

Doris Stolberg

German in the Pacific: Language policy and language planning

Governmental and mission activities in the German-colonial era (1884–1914)¹

Abstract: During the second half of the 19th century, extended regions of the South Pacific came to be part of the German colonial empire. The colonial administration included repeated and diverse efforts to implement German as the official language in several settings (administration, government, education) in the colonial areas. Due to unfamiliar sociological and linguistic conditions, to competition with English as a(nother) prestigious colonizer language, and to the short time-span of the German colonial rule, these efforts rendered only little language-related effect. Nevertheless, some linguistic traces remained, and these seem to reflect in what areas language implementation was organized most thoroughly. The study combines two directions of investigation: First, taking a historical approach, legal and otherwise official documents and information are considered in order to understand how the implementation process was planned and (intended to be) carried out. Second, from a linguistic perspective, documented lexical borrowings and other traces of linguistic contact are identified that can corroborate the historical findings by reflecting a greater effect of contact in such areas where the implementation of German was carried out most strictly. The goal of this paper is, firstly, to trace the political and missionary activities in language planning with regard to German in the colonial Pacific, rather similar to a modern language policy scenario when a new code of prestige or national unity is implemented. Secondly, these activities are evaluated in the face of the outcome that can be observed, in the historical practice as well as in long-term effects of language contact up until today.

Keywords: language policy, language planning, German colonialism, language contact, lexical borrowing

Doris Stolberg: Institut für deutsche Sprache, Abt. Lexik, R 5, 6-13, 68161 Mannheim, GERMANY, stolberg@ids-mannheim.de

¹ This paper is based on a joint presentation by Stefan Engelberg (IDS Mannheim) and the author, held at the Seventh International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, University of Bremen (Germany), March 2012. Thanks go to Stefan Engelberg for preparing substantial parts of the presentation, especially regarding remuneration policies and the categorization of loanwords with respect to planning effects. Further thanks go to our student research assistant, Ineke Scholz, for categorizing the loanwords into semantic fields.

1 Historical background

Between 1884 and 1914, Germany administered a number of colonies in the Pacific and in Africa. The German government's main interest in these dealings was of an economic and political nature. In addition, a cultural and linguistic impact on the local population was desired for economic reasons, for reasons of political control and, to some degree, from a contemporary moral perspective.

Contact between European and Pacific cultures and languages was initiated in the 17th century with the arrival of whaling ships, traders, and Christian missionaries of diverse confessional, national, and linguistic backgrounds (mainly Spanish, English, Dutch, French, and German). Most missionaries preferred to learn local languages for carrying out missionary work: They set up schools where religious instruction, and often reading and writing, were taught, usually in a local or regional language (cf. Garrett 1982). Whaling and trading, on the other hand, helped to foster the development of Pidgin English in the Pacific (Tryon & Charpentier 2004; Wurm & Mühlhäusler 1984).

In 1857, the first trading station of the German firm Godeffroy in Samoa established trading relations between Germany and Samoa (e.g., DiPaola 2004). With the onset of German colonial administration in the Pacific from 1884 onwards, a small number of German administrative officials and German settlers moved into the colonially ruled areas. Settlers generally intended to stay for a longer period, but administrative staff was usually transferred after a few years. A strong linguistic impact was probably not effected by either one of these two groups: The settlers tended to adjust to local custom and frequently used English or the developing Pidgin English for trading and other interactions, and apparently also among themselves (e.g., *Samoanische Zeitung*, Feb. 28, 1903; July 8, 1911; cf. Hiery 2001: 215). Administrative officials are reported to have often done the same (ABCFM-3, cf. Engelberg 2006: 15–16; ABCFM-42:2). In many places, English had acquired a sound position as a *lingua franca* between the local population and the European-origin expatriates, as well as among expatriates (in the Pacific as well as in the African areas under German colonial control). There were strongly conflicting opinions in the colonial circles in Germany on whether or not to spread the German language (cf. Engelberg 2006; Friederici 1911; Hiery 2001; Sembritzki 1913; Sokolowsky 2004), and throughout Germany's colonial period, the so-called *Sprachenfrage*, the language question, was never ultimately resolved. This indecision is reflected by repeated changes and readjustments in the German colonial language policy.

The geographical focus of this paper is on the colonially ruled areas in the South Pacific; the corresponding conditions in Africa are drawn upon to com-

plement the picture. Considering the linguistic investigation, two perspectives are taken. First, the language situation in the German colonial areas is analyzed regarding language-related rules, regulations and orders, taking a look at the official measures and their aims in re-structuring and regulating language use. Adding a different perspective, lexical outcomes of colonial language contact are investigated with respect to amount, ontological structure, and (possible/plausible) borrowing contexts. In synthesis, the official language planning measures are being related to the documented lexical outcomes of colonial cross-linguistic interaction. It is discussed, based on this evidence, to what extent colonial language policy and planning effected long-term linguistic interference and lexical changes in the local languages.

2 Language policy and planning

In language policy and planning research, three main types of language planning are commonly distinguished (cf. Baldauf 2004; Cooper 1989; Coronel-Molina 1996; Hornberger 2006; Kloss 1968; Oakes 2008):

- Status planning (concept introduced by Kloss 1968)
Status planning concerns the uses of a language. This includes the selection of a language to fulfill specific functions within a community (as the official language, the language of education, etc.). Planning the status of a language is related to and affects the prestige the language holds within the (speech) community.
- Corpus planning (concept introduced by Kloss 1968)
Corpus planning is about the language itself. It is a prescriptive type of intervention, including, for example, the codification of a variety (setting up norms, preparing grammars and dictionaries, etc.) and its elaboration (e.g., the extension of the vocabulary to cover new semantic fields in accordance with newly assigned/developed societal functions). Together with matters of graphization, these activities often result in the standardization of a variety.
- Acquisition planning (concept introduced by Cooper 1989)
Acquisition planning pertains to the users of a language, and it comprises interventions that seek to encourage or manage the learning of a specific language/specific languages in the community. It involves, for example, the development of corresponding curricula in the school system, the publication of teaching materials, matters of (the availability of) teaching staff, and other interventions in the educational system.

All three types of language planning are usually linked to and affected by language ideologies in that the latter provide concepts of the status of a language, the necessity of a standard language, and its role and position within a community. This, in turn, has an impact on perceptions of language acquisition planning by relating to questions such as, who should learn what language(s) when, to what extent, and at what cost.

The study of language policy and planning (LPP) is a field of research that is often linked to language matters in newly independent or postcolonial countries or to the revitalization of languages threatened by language death. In such contexts, LPP is an intended process, and it frequently includes conscious (political) decisions, implemented by governmental and non-governmental actors. With respect to language policy and planning under German colonial rule, matters were comparable to this approach in some ways but different in others.

An important difference is that in this case, language planning was carried out by an exogenous power, and it was primarily aimed at implementing an exoglossic language, namely, German, as the official language in the relevant regions.

Local languages were, by implication, affected by the implementation of German. There was, however, no explicit language policy regarding local languages (except for cases of established local *linguae francae*, such as Kiswahili in German East Africa²). Their status and function relative to German was dealt with indirectly, mainly in official school curricula that permitted their use for primary school education. Thus, the effects on the local languages were due to “unplanned” language planning (Baldauf 1994), that is, to the planning activities regarding German and not the local languages themselves. An overview of the different planning patterns and outcomes for German and the local languages is provided below (2.1 and 2.2).

While it is reasonable to speak of a language policy under German colonial administration, a policy in the narrow sense was not designed or applied systematically, and there was no clearly defined goal that was pursued during this era. As in more recent settings of LPP application, various groups were involved in the theoretical process of language planning (the government, mission societies, colonial interest groups in Germany, colonial settlers, etc.³), and they held diverging opinions as to the implementation of German vs. the local

² German East Africa roughly covered today's Tanzania, Burundi, Ruanda, and a small part of Mozambique.

³ It is characteristic of the colonial setting that the local population in the colonial areas was not involved in language planning activities.

languages. The practical side was carried out locally, often by individuals, increasing the idiosyncrasy of local solutions (cf., for instance, Hiery 2001; Stolberg 2012 on the great differences in using German in local schools).

German language policy and planning during the colonial era of 1884–1914 can, thus, be referred to as inconsistent and heterogeneous. This lack of systematic planning was partly due to the German colonial administration's being inexperienced in handling a linguistic situation of such complexity as they encountered in Africa and the South Pacific. But there was also the desire to invest only limited resources in the process of language policy, planning, and implementation in the colonial enterprise (Orosz 2011). The school system was mainly carried by mission societies (of various denominations) who, therefore, had a considerable influence on the practical side of language planning, with schools being the primary settings of the spread of language. The German government tried to control the language policy of the mission societies directly and indirectly, as will be discussed below, but only government schools (*Regierungsschulen*) actually implemented the colonial language policy in a fairly strict sense (cf., e.g., Christmann 1986; Mehnert 1993).

In addition, the intention in German colonial language planning was not to find an appropriate and shared means of communication within a country or a national or political unit. Rather, the focus was on (1) linguistically establishing the power position of Germany as the colonial ruler; and (2) finding the best solution for communicating in linguistically highly diverse areas, including practical as well as ideological considerations (pertaining to who knows and uses what languages; who is willing to/can be made to learn a new language; the use of what language(s) carries what political message; etc.). The latter aspect is illustrated by the cases of English and Pidgin English, both being in widespread use in large parts of the German colonial empire. While this practice was continued under German rule for matters of practicability, repeated public admonitions (e.g., in newspapers) nevertheless pointed out that this practice would serve to weaken the prestige of the Germans in the eyes of the colonially ruled population.

Thus, the colonial setting requires a perspective for the investigation of language policy and planning that is somewhat different from the one usually adopted. When LPP concepts are applied to a historical colonial setting, they are transferred to a situation in which these terms were not used, in any case not in their current sense. Hornberger (2006: 25) notes that from a research perspective, LPP originated with Haugen's (1959) definition of language planning, but that "LPP as an activity has certainly been going on for centuries". It is this "LPP as an activity" perspective that is taken when analyzing the Ger-

man colonial handling of language issues, and it is in this sense of practical application that LPP concepts are referred to here.

In the following two sections I give an overview of the ways in which planning activities were carried out by the two main agents of language planning, the colonial government and the mission societies, regarding German and the local languages, respectively. Examples and more details for these planning activities are discussed in section 3.

2.1 German

Language planning activities by the colonial government/local government officials:

- Status planning
 - political discussions regarding the status and use of German as the official language in “the colonies”
 - selection of German as language of administration, law, and (partly) schooling (= high prestige areas)
- Corpus planning
 - artificial German pidgins/reduced varieties: *Kolonial-Deutsch* (‘colonial German’, Schwörer 1916), *Weltdeutsch* (‘world German’, Baumann 1916)
- Acquisition planning
 - legislature: a circular regarding the teaching of German (1897); local legal rules and restrictions regarding the use of German in schools
 - government (boarding) schools
 - financial gratification for promoting German

Language planning activities by mission societies:

- Status planning
 - German as the mission language in some local contexts (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975, 2012)
- Corpus planning
 - None
- Acquisition planning
 - executing official/government requirements regarding language teaching (to variable degrees)

2.2 Local languages

Language planning activities by the colonial government/local government officials:

- Status planning
 - no explicit status planning activities with respect to local languages
 - exception: Samoan was permitted and used as the administrative language in village courts and to a limited degree in other legal contexts
- Corpus planning
 - graphization
 - word lists, dictionaries, grammars
 - substantial financial support for academic linguistic research (by German researchers)
- Acquisition planning (indirect)
 - local languages were accepted as the medium of instruction in mission schools

Language planning activities by mission societies:

- Status planning
 - selection of (certain) local languages for use in all Christian-religious contexts and in schools
- Corpus planning
 - graphization
 - compilation of word lists, dictionaries, and grammars, resulting in (sometimes long-lasting) standardization effects for the respective languages
 - inflection of loanwords (primarily in Christian-religious contexts)
- Acquisition planning
 - instruction in reading and writing local languages
 - in some regions: selection and use of a local language as a *lingua franca* that is not in common use among all of the addressees (e.g., Yabim in the Gazelle Peninsula)

3 Documented planning activities/language policies (by the government)

For the German colonial period, no exhaustive compilation of legal documents regarding language use is available. A circular regarding language instruction in the colonies was passed in 1897 (cf. below) and applied to all parts of the overseas German colonial empire. In addition, local decrees and regulations were passed by individual governors. A comprehensive overview of language regulations from the German colonial period exists for Togo (Sokolowsky 2004, various publications by Adick and Mehnert) and, to some degree, for Cameroon (Anchimbe 2013; Boulleys 1998; Djomo 2009; Orosz 2008, 2011). To date, no such overview exists for the Pacific region under German colonial control. Spennemann (no date) provides rich digital material for Micronesia for the German colonial period that also includes information on language regulations and language policies but not in a systematic way.⁴

In the following four sections, we present the sparse evidence for explicit governmental language regulations, supplemented by an overview of a number of practices and policies that were intended to, and did, exert an influence on local practices regarding language use and language instruction. The four types of language-affecting policies considered here are:

- Language-related legislation
- Remuneration/financial support
- Establishment of schools
- Human resources planning

3.1 Language-related legislation

The most essential legal order with a language-related focus, and the only one of general application in all German colonial areas, was issued in 1897 and constituted the base-line for various local regulations, affecting government as well as mission schools in all German colonial regions. It reads as follows:

75. Auszug aus dem Runderlass der Kolonial-Abteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes,
betreffend deutschen Sprachunterricht.
Vom 27. Februar 1897.

⁴ <http://marshall.csu.edu.au/Marshalls/html/history/Regulations.html> [checked July 10, 2014]

Der Kolonialrat hat in seiner Sitzung vom 23. Oktober v. Js. auf Antrag Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs Johann Albrecht zu Mecklenburg-Schwerin den Beschluss gefasst:

“Der Kolonialrat empfiehlt der Regierung, unter Berücksichtigung der in Betracht kommenden Verhältnisse, darauf hinzuwirken, dass, wenn in den Schulen (sc. innerhalb der deutschen Kolonien) neben der Sprache der Eingeborenen noch eine andere gelehrt wird, die deutsche in den Lehrplan aufgenommen werde.”

Berlin, den 27. Februar 1897

Auswärtiges Amt. Kolonial-Abteilung.
Frhr. v. R i c h t h o f e n.

[75. Excerpt from the Circular of the Colonial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, concerning German language instruction. February 27, 1897.

The Colonial Council, in its session of October 23 of last year, passed the following resolution at the request of His Highness Duke Johann Albrecht zu Mecklenburg-Schwerin: “The Colonial Council recommends to the government, under consideration of the pertinent circumstances, to effect that, if in the schools (i.e., within the German colonies) in addition to the indigenous language another language is taught, the German language is to be included in the curriculum.”

Berlin, 27 February 1897

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Colonial Department.
Freiherr v. R i c h t h o f e n.]

[translation mine, DS]

Source: *Deutsche Kolonialgesetzgebung* IV 1898/99, Nr. 75.

A complete overview with a focus on language politics, local language laws, and language-related regulations during the German colonial period does not exist for the Pacific area, or parts of it (Micronesia, New Guinea, Samoa, etc.). Locally, regulations could be decreed by the respective governor. Regarding school instruction, in particular, that is, in the area of acquisition planning, some such regulations are documented in the collection of German Colonial Law (*Deutsche Kolonialgesetzgebung*). One example is the following paragraph, part of the *Schulordnung* (school regulation) pertaining to the government school in Apia, Samoa, dating from 18 February 1904. In the first paragraph, it is put down that this school is open to non-Samoan children (both boys and girls) and to children of mixed descent. Samoans could only be admitted by special permission. Paragraph 4 refers to the language the children speak:

§ 4. Die Aufnahme in die unterste Klasse erfolgt ohne Rücksicht auf die Sprache des Schülers; in obere Klassen werden nur solche Schüler aufgenommen, die Kenntnisse in der deutschen Sprache nachweisen.

[Admittance to the first grade is open irrespective of the student’s language [i.e., mother tongue]; admittance to upper grades is restricted to students who can prove their ability in German.]

[translation mine, DS]

Source: *Deutsche Kolonialgesetzgebung*, Band 8, 1904:46f./Schulordnung für die Regierungsschule in Apia/Samoa

3.2 German language regulations in Africa

Several studies deal with the German colonial language policy in Africa. Language policy in Togo, especially with respect to school regulations, is focused by Adick and Mehnert in several publications (e.g., Adick & Mehnert 2001; Adick 1981, 1993, 2011; Mehnert 1965, 1974, 1993) as well as by Sokolowsky (2004), Lawrance (2000), and Koffi (2012). Language policy in colonial and post-colonial Cameroon is investigated by Boulleys (1998, 2013) especially considering the role of German, and more generally by Djomo (2009), Echu (2003, 2004), and Anchimbe (2013). Orosz (2011) investigates the interaction (and conflicts) between the German colonial government and locally active mission societies with respect to language policy in colonial Cameroon. Colonial language policy in German East Africa has received less attention so far; it is discussed by Altehenger-Smith (1978) and Becher (1998). Colonial German Southwest Africa (Namibia) receives special consideration in linguistic research because here, German is still spoken natively by c. 20,000 speakers and also to some degree as an intergenerationally transmitted second language (cf. Deumert 2009; Kellermeier-Rehbein 2012; Shah 2007).

With respect to language policy and language regulations in Africa, a diverse picture emerges. While the use and teaching of German and other languages (primarily the local languages and English) was more regulated than in the Pacific colonies, heterogeneous activities were carried out, depending partly on local conditions and partly on the political convictions of the respective colonial governors. Generally, there were two tendencies present in the colonial language policy discussion: one side opted for a wide-spread teaching of German in order to promote German values in the colonial empire; the other side advocated the preservation of local traditions, arguing against the use of German in (elementary) education. This was also the line of action strongly recommended by Protestant mission societies who were convinced that it was not possible to truly Christianize a population in a foreign language (cf., e.g., Adick & Mehnert 2001; Orosz 2011). In Togo, up until 1906, the use and teaching of German in all schools was supported by the colonial government. English was not to be taught in either mission or government schools, and the missions were strongly encouraged to spread German (Lawrance 2000). In 1906, a law decreed that no other living European language must be taught besides German (Sokolowsky 2004: 58; Adick & Mehnert 2001: 275), a move that was directed against English as the language of a colonial opponent, rather than against local languages. Only a few years later, however, a turn in language policy took place, and from 1910 onwards, German was completely replaced by

Ewe in elementary education (Adick & Mehnert 2001). Only in higher education, German was to be taught to a small elite. The backdrop of this decision was the political fear of education being a promoter of emancipation for the colonized population, and this was considered a danger from the perspective of the representatives of colonial power.

In Cameroon, the development was somewhat different. While there were mixed attitudes towards local languages at first, German was declared the medium of instruction in 1897 (Anchimbe 2013) and decreed the **sole** medium of instruction in 1907 (Anchimbe 2013; Echu 2003, 2004). In 1910 school regulations and a curriculum (*Schulordnung*) were set up (Anchimbe 2013; Boulleys 1998; Orosz 2011), committing all schools to the use of German as the language of instruction. To promote the teaching of German in mission schools (who were not under the immediate rule of the German government), financial support was offered to them for using German as the medium of instruction from year 3 onwards, that is, after two years of elementary instruction in a local language (Orosz 2011). Only in 1914, it was discussed to implement an official *lingua franca* in Cameroon and to abandon the wide-spread use of German in the educational system. The reason was similar to the one motivating the change in language policy in Togo, namely, fear of the development of a “literate proletariat” that would destabilize the colonial power asymmetry (Orosz 2011).

In colonial German East Africa, similar considerations applied. While the colonial government preferred the wide-spread use of German as a symbol of German rule, mission societies favored the use of vernaculars (Altehenger-Smith 1978; Becher 1998). In 1905, a resolution was passed, strongly recommending that civil servants of the German colonial government learn the local languages and that instruction in German be limited to few selected individuals (Altehenger-Smith 1978).

In general, then, there were two conflicting positions, one in favor of, and one against, using German as the main or even sole language of instruction and communication in the colonized areas in Africa and the Pacific. In all colonies, shifts on the continuum between these endpoints occurred over the colonial period, but not in a uniform way, and between Togo and Cameroon even in opposing directions, it appears. In the following sections, several indirect measures of regulating colonial language use are presented.

3.3 Indirect means of regulating language use

3.3.1 Remuneration/financial support

Funding for the spread of the German language

The colonial German government took measures to enhance the spread of German in the colonial areas by providing incentives for using and/or learning it. To this end, it allotted financial means to colonial areas, thus, implementing an indirect governmental language planning activity that was aimed at influencing the language choices of those who lived in the colonies.

According to Walther (1911), budgetary provisions by the government came up to 12,000 German *Reichsmark* (c. 50–55,000€⁵) for German New Guinea and 5,000 German *Reichsmark* (c. 20–25,000€⁶) for Samoa in 1910. Incentives were available for native students or government employees for exceptional achievements in learning German; for German settlers for extraordinary efforts in language cultivation; and for German associations and clubs (e.g., the *Deutscher Militär-Verein* ‘German Military Association’). The motivation for supporting these groups and individuals was the assumption that their activities not only advanced the spread of German by their own actions but also increased the possibility for contact with and use of German for other inhabitants of the German colonial areas.

Along the same lines of reasoning and funded by the same budget, public reading rooms had German newspapers and magazines to provide easy access to German print media. The following list gives an impression of the range of periodicals available in Apia/Samoa.

These are measures that belong in the realm of status planning and acquisition planning carried out by the colonial government. Financial incentives as well as easy access to the language to be promoted increase its visibility and its status (as linked to material rewards). The combination of such factors was expected to lead to a more wide-spread use and a greater acceptance of German in the colonies.

⁵ Calculation based on <http://fredriks.de/HVV/kaufkraft.htm>.

⁶ As in fn. 5.

Table 1: List of newspapers and magazines available in the Public Reading Room of colonial Apia/Samoa (*Samoanische Zeitung*, June 5, 1909)

Wochen-Ausgabe der <i>Frankfurter Zeitung</i> <i>Hamburger Nachrichten</i> <i>Koelnische Zeitung</i> <i>Weser-Zeitung</i>	Koloniale Zeitungen und Zeitschriften <i>Ostafrikanische Zeitung</i> <i>Usambara Post</i> <i>Suedwestafrikanische Zeitung</i> <i>Ostasiatischer Lloyd</i> <i>Kiautschou-Post</i> <i>Deutsche Japan-Post</i> <i>Samoanische Zeitung</i> <i>Koloniale Zeitschrift</i> <i>Deutsche Kolonialzeitung</i> <i>Kolonie und Heimat</i>
Taegliche Ausgabe des <i>Berliner Tageblatt</i> <i>Illustrierte Zeitung</i> <i>Velhagen & Klasing's Monatshefte</i> <i>Die Woche</i> <i>Daheim</i> <i>Welt und Haus</i> <i>Echo</i> <i>Zukunft</i> <i>Deutsche Revue</i> <i>Sport im Bild</i> <i>Sport im Wort</i> <i>Der Tropenpflanzer</i> <i>Die Flotte</i> <i>Welt auf Reisen</i> <i>Lloydzeitung</i> <i>Der Kamerad</i> <i>Die Jugend</i> <i>Lustige Blaetter</i>	Englische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften <i>Times</i> (Wochen-Ausgabe) <i>Fiji Times</i> <i>Auckland Weekly News</i> <i>Illustrated London News</i> <i>Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News</i> <i>Strand</i> (Magazine) <i>Punch</i>

Subsidies to the missions

Another financial means of supporting the spread of German were the subsidies paid by the government to the missions for their teaching of German. According to Hezel (1984), German Capuchins and Franciscans received 4,000 *Reichsmark* (c. 16–20,000€⁷) annually for including German instruction in their schools in the Carolines and Palau. Lopinot (1964; cited in Hezel 1984) notes that the Capuchins, in addition to establishing mission day schools, set up boarding schools where “German language instruction was especially intensive, and all teaching was done in that language” (Hezel 1984: 103). In 1913, the German governor in Samoa, Schultz, made available 600 *Reichsmark* as an incentive for excellent students of mission schools (Schultz-Ewerth 1913). This description implies that teaching German was well supported by the missions;

⁷ As in fn. 5.

there seems to have been no conflict with government objectives regarding the introduction of German.

The setting appears to have been different in other parts of the German colonial empire. In Cameroon, for example, there were conflicting opinions among the mission societies and the government as to the language of instruction. Von Puttkamer, colonial governor of Cameroon until 1907, did not approve of any financial support for the mission schools as, in his opinion, the missions had adequate means at their disposal, and their success in teaching German was not at all satisfactory (Mehnert 1993: 259). Subsidies were introduced after 1907 (when von Puttkamer took leave) in order to regulate and increase the use of German in mission schools (Orosz 2011: 89f.). When a new *Schulordnung* (i.e., school regulations and a curriculum) was established for Cameroon in 1910, it stipulated that financial support was granted to the missions depending on their acceptance of the new curriculum which included the introduction of German from the first grade and its use as the medium of instruction from grade 3. In addition, the exact amount of the funding was determined according to the number of students who passed annual exams set in German.

In Togo, funding was awarded to several mission societies for educational purposes as early as during the 1890s. In contrast to other cases of financial support, no stipulations regarding the teaching of German seem to have been linked to these subsidies (Mehnert 1993: 257). The newly devised curriculum for elementary schools of 1909/10 and the regulations for the distribution of subsidies of 1906 and 1910 illustrate that at this time, however, similar rules as in Cameroon applied (Adick & Mehnert 2001: 167ff., 278ff.). In particular, it was specified in the regulation of 1910 (§1) that funds were to be assigned according to the number of students who had passed the German final exams.

By these means, the government exerted control over the spread of German in the respective colonies. Teaching German effectively meant for the missions a better financial standing which in turn allowed them to expand their work and establish more schools. On the other hand, missions that did not comply readily with the extended requirements for using German, such as the Basel Mission (cf. Orosz 2011), had to operate on a smaller budget, limiting their options and their scope of influence.

3.3.2 Establishment of schools

In the regions that were put under German colonial control, various mission societies were active even before German colonialism. As part of their Christianizing the population, they had established schools with a focus on teaching

reading and writing in the local mother tongue, one of their primary motivations being to enable their students to read the Bible. The missions in general, but in particular the Protestant ones, strongly favored the local languages as means of instruction, as they were convinced that true education and true Christianizing was only possible by using the mother tongue of the respective community (cf. Adick & Mehnert 2001). This aspect was in itself not unproblematic due to the complex language situation. In several cases, an existing *lingua franca* was chosen as the language of education (e.g., Kiswahili in German East Africa) while in other instances missionaries decided on one out of several local languages (e.g., in some parts of German New Guinea). These languages, although not being exogenous colonial languages, had to be acquired by certain parts of the local population as new languages nevertheless. In addition, by being singled out as mission languages they received a specific status. In this way, the language ecology of the local communities was restructured, resulting in unreflected and, in a way, unplanned (Baldauf 1994) language planning activities that led to changed status and prestige conditions.

From a government perspective, the mission schools were not fully satisfactory in their performance as mediators of German language and culture, an assessment that was obviously due to differing objectives. It was, however, quite costly to install and staff government schools in the colonies, and fully covering the educational sector with government means would have been impossible logistically as well as financially (Mehnert 1993). Therefore, cooperation with mission schools was desirable and was established as common practice. The numerical relationship between mission schools and government schools was quite skewed for the German colonial area in general. Regarding the Pacific region, that is, the colonial governments of New Guinea and Samoa, the following distributional numbers can be derived from Schlunk (1914):

Table 2: Mission schools and government schools in the German colonial area in the Pacific (1911)

Samoa & New Guinea (1911)	Schools	Students	Students %
Mission schools	756	28,643	98.1 %
Government schools	5	550	1.9 %
Total	761	29,193	100.0 %

Government schools provided a considerably more intense exposure to German (e.g., Mehnert 1993), partly due to their specific curriculum and partly because most of them were boarding schools, and students often came from linguistically diverse backgrounds (Christmann 1986). Thus, German was their shared

language even beyond the actual time of instruction.⁸ Mission schools, in contrast, were day schools, and attendance was often quite less than regular (as reported, e.g., in letters of ABCFM⁹ missionaries in Micronesia). Even if mission schools offered the same amount of instruction in German, then, the acquisitional impact would probably not have been the same. Therefore, the German government saw to it that government schools were established to train German speaking civil servants in sufficient numbers where needed. The African colonies were of higher interest in this respect, reflected in the fact that in the Pacific only five government schools existed, contrasting with 94 of them in the German colonies in Africa (Akakpo-Numado 2005: 104, based on Schlunk 1914).

Table 3 below provides an overview of the student numbers in the two German-colonial departments in the Pacific. It also gives an impression of the percentage of the population that was actually reached by colonial instruction, aside from matters of numbers and educational goals of schools. Especially in the department of German New Guinea (including the associated areas), on average less than 3% of the local inhabitants attended colonial schools, be it mission or government schools. With a variable degree of factual every-day school attendance, the extent of instructional influence cannot have been very high, at least not in the day schools (cf. above). On the other hand, rather higher numbers for Samoa indicate, that here, German colonial school instruction met with more interest.

Table 3: Population and school attendance (all schools, 1911) (compiled from Schlunk 1914; StJbDR 1910/11:44ff.,48ff.; DKAJb 1905: 18f.)¹⁰

	Local population	Students	School attendance
German New Guinea, Bismarck Archipel, Solomon Islands	c. 530,000	14,377	2.7 %
Marshall Islands, Nauru	10,550	1,755	16.6 %
Western Carolines, Palau, Marianas	18,494	1,159	6.3 %
Eastern Carolines (Pohnpei, Chuuk)	(1905) c. 25,000	2,024	8.1 %
Samoa	c. 33,500	9,878	29.5 %

⁸ This type of schooling situation was the background for the emergence of a German creole, Unserdeutsch, in Vunapope/New Guinea (cf. Volker 1989, 1991).

⁹ ABCFM = American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Mission, a Protestant mission society based in Boston, USA.

¹⁰ StJbDR = *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* [Statistical yearbook for the German Empire]; DKAJb = *Deutscher Kolonialatlas mit Jahrbuch* [German colonial atlas with yearbook]. Please note that the numbers in the available sources are not always complete, so the numbers given here must be taken with some caution. They give a fair impression of the proportions, however.

The numbers of Germans residing in these areas were low throughout the colonial area, so that naturally occurring language contact outside of schools had to be limited. This is illustrated in Table 4, providing the numbers of German residents as compared to the local residents in the relevant colonial areas (StJbDR, 1910: 396; numbers for 1910).

Table 4: Local and German population in German colonies (Pacific areas), 1910

	Local population	German population
New-Guinea	c. 476,000	549 (0.1%) ¹¹
Carolines with Palau and Marianas, Marshall-Islands	c. 54,000	236 (0.4%)
Samoa	33,500	270 (0.8%)

3.3.3 Human resources planning

Human resources planning with respect to school staff is a part of acquisition planning, as the language abilities of the instructors immediately affect the learning progress and the students' potential ultimate attainment. In general, instructors were either of local or of European origin, and in either case, their own educational backgrounds could vary widely (cf. Sokolowsky 2004: 106f.). Government schools were preferably staffed with German personnel. Mission schools of non-German missions, in contrast, often had problems finding instructors with teaching ability in German; and both German and non-German missions employed teachers with variable degrees of non-native competence in German. Against this background, then, relevant factors for establishing German input based on school staff are:

- (a) mission schools vs. government schools (cf. Table 2)
- (b) German mission schools vs. non-German mission schools (cf. Table 5)
- (c) German¹² instructors vs. non-German instructors (cf. Table 6)

These factors determined the quantity and the quality of German input in German-colonial schools; they are, thus, potential predictors of language contact outcomes, since they frame the duration as well as the intensity of (school-based) language contact¹³ between German and the local languages in the colonial areas.

¹¹ Percentage of Germans as compared to the local population.

¹² I.e. native speakers of German.

¹³ Intensity and duration of language contact are crucial factors in determining its consequences, cf. Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 47).

The numbers in the following tables are calculated based on Schlunk (1914). They permit an estimate of the amount of teaching that was done by native speakers of German in the colonial-time mission schools.

Table 5: Students (St.) in German and non-German missions in areas under German administration

1911	New Guinea	Samoa	Total
German Missions	8400 St./44,6%	1577 St./16,1%	9977 St./34,8%
Non-German Missions	10425 St./55,4%	8241 St./83,9%	18666 St./65,2%

Table 6: Teaching personnel (T.) in schools of German missions in areas under German administration

1911	New Guinea	Samoa	Total
Germans	155 T./46,5%	21 T./21,6 %	176 T./40,9%
Indigenous	178 T./53,5%	76 T./78,4%	254 T./59,1%

About two thirds of all mission schools in the Pacific area under German-colonial rule belonged to non-German missions (Table 5). In the roughly 35% of mission schools that belonged to German missions, about 40% of the instructors were German.¹⁴ That is, only about 15% of school instruction in areas under German administration was done by native speakers of German, a number that does not imply a high frequency of interaction with native speakers of German on the part of the language learners.

Overall, the government was involved in language planning with respect to status and acquisition of German by providing financial means to spread German through the establishment of government schools and the employment of German instructors, to reward the use and acquisition of this language and to make it accessible in form of print media. There is no quantitative information available, though, on how effective these measures proved to be in terms of an increased use of German in the colonial areas.

Regarding school instruction, some influence was exerted by requiring all missions, German and non-German, to teach German, and by granting subsidies to those who were able to demonstrate good results in this respect. The percentage of students in relation to the overall population as well as that of

¹⁴ It is not guaranteed that all persons who are listed as German in this context were actually native speakers of German. It seems to be safe, however, to assume that the great majority of them were, which is considered sufficient for the current purpose of giving an impression of the numerical relations.

natively German-speaking instructors illustrate very clearly that the contribution of mission schools to the intended spread of German cannot have been more than marginal. The same, of course, is true for governmental schools, due to their generally low numbers in the German colonial areas.

Language use and language policy interact in specific ways in colonial contexts. As one consequence of colonialism, language contact takes place, and, accordingly, language contact phenomena can be observed. With a thirty-year colonial language contact at a low intensity (as the above specifications illustrated for the educational sector), we expected lexical effects, that is, borrowing, in German as well as in the local languages; structural influence, on the other hand, is unlikely to have occurred.¹⁵

We predict that borrowing would have occurred most frequently in semantic areas related to real life contexts that were dominated or newly introduced by German colonial agents such as the colonial government or the missions. This hypothesis is investigated in the following sections where we present loanword data from local languages spoken in the formerly German-colonized areas. A second hypothesis can be formulated based on the specifications above: It can be expected that more loanwords are found in geographic areas, and the respective languages, where a higher percentage of the population attended colonial schools, thus, putting them into closer contact with German. A closer investigation of this second hypothesis is not part of the current paper; for a discussion of it with a focus on Micronesia, cf. Stolberg (2012).

4 Loanwords¹⁶

4.1 Semantic fields/ontologies (and their problems)

German-origin words are documented in various languages in the Pacific. From dictionaries and primary written data sources, we identified c. 1,000 German-

¹⁵ Cf. Thomason & Kaufman (1988), Thomason (2001) for observations on specific types of language contact phenomena as related to higher or lower intensity of contact.

¹⁶ Note that the terms ‘loanword’ and ‘borrowing’ are used interchangeably in this paper. No theoretical distinction is implied as it is not possible to draw such a distinction in the type of data we investigated.

based borrowings,¹⁷ a number that is likely to increase as additional data are analyzed. In order to carry out an investigation according to our hypothesis above, we categorized the items semantically by applying to them the ontology of loanword meanings (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009). As a second step, we investigated in which ways the borrowings corresponded to specific contact settings and types of language planning.

The MPI Leipzig completed a large project on loanword typology in 2009; its two most prominent outcomes were a publication (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009, henceforth HT) and an online-resource, the World Loanword Database (WOLD¹⁸). It was the main goal of the project to establish a typology of lexical borrowings. 1,460 meanings from 22 semantic fields were investigated in 41 languages in order to determine whether the respective meanings were expressed by loanwords. The five semantic fields most receptive to borrowing proved to be the following: “religion and belief” (41.2%), “clothing and grooming” (38.6%), “the house” (37.2%), “law” (34.3%), and “social and political relations” (31%).

The loanwords we identified in the relevant Oceanic languages were categorized according to the HT ontology. We found that it worked well for the majority of our items, but a smaller part of them fit in less well. In addition, we arrived at a different ranking of semantic fields for our data. This latter deviation is likely to be due to (a) the low numbers of languages and items we investigated (as compared to Haspelmath, Tadmor, and colleagues); and (b) due to the specific kind of language contact setting, namely, colonialism, that is accompanied by characteristic political and social conditions. In order to account for the semantic fields we found to be affected by borrowing, we added the respective categories that are missing from the HT hierarchy (cf. Figure 1). Overall, the largest number of borrowings belongs to the area of “(Christian) religion and belief” (HT categories) in the upper section and “occupation and tools” (added categories) in the lower section. Thus, for the HT categories, our data show the same effects regarding the highest-ranking category. Haspelmath & Tadmor’s explanation fits the German-colonial context well:

The world’s largest religions by far are Christianity and Islam. Both came into being in historical times and started out in very limited geographical locations, but later spread around the world and were adopted by speakers of hundreds of different languages. It

¹⁷ We include under this category German-origin words in Tok Pisin that are, strictly speaking, not borrowings but an inherent and original part of its lexicon, having entered into the developing Pidgin/Creole language during the German colonial period.

¹⁸ <http://wold.cldd.org/>

was only natural that as people adopted these religions they also adopted the terminologies that came along with them. (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009: 64f.)

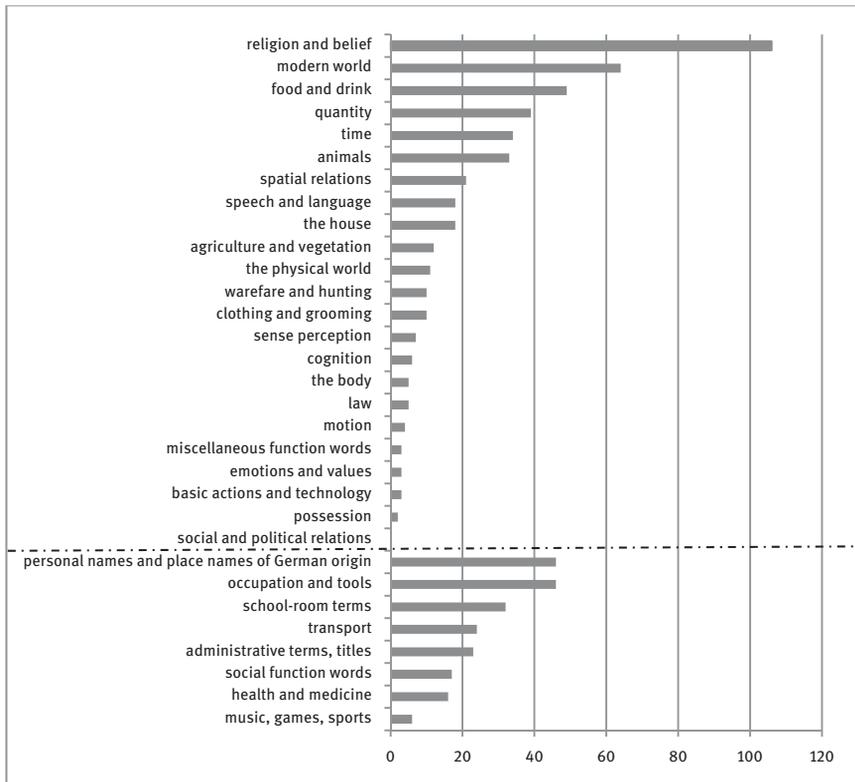


Figure 1: Ontological classification of loanwords (Upper section [“religion and belief” to “social and political relations”]: Categories according to HT’s Loanword Typology Meaning List Lower section [“personal names etc.” to “music, games, sports”]: Further categories affected by borrowing from German]

Classifying the borrowed items semantically is in itself revealing as it reflects that in colonial settings, specific semantic fields are affected by borrowing that may be less receptive to loanwords in non-colonial contexts. One factor underlying this divergence is the extent of language planning activities carried out under colonialism. Independent of whether a rigid agenda is pushed through or indecisive measures with shifting or even competing objectives are acted out, language planning must be understood as the linguistic implementation of

the colonial rule. Since language can be interpreted as representing the nation and/or political power,¹⁹ taking a stance in linguistic matters carries a symbolic meaning with respect to the colonial power relation. Therefore, lexical borrowing patterns in colonial settings can be expected to differ to some degree from those in other settings with respect to the semantic categories that are affected.

The results of the above categorization informed lexical borrowing our investigation of colonial contact zones as reflected by specific lexical borrowing patterns. A closer look at individual categories revealed, however, that HT's ontology may be too general for our purposes, and it may conceal information that the borrowings can provide. A more detailed analysis of borrowed animal denominations was carried out to investigate the composition of this category, and the results are presented in the following section.

4.2 Loanwords as indicators of contact zones

The ontological class of animals, one of the semantic categories with higher loanword numbers, appears to be, at first sight, clearly defined and well delineated. The following list offers an overview of the lexical items in this class that were identified in our corpus.

Table 7: German etyma of borrowed animal denominations

German etymon	Meaning	German etymon (cont.)	Meaning
<i>Biene</i>	'bee'	<i>Lamm</i>	'lamb'
<i>Büffel</i>	'buffalo'	<i>Laus</i> ²⁰	'louse'
<i>Esel</i>	'donkey'	<i>Löwe</i>	'lion'
<i>Frosch</i>	'frog'	<i>Ochs</i>	'ox'
<i>Gans</i>	'goose'	<i>Rindvieh</i>	'cattle'
<i>Hund</i>	'dog'	<i>Ross</i>	'horse'
<i>Kakerlake</i>	'cockroach'	<i>Schaf</i>	'sheep'
<i>Kalb</i>	'calf'	<i>Schlange</i>	'snake'
<i>Kamel</i>	'camel'	<i>Taube</i>	'dove'
<i>Katze</i>	'cat'	<i>Wachtel</i>	'quail'
<i>Kuh</i>	'cow'	<i>Ziege</i>	'goat'

¹⁹ Cf., e.g., Adick & Mehnert (2001: 258f.).

²⁰ Animals like lice are usually not referred to by a loanword. *Laus*, in our corpus, is an item from Tok Pisin and thus not a borrowing in the strict sense (cf. fn. 17). It is included here because it owes its introduction to Tok Pisin to the colonial context.

A closer investigation of these items and their meanings shows, however, that (a) not all of them refer to animals in a literal sense, and – related to this, but not identical with it – (b) they were introduced into the respective languages in different language contact settings and diverging types of linguistic interactions. So, even though animal denominations are dealt with as one ontological class by HT, this assignment is not informative as to the contexts that motivated each lexical transfer.

Lexical borrowing patterns as indications of contact zones

Crucially, we have to distinguish between at least two different processes of transfer for animal names in the German-colonial contact setting: on one hand, there is imposition of lexemes by native speakers of German, for example missionaries, who introduced German lexemes into local languages in the context of translating the Bible. This process applies to animal lexemes that are attested mainly or exclusively in the Bible and related Christian-religious linguistic contexts.

Etyma of loans found in religious texts/bible translations by German missionaries: e.g., *Esel* ‘donkey’, *Kamel* ‘camel’, *Löwe* ‘lion’, *Schaf* ‘sheep’, *Schlange* ‘snake’, *Taube* ‘pigeon’

Figure 2: Transfer in connection with religious instruction/Bible translation

We propose that these items were transferred by native speakers of the source language that is German, who had sufficient knowledge of the target language to speak about religious topics where these terms would be needed. It is conceivable that such loans were introduced in the context of missionary corpus planning, for example, for expanding the lexicon with regard to Christian terminology. In a second step, such lexemes could have been accepted by native speakers of the respective local language, the recipient language of the borrowing process. That is, in this case, the lexical transfer activity (imposition) was primarily carried out by L1-speakers of German when using their L2, the local language, and it is a result of corpus planning activities (cf. sections 2 and 2.2). It could therefore be argued that these lexemes could be equally well considered as part of the “religion and belief” class, if focusing the setting of the borrowing process and, accordingly, the semantically restricted application of these terms. On the other hand, while this is the sociocultural context through which the words entered the target languages, their use may have been extended beyond the original borrowing context afterwards – in agreement with their meaning in German –, so that it remains as unsatisfying to assign these animal names to

the ontological class of “religion and belief” as it is to assign them to the class of “animal denominations”.

While one part of this group of lexical borrowings stems from a Christian religious contact setting, there is another part that has different origins. We conclude this from the fact that these animal names are rarely or never attested in the German Bible translation.

Etyma **not** occurring in German bible translations:

Gans ‘goose’, **Kakerlake** ‘cockroach’, **Katze** ‘cat’, **Laus** ‘louse’, **Rindvieh** ‘cattle [used as an insult]’

Etyma rarely occurring in German bible translations:

Biene ‘bee’, **Büffel** ‘buffalo’, **Wachtel** ‘quail’

Figure 3: Transfer in connection with non-religious settings

This second group of animal lexemes is not or very rarely attested in (Christian) religious contexts. Thus, they must have been introduced in other settings.

Such scenarios include agricultural work, work around mission stations, or work in German households, where speakers of local languages encountered reference to these animals in German. The transfer process is different from that for biblical animal denominations. Here, we suggest that native speakers of the recipient languages with at least some knowledge of the source language, German, borrowed the items into their languages. It is conceivable that this borrowing was an effect of language acquisition planning (discussed below); alternatively, the need for shared working interaction could have made available the input that led to these borrowings, a borrowing process common in any form of language contact.

The attribution of the first group of lexemes to a Christian/missionary contact setting and the difference between the transfer settings of the two groups becomes invisible if the assignment of loanwords to ontological categories is based on the semantic content without consideration of factors of language use and possible semantic change that is common in borrowing scenarios (e.g., the source language word undergoes semantic narrowing or is used only in restricted contexts in the recipient language; cf. e.g. McMahon 1994).

It is precisely this kind of information, however, that is relevant for reconstructing patterns of colonial linguistic encounters and for understanding the specific characteristics of colonial language contact and its consequences. Therefore, we advocate a more differentiated tracing of the transfer context as a source of sociolinguistic information on lexical borrowing conditions, in addition to quantitative categorial information on borrowability. We consider this sociolinguistic aspect a crucial factor that modifies borrowability. For example,

the fact that religious terms show a high borrowability worldwide is not due to linguistic factors but to social and cultural ones, as Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009: 64f., cf. above) importantly points out. We follow up on this aspect of sociocultural factors interacting with lexical borrowing patterns in section 5 below where we identify links between colonial language planning and loanword effects.

There are further areas of German language influence in the former colonial regions, most prominently among them orthographic matters and onomastics. Discussing them in detail is beyond the scope of the current paper but the following examples illustrate the matter:

- orthography
 - transfer of individual orthographic features in the graphization of local languages, for example, German-origin lengthening h in Pohnpeian
 - the continued existence of two different orthographies of Nauruan, historically due to conflicting attitudes of the Catholic and the Protestant missions, with consecutive problems for arriving at a uniform codification of the language up until today (Lotherington 1998; Stolberg 2011)
- onomastics
 - place names, cf. Weber's (2011) investigation of German-colonial place names in Cameroon; Stolz & Warnke (2013) and this volume on topological naming patterns in (German) colonial settings
 - in some regions: first and last person names, especially in Christian contexts; German-origin last names can be found, for example, in Samoa (cf. the Samoan phone book)

We now turn to section 5 where we discuss links between lexical borrowing and different types of language planning activity and specific language contact zones, based on our loanword data evidence.

5 Effects of language planning activities on quality and quantity of loanwords

A major interest in this study is to investigate how lexical borrowing patterns are related to language planning activities. In the following sections, we take a closer look at:

- effects of status planning which is about the 'when' and 'where' of the uses of a language;
- effects of corpus planning which is about the language itself; and

- effects of acquisition planning which is about the prospective users of the language.

Our loanword data base includes lexical borrowings from German into 49 languages spoken in the Pacific, and a total of 875 borrowed items that can be traced back to German etyma. The data base is dynamic in that additional archival material and other relevant data sources are analyzed continuously and newly detected items are added as they are identified (cf. Engelberg 2010; Engelberg et al. 2012 for background information on this project).

Several of the languages that contain German-based loanwords were spoken outside of the German colonial areas; in such cases, borrowings were transmitted via languages of wider communication, for example Tok Pisin, or there had been trading contacts with Germans independent of the colonial rule. We delimited the data base for our current investigation to loanwords from 22 languages that were in use in the former German colonial areas in the Pacific (cf. the appendix for a list of languages and data sources). Note that the items listed as loanwords are documented historically but are in many cases obsolete now.

5.1 Effects of status planning

Linked with status planning, we find that many German loans belong to domains where German had the status of an official language, such as administration, law, or politics. They reflect the administrative and legal topics that were referred to in German and the administrative structure that had been imposed on the colonized areas. A number of German etyma from this semantic field were borrowed into several languages. Among them are borrowings derived from the German word *Amt* meaning ‘office, administrative unit’ and borrowings based on the German title *Kaiser* ‘emperor’. In some cases, re-interpretations have taken place, as with the Tok Pisin word *sutman* meaning ‘constable’, from German *Schutzmann* (*Schutz+mann*, lit. ‘protective man’) where the first part of the borrowed compound has been re-analyzed as being derived from English ‘shoot’ (cf. Mühlhäusler 1979).

The following list gives examples of items we consider likely to be linked to the status planning of German in the colonial setting.

Table 8: Loanwords related to status planning for German

German etymon	Meaning	Loanword	Recipient language
<i>Amt</i>	'office, administrative unit'	<i>chamt</i> <i>am, qaam</i>	Palauan Yapese
<i>Amtmann</i>	'bailiff'	<i>ametimani, 'ametimani</i>	Samoan
<i>Dolmetscher</i>	'translator'	<i>dolmérs, dolmers</i>	Palauan
<i>Hauptmann</i>	'captain, officer'	<i>hauman</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Kantine</i>	'lunchroom'	<i>kaantiin</i>	Woleaian
<i>Kindergarten</i>	'nursery'	<i>kinter</i>	Puluwatese
<i>Kommissar</i>	'commissar'	<i>komja, komdja, kómdja</i>	Marshallese
<i>Landeshauptmann</i>	'governor'	<i>Landeshauptmann</i>	Nauruan
<i>Offizier</i>	'officer'	<i>'ofisia</i>	Samoan
<i>Post</i>	'post office'	<i>bost</i> <i>poseta</i>	Palauan Samoan
<i>Schutzmann</i>	'constable'	<i>sutman</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Gefangene(r)</i>	'prisoner'	<i>Amen iat gefängniss</i>	Nauruan
<i>Kerker</i>	'jail'	<i>kerker</i>	Nauruan
<i>Strafe</i>	'penalty'	<i>strafe, strafim</i> <i>stafe, sitiraf, sataraff</i>	Tok Pisin Yapese
<i>Deutscher</i>	'German'	<i>doits-tamo</i>	Bongu
<i>Fürstentum</i>	'principality'	<i>Fürstentum</i>	Nauruan
<i>Kaiser</i>	'emperor'	<i>kaisera</i> <i>Kaiser</i> <i>Kaisa</i> <i>kaisa</i> <i>kaiser</i>	Bongu Nauruan Samoan Tok Pisin Woleaian
<i>Kaiserin</i>	'empress'	<i>Agen Kaiser</i> <i>Kaisarina</i>	Nauruan Samoan
<i>kaiserlich</i>	'imperial'	<i>kaisalika</i>	Samoan
<i>König</i>	'king'	<i>kuinig</i>	Bongu
<i>Königreich</i>	'kingdom'	<i>Königreich</i>	Nauruan
<i>Majestät</i>	'majesty'	<i>maiesitete</i>	Samoan
<i>Stadt</i>	'town'	<i>Stadt</i>	Nauruan
<i>Vogt</i>	'reeve, steward'	<i>voketia</i>	Samoan

5.2 Effects of corpus planning

Corpus planning is about the form of a language. Such planning can effect the lexicon, pronunciation, morphology, etc. In the German colonial context, several local language vocabularies underwent intentional modifications with re-

spect to the Christian religious domain where missionaries introduced lexical borrowings as a kind of “technical terminology” in order to avoid the “pagan” associations that traditional terms seemed to hold. Many of these (inflicted) loans in the religious domain were established via Christian religious instruction, for example, in mission schools or in church services held in the indigenous languages by German missionaries. Typical examples are *gnade* ‘mercy, grace’, *taufe* ‘baptism’ or *beinag* ‘Christmas’ from German *Weihnachten*.

Table 9: Loanwords related to (Christian) corpus planning for local languages

German etymon	Meaning	Loanword	Recipient language
<i>Altar</i>	‘altar’	<i>altar</i>	Nauruan
<i>Amen</i>	‘amen’	<i>Amen</i>	Yakamul
		<i>Amen</i>	Yapese
<i>Apostel</i>	‘apostle’	<i>Apostolo</i>	Kuanua
<i>Betstunde</i>	‘devotional’	<i>Stunde it tetaro</i>	Nauruan
<i>Christ</i>	‘Christian’	<i>ki’ris</i>	Gedaged
<i>Engel</i>	‘angel’	<i>Engel</i>	Nauruan
		<i>Engelen</i>	Yapese
<i>Gnade</i>	‘mercy, grace’	<i>gnade</i>	Yakamul
<i>Gott</i>	‘God’	<i>got, Got-Tamen</i>	Yakamul
<i>Hades</i>	‘hell’	<i>ades ‘Hölle’</i>	Takia
<i>Himmel</i>	‘heaven’	<i>Himmel</i>	Nauruan
<i>Hölle</i>	‘hell’	<i>Hölle</i>	Nauruan
<i>Katechismus</i>	‘catechism’	<i>kategismus</i>	Bongu
<i>Katholik</i>	‘Catholic’	<i>Katolik</i>	Kuanua
		<i>katolika</i>	Yapese
<i>katholisch</i>	‘Catholic’	<i>katholik</i>	Nauruan
<i>Kreuz</i>	‘cross’	<i>kruz</i>	Yapese
<i>Krippe</i>	‘manger’	<i>krippe</i>	Nauruan
<i>Missionare</i>	‘missionaries’	<i>Misionare</i>	Tumleo
<i>Myrrhe</i>	‘myrrh’	<i>myrrhe</i>	Nauruan
<i>Ostern</i>	‘Easter’	<i>’Oseta</i>	Samoan
<i>Paradies</i>	‘paradise’	<i>Paradies</i>	Nauruan
<i>Priester</i>	‘priest’	<i>prister</i>	Palauan
<i>Prophet</i>	‘prophet’	<i>profet</i>	Yapese
<i>Satan</i>	‘satan’	<i>Satan</i>	Nauruan
<i>Taufe</i>	‘baptism’	<i>taufe</i>	Nauruan
<i>taufen</i>	‘baptize’	<i>taufeei</i>	Nauruan
<i>Tempel</i>	‘temple’	<i>Tempel</i>	Nauruan
		<i>tempel</i>	Yapese
<i>Weihnachten</i>	‘Christmas’	<i>beinag</i>	Ulithian
<i>Weihrauch</i>	‘incense’	<i>vairau</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Wunder</i>	‘miracle’	<i>Wunder</i>	Nauruan

5.3 Effects of acquisition planning

The effects of acquisition planning are more difficult to assess. Possible “candidates” are lexical borrowings related to school, time, or measure of various kinds, but it is somewhat difficult to assess what the setting for these borrowing transfers was. Such items may as well be a result of education planning more generally and of the fact that numerous teachers were speakers of German. That is, the large number of loans in connection with schooling (school utensils, words in the domains of school subjects, time, and measure expressions) may have been introduced in school but independently of German language instruction. They also raise the question of who spoke German (or used German loanwords) with whom and at what occasions. This question will be addressed briefly in the concluding section.

In this group we find items such as *balaistip* meaning ‘pencil’ from German *Bleistift*; *kreide* ‘chalk’ from German *Kreide*; and in several languages borrowings are attested that are based on the German lexeme *Tafel* ‘blackboard’. We consider these loanwords to be the result of **education** planning rather than **language** planning in the strict sense.

Table 10: Loanwords related to acquisition planning for German

German etymon	Meaning	Loanword	Recipient language
<i>Bleistift</i>	‘pencil’	<i>balaistip, blaistik</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Brief</i>	‘letter’	<i>berib, briib, blil a briib</i>	Palauan
<i>Buch</i>	‘book’	<i>Buch</i>	Nauruan
<i>Griffel</i>	‘slate pencil’	<i>grifi</i> <i>grifel</i>	Wampar Yapese
<i>Heft</i>	‘(note)book’	<i>heft</i>	Yapese
<i>Kreide</i>	‘chalk’	<i>karaide, kraide</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>malen</i>	‘draw, paint’	<i>malen</i> <i>malen</i>	Marshallese Tok Pisin
<i>Papier</i>	‘paper’	<i>babyoor</i>	Nguluwan
<i>Schule</i>	‘school’	<i>shule</i>	Kuman
<i>Schwamm</i>	‘sponge’	<i>schwamm</i>	Nauruan
<i>Tafel</i>	‘blackboard’	<i>taafen</i> <i>tabér</i> <i>tafel</i> <i>tafe</i>	Chuukese Palauan Tok Pisin Wampar
<i>Tinte</i>	‘ink’	<i>tinte</i>	Wampar
<i>zeichnen</i>	‘drawing’	<i>chaeyhinen, Zeichnung</i>	Yapese
<i>Januar</i>	‘January’	<i>Januar</i>	Nauruan

German etymon	Meaning	Loanword	Recipient language
<i>Montag</i>	'Monday'	<i>montak</i> <i>Montaag</i> <i>moontaag</i>	Wampar Woleaian Yapese
<i>Sommer</i>	'summer'	<i>Sommer</i>	Nauruan
<i>Sonntag</i>	'Sunday'	<i>sonta</i>	Yabem
<i>Uhr</i>	'clock'	<i>ur</i>	Valman
<i>Woche</i>	'week'	<i>woke</i>	Yabem
<i>Ar</i>	'are' (square measure)	<i>ara</i>	Samoan
<i>Fünfer</i>	(currency)	<i>funfa</i>	Samoan
<i>Kilogramm</i>	'kilogram'	<i>kkino</i>	Chuukese
<i>Liter</i>	'liter'	<i>lita</i>	Samoan
<i>Mark</i>	(currency)	<i>maak</i>	Woleaian
<i>Meter</i>	'meter'	<i>meeter</i>	Puluwatese
<i>Null</i>	'null'	<i>nuul</i>	Yapese
<i>Pfennig</i>	(currency)	<i>fenika</i>	Samoan
<i>ABC</i>	'ABC'	<i>abese</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Grammatik</i>	'grammar'	<i>kramatik, gramatik</i>	Palauan

There is a group of loanwords for which it is difficult to assess the sociolinguistic transfer setting, namely, tools and basic commodities. We suggest that the lexical borrowing processes in these semantic domains require explanatory context rather than bilingualism, that is, these lexemes are more likely to have been introduced and transferred where the corresponding objects were handled and dealt with rather than in a more abstract classroom setting. In addition, there is a number of documented lexical borrowings from German that do not require language instruction at all but that seem to have sprung from various working environments where speakers of German were involved, for example, as heads of businesses, of workshops, or of households. Some of these items are *bigeleisen* 'pressing iron' from German *Bügeleisen*, borrowings into several languages based on the German item *Gummi* 'rubber', and tools such as *maisel* 'chisel' from German *Meißel*. The following list provides examples from these domains.

Table 11: Loanwords from work environments

German etymon	Meaning	Loanword	Recipient language
<i>Amboss</i>	'anvil'	<i>amepose, 'amepusa</i>	Samoan
<i>Beißzange</i>	'pliers'	<i>beisange</i>	Wampar
<i>bohren</i>	'drill'	<i>borim</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Bügeleisen</i>	'pressing iron'	<i>bigelaisen</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Draht</i>	'wire'	<i>diraht</i>	Pohnpeian

German etymon	Meaning	Loanword	Recipient language
<i>Gabel</i>	‘fork’	<i>kapel</i>	Marshallese
<i>Glas</i>	‘glass’	<i>kilahs</i>	Pohnpeian
<i>Grammophon</i>	‘phonograph’	<i>karmoból</i>	Palauan
<i>Gummi</i>	‘rubber’	<i>kkumi</i>	Chuukese
		<i>kumi</i>	Marshallese
		<i>gumi</i>	Palauan
		<i>komi, kumi</i>	Pohnpeian
<i>Hammer</i> ²¹	‘hammer’	<i>amar</i>	Nauruan
		<i>ama</i>	Pohnpeian
		<i>hama</i>	Wampar
		<i>hama</i>	Tok Pisin
		<i>hama, qaamaa</i>	Yapese
<i>Hobel</i>	‘planer’	<i>hobel</i>	Wampar
<i>Keil</i>	‘wedge’	<i>kail, kailim</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Klammer</i>	‘clip, clamp’	<i>klama</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Koffer</i>	‘suitcase’	<i>kiiwúfer</i>	Chuukese
<i>Lampe</i>	‘lamp’	<i>lamp</i>	Yapese
<i>Leinwand</i>	‘linen (cloth)’	<i>leinwand</i>	Nauruan
<i>Maschine</i>	‘machine’	<i>mesil, masil</i>	Palauan
<i>Meißel</i>	‘chisel’	<i>maisel</i>	Yapese
<i>Säge</i>	‘saw’	<i>sege</i>	Yabem
<i>Schere</i>	‘scissors’	<i>sere</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Schloss</i>	‘lock’	<i>Schloss</i>	Nauruan
		<i>slos</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Schraube</i>	‘screw’	<i>seráub</i>	Palauan
<i>Schubkarre</i>	‘wheelbarrow’	<i>supkar, supka</i>	Tok Pisin
<i>Spaten</i>	‘spade’	<i>spaten</i>	Takia
<i>Thermometer</i>	‘thermometer’	<i>temometa</i>	Samoan
<i>Wasserwaage</i>	‘water level’	<i>wasawage</i>	Tok Pisin

Evidence for effects of acquisition planning: German as a subject vs. the medium of instruction. The attested teaching of German as a school subject, as required by the colonial authorities, left no reliable traces with respect to lexical borrowing. While a number of loanwords seem to owe their import to this type of education planning, it is not possible to show conclusively that this is indeed

²¹ *Hammer* is an item that can equally well have been borrowed from English as from German. Only a close historical investigation can show in each case which language of the two was introduced first to the respective speech community, thus making it the likelier source for this loanword. For our purposes, we consider both languages to be possible sources.

the case. A different kind of evidence is available, however, that supports the hypothesis that using German in school as the **medium** of instruction, that is, to teach in German, does seem to have promoted lexical borrowing in quantitatively measurable ways.

In an exploratory study, Engelberg (2006; cf. also Engelberg et al. 2012) compared the German colonial setting in the two islands of Palau and Kosrae with regard to a number of sociocultural and colonial-administrative conditions that may influence language use. Neither island had any noteworthy contact with German previous to the colonial period. While in several respects, both islands show parallels – such as somewhat isolated geographical localization, and German colonial administrative handling – there are a few crucial differences, among them the language of school instruction. In Palau, teaching was carried out in German, and attitudes towards speaking and learning German were generally favorable. Using German as the medium of instruction caused it to become functional in communication, a potential factor in facilitating loanword transfer (Engelberg 2006: 17). For Palauan, more than 50 German loanwords are documented of which the following table gives some examples.

Table 12: Examples of German loanwords in Palauan (cf. Engelberg 2006; Engelberg et al. 2012)

Loanword	Meaning	German etymon	
<i>babíer</i>	‘paper, letter, book’	<i>Papier</i>	‘paper’
<i>bénster</i>	‘window’	<i>Fenster</i>	‘window’
<i>beríð</i>	‘letter’	<i>Brief</i>	‘letter’
<i>bilt</i>	‘holy picture’	<i>Bild</i>	‘picture’
<i>blasbabiér</i>	‘sandpaper’	<i>Blase (?) + Papier</i>	‘blister’(?) + ‘paper’
<i>blok</i>	‘pulley’	<i>Block (am Flaschenzug)</i>	‘pulley block’
<i>bost</i>	‘post office’	<i>Post</i>	‘post office’
<i>chamt</i>	‘office’	<i>Amt</i>	‘office, agency’
<i>Chausbéngdik (v.)</i>	‘know thoroughly’ memorize’	<i>auswendig (ADJ)</i>	‘memorized’
<i>desér</i>	‘diesel’	<i>Diesel</i>	‘diesel fuel’
<i>Doits</i>	‘German’	<i>Deutsch</i>	‘German’
<i>dolmérs</i>	‘interpreter’	<i>Dolmetscher</i>	‘interpreter’
<i>hall (interj.)</i>	‘Halt!, Stop!, Wait!’	<i>Halt (N; INTERJ)</i>	‘stop’
<i>kabitéi</i>	‘captain’	<i>Kapitän</i>	‘captain’

For Kosrean, in contrast, no German loanwords at all are attested. Here, German was taught as a subject in school, according to the colonial requirements, but it was not used as the medium of instruction. Note that the lack of German loanwords cannot be due to a general negative attitude towards lexical borrowing

since a noticeable number of loanwords from English is documented for Kosrean.

It has to be kept in mind, of course, that colonial language use always interacts with a complex combination of factors, and considerable caution is in place when drawing conclusions from this evidence. Nevertheless, the comparison showed that, with other factors being similar, instruction **in** German vs. instruction **of** German can contribute to a measurable quantitative difference in borrowed items.

5.4 Discussion

The effects of language planning in the German colonial context turned out to be variable, depending on the focus of planning and the languages the planning measures were aimed at.

- Status planning took place for German, but the language planning measures were not reinforced strongly by the government.
- Corpus planning was carried out for local languages and entailed the compilation of dictionaries and grammars (including standardization efforts); the materials were not widely accessible to L1 speakers, however, and often were not specifically meant for them but for documentation and teaching purposes for missionaries and other colonial agents that had to and/or wanted to learn the respective language in order to become locally active in the colonial endeavor (as teacher, administrative staff, missionary, etc.); some effect (loanwords) can be noted. Due to the agents of such corpus planning as well as to the intended recipients of its products, it is likely that loanwords that originate from this scenario were imposed by L2 speakers of the recipient languages and either accepted or dismissed by L1 speakers. The attestation of such lexical borrowings in dictionaries, grammars, school books, etc. (i.e., works of normative intention) does not imply that they were in actual use among the speakers of the concerned languages, although they may have been.
- Corpus planning for German was undertaken primarily by Schwörer (1916) in his proposal for a simplified *Kolonial-Deutsch* ('colonial German'). It had no practical effect because due to the political development it was never implemented, either for the intended instructional and communicative purposes or in any other settings.
- Acquisition planning for German was an important part of colonial education planning. The colonial German government relied mainly on mission societies and their schools for the education-based spread of German. Due to

several factors, such as the diverging focus between government and mission goals with respect to using German in school instruction and lack of adequately trained teaching staff, mission schools were not as successful in teaching German (by government standards) as the government schools were, and as the colonial administration deemed desirable.

So, language planning was undertaken on different levels and by different colonial agents during the German colonial period and with different though partly overlapping foci. The plans, however, were followed up inconsistently, and various measures were in practice not implemented as they had been planned. Mehnert (1993: 263) even speaks of the “*offenkundige[...] Konzeptionslosigkeit der Schulpolitik des Reichskolonialamts*” (the ‘imperial colonial administration’s blatantly lacking conception of a school policy’) with regard to education planning, including language acquisition planning. This situation led to a low effectiveness of the planning measures as compared to the originally intended outcome, the wide-spread use of the German language. One of the reasons was the diverging agendas between different groups that were involved in language planning as well as in its implementation. Most conspicuous in this respect are the conflicting views of the mission societies, primarily the Protestant ones, who strongly favored the use of local languages as the medium of instruction in their schools (cf. Adick & Mehnert 2001; Orosz 2011) as contrasting with government views that supported the large-scale implementation of German as the primary language of communication (at least up to c. 1910, cf. Sokolowsky 2004: 56, 68f.). Therefore, it is not surprising that we find correlations between language planning measures and the quantity of loanwords in some areas but not in others.

In some settings, colonial language planning and language policy had a noticeable impact on lexical borrowing. Paramount among these are the domains of Christian religion (through missionary activity) and school. Other areas demonstrate that language planning did not necessarily have a strong effect on the adoption of loanwords: One such example is the administrative sector where status planning was intended to be implemented for a thorough effect (German was generally to be used in administrative settings). In comparison to other settings, the loanword effects are not very strong though, especially when related to the extent of language planning effort that was put into it.

It is interesting as well as important to mention that we also find lexical borrowings in semantic domains that were not, to our knowledge, immediately subject to active language planning. Among these settings are work environments (cf. section 5.3 and Table 11 above) where we assume that language contact and transfer of lexical items were dominated by settings where work in-

structions were given by speakers of German and where reference to tools and other newly-introduced objects had to be made to guarantee a functioning working process. Here, the names could have been introduced together with the objects they referred to. Thus, we propose, that this was a scenario where loanwords were imposed by speakers of the source language (German) and adopted by speakers of the recipient language, probably independent of any noteworthy degree of bilingualism on either side.

The following table compares different colonial-time language contact settings and provides an overview of the intensity of language contact, of whether a good command of the source and/or recipient language was required, and of language planning and its intensity. It also gives a rough measure for the amount of loanwords attested for each setting (see column “Lw’s”). The numerical assignments for “Language command required” and “Intensity of lg. pl.” are our judgments and should be taken as coarse estimates. Their purpose is to offer a comparative numerical ranking of the different settings regarding these two aspects of language contact and language planning.

Table 13: Lexical borrowing effects in colonial settings with and without language planning (lang. plan. = language planning; Lw’s = (amount of attested) loanwords)

Settings	Language contact setting	Language command required	Language planning	Intensity of lang. plan.	Lw’s
Work settings (plantations, sawmills, household, etc.)	Little/no bilingualism required	0	No language planning involved	0	high
Medical/health contexts	Some shared code required (translators)	1	No language planning involved	0	low
Administration	Official language policy; some shared code required (translators)	2	Status/corpus planning	2	some
Christian-religious activities	Bilingualism one side (at least) required	3	Corpus planning (lexicon)	2	high
School	Contact language is subject and/or medium of instruction	4	Acquisition/corpus/status planning	3	high

Language planning, obviously, does not correlate with (amount of) lexical borrowing in a simple way. From the overview, three observations can be derived:

- we find loanwords without planning activities and with no demand on bilingualism (e.g., in work settings);
- we find planning activities that only had a mild effect on the quantity of loanwords (e.g., in administration);
- we find settings where a medium to high planning activity and relatively high numbers of loanwords coexist.

The first two observations refer to settings where communication is possible without extended bilingualism on either side, supporting the assumption that bilingualism on either or both sides of the interaction partners is not a necessary prerequisite for lexical borrowing (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988 on instances of low-intensity language contact accompanied by lexical borrowing).

The third observation points to the fact that there are some settings where we encounter what we hypothesized at the outset of this investigation that is, planning activities co-occurring with higher numbers of loanwords. This applies to school settings and Christian religious contexts. For these settings, we assume that some degree of bilingualism was needed, at least on one side of the communication partners.

The relevance of missionaries' linguistic choices

A final point is the question why missionaries' linguistic choices seem to have affected the lexical borrowing process more strongly than, for example, governmental choices and decrees. This effect is linked to the specific role missionaries held in several respects.²² More than other colonial(-time) agents, we maintain, it was missionaries who worked through and with language; language was their primary tool and medium when transporting Christian concepts and transmitting their religious message, which in turn was based on a written language source, namely the Bible. In addition, missionaries frequently were the first ones to codify a language, that is, to put it into writing and to compile word lists, dictionaries, grammars, and teaching materials in that language. This is intimately linked to their self-understood role and function in a missionizing setting where the addressees of the missionizing efforts are to be enabled to

²² Most of what is said here about the role and the language behavior of missionaries is also true in many other missionary contexts. At this point, we explicitly refer only to the missionaries' position and function during the German colonial period and in German colonial areas, in particular in the Pacific.

read the Bible in their own language since it is assumed that only then will they be able to fully understand the Christian message.

From the perspective of the local population, missionaries were perceived to possess various kinds of resources that presumably empowered them in specific ways: They were possessors of cultural capital (i.e., religious knowledge), political capital, and material capital (in forms that were unknown before).²³ Resulting from this view, the missionaries were assigned prestige (as freely conferred deference, cf. Henrich & Gil-White 2001), and this, in turn, increased the effect their language choices had, not least regarding the acceptance of loanwords from the missionaries' (European) languages.

6 Conclusion

Language planning activities during the German colonial period were developed and carried out primarily by the government and by mission societies. Their theoretical outcomes are attested in many cases, not least as legal documents. In practice, large-scale effects did not result, however. This seems to be mainly due to repeatedly changing concepts of what the intended goals should be as well as to an inconsistent and variable implementation of those measures that had been agreed upon. In addition, the German colonial administration in the Pacific, the geographical focus of this study, was characterized by

- a relatively short time-span²⁴
- many geographically isolated settings
- a variety of colonial agents
- the development of local, small-scale solutions for interaction and communication.

These are factors that further contributed to heterogeneous results of colonial language planning and that left room for negotiating interaction modes by the speakers involved.

We state in concluding that it was possible to trace “semi-causal” links between language planning and lexical borrowing, but we were not able to show a strong relationship between language planning measures and the extent of

²³ The attribution of these types of capital to missionaries by the local population contributed to the development of the Cargo cult in New Guinea (cf. Lawrence 1964).

²⁴ Even though it can be argued that a period of 30 years was long enough to implement a functioning language policy if it had been implemented straightforwardly.

lexical borrowing for specific domains. This finding is not surprising given the fact that language contact is a highly complex matter, and its outcome has not been found to be predictable in detail (cf. Thomason 2001). This does not preclude the detection of more general interrelations such as those between language use in schools and the corresponding set of lexical borrowings or the effect of German-speaking Christian missionaries and their language-based activities. Our goal was to trace the impact of language planning, as one factor influencing (not only colonial) language contact, on lexical borrowing. We have demonstrated that it is possible to find correlations in this respect, but they are often confounded with other factors that have equal or higher relevance for the acceptance of loanwords by speakers of the (potential) recipient languages.

References

- ABCFM letters. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions [= ABCFM] Archives. Documents. Reports Letters. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- ABCFM-3. [anonymous]: Report of Gilbert Island Training School [typewritten]. Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. ABC 19.4. Vol. 10 Micronesia Mission 1890–1899. Documents Reports Minutes Tabular Views [Unit 6, Reel 847]. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- ABCFM-42. Rev. Ph. A. Delaporte, Mrs. Salome Delaporte, Miss Maria Linke: Tenth Annual Report of the Nauru Mission. Nauru, Marshall Islands: Nauru Mission-Press 1911 [printed]. Papers of the The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. ABC 19.4. Vol. 18, Part 1 Micronesia Mission 1910–1919. Documents Reports Letters [Unit 6, Reel 855]. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Abo, Takaji, Byron W. Bender, Alfred Capelle & Tony DeBrum. 1976. *Marshallese-English dictionary*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Adick, Christel. 1981. *Bildung und Kolonialismus in Togo. Eine Studie zu den Entstehungszusammenhängen eines europäisch geprägten Bildungswesens in Afrika am Beispiel Togos (1850–1914)*. Weinheim/Basel: Beltz.
- Adick, Christel. 1993. Muttersprachliche und fremdsprachliche Bildung im Missions- und Kolonialschulwesen. *Bildung und Erziehung* 46(3). 283–298.
- Adick, Christel. 2011. A century ago: The first and only large scale education survey in the German colonial empire (1911). *Tertium Comparationis* 7(2). 96–107.
- Adick, Christel, Wolfgang Mehnert, Thea Christiane. 2001. *Deutsche Missions- und Kolonialpädagogik in Dokumenten*. Frankfurt am Main/London: IKO Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation.
- Akakpo-Numado, Sena Yawo. 2005. Mädchen- und Frauenbildung in den deutschen Afrika-Kolonien (1884–1914). Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bochum.
- Altehenger-Smith, Sherida. 1978. Language planning and language policy in Tanzania during the German colonial period. *Kiswahili: jarida la chuo cha uchunguzi wa lugha ya kiswahili = Journal of the Institute of Swahili Research*. 48(2). Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es Salaam = University of Dar es Salaam. 73–80.

- Anchimbe, Eric A. 2013. *Language policy and identity construction. The dynamics of Cameroon's multilingualism*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Baldauf, Richard B., Jr. 1994. "Unplanned" language policy and planning. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 14. 82–89.
- Baldauf, Richard B., Jr. 2004. Language planning and policy: Recent trends, future directions. *American Association of Applied Linguistics*, Portland, Oregon. 1–8.
- Baumann, Adalbert. 1916. Das neue, leichte Weltdeutsch für unsere Bundesgenossen und Freunde! Seine Notwendigkeit und seine wirtschaftliche Bedeutung von Prof. Dr. Adalbert Baumann. Vortrag, geh. 1915. In laut-schriftlich geschrieben! Diessen vor München: Huber.
- Becher, Jürgen. 1998. Missionen im kolonialen Bildungs- und Erziehungsdiskurs. Strategien und Methoden der evangelischen Missionsgesellschaften in Tansania unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft, 1885–1904. In Heike Schmidt & Albert Wirz (eds.), *Afrika und das Andere. Alterität und Innovation*. Jahrestagung der VAD vom 3.–6.10.1996 in Berlin, 79–89. Hamburg: Lit.
- Bley, [P.] B. 1902. Schilderungen aus der Südsee. *Monatshefte zu Ehren unserer lieben Frau vom hl. St. Herzen Jesu* 19 (Juni). 248–254.
- Boulleys, Vera Ebot. 1998. *Deutsch in Kamerun*. (Dr. Rabes Hochschulschriften, Bd. 3). Bamberg: Colibri-Verlag.
- Boulleys, Vera Ebot. 2013. Die Sprachenpolitik der deutschen Kolonialregierung und der postkolonialen Regierung Kameruns: Eine kritische und analytische Studie. Ms. University of Douala, Cameroon.
- Burdick, Alan. 1970. Dictionary of the Ponapean language. Ms. [typewritten, unpagged]. Honolulu Hamilton Library. Call Nr. PZ 96K31.51.
- Cain, Horst. 1986. *A lexicon of foreign loan-words in the Samoan language*. Köln: Böhlau.
- Christmann, Helmut. 1986. "Weißt du, manchmal träume ich Deutsch!" Spuren deutscher Kolonialherrschaft im historisch-politischen Bewußtsein auf den Carolinen-Inseln. *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik* 7(2). 114–128.
- Christmann, Helmut, Peter Hemenstall & Dirk Anthony Ballendorf. 1991. *Die Karolinen-Inseln in deutscher Zeit. Eine kolonialgeschichtliche Fallstudie*. Münster: Lit.
- Cooper, Robert Leon. 1989. *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coronel-Molina, Serafin M. 1996. Corpus planning for the Southern Peruvian Quechua language. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*. 12(2). 1–27.
- Delaporte, Philip A. 1904a. WAÑARA BUCH IN KERERI RAN PROTESTANTISCHEN SCHULEN. Ä Gadauw Eow Itürin Ph. A. Delaporte Missionar. Mission-Mimeograph Nauru 1904.
- Delaporte, Philip A. 1904b. Schulwörterbuch. Deutsch-Nauru [belongs to Delaporte (1904)a]
- Delaporte, Philip A. 1907. *Kleines Taschenwörterbuch. Deutsch-Nauru*. Nauru: Missions-Druckerei.
- Deumert, Ana. 2009. Namibian Kiche Duits: The making (and decline) of a Neo-African language. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 21. 349–417.
- Deutsche Kolonialgesetzgebung (1893–1910)*. Sammlung der auf die deutschen Schutzgebiete bezüglichen Gesetz, Verordnungen, Erlasse und internationalen Vereinbarungen mit Anmerkungen und Sachregister, Bd. 1–13. Berlin: Mittler.
- Deutscher Kolonialatlas mit Jahrbuch (DKAJb)*. 1905. Herausgegeben auf Veranlassung der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft. Berlin: Reimer.
- Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee*. 1911–1914. Amtliche Jahresberichte, herausgegeben vom Reichs-Kolonialamt 1909/10, 1910/11, 1911/12, 1912/13. Berlin: Mittler.

- DiPaola, Kathrin 2004. Samoa – ‘Perle’ der deutschen Kolonien? ‘Bilder’ des exotischen Anden in Geschichte(n) des 20. Jahrhunderts. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland
- Djomo, Esaïe. 2009. Geschichte der Sprachenpolitik Kameruns, oder: Der lange Weg nationaler Sprachen aus der Verbannung. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics PLUS* 38. 19–25.
- Echu, George. 2003. Coping with multilingualism: Trends in the evolution of language policy in Cameroon. *Philologie im Netz* 25/2003. 31-46. <http://web.fu-berlin.de/phn/phn25/p25t2.htm> [checked July 16, 2014]
- Echu, George. 2004. The language question in Cameroon. *Linguistik online* 18, 1/04. http://www.linguistik-online.de/18_04/echu.html [checked July 16, 2014]
- Elbert, Samuel H. 1972. *Puluwat dictionary*. Canberra: Australian National University, Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies.
- Engelberg, Stefan. 2006. The influence of German on the lexicon of Palauan and Kosraean. In Keith Allan (ed.), *Selected Papers from the 2005 Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society*. <http://www.als.asn.au/proceedings/als2005/engelberg-german.pdf> [checked July 16, 2014]
- Engelberg, Stefan. 2010. An inverted loanword dictionary of German loanwords in the languages of the South Pacific. In Anne Dykstra & Tanneke Schoonheim (eds.), *Proceedings of the XIV EURALEX International Congress (Leeuwarden, 6–10 July 2010)*, 639–647. Ljouwert (Leeuwarden): Fryske Akademy.
- Engelberg, Stefan, InekeScholz & Doris Stolberg. 2012. Interaktionszentren des Sprachkontakts in Deutsch-Neuguinea: ein sprachkartographisches Projekt. In Stefan Engelberg & Doris Stolberg (eds.), *Sprachwissenschaft und kolonialzeitlicher Sprachkontakt. Sprachliche Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung*, 123–138. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- English-Nauru dictionary. (1937) [?]. Nauru Administration.
- Fischer, Hans. 2000. Hundert Jahre Wandel bei den Wampar in Papua-Neuguinea. *Geographische Rundschau* 52(4). 43–38.
- Friederici, Georg. 1911. Pidgin-Englisch in Deutsch-Neuguinea. *Koloniale Rundschau* 2. 92–106.
- Garrett, John. 1982. *To live among the stars*. Suva, Fiji: Oceania Printers Ltd.
- Goodenough, Ward H. & Hiroshi Sugita. 1980. *Trukese-English dictionary*. Pwpuken Tettenin Fôôs: Chuuk-Ingenes. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Grant, Anthony P. 2002. On the problems inherent in substantiating a linguistic area: The case of the Western Micronesian Sprachbund. Ms. 16pp.
- Groves, William Charles. 1938. Grammar of the language of Nauru, 39pp. [Part of a folder containing “Nauruan Language Committee Data”.] Source: William Charles GROVES (1898-1967): Papers relating to education in Papua New Guinea and Nauru, 1922–1962. Box 4: Nauru. File 1, Pts.A-Z, A1-J1: Nauruan Language. Including English-Nauru Dictionary and Grammar of the Language of Nauru, (1938). Pacific Manuscripts Bureau. Microfilm PMB 1164, Reel 5. Australia National University, Menzies Library.
- Gründl, Friedrich. 1906. Toreñöb in bibel in oniñ. Mission Katholik Nauru (Marshallinseln). Freiburg im Breisgau. (1906). Herdersche Verlagshandlung. [Kurze biblische Geschichte von Weihbischof Dr Friedrich Justus Knecht. In die Sprache der Nauru-Insel (Marshallinseln) übersetzt von P. Friedrich Gründl, Missonär vom heiligsten Herzen Jesu.]
- Hahl, Albert. 1904. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Umgangssprache von Ponape. *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* 7. 1–30.
- Hanke, A. 1909. *Grammatik und Vokabularium der Bongu-Sprache (Astrolabebai, Kaiser-Wilhelmsland)*. Berlin: Reimer.

- Haspelmath, Martin & Uri Tadmor (eds.) 2009. *Loanwords in the world's languages: A comparative handbook*. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Haugen, Einar. 1959. Planning for a standard language in Norway. *Anthropological Linguistics* 1(3). 8–21.
- Heider, [P.] E. 1913. *Kurzes Vokabularium deutsch-samoanisch und samoanisch-deutsch*. Malua (Samoa): L.M.S. [London Missionary Society] Press.
- Henrich, Joseph & Francisco Gil-White. 2001. The evolution of prestige: Freely conferred status as a mechanism for enhancing the benefits of cultural transmission. *Evolution and Human Behavior* 22. 1–32.
- Hezel, Francis X. 1984. Schools in Micronesia prior to American administration. *Pacific Studies* 8(1). 95–111.
- Hiery, Hermann Joseph. 2001. Schule und Ausbildung in der deutschen Südsee. In Hermann Joseph Hiery (ed.), *Die deutsche Südsee 1884–1914. Ein Handbuch, 198–238*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.
- Hornberger, Nancy H. 2006. Frameworks and models in language policy and planning. In Thomas Ricento (ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Jacobi, E. 1904. Eine koloniale Schulrechtsfrage. *Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft* 6. 266–272.
- Josephs, Lewis S. 1984. The impact of borrowing on Palauan. In Byron W. Bender (ed.), *Studies in Micronesian linguistics*, 81–123. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Josephs, Lewis S. 1990. *New Palauan-English dictionary*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Kellermeier-Rehbein, Birte. 2012. Koloniallinguistik aus hochschuldidaktischer Perspektive. In Stephan Engelberg & Doris Stolberg (eds.), *Sprachwissenschaft und kolonialzeitlicher Sprachkontakt. Sprachliche Begegnungen und Auseinandersetzungen*. (=Koloniale und Postkoloniale Linguistik 3), 293–309. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Kilage, Ignatius. 1995. from My Mother Calls Me Yaltep. In Albert Wendt (ed.), *Nuanua. Pacific writing in English since 1980*, 200–209. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Klaffi, [P.] Johann & [P.] Friedrich Vormann. 1905. Die Sprachen des Berlinhafen-Bezirks in Deutsch-Neuguinea. Mit Zusätzen von P. W. Schmidt. *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin. Erste Abteilung: Ostasiatische Studien* 8. 1–138.
- Kleintitschen, [P.] August. 1906. *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel (Neupommern – deutsche Südsee) ihre Sitten und Gebräuche*. Hiltrup: Herz-Jesu-Missionshaus.
- Kloss, Heinz. 1968. Notes concerning a language-nation typology. In Joshua A. Fishman, Charles A. Ferguson & Jyotirindra Das Gupta (eds.), *Language problems of developing nations*, 69–86. London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Koffi, Ettien. 2012. *Paradigm shift in language planning and policy. Game-theoretic solutions*. Boston/Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- König, B. von. 1912. Die Eingeborenen-Schulen in den Deutschen Kolonien Afrikas und der Südsee. *Koloniale Rundschau* 12. 721–732.
- Krauß, Emil. 1915. Missions und Schulwesen in den deutschen Kolonien. *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* 12(11). 759–762.
- Lang, Karl. 1926. Die englischen Lehnwörter in der Marshall-Sprache (Südsee). *Folia Ethnographica* 2(1). 1–3.
- Lawrance, Benjamin Nicholas. 2000. Most obedient servants: the politics of language in German Colonial Togo. *Cahiers d'Études africaines* XL(3), 159, 489–524.

- Lawrence, Peter. 1964. *Road belong cargo: A study of the Cargo Movement in the Southern Madang District, New Guinea*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Laycock, D. C. 1971. English and other Germanic languages. In Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics*. Vol. 8: *Linguistics in Oceania*. Part two: *Selected topics*, 877–902. The Hague, Paris: Mouton.
- Lopinot, Callistus. 1964. *Die Karolinenmission der spanischen und deutschen Kapuziner 1886–1919. Zusammengestellt nach den Jahresberichten*. Koblenz-Ehrenbreitstein: Provinzialat der Kapuziner.
- Lotherton, Heather. 1998. Trends and tensions in post-colonial language education in the South Pacific. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 1(1). 65–75.
- Lothmann, Timo. 2006. *God i tok long yumi long Tok Pisin. Eine Betrachtung der Bibelübersetzung in Tok Pisin vor dem Hintergrund der sprachlichen Identität eines Papua-Neuguinea zwischen Tradition und Moderne*. Frankfurt/M. et al.: Lang.
- Lynch, John. 2004. 'Don't take my word for it': Two case-studies of unexpected non-borrowing. Jan Tent & Paul Geraghty (eds.), *Borrowing. A Pacific perspective*, 191–200. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Mader, L. H. (n.d.) *Samoanisch. Mit genauer Angabe der Aussprache* (Polyglott-Kuntze). Bonn: Carl Georgi Universitäts-Buchdruckerei.
- Mager, John F. 1952. *Gedaged-English dictionary*. Columbus, OH: Board of Foreign Missions of the American Lutheran Church.
- McMahon, April M. S. 1994. *Understanding language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McManus, Edwin George & [edited and expanded by Lewis S. Josephs with the assistance of Masa-aki Emesiochel] 1977. *Palauan-English dictionary*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Mehnert, Wolfgang. 1965. Schulpolitik im Dienste der Kolonialherrschaft des deutschen Imperialismus in Afrika (1884–1914). Habilitationsschrift. Leipzig.
- Mehnert, Wolfgang. 1974. Zur Sprachenfrage in der Kolonialpolitik des deutschen Imperialismus in Afrika. *Vergleichende Pädagogik* 10(1). 52–60.
- Mehnert, Wolfgang. 1993. Regierungs- und Missionsschulen in der deutschen Kolonialpolitik (1885–1914). *Bildung und Erziehung* 46(3). 251–266.
- Migge, Bettina & Léglise, Isabelle. 2007. Language and colonialism. Applied linguistics in the context of creole communities. In Marlis Hellinger & Anne Pauwels (eds.), *Language and communication: Diversity and change. Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, 297–338. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mihalic, Frank. 1990. Obsolescence in the Tok Pisin vocabulary. In John W. M. Verhaar (ed.), *Melanesian Pidgin and Tok Pisin. Proceedings of the First International Conference of Pidgins and Creoles in Melanesia*, 263–273. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Mirbt, Karl [Carl] 1914. Die Schulen für Eingeborene in den deutschen Schutzgebieten. *Koloniale Monatsblätter* 16(3). 218–238.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1975. The influence of the German administration on New Guinea Pidgin. *Journal of Pacific History* 3(4). 94–111.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1979. *Growth and structure of the lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin*. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter. 2012. Sprachliche Kontakte in den Missionen auf Deutsch-Neuguinea und die Entstehung eines Pidgin-Deutsch. In Stefan Engelberg & Doris Stolberg (eds.),

- Sprachwissenschaft und kolonialzeitlicher Sprachkontakt. Sprachliche Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung.* (Koloniale und Postkoloniale Linguistik 3), 71–100. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Oakes, Leigh. 2008. Language planning and policy in Québec. In Dalila Ayoun (ed.), *Studies in French applied linguistics*, 345–385. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Orosz, Kenneth J. 2008. *Religious conflict and the evolution of language policy in German and French Cameroon, 1885–1939*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Orosz, Kenneth J. 2011. An African Kulturkampf: Religious conflict and language policy in German Cameroon, 1885–1914. *Sociolinguistica* 25. 81–93.
- Othmar, [Bruder] 1907a. Mein Tagewerk. *Jahresbericht über die Tätigkeit der Kapuziner der Rheinisch- Westfälischen Ordensprovinz in der Mission der Karolinen, 1906*, 57–61. Saarlouis: Hausen & Co.
- Othmar, [Bruder] 1907b. Rund um Ponape. *Jahresbericht über die Tätigkeit der Kapuziner der Rheinisch- Westfälischen Ordensprovinz in der Mission der Karolinen, 1906*, 28–33. Saarlouis: Hausen & Co.
- Patres der Mission. 1909. *Der erste Unterricht auf Jap*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.
- Rehg, Kenneth L. & Damian G. Sohl. 1979. *Ponapean-English dictionary*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Riese, Julius. 2008. The Samoanische Zeitung (1901–1914). Images of the Samoan people and culture in a German colonial newspaper. Ms. 52 pp. Faculty of Behavioural and Cultural Studies, Institute of Ethnology. University of Heidelberg
- Ross, Malcolm. 2009. Loanwords of Takia, an Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea. In Martin Haspelmath & Uri Tadmor (eds.), *Loanwords in the world's languages: A comparative handbook*, 747–770. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Samoanische Zeitung*. 1901–1914. Apia, Samoa.
- Schlunk, Martin. 1914. *Die Schulen für Eingeborene in den deutschen Schutzgebieten am 1. Juni 1911. Auf Grund einer statistischen Erhebung der Zentralstelle des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts*. Hamburg: Friederichsen & Co.
- Schultz-Ewerth, Erich. June 5, 1913. In PMB 143. London Missionary Society – Samoan District. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau. Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2000
- Schwörer, Emil. 1916. *Kolonial-Deutsch. Vorschläge einer künftigen deutschen Kolonialsprache in systematisch- grammatikalischer Darstellung und Begründung*. Diessen vor München: Huber.
- Sembritzki, Emil. 1913. Deutsche Sprache in deutschen Kolonien. *Deutsche Kolonial-Post* (Beilage) 8(11). 128–129.
- Senfft, Arno 1900. Wörterverzeichnis der Sprache der Marshall-Insulaner. *Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen* 5. 81–157.
- Shah, Sheena. 2007. German in a contact situation: The case of Namibian German. *eDUSA* 2(2). 20–45.
- Sohn, Ho-Min & Anthony F. Tawerilmang. 1976. *Woleaian-English dictionary*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Sokolowsky, Celia. 2004. *Sprachenpolitik des deutschen Kolonialismus: Deutschunterricht als Mittel imperialer Herrschaftssicherung in Togo (1884–1914)*. Stuttgart: ibidem.
- Solf, Dr. 1903. In Call number: R996.14 SAM (Vol. 22) (ed, D. S. A. Public Notices Issued to Samoan Natives by the German Governor of Samoa, 1900–1911) Nelson Library, Apia (Samoa).

- Solf, Dr. 1905. In Call number: R996.14 SAM (Vol. 22) (ed, D. S. A. Public Notices Issued to Samoan Natives by the German Governor of Samoa, 1900–1911) Nelson Library, Apia (Samoa).
- Solf, Dr. 1910. In Call number: R996.14 SAM (Vol. 22) (ed, D. S. A. Public Notices Issued to Samoan Natives by the German Governor of Samoa, 1900–1911) Nelson Library, Apia (Samoa).
- Spennemann, Dirk (ed.) no date. Digital Micronesia. Micronesia, an electronic library and archive. <http://marshall.csu.edu.au/> [checked July 10, 2014]
- Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich (StjbdR)*. 1910/11. Hg. vom Kaiserlichen Statistischen Amte. Berlin: Verlag von Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht.
- Steinbauer, Friedrich. 1969. *Concise dictionary of New Guinea Pidgin (Neo-Melanesian) with translations in English and German. Taschenwörterbuch des Neu-Melanesischen. Pidgin – Englisch – Deutsch*. Madang (New Guinea): Kristen Pres.
- Stephen, Ernest. 1937. Notes on Nauru. *Oceania* 7(1). 34–63.
- Stolberg, Doris. 2011. Sprachkontakt und Konfession. Lexikalische Sprachkontaktphänomene Deutsch-Nauruisch bei den Missionaren Delaporte und Kayser. In Thomas Stolz, Christina Vossmann & BarbaraDewein (eds.), *Kolonialzeitliche Sprachforschung. Die Beschreibung afrikanischer und ozeanischer Sprachen zur Zeit der deutschen Kolonialherrschaft. Koloniale und Postkoloniale Linguistik*, Bd. 1, 285–304. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Stolberg, Doris. 2012. Deutschunterricht in Mikronesien (1884–1914). In Stefan Engelberg & Doris Stolberg (eds.), *Sprachwissenschaft und kolonialzeitlicher Sprachkontakt. Sprachliche Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung*. (Koloniale und Postkoloniale Linguistik 3), 139–162. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Stolz, Thomas & Ingo H. Warnke. 2013. Kolonialzeitliche Topographie. Presentation, 7. Workshop Koloniallyinguistik, University of Wuppertal.
- Stolz, Thomas & Ingo H. Warnke. this volume. Aspekte der kolonialen und postkolonialen Toponymie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Kolonialismus.
- Streicher, J. F. 1937. *Wörterbuch Deutsch-Jabêm*. Neuendettelsau: Ms. [typewritten]
- Swadesh, Maurice. 1954. *Nauruan Swadesh list*. Tri-Institutional Pacific Program, Department of Anthropology, Yale University.
- Tadmor, Uri 2009. Loanwords in the world's languages: Findings and results. In Martin Haspelmath & Uri Tadmor (eds.) 2009. *Loanwords in the world's languages: A comparative handbook*, 55–75. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Thomason, Sarah G. 2001. *Language contact*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Thomason, Sarah G. & Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tryon, Darrell T. & Jean-Michel Charpentier. 2004. *Pacific Pidgins and Creoles. Origins, growth and development*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Volker, Craig. 1989. Rabaul Creole German syntax. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 21(1). 143–156.
- Volker, Craig 1991. *The birth and decline of Rabaul Creole German. Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 22. 143–156.
- Walliser, Salvator [Bischof] 1913. *Palau Wörterbuch. I. Palau-Deutsch. II. Deutsch-Palau. Nebst einem Anhang mit einigen Sprachübungen für Anfänger*. Hongkong: Typis Societatis Missionum ad Exteros.
- Walsh, John A. & Eulalia Harui-Walsh. 1979. Loan words in Ulithian. *Anthropological Linguistics* 21. 154–161.

- Walther, Albin. 1911. Die deutsche Sprache in unsern Schutzgebieten. *Zeitschrift des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins* 26(1). 8–14.
- Weber, Brigitte. 2011. Deutsch-Kamerun: Einblicke in die sprachliche Situation der Kolonie und den deutschen Einfluss auf das Kameruner Pidgin-Englisch. In Thomas Stolz, Christina Vossman & Barbara Dewein (eds.), *Kolonialzeitliche Sprachforschung*, 111–137. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Wörishöffer, S[ophie] 1888. *Das Naturforscherschiff oder Fahrt der jungen Hamburger mit der "Hammonia" nach den Besitzungen ihres Vaters in der Südsee*. Bielefeld, Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing.
- Wurm, Stephen A. & Peter Mühlhäusler (eds.). 1984. *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*. (Pacific Linguistics, C-70). Canberra: Australian National University.

Internet source

World Loanword Data base, WOLD : <http://wold.clld.org/> [checked July 10, 2014]

Appendix: List of languages and data sources

Bongu	Hanke (1909)
Chuukese	Goodenough & Sugita (1980)
Gedaged	Mager (1952)
Kuanua	Bley (1902); Kleintitschen (1906)
Kuman	Kilage (1995)
Marshallese	Abo et al. (1976); Lang (1926); Lynch (2004); Senfft (1900)
Nauruan	Delaporte (1904a); Delaporte (1904b); Delaporte (1907); English-Nauru dictionary (1937); Groves (1938); Gründl (1906); Stephen (1937); Swadesh (1954)
Nguluwan	Grant (2002)
Palauan	Grant (2002); Josephs (1984); Josephs (1990); McManus (1977); Walleser (1913)
Pohnpeian	Burdick (1970); Christmann (1986); Hahl (1904); Othmar (1907a, b); Rehg & Sohl (1979)
Puluwatese	Elbert (1972)
Samoaan	Cain (1986); Heider (1913); Laycock (1971); Lynch (2004); Mader (n.d.); Riese (2008); Solf (1903); Solf (1905); Solf (1910); Wörishöffer (1888)
Takia	Ross (2009)
Tok Pisin	Lothmann (2006); Mihalic (1990); Mühlhäusler (1979); Steinbauer (1969)
Tumleo	Klaflf & Vormann (1905)
Ulithian	Walsh & Harui-Walsh (1979)
Valman	Klaflf & Vormann (1905)
Wampar	Fischer (2000)
Woleaian	Grant (2002); Sohn & Tawerilmang (1976); Walsh & Harui-Walsh (1979)
Yabem	Streicher 1937
Yakamul	Klaflf & Vormann (1905)
Yapese	Christmann 1986; Christmann et al. 1991; Grant 2002; Patres der Mission (1909)