

7.6.1. INTRUSIVE LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH:

GERMAN AND JAPANESE

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7.6.1.1. GERMAN

The history of the German language in a wider area than just Papua New Guinea has been reviewed by Laycock (1971). The German administration of the former Territory of New Guinea - then Kaiser Wilhelmsland and the Bismarck-Archipel - lasted just 30 years (1884-1914), although missionaries of German origin stayed on in the area, and continued to exert a linguistic influence, albeit a steadily declining one, until the present day. Nevertheless, German influence on indigenous languages was slight enough to almost escape notice. One reason for this is the shifting attitudes of the German administration on language policy; a brief attempt was made in the old mainland capital of Alexishafen to introduce Bazaar Malay as a lingua franca, but this rapidly yielded to New Guinea Pidgin, which was spread round the region of administration by employees - domestics, police, and ships' crews - who had acquired this language in Rabaul, or even in other parts of the Pacific. Some schools - mainly mission schools - attempted to teach in German, but they rarely achieved more than the *Kauderwelsch* reported by Neuhauss (1911); the continuing presence of these missionaries in New Guinea resulted in some speakers attaining fair fluency in German (McCarthy 1970:71) - but such speakers were the exception, and their very fluency prevented any noticeable impact of German on the vernacular languages.

The Lutheran missionaries in the Madang area adopted a different approach, and promoted two indigenous languages - Yabêm and Kâte - as lingue franche for the area; brief attempts were also made to use other local languages such as Amele, Nobonob, Bongu, and Gedaged. Kâte and

Yabêm, especially, show a number of German loanwords, especially in areas of schooling, technology, and introduced foodstuffs - e.g. Yabêm katope, Kâte katofen 'potatoes' (Kartoffeln); Kâte hama 'hammer', sege 'saw', lambe 'lamp', tafe 'blackboard, slate' (Hammer, Säge, Lampe, Tafel); but even these languages often used their own derivational resources for the new concepts - e.g. Kâte zoctepe 'gun' ('fire-bow'), sawawoke 'aeroplane' ('air-canoe'), becâsic 'horse' ('pig-carry'). From these missionary lingue franche, many of the German loans are reported to have entered other languages of the Lutheran mission area, but no examples are to hand.

The case of Pidgin is similar. The existence of a widespread lingua franca appears to act as a buffer against the direct assimilation into local languages of words from the language of the colonists, and the only German words which have entered local languages seem to be those such as bensin 'petrol' which were already widespread in Pidgin. (Data on this point are however sparse, as the few dictionaries which have been produced on languages which might be relevant - e.g. Lanyon-Orgill's dictionary (1960) of Kuanua, or Mager's dictionary (1952) of Gedaged - rarely include identified loanwords.)

German influence on Pidgin is of course undisputed; about 80 words, or about 5% of total entries, included in Mihalic's dictionary (1957) of Pidgin, are of German origin. The percentage is much higher in older dictionaries of Pidgin such as that of Schebesta and Meiser (1945), but there is a continuing tendency in Pidgin for words of German origin to be replaced by their English equivalents - a tendency which however is unlikely to affect words such as kakao 'cocoa', meta 'measure', rausim 'expel', and tabak 'tobacco', which are an integral part of the present Pidgin vocabulary (German Kakao, Meter, heraus, Tabak). The continued use of German in the Lutheran mission area is seen in the recent production of an English-Pidgin-German dictionary (Steinbauer 1969).

A difficulty in identifying German loans in both indigenous languages and in Pidgin is that of distinguishing them from English loans; Pidgin words like man 'man' and ais 'ice' could come from either source. The Buin language of South Bougainville, shows, besides the undisputed German loan arapaita 'work' (Arbeit), two loans in this category: amarin 'arm-ring' and uaita 'white man'. As both these loans occur in songs which date back at least 50 years, when a knowledge of English cannot have been widespread in Bougainville, I take these loans to reflect German Armring and Weisser.

7.6.1.2. JAPANESE

As the Japanese occupation of parts of the New Guinea area lasted only a few years (mainly Buka, Bougainville, and New Britain 1942-1945), and took place under wartime conditions, during which many of the local population removed themselves from direct contact, it is to be expected that the impact of Japanese on local languages would be slight. This is certainly the case; yet there is no doubt that many Niuginians acquired, in a remarkably short time, some knowledge of Japanese, or pidgin Japanese - even though the main language of communication between the two groups was Pidgin. I met in the Sepik in 1959 several men who had been to temporary schools conducted by the Japanese, and who could count in Japanese and carry on a simple conversation in that language. Persons with similar competence must also exist in the New Britain area, though I have no direct evidence.

The type of cultural and linguistic contact exerted by the Japanese in Buka and Bougainville is described thus by Oliver (1973):

At the beginning of the occupation the Japanese forces adopted friendly, even fraternal, attitudes toward the Bougainvillians, presenting themselves as their deliverers from European oppression and as ethnic cousins and partners in the glorious new Co-prosperity Sphere. On Buka where contact was earliest and closest, schools were set up to teach Japanese language, customs and songs. Indigenous officials were presented with Japanese titles and impressive new insignia, and were frequently consulted Also, on Buka at least, the Japanese deliberately sought to win over the affections of the population at large by a show of friendly egalitarianism. Visitors were hospitably welcomed at the military camps, and friendship between soldiers and indigenes was encouraged.

In Buin (Bougainville), as a consequence of this policy, I recorded in 1966 two songs sung in Japanese - or rather, a Buin phonetic interpretation of Japanese, since none of the singers knew what the words meant. These songs run:

I. miotokaino toraakete
tokutiti takoto kagaiakepa
tentina tentina aturatoto
ipoua oturupoi atima
oo teino no ata guumoni
topiuru utino togorakotoo
inoi muketui uroginaki pagani ponno
kookooriinaare

II. momotaro tan, momotaro tan
 okotini tuketa kipirangu
 ititu uatatini kurataino
 iarimatoo, iarimatoo
 korekare unioi teipatuni
 tunke okunara iarimatoo

I have not identified the Japanese original of the first song, but the second is the well-known Momotaro-san ('Little Peach-Boy' - perhaps learnt in school rather than from soldiers?); a comparison with the first two verses of the Japanese original will show the retentiveness of the Buin singers' memory, even after 20-odd years:

1. Momotaroo san, Momotaroo san
 okosini tuketa kibidango
 hitotu watasini kudasai na
2. yarimasyoo, yarimasyoo
 kore kara oni no seibatu ni
 tuite yuku nara yarimasyoo

A comparison of Japanese and Buin phonology demonstrates that Buin is well adapted to assimilating Japanese words:

Japanese: a e i o u p t k g m n ŋ r w y b d h s z
 Buin: a e i o u p t k g m n ŋ r [u] [i] - - - -

In Buin, as in Japanese, long vowel sequences are permitted, /t/ is affricated (but as [ts] rather than [tʃ]) before /i/, and sometimes before /u/), and the syllabic nasal (symbolised in Buin as /ŋ/, on the basis of its intervocalic occurrence) functions in exactly the same way. Any of the 'Japanese' words in the songs quoted could easily be Buin words.

I have found in ordinary spoken Buin only one Japanese word, *tomotati* 'friend' (*tomodati* - a significant loan), but there may be others in areas where the Japanese influence was greater than in the village where I collected my data.

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