

MARTA DEGANI
University of Verona

Language Contact in New Zealand: A Focus on English Lexical Borrowings in Māori

Abstract

In New Zealand a peculiar language contact scenario has emerged from the mutual influence between the indigenous Māori language and English (cf. Benton 1985). Sharing the fate of many indigenous languages, Māori was overwhelmed by an imperial power but it was not eradicated. What remained of Māori was indisputably affected by English, but Māori also left its traces on the variety of English that developed in New Zealand. While the lexical influence of Māori on English has already been the subject of various studies, the impact of English on Māori still remains to be accounted for to a large extent (cf. Harlow 2004). This paper explores the presence of English lexical borrowings in Māori by analyzing the one thousand most frequent Māori words in the *Māori Broadcast Corpus* (Boyce 2006). In particular, the study will consider which types of English loans emerge among the core vocabulary of Māori and how these loans have been integrated in the language.

Keywords: language contact, New Zealand, lexical borrowing, Māori, Aotearoa

1. Background to language contact between Māori and English

In the context of *Aotearoa*/New Zealand, language contact between Māori and English is the product of a long colonial history (cf. Belich 1998, King 2003). Abel Tasman was the first European explorer who discovered New Zealand (henceforth NZ) in 1642, but colonization proper started after more than a century. In 1769, Captain James Cook extensively explored and mapped the two main islands of NZ and claimed this territory for the British Empire. In the early phases of colonization, people who landed on the shores of NZ were mostly whalers, traders and missionaries. These latter lived in close contact with the Māori communities and substantially contributed to give shape to the written form of the indigenous Māori language.

A crucial moment during colonization is represented by the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. This legal document, which was signed by numerous Māori chiefs, gave the British Crown sovereignty over NZ. From then onwards, new waves of settlers, mainly from Great Britain, moved to the country to start a new life there. Unsurprisingly, this phase was characterized by intense contacts between the Māori language and the different English dialects introduced by the newcomers.

The Treaty also gave rise to progressive land alienation. Māori people were dispossessed from many of their lands and attempted to gain them back in a series of armed conflicts, the so-called Land Wars that were fought in the 1860s. As a result of these conflicts, the Māori population was subdued and decimated. At the end of the nineteenth century, the number of Māori people dropped to 46,000.

The marginalization of Māori people, language and culture was strong throughout the twentieth century. Young generations of Māori were forced to learn English. English was the only language of tuition, while the use of Māori was limited to domestic settings. Children were even punished if they spoke Māori at school (cf. Mead 2003).

The 1970s represented a turning point. With the advent of the Māori Renaissance – a cultural movement aimed to preserve the traditions and cultural heritage of the Māori people – the Māori population could obtain legal recognition for their concerns and, most importantly, measures were taken to revitalize the dying Māori language. The Māori Affairs Amendment Act of 1974 declares “the Māori language as the ancestral tongue of that portion of the population of New Zealand of Māori descent”. Furthermore, according to this Act “the Minister of Māori Affairs is authorized to take such steps as he deems appropriate for the encouragement of the learning and use of the Māori language”.

From the beginning of the 1980s Māori medium educational institutions were founded. They include *kōhanga reo* (‘Māori language preschools’), *kura kaupapa* (‘primary schools operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction’) and *whare wānanga* (‘Māori institutions of higher education’). In 1987, with the passing of the Māori Language Act, Māori was made the official language of New Zealand (English is not officially recognized as such!) and a Māori Language Commission was founded to guide revitalization efforts.

Today, only 20% of the Māori people can converse in their ancestral tongue but many initiatives are taken to make the language stronger by increasing the number of its speakers. Revitalization efforts have led to the development of university programmes (e.g. *Te tohu paetahi*, a university level Māori immersion programme), the creation of TV series (e.g. *Tōku reo*, a TV show for learning Māori), and the support of cultural initiatives like the Māori language week.

2. Scenarios of language contact

In light of this background, language contact between Māori and English can be broken down into two major scenarios. Following van Coetsem’s terminology (2000), it is possible to distinguish a scenario of contact as imposition (“source language agentivity”) and one of contact as addition (“receptor language agentivity”).

The first scenario, that of contact as imposition, describes a situation where a majority language, English, dominates over a minority language, Māori, exerting a strong influence on it. In this language contact constellation, the receptor language, Māori, is influenced by the donor language, English, at

different levels. The strong influence of English on Māori is a direct result of the fact that Māori has been in contact with the dominant language, English, for over two centuries and it is also the consequence of the fact that virtually all native speakers of Māori were inevitably forced to become bilingual. As noted in the literature, the effects of the English dominance on Māori are visible, even though only little systematic research has been carried out so far. Due to the influence of English, Māori has been subject to phonological, grammatical and lexical changes. Māori vowel sounds, syllables and rhythm have been affected by English (Harlow et al. 2009). Furthermore, changes have been observed that involve Māori word order and transfers from English constructions (Harlow 2001). The presence of a large number of English borrowings in Māori has also been pointed out (Duval 1995).

In contrast to this, the second scenario, that of contact as addition, defines the influence of a minority language, Māori, on a majority language, English. In this case, the impact on the receptor language, English, is rather limited, being restricted to some lexical borrowing. This influence has been noted in a number of studies investigating the presence and use of Māori lexical borrowings in New Zealand English (cf. Bellett 1995; Deverson 1985, 1991; Degani 2009, 2010; Kennedy 2001; Kennedy and Yamazaki 2000; Macalister 1999, 2000, 2004). Findings from these studies have also established a general tendency for Māori borrowings to relate to the semantic fields of native flora and fauna, proper names and places names, and cultural key concepts. Another language contact phenomenon that has been researched is the creation of hybrid compounds that merge Māori and English elements (Degani & Onysko 2010). Indeed, Māori loans and hybrid compounds can be seen as the most distinctive traits of New Zealand English lexis. They unquestionably mark the uniqueness of New Zealand English as a variety of English. In addition to these studies, Macalister (2005) has compiled *A Dictionary of Maori Words in New Zealand English* in which he records about 900 Māori borrowings. Interestingly enough, when Macalister did a follow-up study (2006) testing New Zealanders' actual knowledge of Māori loans, he found out that only about 10% of these terms are known by the average New Zealander. To sum up, while the influence of Maori on English has remained on the lexical level, this influence has generated a substantial amount of research.

3. Lexical borrowing: the Māori perspective

If we now take the perspective of Māori and focus on the lexical level, it is striking to observe that the situation is quite the opposite than the one just described for English. As noted by Harlow (2004), the impact of English on Māori still remains to be accounted for to a large extent. This is even more so the case with English lexical influence on Māori. To date, the major study of borrowing in Māori remains Duval's thesis (1995), which identified over 2500 distinct items looking at more than 300 publications from 1815 to 1899, that is in the early phase of contact. The range of borrowed terms that Duval identified includes loans from English, French and Latin, and most of them pertain to Christianity, technology, trade and law. These reflect the new ideas and concepts that were introduced by the European missionaries and settlers. However, as Harlow observes (2004: 149–150), there are problems associated with the sources on which Duval relied for his study, namely word lists and texts of mostly missionary origin. On the one hand, word lists are likely to underrepresent the extent and type of lexical borrowings in use at that time because they were compiled with the aim to represent indigenous vocabulary. On the other hand, texts of missionary

origin are likely to overrepresent the phenomenon because they contain many Christian terms that were introduced but cannot be expected to have had much circulation among Māori speakers.

While it is not the aim of this paper to identify specific reasons for the limited amount of research on English loans in Māori, it is nonetheless important to allude to possible conditions that might have played a role in this. First of all, one should keep in mind that the revitalization of the Māori language that started with the Māori Renaissance involved a reconsideration of English loans. If borrowing from Māori had represented a vital means of lexical expansion throughout the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, attitudes towards lexical borrowing changed starting from the 1970s. In this period, some Māori people, and especially those involved in the preservation of ‘pure’ Māori, frowned upon English loans and avoided to use them as much as possible, at times coming up with new and confusing coinages (cf. Boyce 2006: 28).

Te Taura Whiri (‘the Māori Language Commission’)¹ itself was not alien to purist attitudes. It devised strategies of Māori vocabulary expansion that did not include borrowing from English (cf. Harlow 1993). The Commission established that the coinage of new terminology should be guided by the following principles: a) specialization of existing Māori terms, b) derivation by reduplication or affixation, c) shortening of existing terms, d) brevity and transparency of terms, and e) use of circumlocution. The Commission also made proposals for ‘nativisations’ consisting in the replacement of well-established English loans by more native-like Māori terms. One of the suggestions was to replace the names for the months of the year with more traditional Māori words. Accordingly, English borrowings that had already been in use for more than one hundred years (*Hanuere, Pepuere, Maehe, Aperira, Mei, Hune, Hurae, Akuata, Hepetema, Oketopa, Noema, Tihema*) would have to be replaced by new Māori terminology having a clear reference to planets and star constellations (*Kohi-tatea, Hui-tanguru, Poutu-te-rangi, Paenga-whawha, Haratua, Pipiri, Hongongoi, Here-turi-koka, Mahuru, Whiringa-a-nuku, Whiringa-a-rangi, Hakihea*).

Significantly, such purist attitudes were specifically directed at English. This means that loans from languages other than English were still accepted. They included terms such as *miere* (‘honey’) from French *miel*, *wiwī* (‘French/France/Frenchman’) from French *oui oui* (‘yes’), and *ture* (‘law’) from Hebrew *torah*. Borrowings from other Polynesian languages were even encouraged. Polynesian *niu* (‘coconut’) was preferred over the English loan *kokonati*, and Polynesian *maika* (‘banana’) was seen as more appropriate than *panana*.

As Harlow (1993, 2003) suggests, the refusal to use English loans can be interpreted in light of a situation where a minority language, Māori, fears language endangerment and loss and, as a reaction, feels the need to revive the language by its own means. As he acutely points out,

With respect to the language [Māori], there are two senses in which it is felt that it must profile itself as against English by refusing to borrow. The first is the fear that the language, already in an embattled situation because of competition with English, will become weakened, and will lose something of itself if it borrows. The second is the probably subconscious need to demonstrate to oneself and, possibly, to detractors of the language, that the language does not have to resort to borrowing in order to cope. That is, borrowing is felt to be a sort of admission of defeat. (Harlow 1993: 103)

¹ To get an overview of the work by *Te Taura Whiri*, the reader can consult the following website: <http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz>.

4. Methodology

The observations above allude to the difficulty and the necessity of investigating the presence of English loans in Māori. In consideration of this fact, the present study is aimed to provide an indication of the depth of lexical influence of English on Māori by looking at the most frequently used words in Māori and finding out how many of them are English loans.

The use of the term borrowing in the present study is in line with Thomason & Kaufman's general definition of lexical borrowing as the "incorporation of foreign features [words] into a group's native language by speakers of that language" (1991: 37).

The study is based on data retrieved from the *Māori Broadcast Corpus* (MBC, Boyce 2006). This is a representative corpus of contemporary spoken Māori consisting of about one million words and gathering broadcasts recorded in 1995 and 1996 from Māori-medium radio and television. In the intentions of its compiler, the corpus should provide a good source for exploring high frequency vocabulary. As Boyce claims (2006: ii), "a small number of high frequency words provide most coverage of texts: 165 word types make up approximately 80% of all the words in the texts in the corpus; 200 word types give 82.4% coverage, 2000 give 97.62% coverage". In Appendix 4 Boyce suggests (2006: 269–270) that the corpus may be useful, among other things, for a project on borrowing.

The analysis consists in the identification of English loans among the one thousand most frequent words in the corpus. The presence of English borrowings is determined following phonological and phonotactic criteria. This means that, while Māori dictionaries have been consulted (Biggs 1981, Ngata 1993, Ryan 1989, Williams 1971), the identification of English loans in the MBC is not dependent on the inclusion of these words in the consulted lexicographic works. Dictionaries proved inadequate for the purpose. As Duval & Kuiper cogently point out, "although there are a very large number of loans in contemporary Māori, no contemporary dictionary of Māori even begins to account adequately for them. Nor is there a scholarly dictionary for the study of earlier texts in Māori which lists loans" (2001: 243).

The list of the one thousand most frequent words in the MBC that was used for this study is available online (<http://tereomaori.tki.org.nz/Teacher-tools/Te-Whakaipurangi-Rauemi/High-frequency-word-lists>). It includes both content and function words, but it excludes proper nouns (i.e. names of people, places, names of the days of the week and the months of the year).

5. Analysis

Since the identification of English loans was guided by phonological and phonotactic criteria, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the Māori sound system (cf. Harlow 2001) before commenting on the type of borrowings found in the corpus.

In Maori there are fifteen segmental phonemes, 10 consonants and 5 vowels. The consonants are /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ r, w, f, h/ and the vowels are /i, e, a, o, u/. Orthographically, the consonants /ŋ/ and /f/ are represented by ng and wh respectively. Vowel length is phonemic. This fact was largely ignored in early publications during the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth century, but the publications of recent years have used either a macron (as in ā) or a geminate cluster (as in aa) to indicate vowel length. In contrast to English, Māori is a mora-timed language, a mora consisting of either a single

consonant plus a single short vowel (CV) or just a single short vowel (V). Because of the shape of the mora, no Māori word may end in a consonant and no two consonants may occur together.

18 The entrance of foreign lexical items into the vocabulary of Māori, reveals regular processes of phonological integration. These are schematized in table 1 below:

Table 1. Common phonological integrations²

English phonemes	Māori phonemes
/b/	/p/
/s, ʒ, ʃ/	/h, t/
/l/	/r/
/dʒ/	/h, r/
/g/	/k/
/v/	/w/
/θ, ð/	/t/
/j/	/i/

As the table indicates, regular integrations regard the voiced plosives /b, g/, the fricatives /s, ʒ, ʃ, dʒ, v, θ, ð/, the liquid /l/ and the semivowel /j/. Voiced plosives are replaced by their voiceless counterparts /p, k/. The class of fricatives, which is underrepresented in Māori, is subject to different types of adaptation. The liquid /l/ is substituted by /r/ and the semivowel /j/ by the full vowel /i/.

The analysis of the one thousand most frequent words in the corpus indicates that 9.5% of them are English borrowings. This percentage is quite high in view of three considerations. First of all, the type of words analyzed represent basic vocabulary that has a high usage frequency. The mere presence of English loans among Māori basic words is indeed remarkable. Secondly, a large number of the one thousand terms are function words. These words are not expected to feature significantly among borrowings. If we subtracted function words from the list, the actual number of English loans among Māori content words would be much higher. Thirdly, the list is not lemmatized and thus contains many instances of derivatives.

The type and range of English loans retrieved from the corpus are represented in Table 2 below, in descending order of frequency.

Table 2. List of English loans among the one thousand most frequent Maori terms in the MBC

1. Kura (<i>n.</i> school)	33. Kapu (<i>n.</i> cup)	65. Karāhe (<i>n.</i> glass)
2. Pikitia (<i>n.</i> picture)	34. Poti (<i>n.</i> boat)	66. Parakuihi (<i>n.</i> breakfast)
3. Māmā (<i>n.</i> mum)*	35. Kāri (<i>n.</i> card)	67. Tī (<i>n.</i> tea)
4. Pea (<i>n.</i> pair)	36. Rino (<i>n.</i> iron)	68. Purei (<i>v.</i> play)
5. Pea (<i>n.</i> pear)	37. Pāraoa (<i>n.</i> bread, flour)	69. Hipi (<i>n.</i> sheep)
6. Pea (<i>n.</i> bear)	38. Tēpu (<i>n.</i> table)	70. Wīra (<i>n.</i> wheel)
7. Pukapuka (<i>n.</i> book)	39. Tiriti (<i>n.</i> treaty)	71. Kāreti (<i>n.</i> carrot)

2 Adapted from Ka'ai & Moorfield 2009: 24.

8. Rōpū (<i>n.</i> group)	40. Taraka (<i>n.</i> truck)	72. Pata (<i>n.</i> butter)
9. Pouaka (<i>n.</i> box)	41. Putiputi (<i>n.</i> flower)	73. Āporo (<i>n.</i> apple)
10. Pepa (<i>n.</i> paper)	42. Pene (<i>n.</i> pen)	74. Tari (<i>v.</i> study)
11. Kete (<i>n.</i> kit)	43. Pāmu (<i>n.</i> farm)	75. Tote (<i>n.</i> salt)
12. Hāora (<i>n.</i> hour)	44. Tōkena (<i>n.</i> stockings)	76. Kaute (<i>v.</i> count)
13. Waea (<i>n.</i> wire, telephone)	45. Meneti (<i>n.</i> minute)	77. Paipa (<i>n.</i> pipe)
14. Tīma (<i>n.</i> team)	46. Huka (<i>n.</i> sugar)	78. Kāwhe (<i>n.</i> calf)
15. Rūma (<i>n.</i> room)	47. Tākuta (<i>n.</i> doctor)	79. Miriona (<i>n.</i> million)
16. Motokā (<i>n.</i> motorcar)	48. Peita (<i>n., v.</i> paint, painter)	80. Kāpene (<i>n.</i> captain)
17. Moni (<i>n.</i> money)	49. Keke (<i>n.</i> cake)	81. Kiromita (<i>n.</i> kilometer)
18. Mīhini (<i>n.</i> machine)	50. Turu (<i>n.</i> stool, chair, seat)	82. Reri (<i>adj.</i> ready)
19. Kēmu (<i>n.</i> game)	51. Hōia (<i>n.</i> soldier)	83. Piriti (<i>n.</i> bridge)
20. Hū (<i>n.</i> shoe)**	52. Whutupōro (<i>n.</i> football)	84. Rita (<i>n.</i> liter)
21. Karaka (<i>n.</i> clock)	53. Mīta (<i>n.</i> meter)	85. Taraiwa (<i>n., v.</i> drive, driver)
22. Wiki (<i>n.</i> week)	54. Tina (<i>n.</i> dinner, lunch)***	86. Tarau (<i>n.</i> trousers)
23. Pēke (<i>n.</i> bag)	55. Pākete (<i>n.</i> packet)	87. Haina (<i>v., n.</i> sign, signature)
24. Mīraka (<i>n.</i> milk)	56. Pākete (<i>n.</i> bucket)	88. Panana (<i>n.</i> banana)
25. Nama (<i>n.</i> number)	57. Pahi (<i>n.</i> bus)	89. Haki (<i>n.</i> flag)
26. Poaka (<i>n.</i> pig)	58. Hararei (<i>n.</i> holiday)	90. Pāhi (<i>v.</i> pass)
27. Hōiho (<i>n.</i> horse)	59. Rīpene (<i>n.</i> ribbon)	91. Kara (<i>n.</i> colour)
28. Pēpi (<i>n.</i> baby)	60. Pīpī (<i>n.</i> baby)	92. Reta (<i>n.</i> letter)
29. Hēki (<i>n.</i> egg)	61. Paoro (<i>n.</i> ball)	93. Aihikirimi (<i>n.</i> ice-cream)
30. Pōro (<i>n.</i> ball)	62. Mīti (<i>n.</i> meat)	94. Kuini (<i>n.</i> queen)
31. Tāone (<i>n.</i> town)	63. Pere (<i>n.</i> bell)	95. Hāwhe (<i>adj.</i> half)
32. Pī (<i>n.</i> bee)	64. Karāhe (<i>n.</i> class)	

* The first three words occurred 1000 times or more in the corpus.

** The 20 most frequent loans occurred 200 times or more in the corpus.

*** The 54 most frequent loans occurred 100 or more in the corpus.

As the list indicates, nearly all of the English loans identified in the *MBC* are nouns. Exceptions are a handful of verbs, namely *purei* ('play'), *tari* ('study'), *kaute* ('count') and *pāhi* ('pass'), and two terms that can function both as nouns and verbs, *peita* ('paint', 'painter') and *taraiwa* ('drive', 'driver'). The list contains just one instance of an adjective, *rerī* ('ready'). This is in line with the widely accepted predictions of borrowing hierarchies according to which, among the different parts of speech, nouns are the most easily borrowed (cf. Whitney 1881).

As far as phonological integration in the receptor language is concerned, some general patterns can be observed. In particular, the following processes are at work:

- Direct integration

e.g. *pea* ('pair'), *pepa* ('paper'), *waea* ('wire'), *moni* ('money')

Direct integration emphasizes the fact that in Māori the link between phonemic and graphemic representation is much closer than in English.

- Insertion of final vowel

e.g. *tīma* (team), *wīki* (week), *rūma* (room), *kapu* (kup), *kete* (kit), *tāone* (town), *pene* (pen)

The presence of a final vowel in English loans is a reflection of the Māori mora structure which does not allow words to end in a consonant sound.

- Substitution of absent consonant sound

e.g. *hū* ('shoe'), *pī* ('bee'), *pēpi* ('baby'), *huka* ('sugar')

The replacement of English consonant sounds that are absent in Māori follows regular patterns of substitution as indicated in Table 1.

- Reduction of consonant cluster

e.g. *nama* ('number')

The reduction of English consonant clusters is in line with the Māori mora structure which disallows this sequence.

- Epenthesis in consonant cluster

e.g. *pikitia* ('picture'), *tiriti* ('treaty')

Since consonant clusters are not allowed in Māori, their integration into Māori involves either the reduction of the consonant cluster to just one consonant or the insertion of epenthetic vowels.

- Epenthesis in consonant cluster + Replacement of absent consonant sound + Change of vowel sound + Insertion of final vowel

e.g. *karaka* ('clock')

The examples of integration listed above are intended as illustrations of individual processes. However, it is often the case that more processes are simultaneously involved when English loans are adapted to the sound system of Māori. As shown in the example above, they can involve the presence of epenthetic vowels, the replacement of consonant sounds, the change of certain vowel sounds and the insertion of vowels in word final position.

In addition to these general processes of phonological integration, a few peculiar cases can be singled out from the range of English loans found in the corpus. They are reported below:

- Phonological integration + reduplication

e.g. *pukapuka* ('book'), *putiputi* (flower, supposedly from beauty)

Reduplication is another phenomenon that can be observed in a few English loans. Reduplication is a productive morphological process in Māori and it is generally used to provide emphasis (marking plurality, providing an intensive or distributive meaning). *Rakiraki* ('duck') is another example of an English loan involving reduplication. This loan occurs in the *MBC*, but it is not included in the list of the one thousand most frequent words.

- Metathesis

e.g. *rino* ('iron')

The English loan *rino* is an interesting case for speculation. Williams (1971) provides three definitions for the entry *rino*: a) a twisted cord of two or more strands, b) a large variety of eel, and c) iron (modern usage). William's dictionary does not refer to *rino* ('iron') as a loan. Lexicographers, however, are not consistent in this classification. Thus, in contrast to Williams, Biggs (1981) and Moorfield (2011) qualify *rino* ('iron') as an English loanword,

whereas Duval (1995) is reluctant to insert the term in his list of loanwords. Duval adduces the presence of the word *haeana*, meaning ‘iron’, in the sources that he consulted as evidence for not considering *rino* an English loan. According to Duval, *haeana* is an English loan whereas *rino* is not. However, despite the presence of *haeana*, alternative explanations for the classification of *rino* as a loan can be put forth. The entrance of this term in the lexicon of Māori might be explained following different lines of argumentation. *Rino* might represent the Māori rendering of a rhotic pronunciation of the English word ‘iron’, with metathesis also involved. This is not unlikely if we consider that in the phase of intense contact, many of the settlers who migrated to New Zealand were of Scottish origin. One might also explain the classification of *rino* as a loan in relation to a particular contact situation characterized by the need to create a word in Māori for a specific referent that was newly introduced. In this case, the act of naming a specific entity might have involved a conscious graphological rearrangement of the English word ‘iron’ such that the same letters are maintained but their order reflects the structure of the Māori syllable.

- Multiple phonological adaptation

e.g. *pouaka*, *pāki*, *pāka* (‘box’); *pēpi*, *pīpi* (‘baby’); *paoro*, *pōro* (‘ball’)

Other English words such as ‘box’, ‘baby’ and ‘ball’ give rise to multiple phonological adaptations in Māori.

- Homonymous loans

e.g. *pea* (‘pair’, ‘pear’, ‘bear’), *tiriti* (‘treaty’, ‘street’), *pāketē* (‘packet’, ‘bucket’), *karāhe* (‘glass’, ‘class’)

The fact that the sound system of Māori is smaller than that of English also gives rise to the creation of homonymous loans as the examples above indicate.

- Polysemous loans

e.g. *waea* (‘wire’, ‘cable’, ‘telephone’, ‘radio’), *pāraoa* (n. bread, flour)

Waea is an interesting example of a polysemous loan. The term is an adaptation of English ‘wire’ which was subject to semantic extension via metonymic shift. Thus, from the initial meaning of ‘wire’, *waea* came to indicate also ‘cable’, ‘telephone’ and ‘radio’. The loan *pāraoa* is another instance of semantic extension through metonymy from the meaning of ‘bread’ to that of ‘flour’.

- Loans reinforced by existing native terminology

e.g. *huka* (‘sugar’) à loan & *huka* (‘ice’, ‘frost’, ‘foam’) à native term

e.g. *kura* (‘school’) à loan & *kura* (‘knowledge of *karakia*’³) à native term

The introduction of the English loans *huka* (‘sugar’) and *kura* (‘school’) might have been facilitated by the existence of isomorphic native terminology having a somehow related meaning. A process of visual analogy might have guided associations between the native term *huka* (‘ice’, ‘frost’, ‘foam’) and the loan *huka* (‘sugar’). Similarly, a metonymic mapping from ‘specialized knowledge’ to ‘place where to acquire knowledge’ might have helped the adoption of the loan *kura* (‘school’) next to the native term *kura* (‘knowledge of *karakia*’).

Other considerations about English loans in Māori regard the type of referents they designate. While Māori borrowings in New Zealand English have been grouped into a few major categories (i.e. names for flora and fauna, place names, names for cultural and spiritual concepts), the English loans identified in the corpus belong to a wider range of semantic domains. The major semantic fields to which they pertain are the following:

- Food & eating: *pea* ('pear'), *miraka* ('milk'), *hēki* ('egg'), *pāraoa* ('bread'), *huka* ('sugar'), *keke* ('cake'), *tina* ('dinner', 'lunch'), *mīti* ('meat'), *parakuihi* ('breakfast'), *tī* ('tea'), *kapu* ('cup'), *kāreti* ('carrot'), *pata* ('butter'), *panana* ('banana'), *aihihikīrimi* ('ice-cream'), *āporo* ('apple'), *tote* ('salt')
- Measurement & money: *nama* ('number'), *mita* ('meter'), *pea* ('pair'), *kaute* ('count'), *miriona* ('million'), *kiromita* ('kilometer'), *rita* ('liter'), *hāwhe* ('half'), *moni* ('money'), *tāra* ('dollar')
- Sports & games: *rōpu* ('group'), *tīma* ('team'), *kēmu* ('game'), *pōro* ('ball'), *kāri* ('card'), *whutupōro* ('football'), *purei* ('play'), *paoro* ('ball')
- Education: *kura* ('school'), *pukapuka* ('book'), *pepa* ('paper'), *pene* ('pen'), *kārahe* ('class'), *tari* ('study'), *reta* ('letter')
- Fauna: *pea* ('bear'), *poaka* ('pig'), *pī* ('bee'), *hōiho* ('horse'), *hipi* ('sheep'), *kāwhe* ('calf')
- Vehicle & transportation: *motokā* ('motorcar'), *poti* ('boat'), *pahi* ('bus'), *taraka* ('truck'), *wīra* ('wheel'), *taraiwa* ('drive', 'driver')
- Tools & objects: *pouaka* ('box'), *kete* ('kit'), *pēke* ('bag'), *pāketete* ('packet'), *pikitia* ('picture'), *paipa* ('pipe')
- Time: *hāora* ('hour'), *karaka* ('clock'), *wiki* ('week'), *meneti* ('minute'), *pere* ('bell')
- Clothing: *hū* ('shoe'), *tōkena* ('stokings'), *rīpene* ('ribbon'), *tarau* ('trousers')
- Material & substance: *rino* ('iron'), *kārahe* ('glass'), *peita* ('paint'), *kara* ('colour')
- Profession: *tākuta* ('doctor'), *kāpene* ('captain'), *hōia* ('soldier'), *quini* ('queen')
- Urbanization: *tāone* ('town'), *tiriti* ('street'), *pīriti* ('bridge')
- Dwelling & furniture: *tēpu* ('table'), *rūma* ('room'), *tūru* ('stool')
- Technology: *waea* ('wire', 'telephone'), *mīhini* ('machine')
- Family terms: *māmā* ('mum'), *pēpi* ('baby')

This breadth of semantic domains is a clear indication of the strength of the English influence on Māori. The contact between the two languages was first and foremost a contact (too often a clash!) between two different worldviews and ways of life. Loans testify to a long history of colonization with all its paraphernalia.

6. Concluding remarks

The paper has shed light on a situation of language contact where two distinct scenarios emerge: one of contact as imposition and another one characterized by contact as addition. The focus of this study has been on the first type of scenario and the analysis presented here concerns the influence of English on

Māori as expressed in lexical borrowing. This is an area of research where a lot of work still needs to be done. In this respect, the present study is intended as a small contribution towards filling this gap.

The analysis of the one thousand most frequent words in the *MBC* has shown that English loans feature among Māori basic vocabulary. This is a significant finding which demonstrates the depth of lexical influence of the source language on the receptor language. In addition, the range of semantic domains to which English loans belong is a further indication of the intensity of this contact.

This situation poses interesting questions concerning the status of English loans in Māori. Should they be considered a threat for the minority language or should they rather be seen as an enrichment?

While it is a natural reaction that minority languages develop purist attitudes and look at foreign ‘intrusions’ with suspicion, it is nevertheless important to point out that lexical borrowings are virtually present in any of the world languages. Borrowings simply demonstrate how different communities of speakers got in contact throughout history. To take a remarkable example, we can consider how the lexicon of English was enriched with new words coming from different languages, most significantly Latin, Greek and French. It is also well known that in the domain of information technology European languages have borrowed extensively from English. Lexical borrowing appears as a natural phenomenon of language development.

In the end, however, all decisions regarding the actual integration or exclusion of English loans in Māori remain in the hands of language planners, educators and, most importantly, the speakers of the language. They are the only ones who can forge the future development of the Māori language.

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