

12 *Borrowing in Samoan*

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1 Introduction

Over the last two centuries the Samoan lexicon has been expanded by numerous words borrowed from Fijian, Tongan, Tahitian, English, German, Biblical Hebrew, Classical Greek and Latin. But as the following paper focuses on sociolinguistic factors in the process of borrowing in present-day Samoan, we will concentrate on English borrowings and give only a short overview of borrowings from other languages.

In Samoan, the process of borrowing may be spontaneous, or may be monitored to varying degrees. In spontaneous borrowing, English words are often not adapted, but more or less pronounced as in English, but when they become part of the Samoan lexicon, especially when they are used in the written language, English consonants and vowels are replaced by Samoan ones, and the syllable structure becomes (C)V. This phonological adaptation, however, shows some irregularities which can only be explained as being sociolinguistically motivated. In planned borrowing particularly, the phonological adaptation is influenced by sociolinguistic factors. Samoan grammar is, on the whole, not affected by borrowing. In our data, we only found one innovation, i.e. the development of a small class of adjectives which are derived from loan words by use of a borrowed suffix.

The data on which this investigation is based come from earlier works on borrowing in Samoan (Milner 1957; Cain 1986; Hovdhaugen 1986), field notes I took in 1997, 1998 and 1999, newspapers (*O le Savali*, *Savali*, *The Samoa Observer*, *Samoana*, *Puletini Samoa*, *The Weekly Samoa Post*) and my discussions with Samoan teachers while compiling a Samoan grammar for teachers (*O le Kalama o le Gagana Samoa*) during four visits in 1997–99 (Mosel et al. 1999), and drafts of a monolingual Samoan dictionary for students (Mosel et al. 2000).

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2 The sociolinguistic background

2.1 Samoa

The Samoans have been in contact with Europeans, the *pālagi*, on a regular basis since the arrival of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1830. In 1900, Samoa was divided between Germany and the United States of America. The German part, Western Samoa, was annexed by New Zealand in 1914 and became independent in 1962. Today the state of Western Samoa has about 160,000 inhabitants (the 1991 estimate), of whom 21% live in or near the capital of Apia, while American Samoa, which will not concern us here, counted about 41,000 inhabitants in 1985 (Hennings 1996:53). There are also considerable Samoan minorities in New Zealand, Australia, Hawaii and California. In every Samoan village you will find some people who have stayed in an English-speaking country for some time.

2.2 The use of the Samoan language in public and in the media

The official languages of the State of Western Samoa are Samoan and English, but the Samoan language is demonstratively given priority over English. The local news of the government-controlled Samoan television, *Televise Samoa*, is always first broadcasted in Samoan and then in English, while international news is relayed from New Zealand and Australia. In addition, it is also possible to receive two bilingual television programs from American Samoa. The radio programs are in Samoan and English. When politicians speak on official occasions where both Samoans and expatriates are present, they give their speeches first in Samoan and then in English.

There are several Samoan and bilingual newspapers in Samoa, the number of which is constantly changing. While the governmental paper *Savali* prints Samoan articles on the front page, the opposition paper, *The Samoa Observer*, publishes news, editorials and letters to the editor in Samoan further to the back of the paper. At least three monolingual Samoan weekly papers, *The Weekly Samoa Post*, *Puletini Samoa* and *Samoana*, are imported from New Zealand.

2.3 Samoan and English in the educational system

English is taught as a second language from year 3 to year 6, and then from year 7 on used as the language of instruction, while Samoan remains a school subject until year 13. Although there is no compulsory education, 90% of the children attend 8 years of primary school. Until recently the literacy rate was believed to be between 92 and 97% (Baldauf 1990:260; Hennings 1996:190). This, however, seems to be a myth. The Project Implementation Document of the Western Samoa Primary Education Materials Project (1997:25), which is a joint enterprise of the Samoan and Australian governments, states that 'literacy and numeracy skills in both Samoan and English are low', which is ascribed to the lack of student textbooks and rote learning.

In accordance with the curriculum, the Primary Education Materials Project produces student textbooks in Samoan and English for mathematics, science, social science, English and Samoan, and in addition a Samoan grammar written in Samoan for teachers and a short monolingual dictionary for students. This means that on the basis of the existing teachers' manuals and the current actual language use in the classrooms, terminologies for all the above-mentioned subjects need to be developed. At this stage (1999) the terminologies have not been completely unified. Not unexpectedly, the terminologies of mathematics and science contain a considerable number of loan words, as we will see in a later section.

3 The *T*- and the *K*-language: two phonological registers of Samoan

The Samoan language has several registers, the most remarkable division being that between the *T*- and the *K*-language. These names came into use because the /t/ of the *T*-language is consistently replaced by the /k/ in the *K*-language. Other names are *tautala lelei* 'good language' and *tautala leaga* 'bad language', but these names are now rejected by the Curriculum Development Unit because 'there is nothing bad about the *K*-language' (language panel meeting at the Curriculum Development Unit, August 1998). Another distinction is that the *K*-language lacks the phoneme /n/, which it systematically replaces with /ŋ/ represented by <g> in the Samoan orthography, which will be used in all examples here. The marking of glottal stops and vowel length is more often than not missing in written Samoan, but the Department of Education decided in 1998 to consistently indicate vowel length and glottal stops in education materials. In this paper quotations from printed texts will be given in the original orthography.

Table 1: Consonantal phoneme inventories of *T*- and *K*-language

<i>T</i> -language				<i>K</i> -language			
p	t	(k)	ʔ	p		k	ʔ
f v	s		(h)	f v	s		(h)
m	n	ŋ		m		ŋ	
	l(r)				l(r)		
(k, h, r only in borrowings, h in borrowings and the exclamation <i>halu!</i> 'go!')				(h only in the exclamation <i>halu!</i> 'go!')			

Examples (1) and (2) illustrate the differences between the *T*- and *K*-language:

- (1) *Tapuni le faitato'a!*¹
 shut ART door
 'Shut the door!'
- (2) *Kapugi le faikoko'a!*
 shut ART door
 'Shut the door!'

The opposition between the two registers, which has wrongly been described as the opposition between a formal and a colloquial style by some authors,² cannot be interpreted as diglossia in the sense of Ferguson (1959), as the *K*-language is used on very formal occasions such as kava ceremonies. Rather 'the opposition between the two registers must be seen in cultural or socio-historical terms' (Duranti 1990:5). While the *T*-language is used in contexts of mainly non-Samoan origin, the *K*-language is used in speech situations which are associated with the *fa'a-Samoa*, i.e. the indigenous culture, including casual talk among friends and within the family. The table below lists the occasions on which the *T*- and the *K*-language are used respectively; similar categorisations are given by Duranti (1981:165–168; 1990), Milner (1966), Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992), Ochs (1988:56–58) and Shore (1982:267–283).

Table 2: Fields of use of *T*- and *K*-language

<i>T</i> -language	<i>K</i> -language
Songs and poems (also those from pre-Christian times).	
Written language, language of instruction at school.	(Exception: direct speech in modern literature).
All Christian ceremonies and prayers.	All traditional ceremonies.
Speeches in Parliament and during European style ceremonies, as for instance the speeches of the Prime Minister, or the Minister of Education at the opening of the new campus of the National University.	Speeches at meetings of the village council (<i>fono</i>).
Radio, television (including interviews).	(Exception: direct speech in radio plays).
(Occasionally used by very few people in casual conversation).	Casual talk.
With Europeans.	

¹ Abbreviations in the interlinear morphemic translation: ART – article, CONJ – conjunction, EMPH – emphatic particle, PL – plural, POSS – possessive preposition, PRES – presentative preposition, TAM – tense-aspect or mood marker.

² Milner (1966), Hovdhaugen (1986).

Depending on the context, speakers freely change between the *T*- and the *K*-language. Thus, I observed at the Department of Education that the members of the language panel conducted their discussions about Samoan grammar in the *T*-language during panel meetings, but immediately switched to the *K*-language when we had a coffee break. Similar experiences have been reported by other linguists (Duranti 1990). There is also some variation among individual speakers; some Samoans use the *T*-language on the phone because they think they are better understood, or even in casual conversations, others hardly ever use it outside church and have difficulties speaking it spontaneously.

The stratification of the *T*- and the *K*-language suggests that the *K*-language is strongly associated with 'Samoanness', while the *T*-language is reserved for those aspects of the Samoan culture which were introduced by the *pālāgis* (Duranti 1990:5; Shore 1982:281–282). This assumption is supported by the observation that public opinion holds that it is not appropriate for a *pālāgi* to speak the *K*-language, but paradoxically, if a *pālāgi* actually speaks the *K*-language, Samoans, especially close friends, might approve of it, commenting 'she is now speaking like us'.

The origin of the dichotomy between the *T*-language and the *K*-language has been discussed since the last century. Hovdhaugen (1986), who has thoroughly studied the 19th century sources, comes to the conclusion that the *K*-language must have developed between 1777 and 1830 and that the *T*-language was chosen as the church language because the first missionaries used Tahitian as a mission language before they learned Samoan (Hovdhaugen 1986:320–322). Once the *T*-language was chosen and accepted as the appropriate variety to be used in the context of mission activities, including education and literacy, the *K*-language became a sociolinguistic marker of pre-Christian Samoan traditions and a symbol of Samoan as opposed to western values. When the *K*-language spread, the language of poetry and songs was not affected because the recitation of poetry and the singing of songs are formal speech events (Moyle 1988:15).

4 A short history of borrowings in Samoan

Since the first missionaries came to Samoa in 1830, Samoans have had regular contact with Europeans and borrowed hundreds of English words. But there is also some evidence that the first English words came earlier through the intensive contact with the Tongans, because a few English loan words have /ʔ/ rather than /k/ or /g/, which is in accordance with the sound correspondences between Tongan and Samoan (Hovdhaugen 1986):

- (3) 'oti 'goat' < Tongan *kosi* < **koti* < Engl. *goat*
tapā'a 'tobacco' < Tongan *tapaka* < Engl. *tobacco*³

The same process of adaptation occurred with Tongan loans which were borrowed from Fijian:

- (4) 'ulo 'pot' < Tongan *kulo* < Fijian *kuro*

³ Other possible borrowings from Tongan are 'apa 'tin, can, sheet metal' < Tongan *kapa* < English *copper*, 'amoti < Tongan *kamosi* 'trigger of a gun' (Cain 1986:12).

If these words had been borrowed later, the /k/ probably would have been retained as in all the other words which were introduced by the missionaries and other Europeans. Such a word is perhaps *saka* 'boil' which seems to have been borrowed from Fijian *saga* (Milner 1966:197).

A few words were also borrowed from Tahitian by the LMS missionaries, who had previously worked in Tahiti, the headquarters of the London Missionary Society in the South Pacific since the beginning of the 18th century. Since Tahitian /h/ corresponds to Samoan /s/ and Tahitian /r/ to Samoan /l/, these words show /s/ instead of /h/, and /l/ instead of /r/.

- (5) *solofanua* 'horse' < Tahitian *horofenua* (Milner 1957:56), *pua'ahorofenua* (Davis 1851:205)⁴
samala 'hammer' < Tahitian *hamara* < Engl. *hammer* (Milner 1957:58), *hamera* (Davis 1851:Appendix)
peleue 'coat' < Tahitian *pereue* (Davis 1851:195)

When translating the Bible, the missionaries also borrowed many words from Latin and Greek, and a few from Hebrew (Cain 1986), some of which were perhaps indirectly borrowed via Tahitian, others directly like *kiona* 'snow', which would have been **siona*, had it been borrowed from Tahitian.

- (6) *kiona* 'snow' < Greek *chiōn* 'snow' (Tahitian *hiona*, Davis 1851:Appendix)
'auro 'gold' < Latin *auro* 'gold' (Tahitian *auro*, Davis 1851:Appendix)

The short German rule in Samoa (1900–1914) left only few traces in today's language (see Lynch's article in this volume), but there were more borrowings in use during that time, for example

- (7) *ameposa* 'anvil' < German *Amboss* (Pratt 1911:99)
ametimani 'bailiff' < German *Amtmann* (Cain 1986:12)
Kaisa 'emperor' < German *Kaiser* (*O le Savali* No.1, Setema 1905)⁵
Kaisalika 'imperial' < Germ. *kaiserlich* adj., (*O le Savali* No.1, Setema 1905)
Kaisarina 'empress' < German *Kaiserin* (Neffgen 1904:58)

5 Phonological adaptation of loan words

Not only common nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, but also proper names are adapted to the inventory of phonemes and the phonotactic rules of the written and spoken Samoan. When tourists make friends with Samoans, they immediately get their names 'Samoanised', even if they do not speak a word of Samoan. For example:

⁴ The origin of *horofenua* is unclear; it could be related to *horo* 'run' and *fenua* '(cultivated) land' and literally mean 'plantation runner', accordingly *pua'ahorofenua* could literally mean 'pig running in plantations'.

⁵ Note that the Bible has *Kaisara* (*O le Tusi Paia*, *Luka* 2, 1).

- (8) Fred > *Feleti*
 Claudia > *Kalautia*

Even in school books and newspapers proper names of celebrities are adapted.

- (9) Kennedy > *Keneti* (Samoan reader for year 7)
 Robert Louis Stevenson > *Ropati Lui Sitivenisone*
 John Williams (first missionary in Samoa) > *Ioane Viliamu*

This adaptation of proper names is a manifestation of language maintenance. Recently introduced technology is regularly given Samoanised names in written and monitored spoken language. For example:

- (10) *televise* 'television'
telefoni selula 'cellular telephone'

The loan word *telefoni selula*, which was used in advertisements in 1997 when the first mobile telephones were imported, was no longer in use in 1999 but had been replaced by *telefoni fe'avea'i* 'telephone being carried to-and-fro'. If the author of a newspaper article is not sure that the reader will recognise the meaning of the adapted word, he writes the original English words in brackets behind the Samoanised word. For example:

- (11) *O le lepela*⁶ (*leprosy*) *ua na o se ma'i e*
 PRES ART leprosy TAM only ART illness TAM
*pei lava o isi mai.*⁷
 like EMPH PRES other illness

Leprosy is now only an illness like other illnesses. (*Savali* 10.7.98, p.12)

This strategy is also applied for loan translations and recent coinages. For example:

- (12) *se fa'ata fa'alapopo'a* (*microscope*) *o loo i se fale suesue*⁸ (*laboratory*)
 ART mirror enlarge.PL TAM in ART house research
 a microscope (lit. 'a mirror enlarging things') that is in a laboratory (lit. 'research house') (*Savali* 10.7.98, p.12)

In spontaneous speech, however, people do not always use such Samoanised loan words or coinages. Instead of *televise*, for instance, people usually say *tivī* 'TV', as in *matamata tivī* / *makamaka kīvī* 'watch TV'. Nobody objected when in the first drafts of the new Samoan grammar the word *tivī* was used in the chapter on registers, but it had to be replaced by *televise* when language purists complained that *tivī* was an English word and not suitable for a Samoan grammar.

When we started work on the monolingual dictionary for students at the Curriculum Development Unit in March 1997, it was clear that we needed a genuine Samoan name for this

⁶ Probably not an English, but a German loan word; compare German *Lepra*.

⁷ In the Samoan standard orthography, which is compulsory for education materials since 1999, this would be written as ... *ua na'o se ma'i e pei lava o isi ma'i*.

⁸ In standard orthography: *se fa'aata fa'alāpopo'a olo'o i se fale su'esu'e*.

book. The loan word *tisionare* (Milner 1966:355) was not accepted, whereas the Samoan word *tusi lomifefiloi* was not suitable for a monolingual dictionary because it literally means 'book of mixed printing' and refers only to bilingual dictionaries. After some debate, the language panel decided on *utugagana*, lit. 'language container', which was coined by Agafili Tuitolova'a and soon accepted by other language experts and language committees. In spontaneous speech, however, I seldom heard this word; more often people used the English word *dictionary* in its English pronunciation. In Apia, Samoans frequently use English words or even use whole phrases, for example *last weekend*, *at the front desk*, so that the borderline between spontaneous borrowing and code switching becomes blurred. This language mixing, which is not due to a lack of Samoan words, contradicts the otherwise consistent Samoanisation of all kinds of expressions, including names.

To conclude, monitored speech leads to the phonological adaptation of loan words, while in spontaneous conversation people freely use English words with their English pronunciation. The only written context where numerous non-adapted English words occur are advertisements in the monolingual Samoan papers from New Zealand. A typical advertisement of this kind, which is from a car dealer, contains the following phrases (*Samoana* 18.8.98:42):

- (13) *trade in ma le tupe tiposi laititi*
 [trade in] and ART money deposit small
 trade in and low deposit
- (14) *laisene learner*
 learner licence
- (15) *faigofie le finance*
 easy ART finance
 easy to finance
- (16) *3 tausaga guarantee*
 three-year guarantee
- (17) *maua pau mo e cas a latou taavale*⁹
 get discount for those cash POSS 3PL car
 discount for those who pay cash for their cars

5.1 The phonological adaptation of English /t/, /d/, /k/ and /g/

As described above, there are two phonologically distinct registers in Samoan, the *T*-language and the *K*-language. The /t/ and /d/ of English loan words are normally represented by /t/ in the *T*-language, but by /k/ in the *K*-language.

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|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| (18) English /t/ or /d/ > | <i>T</i> -language /t/ | <i>K</i> -language /k/ |
| <i>teapot</i> | > <i>tipoti</i> | <i>kipoki</i> |
| <i>diacon</i> | > <i>tiākono</i> | <i>kiākogo</i> |

⁹ In standard orthography *maua pa'ū mo ē cash a lātou ta'avale*.

English /k/ and /g/, however, are represented as /k/ in both the *T*- and the *K*- language:

- (19) English /k/ or /g/ > *T*- and *K*-language /k/
coffee > *kofe*
computer > *komipiuta, komupiuta*
goose > *kusi*

Pratt's first edition of the Samoan–English dictionary (1862, as quoted in Milner 1957) lists a number of loan words containing /k/, for example *suka* 'sugar', *silika* 'silk'. Only 'vinegar' and 'compass' contain /t/ instead of /k/. While 'vinegar' is nowadays *vineka*, the form *tapasā* 'compass' has been retained.

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| (20) English | Samoan (Pratt 1862) | Samoan (Milner 1966) |
| <i>vinegar</i> | > <i>vineta</i> | > <i>vineka</i> |
| <i>compass</i> | > <i>tapasā</i> | = <i>tapasā</i> |

Speakers who do not have much practice in using the *T*-language sometimes make hypercorrections in loan words. For example:

- (21) *Teriso* instead of *Keriso* 'Christ' (observed by Hovdhaugen (1986:326))
tofe instead of *kofe* 'coffee'

The rule that English /t/ is preserved in the *T*- language is not always followed. Even in the governmental newspaper *Savali* exceptions are found:

- (22) *training* > *koleni* (*Savali* 7.3.97), also attested as *toleni* in the *T*-language
contract > *konekalate* (*Savali* 7/3/97), *konekarate*

While the second 'k' in *konekalate*, which should be /t/, can be explained as the result of assimilation, the /k/ in *koleni* can only be explained by the fact that *koleni* is a frequently used word in the spoken language and that the journalist was not aware of its etymology.

As for the adaptation of English /d/, we find similar exceptions as with /t/, only some of which can be attributed to assimilation:

- (23) English /d/ > *T*- and *K*-language /k/
video > *viko* (never spoken or written as **vito*)
delivery > *kiliva* (also *tiliva*)
screwdriver > *sikulukalaiva* (Iamafana & Choon 1997:34)
desk > *kesi* (field notes, also Cain 1986:74)
order > *oka* (field notes, also Cain 1986:128)

In written Samoan the non-adapted form *video* is found in the compound *lipine video* 'video tape', which contrasts with *lipine kaseti* 'cassette tape' (*lipine* > Engl. *ribbon*).

- (24) *Lipine video mo le maketiina o lau pisinisi.*
 tape video for ART marketing of your business
 Video tapes for the marketing of your business. (*The Weekly Samoa Post* 3/8/1998, p.16)

- (25) *Ua maua nei lipine kaseti a Pat Mamaia.*
 TAM get now tape cassette POSS Pat Mamaia
 We now have cassette tapes by Pat Mamaia. (*Samoana* 18/8/1998, p.33)

The word *oka* is also found in advertisements:

- (26) *Specials. Maua le pau¹⁰ faapitoa pe a tele lau oka.*
 [Specials] get ART discount special CONJ TAM big your order
 Specials. Get a special discount when your order is big. (*Samoana* 18/8/1998, p.27)

In contrast, there are no words with *t* in the *K*-language. Even in proper names /t/ is changed to /k/, for example *Feleti* 'Fred' > *Feleki*, *Keneti* 'Kennedy' > *Kegeki*.

The irregular change from English /t/ and /d/ to /k/ in the *T*-language, for example *video* > *viko*, can perhaps be explained as being motivated by sociolinguistic factors. In the *K*-language, which has become a symbol of Samoan identity, all dental stops are replaced by velar stops. When English loan words which originally have /t/ or /d/ retain this Samoan /k/ in the *T*-language, they sound (or look) less English. Therefore, it might well be that Samoan speakers and writers choose to retain this /k/ in the *T*-language in order to underscore that these words have been fully integrated into the Samoan language. The use of *oka* in the advertisement quoted above seems to be a case in point.

5.2 The phonological adaptation of English /r/ and /l/

Originally, Samoan did not have /r/. Loan words which in the source language contain /r/ show variation in their adapted form. In Pratt (1862, quoted in Milner 1957), /r/ is changed to /l/ in loan words from Tahitian, but retained as /r/ in loan words from Hebrew, Latin and Greek (see Cain 1986 for numerous examples).

- (27) *paelo* 'bucket' < Tahitian *paero* (Davis 1851:179)
solofanua 'horse' < Tahitian *pua'ahorofenua* (Davis 1851:205)
'āuli 'to iron' < Tahitian *'auri* 'metal' (Davis 1851:Appendix)
mōlī 'lamp' < Tahitian *mori* 'oil, lamp' (Davis 1851:147)
- (28) *'auro* 'gold' < Tahitian *'auro* (Davis 1851:Appendix) < Latin *aurum*
ārio 'silver' < Tahitian *'ario* (Davis 1851:Appendix) < Greek *argyros*

Today we find variation between /r/ and /l/ in many loan words, the preferred option being /r/ in the *T*-language, and /l/ in the *K*-language.

- (29) *Christmas* > *kirisimasi* / *kilisimasi*
Robert > *Ropati* / *Lopati*
kerosine > *karasini* / *kalasini*

But there are some loan words which consistently retain the /r/ in both the *T*- and the *K*-language and others which change the /r/ to /l/ even in the *T*-language. Typical examples for

¹⁰ In standard orthography *pa'u*.

the first type are words relating to Christianity and European concepts (30), while the second type is represented by words of various semantic fields as for instance sport, cooking and other Samoan everyday activities (31).

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| (30) <i>Christ</i> | > <i>Keriso</i> (* <i>Keliso</i>) |
| <i>Christian</i> (Latin <i>Christianus</i>) | > <i>kerisiano</i> |
| <i>prophet</i> | > <i>perofeta</i> |
| <i>tourist</i> | > <i>turisi</i> |
| <i>nature</i> (Latin <i>natura</i>) | > <i>natura</i> |
| (31) <i>rugby</i> | > <i>lakapī</i> (* <i>rakapī</i>) |
| <i>fresh</i> | > <i>felesi</i> |
| <i>curry</i> | > <i>kale</i> |
| <i>gravy</i> | > <i>kaleve</i> |
| <i>rubbish</i> | > <i>lāpisi</i> |

The variation found in the adaptation of English /r/ leads to the hypothesis that the retention of /r/ in loan words marks them as special words relating to Christian or other European concepts, i.e. words which do not belong to the traditional Samoan culture. In contrast, words which signify things that belong to the Samoan everyday life or, as in the case of rugby, even have become an important part of the Samoan culture, are adapted to the Samoan phonological system, so that /r/ is changed to /l/. This hypothesis is supported by the way the language panel discussed the choice of borrowed grammatical terms (see below).

5.3 The phonotactic adaptation of loan words

The Samoan syllable structure is (C)V. When loan words are adapted, consonant clusters are resolved by the addition of epenthetic vowels and/or the deletion of consonants. Consonant clusters at the beginning of a word are resolved by the addition of a vowel, whereas, in word-final position, consonant clusters are substituted by one consonant plus vowel (CV). Thus word initial *pre-* and *pro-* become *pere-/pele-* and *poro-/polo-* respectively, while final *-ent* and *-ance* become *-(e)ne/- (e)ni*.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| (32) <i>president</i> | > <i>peresitene</i> |
| <i>preposition</i> | > <i>peleposise</i> |
| <i>professor</i> | > <i>porofesa</i> |
| <i>element</i> | > <i>elemeni</i> |
| <i>talent</i> | > <i>taleni</i> |
| <i>balance</i> | > <i>paleni</i> |
| <i>allowance</i> | > <i>'alauni</i> |

The quality of the additional vowels is determined by stress patterns and the vowels and consonants in adjacent syllables. An epenthetic /i/ is inserted into word-initial consonant clusters starting with /s/, while other clusters like /pr, pl, kr, kl, gr, gl, fr, fl/ are split by a vowel of the same quality as the vowel of the following syllable, for example *sipuni* 'spoon', *sitaili* 'style', *sikafu* 'scarf', *peresitene* 'president', *porofesa* 'professor', *polokalame* 'program',

piliki 'brick', *karama/kalama* 'grammar', *kirikiti* 'cricket', *kalapu* 'club', *felesi* 'fresh', *falai* 'fry'. Some exceptions are *purinise* 'princess', *perofeta*, *kaleve* 'gravy', *kelū* 'glue', *kulimi* 'cream'.

In the middle of a word, /u/ breaks up the cluster /mp/ after a stressed syllable in the original English word, for example *hamupeka* 'hamburger', *kamupani* 'company', *siamupini* 'champion', otherwise it is /i/, for example *sosipeni* 'saucepan', *koniseti* 'concert'. Exceptions are *aposetolo* 'apostle' and *sovaleni* 'sovereign'. Epenthetic vowels preceding a stressed syllable show assimilation, for example *apalai* 'apply', *amapasa* 'ambassador', *komipiuta* 'computer'.

The vowels added in word-final position show much greater variation. After /p/ and /m/ we usually find /u/, for example *sitapu* 'step', *kalapu* 'club', *pamu* 'pump', *potu* 'bomb'; exceptions are *kelope* 'globe', *siepi* 'shape', *sikolasipi* 'scholarship', *pāma* 'palm-tree'. After /k/ the most frequent vowel is /a/, for example *loka* 'lock', *poloka* 'block', *sioka* 'chalk', but note the exception *siaki* 'check' and the fact that /a/ is also found in *pusa* 'box', *losefa* 'Joseph' and *kapeta* 'carpet'. Otherwise the added vowel is /i/, for example *kegi* 'gang', *maketi* 'market', *tipoti* 'teapot', or it is assimilated to the vowel of the preceding syllable, for example *afa* 'half', *kasa* 'gas', *sefe* 'safe', *sifi* 'shift', *polo* 'ball', *futu* 'foot'. In a few cases the vowel is /u/ after /f/, for example *sikafu* 'scarf'. As is evident from these various conflicting rules and their exceptions, it is extremely difficult to formulate rules for predicting the quality of the additional word-final vowel.

Words which would become homophonous through adaptation can be disambiguated through the choice of different epenthetic vowels. For example:

- (33) *jam* > *siamu*
germ > *siamu*

In some cases, a word is borrowed twice in different shapes and meanings:

- (34) *tapasā* 'compass (used for navigation)'
komepasi 'compass (used for drawing circles)' (Mosel et al. 2000)

Long English words are often abbreviated. If, for instance, the first three or four syllables are sufficient to identify the word, the fourth or the fifth syllable is dropped. For example:

- (35) *avocado* > *avoka*
association > *asosi*
electricity > *eletise*

6 Grammatical adaptation

In Samoan, the order of constituents in compounds is head plus modifier. This order is usually adhered to. For example:

- (36) *Koluse Mumu* 'Red Cross'
kamupani inisiua 'insurance company'

However, the English order of modifier plus head is retained when English compounds are borrowed as a single unit. For example:

- (37) *filimakeri* 'flea market'
netipolo 'netball'
pasiketipolo 'basketball' (Cain 1986:139)

While the Samoan lexicon originally did not distinguish between verbs and adjectives,¹¹ there are a few loan words ending in *-ka* which have to be classified as adjectives, as they are exclusively used in attributive function.

- (38) *atomika* 'atomic', as in *pulu atomika* 'atomic bomb', < *pulu* 'bullet', *atomi* 'atom' (Mosel et al. 2000)
metirika 'metric', as in *fua metirika* 'metric measure' (Mosel et al. 2000)

A similar borrowed adjective was in use in German times:

- (39) *kaisalika* 'imperial', as in *Malo Kaisalika* 'imperial government' (*O le Savali* 1905), < *kaisa* 'emperor'; borrowed from German *kaiserlich*

This means that borrowing has led to a new, though only marginal, word class in the Samoan language.

7 Planned borrowing in the Primary Education Materials Project

While working for the Primary Education Materials Project at the Curriculum Development Unit of the Department of Education of the Western Samoan Government, I had the opportunity to observe how people discussed borrowings in the two subject areas of mathematics and Samoan grammar. In mathematics, they decided to use the terms already in use in the teachers' manuals and in the classroom. Consequently, some loan words have varying phonological forms, which are all listed as headwords in the dictionary (Mosel et al. 2000). With regard to the adaptation of English /r/, we find both /r/ and /l/. The reason for the difference is not quite clear. Those words which also occur in everyday language like *selo*, *tikerī/tikelī*, *kalama*, and *kulupu* tend to have /l/ instead of /r/; *palaleli* seems to be a case of assimilation.

- (40) *'alei*, *'arei* 'array'
'eria 'area'
metirika 'metric'
numera 'number'
palaleli 'parallel'
perimita 'perimeter'
pirisemi 'prism'

¹¹ The few words which we classified as adjectives in Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:74), i.e. the words derived by *fa'ale-*, are full words which can be used predicatively (pers. comm. Agafili Tuitolovaa).

<i>puramita</i>	'pyramid'
<i>selo</i>	'zero'
<i>tapesima, talapesima</i>	'trapezium'
<i>tikelī, tikerī</i>	'degree'
<i>kalama</i>	'gram'
<i>kulupu</i>	'group'

Selection of grammatical terms was more difficult. In contrast to mathematics, grammar up until this time had not been taught systematically; furthermore, the terminology used in the teachers' manuals and two widely distributed Samoan books on the Samoan language was inconsistent (Larkin n.d.; Le Tagaloa 1996¹²). For example, the term '*upu fa'asino*, lit. 'pointing word', covers articles, prepositions, the combination of prepositions and articles, demonstratives and negatives (Le Tagaloa 1996:48–51). These types of words definitely constitute different word classes (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992), but being used to this inappropriate terminology, teachers had problems understanding why these word classes needed to be distinguished. Furthermore, from the very beginning the grammar was seen as a means of standardisation with a high symbolic value, so that the selection of each new term required careful consideration.

However, there are also a few useful old terms which were introduced at the turn of the century or even earlier and which are still in use (my earliest source is Neffgen 1904:54):

(41) <i>fuai'upu</i>	'sentence'
<i>vaueli</i>	'vowel'
<i>konesane</i>	'consonant'
<i>veape</i>	'verb'
<i>nauna</i>	'noun'
<i>soāveape</i>	'adverb' (lit. 'verb companion')
<i>soānauna</i>	formerly 'adjective', now 'attribute' (lit. 'noun companion')
<i>sui'nauna</i>	'pronoun' (lit. 'noun representative')
<i>'upu numera</i>	'numeral' (lit. 'number word')

Other terms had to be invented. Wherever it seemed reasonable, the authors of the new grammar created Samoan expressions, for example

(42) <i>fui'upu nauna</i>	'noun phrase' (lit. 'bundle or cluster of nouns')
<i>fui'upu veape</i>	'verb phrase' (lit. 'bundle or cluster of verbs')

As there was no term for article and particle, I suggested *atikela* and *patikela*, but both terms were rejected as inappropriate because the ending *-ela* sounded like swear word. Therefore, *article* became *atikale*, and *particle* became *patikale*. Similarly, my attempt to Samoanise the term *preposition* as *peleposione* failed. Again, the argument was that it did 'not sound good', as *-sione* brought to mind the name *Sione* 'John' (but note that there are other loan words ending in *-sione*, as for example *penisione* 'pension'). The grammar team suggested *peleposisione*, which shows the same kind of adaptation as *television*:

¹² Note that Larkin and Le Tagaloa are the same person.

- (43) television > *televisē*
 preposition > *peleposise*

In contrast to the more tolerant mathematicians who did not mind variation between /r/ and /l/, the language panel decided to consistently change English /r/ into /l/ in loan words. Consequently, when someone suggested replacing the term *peleposise* by *pereposise* 'preposition', the panel opted for *peleposise* because 'it sounded more Samoan'. For the same reason, *kalama* 'grammar' was preferred to *karama*, and the simultaneous use of *kalama* and *karama* in Le Tagaloa (1996) was criticised. This preference supports the hypothesis that the adaptation of English /r/ as /l/ is considered as a marker of Samoanness.

The language committee agreed that loan words should be used wherever it was difficult to find a corresponding Samoan expression. When in 1998 the grammar was discussed at a 'grammar meeting' with a group of thirty representatives from various kinds of schools and the National University, some participants rejected the whole book (*Te'ena, te'ena, togi i le lāpisi!* 'Reject, reject it; throw it into the rubbish!'). Their main objections were that the book contained 'too many new things', that well-established terms like *'upu fa'asino* were abandoned (see above), and that there were 'too many English words'. The committee members argued that especially in the area of science, mathematics and technology the Samoan language had already adopted many loan words; that these loan words were internationally accepted terms; that loan words do not do any harm to the language; and that it would be easier for the children to learn these international terms from the start, because they had to learn them anyway when learning English. These arguments, however, could not convince those who thought that the Samoan grammar book should be as purely Samoan as possible. Therefore, most English loan words were replaced by new terms which were coined by a committee of school inspectors:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|--|
| (44) | <i>atikale</i> | 'article' | > <i>muānauna</i> | lit. 's.th. preceding the noun' |
| | <i>motale</i> | 'modal particle' | > <i>momo'o</i> | lit. 'desire' |
| | <i>nekativi</i> | 'negative' | > <i>tete'e</i> | lit. 'rejection' |
| | <i>patikale</i> | 'particle' | > <i>malamala</i> | lit. 'chips (of wood), small pieces (of fish)' |
| | <i>peleposise</i> | 'preposition' | > <i>faasinonauna</i> | lit. 's.th. indicating (the function of) the noun' |
| | <i>peletikate</i> | 'predicate' | > <i>tala'aga</i> | lit. 'explanation' |
| | <i>posesivi</i> | 'possessive' | > <i>fāiā</i> | lit. 'relation' |

Some people wanted to replace even the title of the book *O le kalama o le gagana Samoa* 'The grammar of the Samoan language' by *O le fau o le gagana Samoa* 'The structure of the Samoan language'. But in the end the word *kalama* was retained as it was regarded as a well-established term.

8 Concluding remarks

The preceding investigation shows that the acceptance of loan words and the way in which they are adapted are determined by several factors:

1. The speech situation or genre of text:
Non-adapted English words are predominantly found in spontaneous speech and advertisements in monolingual Samoan newspapers from New Zealand.
2. The concept denoted by the loan word:
Words associated with Christianity and other typical European concepts (for example *natura*) retain /r/, while others adapt it to /l/.
3. The subject area:
While the Samoans easily accept English loan words in the terminology of mathematics, they are less tolerant when it comes to grammar. Furthermore, the adaptation of mathematical loan words shows variation, which is not accepted in the adaptation of grammatical terminology.

The Samoans are well aware of the immense influx of English borrowings (and the influence of Anglo culture in general) and have developed several strategies to counteract it:

1. the consistent phonological adaptation of loan words in monitored speech and written language;
2. the use of /k/ instead of English /t/ in English loan words in the *T*-language, which disguises the English origin of these words; and
3. the replacement of loan words by new coinages.

The fact that long English words are rigorously abbreviated (for example *asosi* 'association') suggests that these words were first borrowed in the spoken language and that the Samoans do not care for regular formal correspondences between the original English words and their Samoan counterparts in the written language. The discussions about the grammatical terminology showed that the form of adaptation is not only determined by sound correspondences, but also by appropriateness in terms of associations with other words.

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