1960, 1977), Josephs (1984, 1990). COMMENT: *shwester* in Roszel (1958).

tabér 'blackboard' < *Tafel* 'blackboard'. SOURCE: Josephs (1984, 1990).

tromel 'tunnel' < perhaps from *Trommel* 'drum'. Source: McManus (1960).

turm 'church tower' < *Turm* 'tower'. SOURCE: McManus (1977), Josephs (1984, 1990).

The origin of many other words could be either German or English/Spanish, e.g. *hospital* 'hospital' (English *hospital*, German *Hospital*), *chasberíng* 'aspirin' (English *aspirin*, German *Aspirin*), and many more.

3 Culture Contact

3.1 Kosrae before 1899

After a number of ships had sighted the island, the crew of the French ship *Coquille* were probably the first Europeans to make contact with the inhabitants of Kosrae in 1824. Although it was noticed by the captain of the next ship calling at Kosrae, Fjodor Lutke on the Russian vessel *Senyavin*, that the islanders knew a couple of French expressions (Segal 1989: 56), the following decades were increasingly dominated by frequent visits of American and British ships, in particular whalers which replenished their supplies on Kosrae. In the early 1830s the first beachcombers had settled on Kosrae. "[...] [B]eachcombers, that motley array of deserters, escaped convicts, castaways and wanderers that gathered on many a Pacific island [...]" were reported living in the Carolines mainly on the islands of Ponape, Kosrae, and Palau from the late 18th to the late 19th century (Hezel 1978: 261). As Hezel has shown, they played quite a different role on each of these islands. The first beachcombers reached Kosrae in the early 1830s. In 1835 already 30 of them, mostly of English descent, lived on the island, forming a beach community of considerable size (Hezel 1978: 265). Violence, murder and intrigues prevailed within this community and most of the early beachcombers were probably killed as a result of conflicts with the indigenous population. However, new beach communities sprung up in the following years, but the beach communities never reached the size they had in the 1830s, with only one beachcomber left in 1870 (Hezel 1978: 267ff). The beachcombers on Kosrae never played an important role in local politics or a direct role in mediating between the locals and visitors of the island. They were also not directly involved in the trade that took place with an increasing number of ships that called at Kosrae. Nonetheless, the fact that English was the language of the beach community and also the language of communication between the Kosraeans and the beachcombers served to spread English among the Kosraeans. This enabled them to engage in all contact situations with visiting ships without the help of interpreters, which in turn stabilized a certain level of knowledge of English among the Kosraeans (Hezel 1978: 269). Visitors on the island report in the 1840s that the Kosraeans have "a very extensive knowledge of the English language" and that the Kosraeans could converse fluently in English "as one seaman aboard the *Cavalier* learned while listening to a young Kusaien woman chat on the subject of ice and snow." (Hezel 1978: 269)5

Although the chief of Kosrae, known by the name of "King George", discouraged the settlement of beachcombers from the 1840s on, the increasing number of ships that visited

5 Cf. also the citations in Keesing (1988: 17f).

Kosrae in the following years ensured that a steady contact with Europeans and Americans was maintained. Hezel's (1979) survey on ships that visited the Micronesian islands before the advent of colonial rule gives evidence of this. While there were only 3 ships in the 1820s, 12 in the 1830s and 30 in the 1840s, between 1850 and 1859 163 foreign ships dropped anchor at Kosrae. All in all 320 ships visited Kosrae until 1885. Most of the visiting ships were whalers on which English-based jargons were the main means of communication6. The result of this sustained contact was that a pidginized variety of English became wide-spread on Kosrae. Damon reports from a visit in 1852:

> "While at Strong's Island [Kosrae], we were surprised in mingling among natives to find so many of them who were able to speak in the *jargon* which has been introduced. The ability to pronounce some of the difficult sounds of the English language was very remarkable." (Damon 1861: 51)

The first missionaries sent to the island by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions ("Boston Mission") in 1852, the American couple Snow, even decided to preach in the local Anglo-Kosraean lingo. Although this was given up four years later, this was only because of the missionaries' attitude toward the jargon. They considered it inappropriate for communicating religious matters (Keesing 1988: 18). The American couple was replaced by native missionaries in 1862. It was only in 1879 that a native speaker of English headed the Kosraean mission again. By that time whaling in the Pacific was in decline and the number of ships calling at Kosrae had decreased considerably. From the 1880s on it was mainly the mission who guaranteed the status of English among the Kosraeans. Kosrae became a mission centre for eastern Micronesia when the Boston Mission decided to relocate the training schools for the Marshall Islands and the Gilbert Islands in 1879 and 1882 on Kosrae.

In 1885 the Carolines became Spanish. The short period of Spanish rule did not seem to have any impact on Kosrae. Thus, the Spanish language never played a role on the islands and no traces of Spanish are found in the Kosraean lexicon (cf. Lee 1976). Contacts with German speaking visitors were equally sparse. Two German trading companies entered the scene in 1879 and 1880, respectively. Adolph Capelle set up a trading station on the Kosraean island of Lelu and one year later a trade agreement between Hernsheim and the chiefs of Kosrae is reported. A few other visits by German ships are also reported in the late 19th century (Segal 1989: 86).

In conclusion, it becomes evident from the history of Kosrae that contacts with English speakers were almost uninterruptedly maintained in the 19th century from the early 1830s on, at first with the beach communities in the 1830s and 1840s, then mainly with the crews of visiting whaling and trading ships from the 1840s to the 1880s, and finally with the missionaries from the 1880s on. When Germany claimed possession of the Carolines after purchasing them from Spain in 1899, English or pidginized varieties thereof had become widespread among the population of Kosrae.

3.2 Palau before 1899

Francis Drake visited Palau in 1579, and more than 100 years later in 1710 and 1712, two Spanish ships are known to have stopped at Palau. It was only in the late 18th century that

6 This particular contact situation on Ponape and on Kosrae has led some to assume that the two islands played a major role in the development of the Pacific pidgins (Keesing 1988).

ships began to call at Palau more frequently. Most of the first permanent residents of European descent in Palau resulted from shipwrecks, notably the *Antelope* in 1783 and a couple of other ships during the 19th century. The Europeans were received with great hospitality and although most of the shipwrecked seamen left the islands after a couple of months, some of them decided to stay. Besides shipwrecked seamen, only a few deserters and crew members of bêche-de-mer traders stayed in Palau. According to Hezel (1978), there were probably no more than ten visitors of European descent between 1783 and the opening of the first trading station in 1874 who stayed in Palau for more than a year. The white residents on Palau were well integrated into Palauan society and played an important role in the struggle for power among the two main chiefs of the islands. Although simple barter between visiting ships and Palauans took place without the help of the beachcombers, in important matters the white residents served as interpreters between the chiefs and European visitors (cf. Hezel 1978: 262ff, Rechebei & McPhetres 1997: 91ff). Ships called at Palau regularly from the 1780s on, but the visits were more evenly distributed over the following 100 years, never exceeding 22 per decade. The number of visiting ships was also considerably smaller than for Kosrae, in particular because whalers preferred the eastern Carolines as ports of call. All in all, 146 ships dropped anchor at Palau before 1885 (Hezel 1979).

It should also be taken into account that Palau is quite a bit larger than Kosrae – in the early years of German administration, about 4000 Palauans lived on 171 sqm vs. 500 Kosraeans on 42 sqm – and that most ships anchored at the small island of Koror while the largest island of Palau, Babelthuap, did not see many visitors. Thus, the percentage of the population in regular contact with European visitors was certainly much smaller in Palau than in Kosrae. Whatever knowledge of pidginized English was available in Palau in the 19th century might have been restricted to the Palauans living in the Koror area.

The picture that emerges from this account is different from the situation on Kosrae. The beachcombers in Palau did not do much to spread knowledge of English among the Palauans, being probably sufficiently fluent in Palauan themselves. The incentive for Palauans to speak English was restricted to bartering with the relatively few visiting ships. A contemporary report from Semper (1873) also conveys that knowledge of English, if existent at all, was restricted to single lexical items for most Palauans.

As far as contact with other cultures and languages is concerned, it must be considered that the influence of the Spanish was felt quite a bit stronger in Palau than it was on Kosrae. Spanish ships called more often at Palau than at Kosrae, and in 1891 the Spanish Capuchins opened a mission station and school in Palau. The resulting language contact is reflected in a considerable number of Spanish loanwords which had entered the Palauan lexicon by the beginning of the 20th century, cf. e.g. from Walleser (1913) *blatong* ‘plate, bowl’ (< *plato*), *kachóll* ‘box’ (< *cajón*), *katú* ‘cat’ (< *gato*), *kusaráng* ‘spoon’ (< *cuchara*). According to Semper (1873), some of them must have been borrowed even before the 1850s.

Only few Germans are reported to have been in Palau in the 19th century. In 1867 Alfred Tetens established a short-lived coconut plantation for the German firm Godeffroy on Palau. Franz and Eduard Hernsheim began to trade in Palau in 1874. (Firth 1973: 12ff). In 1873, Godeffroy opened a trading station in Palau (Köhler 1982: 227). The most radical change in economic activities and population composition in Palau began when phosphate beds were discovered on the island of Angaur in 1907. The Deutsche Südsee-Phosphat Aktiengesellschaft began to exploit the deposits in 1909, relying on imported labor. Starting with 23 Europeans, 55 Chinese and 98 Yapese the workforce expanded to more than 800 in

1912, almost 90% of them from the various Caroline Islands, including other Palauan Islands (Firth 1973, Köhler 1982).7

In summary, Kosrae has seen considerable influence from English, in particular from the 1830s to the 1860s and from the 1880s on. There was no language contact to speak of between Kosraean on the one hand and German and Spanish on the other. The impact of English on the Palauan community was considerably weaker than on Kosrae and more evenly distributed over the 19th century. There was also some influence from Spanish, in particular in the 1890s. German didn't play a role on Palau until the 20th century.

4 German as a school subject

4.1 Schools in Micronesia

Except for one school on Saipan in the Northern Marianas, which was run by the German government, all schools in Micronesia prior to WW I were mission schools. On behalf of the Catholics, the school system in Micronesia was organized by the Spanish and German Capuchins and by the German Sacred Heart Mission; the protestants were represented by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (the "Boston Mission") and the German Liebenzell Mission.

On Kosrae the first school opened when the Boston Mission started mission work in 1852. Staffed with American teachers from 1852 until 1862 and from 1879 on, intermitted by 17 years when natives ran the mission, the Boston Mission continued school work throughout the era of German adminstration. This sets Kosrae apart from the other islands of the central and eastern Carolines where the Boston Mission withdrew in 1906, succeeded by the German Liebenzell Mission. As mentioned above, in 1879 and 1882 the training schools for the Marshall Islands (1879) and the Gilbert Islands (1982) were transferred to Kosrae. Although these schools, where natives were trained for teaching and missionary work, did not admit Kosraeans in the beginning8, this policy changed and by the beginning 20th century many Kosraeans studied there. In 1886 the Boston Mission also opened a school for girls on Kosrae (Sarfert 1919: 7, Lewis 1967: 37).

In Palau the first school was established by the Spanish Capuchins in 1891, which also ran schools and missions on all of the other major Caroline Islands except for Kosrae. From 1904 on, the Spanish were gradually replaced by German Capuchins. Relatively late, in 1907, the first German missionary, Father Reinhard, arrived in Palau and opened a school on Koror. By 1908, there were five German missionaries in Palau and another school had been established in Melegeok on Babelthuap (Rechebei & McPhetres 1997: 123). Three more schools opened

7 I have not taken into account here that culture contact does not only take place when European ships called into port, but also when Palauans and Kosraeans went travelling themselves. For example, it is known that Palauans served on whalers in the 19th century (Tryon & Charpentier 2004: 106) and as policemen in Yap in the early 20th century (Salesius 1906: 156). Unfortunately, the data on these kinds of contacts are few and scattered.

8 Jessie R.Hoppin, teacher on Kosrae, reports 45 enrollments for 1898 of which 22 were girls from the Gilbert Islands, 21 from the Marshall Islands and 2 from Kosrae. The rejection of Kosraean girls seems to be based on a moral judgement which is reflected in a remark on an application by a Kosraean who was considered "the only Kusaian girl among the older girls on the island, who has always had a clear record." (PMB-1)

in the following years staffed with native teachers (Salvator 1912). In 1902 the German administration had already established a small vocational school for the training of policemen.

The first school on Kosrae in 1852 started with 54 pupils (Hezel 1984: 100). For 1911, Schlunk (1914: 292f) reports 165 grade school students and 31 (female) boarding students at the training schools.9 In Palau the Capuchins started with 54 pupils in 1907, with numbers rising once the large school in Melegeok had opened. For 1911, Schlunk (1914: 296f) reports 273 students in the mission schools, 19 of them boarders.10 The vocational school for policemen had between 20-30 students (Hezel 1984: 101). Table 3 shows how these numbers relate to the overall population of the islands.11

	population	**pupils**	**pupils/pop.**
Kosrae	ca. 550	196	36 %
Palau	4094	ca. 300	7 %
Micronesia	ca. 40000	ca. 4000	10 %

Table 3: Numbers of pupils relative to overall population in 1911.

The percentage of the population that went to school at a given time was obviously below the Micronesian average in Palau and far above that on Kosrae.12

4.2 German lessons

In 1897 the Colonial Department in Berlin ordered that if foreign language instruction is offered in any school in the German colonies, one of the languages must be German (Christmann 1991: 120). From that it followed that English could only be taught if German was also taught. When the administration of the Carolines switched from the Spanish to the Germans, the Boston Mission was anxious to integrate German into the curriculum of the local schools. It was less the enthusiasm for the new subject and more the worries that the German government might not allow them to continue their mission work that led the Boston

9 Schlunk (1914) is a statistical overview on schools in the German colonies. The numbers are based on questionnaires sent to the missions. There was seemingly no current report on the situation on Kosrae, since Schlunks data for Kosrae are based on “Kontrollzahlen” (‘control numbers’).

10 In 1913, according to data from the German government, 365 pupils were enrolled in Palau (Rechebei & McPhetres 1997: 136f); that amounts to 9% of the overall population.

11 The population number for Kosrae is an estimation based on a count from 1905 (516 inhabitants) reported in Sarfert (1919: 49); the numbers for Palau are from Müller (1912: 30) and exclude Angaur; the number for the Palauan pupils includes the policemen from the vocational school; the numbers for Micronesia are from Hezel (1984: 104) and include only those islands that were under German administration.

12 The numbers for the Kosraean schools are surprising at first considering that officially the two training schools and the elementary school only enrolled girls. This suggests that an unbelievable 36% of the population were female students. One of the missionaries reports that some of the students of the training school were also part-time teachers in day schools for the village children in the east of Kosrae (PMB-2). I assume that these children are included in the numbers given. Sarfert (1919) furthermore reports that native preachers sometimes taught in the villages. I don’t know in how far this contributes to the numbers in the mission statistics.

Mission to offer German classes as early as in 1901. Some excerpts from letters written by the missionaries give an impression of the nature of their work.

> "While in charge of the boys' school I taught English daily for half an hour, giving an equal time to the German, as soon as books were procured, which was not very long after my taking charge. Before the books came, I gave them an hour a week in German. At present, in the girl's school, I have a class of English, and one of German, giving a half hour period to each one." (ABCFM-3)

Notwithstanding their efforts to make German part of the curriculum, the missionaries on Kosrae had to struggle with their own lack of competence:

> "The greater part of the instruction in the schools is in the native languages. It is true that we have had one recitation in English. We have made use of our Englisch readers and Bible stories. After [?] reading the English the scholars have been required to translate what they have read into their own language. An effort has been made to use the German Readers in the same way, but as you realize to become a teacher of German, means that one must be familiar with the German language. During the past few years the girls have been taught to sing equally as many German hymns and songs as they have English." (ABCFM-8)

The impression about the content of German lessons, namely learning German songs by heart, is confirmed by Sarfert who visited the islands in 1910:

> „Den deutschen Besucher überrascht der Vortrag von vaterländischen Liedern aus den gesanglich gut veranlagten Eingeborenenkehlen, wenn ihr Inhalt den Sängern wohl auch wenig verständlich bleibt." (Sarfert 1920: 421) [The recital of patriotic songs pouring from vocally well disposed native throats surprises the German visitor, although the content is hardly comprehensible to the singers.]

In many letters to the board of the mission, the American missionaries asked for German teachers to be sent to the islands:

> "It is unfortunate that none of us understand German, but I hope that that will be remedied by sending a young woman to help in the girl's school who can speak German and teach it if there is need. I began to study German at home but did not have as much time to give it as I needed and I can do nothing or very little with it here for lack of a teacher." (ABCFM-6) 13

These requests continued throughout the German era as this letter from 1914 shows:

> "The lady – I don't like that word – I mean young woman who is with the Delaportes on Nauru [the missionary couple on the island] – Well, the law of Moses saith thou "shalt not covet thy neighbor's maid servant" that is exactly what she is, and as I saw her she is a beautiful, talented women. Anyway I wish we could have a woman just her counterpart. She is right out from Deutchland [sic!]. [...] I feel quite sure that this Miss Olga Meitzner [teacher on Nauru] who is with the Delaportes could live a life of quiet

13 Similar reports were sent from the other islands; e.g. from Ponape: "The appointing of a German teacher seems very necessary even more so than before as a German priest has come. I have begun to teach German this term and Mr. Gray began sooner than I. I can not teach it at all well however as I pronounce very badly and cannot read even the easiest little story without my German English dictionary. I am giving the girls easy stories to translate. Mr. Gray and I are trying to do a little studying together at least twice a week but it is hard to find time for it." (ABCFM-1)

> evenness under almost any hard condition. There may be more like her in Germany. I see she is not under regular appointment. Do you know why? If she should be leaving Nauru, or if her turn runs out, keep your eye on her. I am sure she could live with me, and that is a stiff test of Christian grace." (ABCFM-7)

It is obvious that most of the teaching of German was done by teaching staff that was willing but not qualified to teach German. Although German was taught 2 ½ hours per week regularly, it is unlikely that any students left Kosraean schools who showed even a moderate degree of fluency in German that would allow them to carry out simple conversations in German.

It is more difficult to judge the results of the efforts the German Capuchins put into teaching German in Palau. A number of mission reports allow some insight into the daily work of the teachers:

> "Der Pater schrieb an die große Schultafel Sätze in der Palausprache, die von den Schülern auf der Schiefertafel ins Deutsche übersetzt wurden. Nachher schaute er alle Tafeln nach, ließ die Fehler verbessern und die Sätze mit der Tinte ins Heft schreiben. […] Die Sätze in der Palausprache wurden in englischer, die deutschen Sätze in deutscher Schrift geschrieben. [...] Unterdessen hatte die unterste Stufe ein Lesestück aus der Fibel auf die Schiefertafel geschrieben, das nun gemeinsam nach der Lautiermethode, langsam und Kräftig, Silbe für Silbe, Wort für Wort, in vollem Chorus gelesen wurde." (Placidus 1911: 56) [The Father wrote sentences in Palauan on the large blackboard which were translated into German on a slate by the pupils. Afterwards he reviewed the slates, made the pupils correct their errors and write down the sentences with ink in their exercise books. [...] The sentences in Palauan were written in English script, the German sentences in German script [Sütterlin, the type of German handwriting common at that time]. [...] In the meantime the lower grade pupils had written a text from the primer on their slates, which was read together according to the "Lautiermethode", slowly and strongly, syllable by syllable, word by word, in full chorus.]

How successful were the Capuchins in teaching German as a second language? The Capuchins themselves formed a positive opinion:

> "Diese Schüler [in Koror] haben es im Deutschen schon so weit gebracht, daß sie den Regierungsbeamten, Reisenden u. a. als Dolmetscher dienen können." (Placidus 1911: 56) [These pupils have succeeded so much in German that they can serve as interpreters for the government officials and travelers.]

Additional, unbiased evaluations of teaching German as a second language in the Pacific territories under German administration are hard to come by. A school inspection of the schools run by the French Marists on Samoa, where German was taught by German missionaries, draw decidedly negative conclusions about the quality of language teaching (cf. Hiery 2001: 202). The inspector complained particularly about the outdated "Buchstabiermethode" used in reading and writing lessons. The method used by the Capuchins in Palau ("Lautiermethode") was comparatively more up-to-date with contemporary pedagogical approaches. This suggests a higher quality of teaching German as a second language than what was provided by the Marists on Samoa. Nonetheless, I am not aware of an independent evaluation of the teaching efforts of the Capuchins in Palau.

5 Language attitude and use

5.1 Attitudes towards the German language

In his book on "Kusaiean Acculturation" Lewis (1967) emphasizes the positive attitude towards the English language the Kosraeans have displayed throughout history:

> "One of the earliest and most persistent indications of the prestige of western culture has been the desire of Kusaieans to speak English. [...] King George specifically asked the missionaries if they would teach English to the commoners as well as chiefs. A knowledge of English is still widespread, despite thirty years of Japanese rule during which Japanese was taught to school children, and the Kusaieans have the same urge to be able to speak English as they formerly did." (Lewis 1967: 90)

This assessment is also reflected in the letters sent by the missionaries:

> "The English is very much desired by the scholars. Some of them have been here a number of years, and it is only within recent years that anything has been said about teaching German rather than English, these have a fairly good understanding of English. German is tolerated by the scholars, for the sake of the English, but there is no enthusiasm over it." (ABCFM-3)

The attitude towards German is shared by pupils and teachers alike. German is seen as a tribute to the German government but not considered as being of much functional value:

> "My chief object in teaching them English in the village school, was that they might be able to read the Bible in English. They all knew some English before, and I only went on where they had already come to with their own teachers. The German I took up so as to do nothing contrary to the wishes of the German Government." (ABCFM-4)

The situation in Palau appears to have been different. The annual reports from the Capuchin mission frequently emphasize that the Palauans are eager to learn German and enjoy German lessons, e.g.:

> "Am meisten Interesse zeigen unsere Palauer für Deutsch und Geographie. Jedes deutsche Wort wird gleich in ein Heft aufgeschrieben." (Placidus 1911: 56) [Our Palauans are most interested in German and Geography. Every German word is written into an exercise book right away.]

> "Die Kinder lernen gerne Deutsch und Palau lesen und schreiben. Nur das Rechnen macht ihnen viele Sorgen." (Lotharia 1912) [The children like to learn reading and writing in German and Palauan. Only artihmetic worries them a lot.]

The Capuchins claim to have found much support for their schools in the villages. It is reported that the chiefs urged the parents to send their children to school (Venantius 1910:11). The locals asked the Fathers to open up more schools (Salvator 1908: 43) and they even built schools at their own cost in Melegeok and Ngatmel. (Müller 1911: 37, Hezel 1984: 1) The chiefs were successful in attaching importance to regular school attendance:

> "Alle Kinder dieses Oberhäuptlingsbezirkes kommen jeden Tag vollzählig zur Schule. Morgens erscheinen die größerern - 80 - und nachmittags 51 kleinere Kinder zur Schule. " (Venantius 1910: 11) [All the children in this head chief's district go to school every day, without exception. In the morning the older ones - 80 – and in the afternoon 51 smaller children appear in school.]

Even if we take into consideration that the mission reports tended to exaggerate the success of the mission activities and that large parts of Palau were not under the influence of German missionaries, there was doubtless a difference in language attitude towards English and German in Palau and Kosrae. While in Kosrae English was clearly preferred by the pupils, in Palau German was positively received.

5.2 Language use

How did the acquisition of English and German by the Micronesians affect language use when communicating with Europeans? With respect to the missionaries, is has to be emphasized that they were expected to achieve full command of the local languages. Preaching and teaching (in particular in the lower grades) was done in the respective Austronesian language. The efforts to master the language are reflected in many documents, as for example in the following one documenting the state one year after the first German missionary arrived in Palau:

> "Mit großartigen Erfolgen und Massenbekehrungen können wir selbstverständlich nicht an die Öffentlichkeit treten; wir sind immer noch mehr oder weniger am Einleben in die Verhältnisse und am Erforschen der Sprache. Die Palausprache, vollständig verschieden von der Jap- und Ponapesprache, ist sehr schwer zu erlernen, und es dauert Jahre, bis man in den inneren Bau derselben einzudringen vermag, was zu einer allseitigen Beherrschung derselben notwendig ist. Einige Brocken versteht man ja bald, so daß man zur Not sich verständigen kann, aber sie vollständig beherrschen, lernt man nur allmählich durch steten Verkehr mit den Eingeborenen und durch mühseliges Fragen." (Salvator 1908: 43) [Of course we cannot report great achievements and mass conversions to the general public. We are still more or less busy getting settled and exploring the language. Palauan, completely different from Yapese and Ponapean, is difficult to acquire, and it takes years before you get to the bottom of its inner form, which is indispensible in order to get full command of it. A few scraps are easy to acquire, enough to make oneself understood, but full competence can only be achieved by constant contact with the natives and arduous inquiries.]

While the missionaries might have fallen back to an English jargon before they had mastered the local language sufficiently, the default language of communication between the missionaries and the Micronesians was the local language. Sometimes German was also used. In particular, this happened when the missionaries made German the language of instruction in school. As one can imagine, that was not the case in Kosrae. In Palau, though, German was partly used as language of instruction, as reported by Father Placidus:

> "Nach verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit übernahm ich den Schulunterricht selbst. Dies war um so leichter möglich, als in der Schule die Unterrichtssprache – mit Ausnahme des Religionsunterrichts – so viel wie möglich die deutsche ist." (Placidus 1911) [After a relatively short time I took over the teaching myself. This was all the easier as the language of instruction was – except for scripture lesson – German as much as possible.]

Communication between planters and traders on the one hand and Micronesians on the other hand was based on the use of Pidgin English. Teaching German in schools didn't change that. In particular the Boston missionaries were upset that they were forced to teach German while the German planters, traders and often even Government officials spoke English or Pidgin to the locals.

> "[D]uring my stay there [on the Marshall Islands] last year, and also on board the steamer, I heard no word of German addressed to a native. Though the Germans used

> their own language in conversing among themselves, the natives were all addressed in English. One of the members of the firm, in discussing the desirability of the natives learning German, said to me, "There is no need of teaching them German, they all know English."" (ABCFM-3)

> "The Germans on Ponape use English as a means of intercourse and do not seem to care for German." (ABCFM-2)

It is unclear in how far this also holds for the communication in the Angaur mines. With imported labor mainly from Palau and the other Carolines, but also workers from China and staff from Germany, Pidgin might have been the first choice. But unlike the situation in the mines of Nauru, not much is known about language choice in the Angaur mines. Interviews with Palauans who worked in the mines indicate that German must have been used, too, whenever the Micronesians were sufficiently fluent.

Besides missionaries and staff of private businesses, German government officials constitute the third important group of Germans in Micronesia. Some of them, in particular those in leading positions, were fluent in the local languages and even published linguistic work on these languages. Others are known not to have spoken the local languages (Christmann 1991: 121). Micronesians who worked for the German administration were usually quite fluent in German (Christmann 1991: 94). Communication between administration officials and the locals might thus have involved recurrence to different languages. Depending on the language skills of the participants, the local language, Pidgin English, and to some degree German might have been used. Since only Palau, but not Kosrae, saw a few German officials, German could only have played this role in Palau.

The problem of language choice raises questions as to the opportunities for Micronesians to speak German to Germans. How limited these opportunities must have been becomes evident from population numbers. It is estimated that the number of Germans on the Carolines including the Marianas never exceeded 200 (Christmann 1991: 42). For Palau, it is not clear if there were any permanent German settlers before the first German government official arrived in 1905. The German government had to appoint a Jamaican living in Palau as a temporary representative of the German administration and chief of the police. With the arrival of the German Capuchins and one or two more government officials, the number of Germans rose to almost ten, but never beyond. Alone Angaur saw the arrival of another 10 to 20 Germans working for the mine company from 1909 on.

In Kosrae there were no German government officials and German missionaries. One German is known to have lived on the island around 1909. Interestingly, a letter of a missionary (ABCFM-5) indicates that this trader offered to teach German in one of the schools on Kosrae. But in spite of being in need of a German teacher, the missionaries rejected the offer. Being of bad reputation, he was not considered the right accompaniment for an unmarried female teacher at a girls's school.

In summary, the missionaries and the school setting provided some opportunities for Palauans to practice their German. Some German might also have been spoken between the Palauans and the staff of the mines and the German administration. For Kosraeans, there was obviously hardly any opportunity or incentive to speak German on the island.

6 Factors determining loanword receptiveness

German had some influence on the lexicon of Palauan but none on the lexicon of Kosraean. Which factors determined this outcome? Here are some hypotheses – for a potential source language of borrowings G (e.g. German), a target language A (e.g. an Austronesian language like Palauan or Kosraean), and a second (prestigious) potential source language E (e.g. English):

(I) The shorter and weaker the contact between A and E, the more likely it is that A borrows from G.

This is a major factor. Where English was strong in Micronesia due to frequent visits of English and American ships and due to the work of American missionaries, the Austronesian languages borrowed rather heavily from English and hardly at all from German. Hall (1945: 219) observed that the number of English loanwords is higher in Eastern Micronesia, i.e. in Marshallese, Kiribati, Kosraean, Ponapean, than in the languages of Western Micronesia. The eastern languages are also the languages which did not borrow very much from German. Obviously, the motivation to learn German was low where English already fulfilled most of those communicative functions which the German government would like to have seen covered by German. The long and strong contact between E and A also had the consequence that most lexical fields receptive to loanwords (religion, education, technology) had already been filled by loans from English.

(II) The more communication between native speakers of A and native speakers of G is carried out in G, the more likely it is that A borrows from G.

This is a major factor, too. Only if a considerable part of the population spoke German was it also used as a source for loanwords. In particular, the use of German as a language of instruction must have played a role here. Loanwords like *tabér* ‘blackboard’, *chausbéngdik* ‘know thorougly, memorize’, *kramatik* ‘grammar’, *babíer* ‘paper, letter, book’ probably originated from that type of communication.

(III) The higher G is valued by speakers of A, the more likely it is that A borrows from G.

This factor is difficult to assess. The different attitudes towards learning German in Palau and Kosrae are documented and can at least be assumed to have affected the results of second language education.

(IV) The more G is taught to native speakers of A, the more likely it is that A borrows from G.

The mere fact that German was taught at schools and even the length of the educational efforts in this respect and the numbers of pupils are probably not a major factor that enhanced borrowing from German. German was taught for 13 years on Kosrae and only for 7 in Palau without any effect on borrowing into Kosraean. One might attribute this outcome partially to the low quality of German language teaching in Kosrae, but I assume that better teaching would not likely have had an influence on loanword receptiveness unless German becomes functional in communication. Further investigations into the situation of other Micronesian languages will have to shed more light on that.

(V) The more speakers of G reside in the language area of A (where G is in competition with dominant E), the more likely it is that A borrows from G.

This is a minor factor. A certain amount of German speakers is important in order to provide incentive to speak German. However, the constant availability of speakers like the

German missionaries rather than sheer numbers of speakers are important here. The German part of the population in Palau (including Angaur) was as low as 0,2 and 0,7% between 1907 and 1914. Yet, the influence German had on the lexicon of the local language was larger than in areas where Germans were present in higher numbers like Ponape or Samoa.

(V) The longer speakers of G reside in the language area of A (where G is in competition with dominant E), the more likely it is that A borrows from G.

This is not a major factor. In spite of the relatively long presence of Germans in Samoa (with many German settlers since the 1870s and earlier) and on the Marshall Islands (under German administration since 1883), Samoan and Marshallese did not borrow as much as Palauan did.

Further studies will show if these factors play out similarly in the other major languages of Micronesia, in particular Yapese, Trukese, Ponapean, Marshallese, and Nauruan.

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