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by

L. Todd and P. Mühlhäusler

S.A. Wurm

J.T. Platt

P. Mühlhäusler

D.S. Walsh



Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS IN CAMEROON PIDGIN ENGLISH AND TOK PISIN¹

Loreto Todd and Peter Mühlhäusler

1. FOREWORD ON IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

An idiom can be defined as 'a sequence of words whose meaning cannot be predicted from the meaning of the words themselves' (Palmer 1976:41). Thus, neither the meaning of:

- 1) a lame duck

nor of:

- 2) take to one's heels

can be deduced from the literal understanding of their parts. Idiomatic usage can differ considerably even within the same language. There are, for example, differences in the level of formality between:

- 3) go off the deep end
- 4) flip one's lid

and:

- 5) go bananas
- 6) go ape.

The same four idioms also show regional variation, 5) and 6) being much more likely to occur in U.S. than in British English.

But there are other differences in idiomatic usage which relate to the non-literal use of language in contact situations. In the English of Ireland:

- 7) put something on the long finger

means to be forgetful, whereas:

- 8) have a long finger

suggests that one has a tendency to steal. Similarly, in Nigerian English:

- 9) have a long throat

means to be greedy, whilst:

10) have long legs

implies that one has considerable power. Such localised idioms often reflect substratal influence and their occurrence in pidgin or creole languages may thus be a useful indicator of the influences experienced by pidgin speakers as their vocabularies expanded and became more highly structured.

This paper hopes to add to the understanding of the development and use of idiomatic language by looking in some detail at the differences in idiom structure in two expanded English-based pidgins. We are aware that our views on what constitutes an idiom may be, to some extent, influenced by our own cultural and linguistic heritage but we have tried not to impose expatriate categories on the pidgins in question as we examined the ways in which body terms have been exploited in vocabulary expansion.

2. IDIOMS IN PIDGIN LANGUAGES

Many traditional definitions of pidgins have suggested that they are languages which are deficient in a number of ways, particularly with regard to stylistic resources such as is manifested in lexical choice. In the words of Samarin, for example:

... a speaker of a pidgin, as a normal human being in a normal society, can be expected to have more than one code variety for different uses. The pidgin, on the other hand, is not normal, and when a person is speaking a pidgin he is limited to the use of a code with but one level or style or key or register, to cite some terms for this aspect of the organisation of language. (Hymes 1971:122)

Another alleged feature of pidgins is their lack of transformational depth (Mühlhäusler 1974:95). The presence of idioms in pidgins seems to run counter to both these views. On the one hand, idioms often provide a lexical alternative to existing lexical bases, and on the other, the relationship between idioms and their corresponding non-idiomatic paraphrases often involves a number of complex transformations.

A partial answer to the first difficulty is the fact that pidgins are typically polysystemic, that is they are, at least in their early stages, only partially successful amalgams of European and indigenous grammars. The presence in CP and in TP of both:

CP	ma skin di slak	<i>my skin/body BE slack</i>	'I'm very tired'
CP	a di taia	<i>I BE tire/tired</i>	'I'm tired'
TP	ai bilong mi slip	<i>eye belong me sleep</i>	'I'm tired'
TP	mi tait	<i>I tired/tight</i>	'I'm tired'

reflects differences in the ways in which speakers of the two language

groups semantically categorise one aspect of the real world.

The fact that idiomatic expressions reveal the degree to which indigenous semantic structures are found in an English-derived lexicon, has been noted by a number of writers. With regard to Tok Pisin Idioms, Thurnwald (1913:97) remarked:

Die Funktion der Sinnesorgane wird nach der Auffassung „es denkt“ unabhängig betrachtet und ist nicht in der höheren Einheit des „Ich“ restlos aufgegangen. So sagt Molebei (Tgb. 19-3/8) „eye belong me he sleep“ mein Auge schläft und „bel belong me he hear him you sing outlong me“ - mein Inneres hörte Dich nach mir rufen. Es ist eben das konkrete Organ, das sinnfällige Gefühl ebenso wie der sinnfällige Gegenstand der Außenwelt, worauf ohne weitere Reflexion Bezug genommen wird. Auch wenn man von einem Pfosten sagt: „sun he fight him, by and by he brooke“ - die Sonne schlägt ihn (- die Hitze dörft ihn aus), dann bricht er.

(The functions of the sensory organs are seen as being independent, according to the principle of "it thinks", and they have not entirely become part of a unitary "I". Thus Molebei says "eye belong me he sleep", my eyes are asleep and "bel belong me he hear him you sing outlong me" - my innermost heard you call for me. Thus it is the concrete organ, the manifest feeling as well as the manifest object of the external world to which reference is made without further reflection. The same is the case if one says of a post: "sun he fight him, by and by he broke" - the sun hits it (the heat dries it up), and then it breaks.)

A similar view has been put forward by McElhanon in a recent study:

My hypothesis is that all languages may be placed on a continuum which reflects the world views of their speakers. At one end are those speakers who believe that man has immaterial correlates for his total body and its individual parts. Near this end one could place the languages of the European world as they were during the Middle Ages, most current Papua New Guinean languages and undoubtedly languages of many other societies not affected by the psychology of the western world. Speakers of these languages regard the body image expressions in a literal sense as reflecting reality.

The above quotation which might equally well be applied to Cameroon suggests that the idiomatic nature of many body part expressions is the result of imposing modern western standards on non-western semantic systems. In other words, according to such a hypothesis, many so-called idioms in pidgins are idioms only for the expatriate speaker or grammarian of the language. We would like to suggest, however, that many expressions, including the following selection involving body parts must be regarded as genuine idioms for indigenous as well as non-indigenous speakers of present day varieties of CP and TP. The presence of such idioms in these pidgin languages is a partial justification for regarding pidgins as dynamic and developing entities rather than

static systems. As a pidgin stabilises and expands, more and more complex structures enter its grammar. With regard to body imagery, this principle can be illustrated by referring to the inventory of such expressions in the various stages of the two pidgins under consideration.

3. BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO CAMEROON PIDGIN

It is hard to be dogmatic about when CP evolved. It seems likely that some variety or varieties of English were known and used on the Cameroon coast at least as far back as the eighteenth century, though contact between the English and the Cameroonians goes back much further. Bryan Bevan (1971:101) quotes from a letter to Philip II from Don Bernadino de Mendoza which was written in March 1578 and had this to say about Drake:

I have also heard that six weeks before Christmas, Captain Drake with four or five ships left here for Nombre de Dios and the land of Camarones (i.e. modern Cameroon) which voyage he made before with Captain Hawkins very successfully, and fought with Pero Menendez. These ships were fitted out here on the pretence that they were going to Alexandria for currants.

The first written testimony we have of a variety of English in use near the Cameroon coast occurs in the diary of Antera Duke, a chieftain from Calabar. Duke's diary (Forde 1956) was kept between 1785 and 1788 and contains evidence that there were reasonably close links between Calabari and coastal Cameroon chiefs:

3.10.1785

... so I mak goods for Callabar antera to go in Commrown soon after that wee 3 putt head togeter and settle what wee think to Doe and at 7 clock night I have putt thing in Egbo Young Big Canow & at 12 clock night I sail to go to Curcock.
(p. 90)

(... so I got together goods for Calabar Antera to go to Cameroon. Soon after that we three put our heads together and settle what we think to do and at 7 o'clock at night I put the things in Egbo Young's big canoe and at midnight I sailed to go to Curcock.)

(p. 38)

Further indications of contact between Calabar and Cameroon occur on pages 94 and 110 and the sense of friendship and rivalry between the two areas are summed up in a letter written to Queen Victoria by King Akwa of Douala (Cameroon) in 1879 in which he asks for his country to be annexed by England and continues:

When we heard about Calabar river, how they have all English laws in their towns, and how they have put away all their superstitions, oh, we shall be very glad to be like Calabar now. (Le Vine 1964:20)

Duke's diary, though the work of an educated man, has a number of West African Pidgin English features and it seems probable that these were shared by other Africans in the area. Among these features are:

- a. serial verbs, often with the verbal forms being unmarked:

30.1.1785

... wee and Tom Aqua and John Aqua be join catch men...

- b. a smaller set of pronouns than we have in standard English:

25.1.1785

... so his killd 1 Big goat for wee ...

- c. a tendency to use 'for' as a multipurpose preposition:

6.3.1785

... so wee have all Egbo men and Egbo Young go to Henshaw town for get Egbo money after 2 clock noon see Duke send his wife for call wee say Captain Loosdam send his mat...

These features are still part of CP and seem, if anything, more prevalent in today's spoken CP than in Duke's diary.

In the nineteenth century, missionary activity increased on the Cameroon coast. Between 1845 and 1887 there were seventy five Protestant missionaries in southern Cameroon (Gwei 1966). Of these, 36% were British, 24% were Krios from Sierra Leone, 5+% were Krio speakers from Fernando Po, 8% had a connection with the West Indies and probably understood some form of Caribbean creole English. The remaining 27-% were Cameroonians. These figures are significant for Cameroon Pidgin on two counts. Firstly, they help account for the occurrence of such biblical idioms as *wash han for 'refuse to accept responsibility'* in CP, and secondly, they help explain why CP shared so many lexical, syntactic and cultural items with Sierra Leone Krio.

In July 1884 'Kamerun' became part of the German Empire but, although German became the official language of the country, pidginised English was used on the large plantations which were established by the Germans and which drew their labour force from many different ethnic groups. It also continued to be the main link language in the Bamenda grassfield throughout German rule because of the multilingual nature of the area. Various decrees aimed at suppressing CP, such as the 1913 *Verfügung*, remained ineffective. The discrepancy between the official German language policies and the widespread unofficial and semi-official support for Pidgin English in Kamerun was very much like that found in German New Guinea (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975).

After the First World War 'Kamerun' was partitioned between France and Britain and CP continued to be a useful, oral link language especially in anglophone regions where it was adopted for teaching purposes by the Catholic church. In 1961 the francophone and anglophone

zones voted for re-unification, with French and English as the official languages and with CP the unofficial lingua franca.

Today, CP is widely used by many Cameroonians in social, business, political and religious spheres in anglophone Cameroon, in border areas and in all urban or ethnically mixed communities. It is acquired by many children as one of their first languages and, in spite of having little official recognition, it shows no sign of diminishing in importance. It is, however, an almost exclusively oral language and has no recognised orthography although several spelling systems have been used to represent it. The Catholic church uses a slightly modified version of the standard orthography:

Who's kind good work we fit make for help skin for other people?
Seven good work them lif whe fit help skin for other people:

1. For give chop for people whe them hungry chop.

(Kerkvliet, A. 1957:89)

(What kinds of good work can we do to help other people?

There are seven kinds of good work which can help other people:

1. To give food to people who are hungry.)

Francophones use French orthographic conventions:

Oui go kouik, you di waka sofri plenti.

Oui don slak.

No waka kouik, a don slak.

(Aubry, P. 1956:55)

(Let's go quickly, you are walking too slowly.

We are tired.

Don't go so quickly, I'm tired.)

The Societé Biblique's 1966 translation of the gospel of St. Mark uses a systematic, phonetically based orthography but it uses 'e' to represent both /e/ and /ɛ/ and 'o' for both /o/ and /ɔ/. The use of five symbols to represent CP's seven vowel system causes no problems for people who know CP but, in order to avoid ambiguity, we shall use the following conventions in our transcription of CP:

i represents /i/

e represents /e/

eh represents /ɛ/

a represents /a/

oh represents /ɔ/

o represents /o/

Length is not significant in CP's vowel system and the consonantal values of the normal English orthography are applicable as long as the following points are kept in mind:

g always has the value of 'g' in 'get'

j always has the value of the initial affricate in 'judge'

y always has the value of the 'y' in 'yam'

ch always has the value of 'ch' as in 'chip'.

As a partial consequence of the oral nature of CP, it evinces fairly considerable regional variation, the most clearly marked of which are:

a. Coastal CP - This variety is spoken around Victoria and shows marked similarities to Sierra Leone Krio, often indeed being referred to as 'Krio' by non-coastal Cameroonians. An example may clarify this point. Non-coastal CP tends to use foh as a multipurpose preposition, saying such things as:

i dei foh haus *'he is in the house/he is at home.'*

Coastal CP speakers would use na in the same position:

i dei na haus

which one may meaningfully compare with Sierra Leone Krio's:

i de na os.

b. Grafi CP - where 'grafi' is a reduced form of *'grassfields'* just as the placename 'Mamfe' is a reduced form of 'Mansfeld'. This variety is spoken in the Bamenda plateau region and it has two features which tend to distinguish it from other varieties of CP. It often uses bi rather than bin as a verbal marker of remote time:

i bi go foh haus *'he went to the house'*

i bi bi foh taun *'he was/had been in town'*

and it frequently nasalises initial prosives:

^ɲdohti *'earth, ground, soil'*

^ɲgraun *'world, earth' (as opposed to heaven)*

^ɲkain *'kind, type, sort'.*

c. Liturgical CP - This variety is spoken and written by the Catholic Church. It has much in common with b., the variety on which it was based but tends to be somewhat archaic, still using, for example:

tu tali *'twenty'*

tri tali *'thirty'*

In addition, it is sometimes influenced by European mother-tongues and even, apparently by English orthography as, for instance, in the use of:

kini for *'kneel'.*

d. Bororo CP - is the CP of the nomadic Fulani. This is the least studied of CP varieties, but its characteristic possessive structure is often commented upon by speakers of other CP varieties. Bororo CP uses:

fut foh mi *'my foot/leg'*

bif foh i *'his cattle'*

where all other CP varieties have:

ma fut

i bif.

e. Expatriate CP - This term covers a wide spectrum, and includes people who speak a local variety with style and efficiency as well as those whose CP is markedly influenced by their mother tongue and those who use a form of simplified English which shows few of the characteristics of CP although it is understood and responded to by pidgin speakers.

All the idioms which we cite, however, are common to the speech of CP speakers from many different areas and from several educational levels.

4. CP IDIOMS INVOLVING THE USE OF BODY PARTS

CP speakers have a fairly small active vocabulary, derived mainly from English and being to a large extent capable of objective verification. Physical appearance and behaviour are fully represented in the vocabulary although, on superficial acquaintance, CP seems to lack the terminology necessary to deal with abstractions, emotions, mental processes. This lack is merely apparent, however, and CP makes extensive use of body part idioms to express thoughts, ideas, beliefs, abstractions and aspirations. Such idioms fall into four main types:

a. transitory idioms, sometimes Cameroonian:

bohbi baskeht *breast basket* '*brassiere*'

and sometimes ex-patriate:

stik hehd *tree head* '*blockhead*'.

We have not dealt with such idioms because, however felicitous they may be, they are ephemeral and would not be widely understood.

b. idioms which are calques from African vernaculars. We say 'African' rather than 'Cameroonian' because a considerable number of CP idioms such as:

bohbi moht *breast mouth* '*nipple*'
wash bele *wash belly* '*last child*'

are common to several Atlantic pidgins and creoles and may reflect an African substratum, generally. In addition, to suggest that certain idioms derive from African sources is not to deny that similar idioms may occur in other languages. The heart and the belly are the seats of the emotions in many cultures and similar idioms such as gud hat implying '*kindness*' may have developed in several languages.

c. idioms which are essentially ex-patriate in origin and which tend to occur mainly in missionary-influenced speech. We do not wish to suggest that these idioms are less important than those in category b., for example. Missionary language has influenced CP about as fundamentally as the King James bible influenced the English of subsequent generations. Occasionally, missionaries may use an idiom which is, to

some extent, contrary to CP speakers' concepts of body imagery. Thus, for example, the first part of the Hail Mary occurs as follows in the Catholic Catechism (p.56):

Hail Maria you get plenty gratia - God lif with you, - you big pass all woman, - and bless lif with your Pikin Jesus.

The underlined phrase is meant to imply: 'You are the most blest of all women' but it says: 'You are bigger than all other women'. Admittedly, big is often used to mean 'important' but in the example given we have the possibility of confusion. It is perhaps worth a comment here that missionaries did not use the CP word shado to mean 'soul' although it is occasionally used with this meaning by Cameroonians for whom shado does not mean 'shadow' so much as 'reflection' or 'spiritual manifestation of oneself'. A shado closely resembles a person but is incorporeal. Missionaries may have avoided the term to prevent the equation of the 'soul' with the Cameroonian notion of a spiritual nature.

d. idioms which have developed within CP and which give some indication of the ways in which speakers of CP are structuring its vocabulary. Some idea of how CP speakers can use the language in a non-literal and specifically Cameroonian way can be given by the following passage recorded in January 1972. The speaker, a renowned drinker, had recently settled in Yaoundé:

...a kohmoht waka a luk ples
 sohm ples de. sohm pipul dehm
 di shidohng. dehm di tek sohm
 ting leki drink. sohm man hol
 kohp foh han. mi, a bi smohl
 man wei di tek kohp.
 so mi, a ehnta. a geht smohl
 frank a bai wan bohtul. a bigin
 shidohng ehnojoi ma skin witam...
 sohm dei nau a wan waka a si
 sohm ma frehn wei i an mi de
 foh skul. i sei a na mi dis?
 a sei 'yehs'. i sei mek a kohm.
 mi, a kohm. i nak bohtul foh ma
 hehd. i nak sohm kingsai foh ma
 hehd a di kraai, a shidohng
 dohng a kraai, a kraai ohntohp
 i finish.

*I went out walking to have a look
 at the place
 there was a place. some people
 were sitting down. they were
 taking some thing like drink.
 somebody had a glass in his hand.
 I'm one who is fond of a drink
 (me, I BE small man which
 continuity marker take cup).
 so I went in. I had a few francs
 so I bought a bottle. I began to
 sit and enjoy myself with it...
 on another occasion as I was out I
 saw a friend with whom I had been
 to school. he said: 'Is it you?'
 I said 'yes'. He told me to come.
 I went. he bought a bottle for me.
 He bought a big bottle for me.
 I drank it slowly. I sat back
 sipping slowly. I sipped it until
 it was finished.*

*(he knock bottle for my head. I
continuity marker cry. I sit+down
down I cry. I cry on+top he finish.)*

In CP, idiomatic expressions are often based on body parts and on a limited number of adjectives. The body parts from which most non-literal emotional or spiritual items are derived are:

1. the organs associated with the senses i.e. ai, ia, maut, nos

It would be an interesting area for future research to examine how universal certain types of metaphorical usage of body parts are. To use an 'eye' or a 'mouth' for an opening seems equally possible but CP sometimes uses maut where Tok Pisin uses ai, as, for example, for the open part of a bottle.

ai can represent the ability to see and this organ is also associated with greed, covetousness, anger and indifference to the opinion of others:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 11) | na sohm big ai pidin | <i>be some big eye child</i> | <i>'he's a greedy child'</i> |
| 12) | lohng ai go du yu | <i>long eye go do you</i> | <i>'covetousness will be your downfall'</i> |
| 13) | i ai reht. i hala | <i>he eye red. he holler</i> | <i>'he is angry and shout'</i> |
| 14) | i geht reht ai | <i>he get red eye</i> | <i>'he is angry'</i> |
| 15) | sohm strohng ai man | <i>some strong eye man</i> | <i>'a brave man'</i> |
| 16) | sohm strohng ai wuman | <i>some strong eye woman</i> | <i>'a shameless woman'</i> |

ia can refer to the 'ear', to the ability to hear and also to understand:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 17) | i no geht ia | <i>he no get ear</i> | <i>'stand'</i> |
|-----|--------------|----------------------|----------------|

The related verb hia is not limited to hearing but implies 'understand', experience with the senses:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 18) | a no di hia frehnsh | <i>I no aux. hear French</i> | <i>'I don't understand French'</i> |
| 19) | man wei i bohn i | <i>man who he burn he</i> | <i>'a man who burns</i> |
| | biabia na i go fohs | <i>beard BE he go first</i> | <i>his beard will</i> |
| | hia di smehl | <i>hear the smell</i> | <i>be the first to notice the smell'.</i> |

maut has had its meaning extended from 'mouth' to 'opening'. The older pronunciation moht is retained in compounds and in the idiolects of many older Cameroonians who never use the /au/ diphthong.

20) putam foh doa moht *put 'em for door mouth* 'put it at the door'
And it is also occasionally extended to mean 'speech' especially in the phrase bad moht meaning 'evil speaking', 'fluent swearing':

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 21) | i sabi bad moht man | <i>he know bad mouth man</i> | <i>'he often insults one'.</i> |
|-----|---------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|

nos occurs less frequently in idiomatic language than ai, la or moht/maut but lohng nos is sometimes used to refer to a European or one with European type features.

The verb lohk from 'lock' is frequently used with the above four nouns and with anus and bele to suggest that these parts of the body are no longer functioning normally. The following sentences come from a story which relates what happened to a disobedient girl:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 22) i ai dohn lohk. i | he eye aux. lock. he | 'Her eyes had locked. |
| no fit si. i ia | no fit see. he ear | She couldn't see. |
| tu lohk. i no fit | too lock. he no fit | Her ears also locked. |
| hia. i maut dohn | hear. he mouth aux. | She could'nt hear. |
| lohk. i no fit tohk. | lock. he no fit talk. | Her mouth locked. |
| | | She couldn't talk.' |

ii. the organs associated with emotions i.e. bele and hat

In CP bele seems to be the seat of unpleasant emotions as well as of physical and sexual sensations:

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 23) dat ting hoht mi | that thing hot me | 'that really |
| foh ma bele | for my belly | infuriated me' |
| 24) i di tohtohn foh | he aux. turn turn for | 'it really stuck |
| ma bele | my belly | in my craw' |
| 25) bele bait | belly bite | 'steady stomach pain, |
| | | cancer' |
| 26) bele chuk | belly pierce | 'stabbing stomach |
| | | pain' |
| 27) bele hoht | belly hot | 'vexation'. |
| bele is also applied to the womb: | | |
| 28) bohtohm bele | bottom belly | 'intercourse' |
| 29) wuman i bele | woman he belly | 'something that ex- |
| | | pands, a hold-all |
| | | bag' |
| 30) wi bin kohmoht | we aux, come out | 'we are siblings' |
| foh wan bele | for one belly | |
| 31) spoil bele | spoil belly | 'abort' |
| 32) wash bele | wash belly | 'the last child'. |

When lohk is applied to bele as in lohk bele it implies 'chronic constipation'.

hat - Idioms associated with hat seem more abstract than those based on bele and they may also reflect greater missionary influence. In the first place, many of them have cognates in English. Secondly, they are not in the active vocabulary of older speakers who tend to use bele idioms to cover both sets of meaning. (Older speakers may, however, avoid hat because in their idiolects hat can be 'heart', 'hot', 'hurt' and 'hat'.) And thirdly, there is a significant difference between

idiomatic compounds involving *bele* and those involving *hat*. *bele* tends to be the first element in compounds other than in those referring to the womb, whereas *hat* tends to be the second. Significantly, in several of the Cameroon languages, the adjective follows the noun.

hat can refer to '*desires*' and '*emotions*':

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 33) | man di ol boht | man aux. old but | 'A man ages but his |
| | i hat no di ol | he heart no aux. old | desires remain young' |

and it is less closely associated with unpleasant sensations than *bele*:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|------------|-------------------|
| 34) | bad hat | bad heart | 'wicked, evil' |
| 35) | gud hat | good heart | 'kind, good' |
| 36) | big hat | big heart | i. 'covetousness' |
| | | | ii. 'pride' |
| | | | iii. 'generosity' |

The different meanings of 36) may show that both African and missionary idioms have resulted in the same form.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------|-------------|----------------|
| 37) | blak hat | black heart | 'extreme evil' |
|-----|----------|-------------|----------------|

may well be a missionary coinage, whereas:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| 38) | kohni hat | cunning heart | 'crafty' |
| 39) | koht hat | cut heart | 'frighten, hurt because of fear' |
| 40) | kul hat | cool heart | 'console, help' |

are probably calques. *kul hat* is very frequently used in the sympathy formula:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 41) | ashia di kul hat | ashia aux. cool heart | 'sympathy can help' |
|-----|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|

where *ashia* (probably derived from Arabic and taken into CP via Hausa) is the most frequently used sympathy formula when one coughs, falls, has bad luck or is simply working hard.

iii. In CP *hehd/heht* from '*head*' is extended to mean '*top*':

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------------|-----------|
| 42) | hehd foh haus | head for house | 'roof' |
| 43) | hehd foh stik | head for stick | 'treetop' |

or the source of a river:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 44) | hehd foh wata | head for water | 'river source'. |
|-----|---------------|----------------|-----------------|

Such metaphorical extensions of meaning are probably common to many languages. In mission-influenced CP, *hehd* is often used to imply '*intelligence*':

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| 45) | i geht hehd | he get head | 'he's very intelligent' |
|-----|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|

but this expression is less widely understood than:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| 46) | i geht sehns | he get sense | 'he's very intelligent' |
|-----|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|

and, indeed, *Sehns Pas King* (sense surpass king) is the name of a folk hero who outwits all his rivals. Where CP possibly uses a non-western type use of *hehd* is in such idioms as:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 47) | klin man i hehd | clean man he head | 'shave someone's head' |
| 48) | nak bohtul foh | knock bottle for | 'stand someone a drink' |
| | man i hehd | man he head | |

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|--|
| 60) | Me, I no get
my hand for
this man he blood,
na una palava. | me, I no get
my hand for
this man he blood
BE you (pl) palaver | 'I am not responsible
for
for shedding this man's
blood, it's your prob-
lem.' |
|-----|---|---|--|

In both Irish and Anglo-Irish, 'murder' is often described as 'putting one's hand in someone else's death'.

han also occurs in such idioms as:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|------------|---------------------------|
| 61) | bait han | bite hand | 'regret, extreme sorrow' |
| 62) | koht han | cut hand | 'deceit, cheat, trickery' |
| 63) | man han | man hand | 'right' |
| 64) | wuman han | woman hand | 'left' |
| 65) | wan han | one hand | 'one of a pair' |

all of which have cognates in Cameroon vernaculars. Number 65) has an extended meaning of 'co-operation', a meaning which is included in the proverb:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 66) | wan han no fit
tai bohndul | one hand no fit
tie bundle | 'co-operation is essen-
tial for achievement'. |
|-----|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|

v. The set of adjectives which are often employed in idiomatic expressions are:

big	gud	drai	hoht
smohl	bad	fat	trohng

The first four show most resemblance to non-literal English usage in that big can mean 'important', smohl 'insignificant', 'of little consequence', gud 'well-disposed towards' and bad 'likely to break the commandments'. bad-fashohn (bad+fashion), for example, implies 'sinful i.e. non-Christian behaviour' and can be equated with indigenous customs like ancestor worship. These words are of interest too in that antonymous adjectives are rare in CP, 'weak' being realised as no trohng, 'light' no hevi and 'cold' as no hoht. There are a number of reasons for the existence of smohl as well as no big, and bad as well as no gud, such as frequency of usage, importance in missionary terminology (big papa, for instance, was used of the Pope) and because in CP smohl and bad developed meanings dissimilar to those they had and have in English. smohl-wata can be used to imply a bribe which sweetens a transaction without corrupting the participants:

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|---|
| 67) | foh dat taim i
sabi trowei
smohl wata | for that time he
know throw away
small water | 'In those days he knew
how
to be generous.' |
|-----|---|--|---|

The above comment was made on a politician who had forgotten the Cameroon proverb:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 68) | ehmti tankyu | <i>empty thank you</i> | <i>'A thank you which is</i> |
| | no go fulohp | <i>no aux. full up</i> | <i>not accompanied by a</i> |
| | bele | <i>belly</i> | <i>present is worth very</i> |
| | | | <i>little.'</i> |

bad can be used as an intensive:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 69) | di pikin gud bad | <i>the child good bad</i> | <i>'the child is very good'</i> |
| 70) | di sup swit bad | <i>the soup sweet bad</i> | <i>'the stew is delicious'</i> |
| 71) | a laikam bad | <i>I like 'em bad</i> | <i>'I like it very much'.</i> |

The second four items, when used adjectivally, seem to reflect African customs and beliefs. It is perhaps worth emphasising at this point that multifunctionality is a feature of CP lexemes. If one takes trohng, for example, it can function as an adjective:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 72) | sohm trohng pikin | <i>some strong child</i> | <i>'a strong child'</i> |
|-----|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|

as an adjective verb:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 73) | di pikin trohng | <i>the child strong</i> | <i>'the child is strong'</i> |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|

as a noun:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 74) | trohng go du yu | <i>strong aux. do you</i> | <i>'strength will be your</i> |
| | | | <i>downfall'</i> |

and as an adverbial:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 75) | pulam trohng | <i>pull 'em strong</i> | <i>'pull it forcibly'.</i> |
|-----|--------------|------------------------|----------------------------|

Apart from the meaning drai has in English, it is often used in CP as the equivalent of 'thin', 'sickly', 'unattractive as a woman':

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 76) | a no wehl. a dohn | <i>I no well. I aux.</i> | <i>'I'm not well. I've</i> |
| | drai taim no de | <i>dry time no BE</i> | <i>become extremely thin'</i> |
| 77) | di mami drai | <i>the mammy dry</i> | <i>'the married woman is</i> |
| | laik njanggi | <i>like dried crayfish</i> | <i>utterly unattractive'.</i> |

fat implies 'wealthy', 'prosperous' and is frequently applied to men:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 78) | di fohn dohn | <i>the fon aux.</i> | <i>'the Fon has become</i> |
| | fat agehn | <i>fat again</i> | <i>prosperous again'.</i> |

hoht is used to describe intensely physical emotional states. It carries the notion of being extremely 'worked up' rather than of being 'hot and bothered', and it collocates with bele. trohng, like hoht can imply strong emotional feeling, but whereas a hoht feeling may be temporary, one that is trohng is enduring:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 79) | a laikam bad. i | <i>I like 'em bad. he</i> | <i>'I like him very much</i> |
| | no bi sohm kaina | <i>no be some kinda</i> | <i>indeed. It's not just</i> |
| | hoht laik. na | <i>hot like. BE</i> | <i>a passing fancy. It's</i> |
| | sohm trohng laik. | <i>some strong like.</i> | <i>a deep-rooted love.'</i> |

5. BRIEF CONCLUSION TO THE SECTION ON CP

CP makes frequent and extended use of idiomatic language. Many idioms reflect English usage and, in view of the fact that standard English is one of Cameroon's official languages, many more English-type idioms are likely to be adopted. Nevertheless, CP reflects an African way of life. Even where *is* is learnt as a first language, it is learnt in conjunction with one or more vernacular languages and so calquing *is*, and will remain, an important source of CP idiom. If CP becomes more widely creolised it is possible that a concept of body imagery which is unique to CP will evolve, but at the moment, much of its idiomatic store, like much of its syntax, is hybrid.

6. BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO TOK PISIN (TP)

Although certain historical links between Cameroon Pidgin and New Guinea Tok Pisin can be established, for instance, the impact of German colonial rule on both languages, it appears to be justified to claim that one is dealing here with two pidgins that have developed independently, albeit under similar social conditions.

Work by Mühlhäusler in recent years has dispelled some misconceptions about the origin and development of TP, in particular the notions that the language is a continuation of either Chinese Pidgin English or Queensland Plantation Pidgin English. Instead, historical evidence gleaned from accounts of the Pacific labour trade suggest that TP in its formative years was strongly influenced by the Pidgin English spoken on the plantations of Western Samoa (cf. Mühlhäusler 1976b). In later years, however, this Samoan influence was replaced by influence from Melanesian languages of the New Britain and New Ireland areas and, more recently, by influence from English. It appears unnecessary to provide details here as these can be found in Wurm's article in this volume.

It is important, however, to stress that TP is manifested in a number of structurally and functionally different varieties and that these differences are particularly pronounced at the level of idiom formation. Let us briefly look at the principal present day varieties of TP and the forces that determine their grammatical and lexical structures:

variety	structural properties
Tok Masta (broken English spoken by expatriates)	ad hoc simplification of English, retention of English idioms
Bush Pidgin (spoken in outlying areas)	heavy substratum influence from Papuan and Melanesian languages, calquing of vernacular idioms

Rural Pidgin (variety most commonly accepted as standard)	Melanesian grammar, common core idioms and internal development (e.g. analogy), some European influence through mission agencies
Urban Pidgin (variety spoken by educated speakers and/or in urban areas)	heavy influence from English, conscious development of new stylistic variants

Investigations so far (McElhanon and Barok 1975; McElhanon 1975, Aufinger 1948/9) have concentrated on idioms in Rural Pidgin. However, McElhanon also pays some attention to the more peripheral idioms of Bush Pidgin. The present paper must thus be regarded as an expansion of McElhanon's investigations paying special attention to the development of new idioms in Urban Pidgin.

The above scheme also indicates that a diachronic investigation of TP idioms could provide valuable evidence for the present day diversification in idiom structure. This is because the present day manifestation of TP along the social dimension reflects the development of TP from a rudimentary jargon into a fully fledged expanded pidgin or creole along the temporal axis. This means nothing else than that the history of TP is repeated over and over as the language spreads into new geographic areas and social functions.

7. NOTES ON THE GROWTH OF IDIOMATIC STRUCTURE IN TP

A comparison of vocabularies and dictionaries written over the last 80 years suggests that we are dealing with a continuous expansion of the inventory of idiomatic expressions and an equally marked trend from expressions related to a Melanesian substratum to expressions derived from English or the internal resources of the language.

Idioms of the type defined in the introduction to this paper appear to be virtually absent in the documents relating to the jargon stage of the language (the stage before stabilisation in the 1880s) but this may be a function of the scarcity of reliable information about this period. If we apply the principle that the linguistic processes taking place in the geographically and socially marginal areas of New Guinea are the same as those that took place in its early formative years, then it must be argued that peripheral idiomatic expressions (this term being derived from McElhanon's analysis) were certainly present in the contact situation. Thus, on the one hand one could expect expressions such as *bel bilong em i longpela* 'he has a long belly = a good appetite' reported from Bush Pidgin and expressions such as *pulim lek* 'pull someone's leg' observed in Tok Masta.

However, at this stage, such expressions were not conventionalised and were therefore very much a feature of individual performance. The conventionalisation of a fixed set of core idioms only occurred when TP was promoted to the status of the principal lingua franca in German New Guinea, particularly in the areas around East New Britain and New Ireland. Influence from Tolai and related languages is felt strongly in the idiom structure of stabilised TP. Nevermann (1929:255) reports with regard to the lexical item *bel*:

Einzelne Wörter, denen der Engländer eine ganz andere Bedeutung unterlegt, werden dagegen von den Eingeborenen in ihrer Art verwandt.

Belly wird für 'Herz, Stimmung, Zuneigung, Gemüt' gebraucht wie das Gazellesprachewort bala, das ursprünglich such 'Bauch' bedeutet. Dementsprechend hat der Staz belly belong me, he no good die Bedeutung: 'Ich habe Kummer'.

(Individual words which have an entirely different meaning for the speaker of English, are used by the natives according to their own way of thinking.....Belly is used to refer to 'heart, mood, affection' in the same way as the Tolai word bala. The latter originally also meant 'belly'. In accordance with this the sentence belly belong me he no good means 'I am downcast'.)

Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock (1977) have made similar remarks on a number of other items including *ai* 'eye':

The semantics of Pidgin is basically not English but Oceanic. The two words ai and han may serve as an illustration. To Europeans of today "eye" is above all an anatomical or biological concept - whenever we use this word in any other sense it is often under the impression that we have to do with a different word which happens to be formally the same.

Influence of local languages was also felt with regard to a number of body part expressions which will be discussed below. For the time being it suffices to point out that the intensive contact during TP's stabilisation stage with Tolai and related languages led to the establishment of a sizable body of common core expressions which are understood all over the TP using areas in New Guinea and surrounding islands. It is interesting that similar expressions are not reported for related Pacific pidgins such as New Hebridean Bichelamar.

The geographic, functional and structural expansion of Tok Pisin between the two World Wars is characterised by internal growth of idiom structure on the one hand and by gradual filtering through of English semantics on the other. An example of the first process is the analogical formation of *bel bilong me i paia* 'my belly is on fire' from *bel bilong mi i hat* 'my belly is hot - I am angry' (though perhaps we are dealing with a calque here), an example of the second type is the replacement of the expressions *ai bilong wara* 'eye (source) of a river'

and lek bilong wara '*foot of a river*' by the corresponding anglicised idioms het bilong wara '*head of a river*' and maus bilong wara '*mouth of a river*'. Whilst Murphy (1943 and subsequent editions) refers to the latter idioms as "barbarism" in present day TP they must be regarded as the standard expressions even in the rural dialects of the language.

A third force of innovation was active vocabulary planning by various mission bodies. As has been pointed out by various writers (e.g. Mead 1931 and McElhanon forthcoming), mission efforts have not always been felicitous. Thus spiritual purity can easily be confused with bodily cleanliness in the following early hymn:

God he savee wash-em
 Bel belong all boy
 All he dirty too much
 More better he clean.

(Mead 1931:191)

The decline of the hierarchically structured colonial society and the introduction of English in numerous primary schools after World War II were the principal motives that led to the development of the anglicised urban sociolect of Tok Pisin. At the same time, urban dwellers further developed the imaginative dimensions of this language to meet their communicative needs. Characteristic of Urban Pidgin is the emergence of new stylistic registers (cf. Wurm and Mühlhäusler forthcoming) and, in particular, the important role played by metaphorical language. Borrowing from English is reflected in idioms such as yu mas sanap long lek bilong yu yet '*you must stand on your own feet*' or krosim pinga '*keep one's fingers crossed*'. Metaphorical language is particularly productive in the sexual sphere, where one finds expressions such as aigris '*eye grease = to make eyes at*', bikbol '*having big testicles = bandy legged*' or kaikai kan '*eat cunt = shut up*'. More examples of Urban Pidgin will be given below.

This completes our brief survey of the historical development of Tok Pisin idiomatic expression. However, this is not where the investigation should stop, for predictions based on these observations can be of use to future language planners. Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock (1977:1161) have drawn attention to the fact that a knowledge of the functioning of idiomatic structure in Tok Pisin can provide decision criteria for determining the adequacy of certain proposed lexical innovation. They argue that:

In New Guinea Pidgin, the word ai can be found in many senses and collocations that are totally un-English.

<u>ai</u> bilong botel	"lid"
<u>ai</u> bilong haus	"gable"
<u>ai</u> bilong pensil	"pencil point"
<u>ai</u> bilong sua	"head of a sore"
<u>ai</u> bilong susu	"nipple"

On the basis of this observation it is further argued that to replace some of the meanings of words like *han* and *ai* with loans or now creations will affect the semantic structure of Pidgin. The introduction of such words and phrases as *lid bilong botol*, *gebol bilong haus*, *poin bilong pensil* or *nipel* is completely uncalled for, although, in the future, such replacement may well occur.

In some areas of the lexicon, indigenous idiomatic expressions are gaining ground over loans from English. Thus *han beng 'hand=branch of a bank'* appears to be asserting itself against the loanword *brens*. However, it may take determined acts of language planning if the break between an anglicised Urban Pidgin and a Rural Pidgin with a Melanesian system of idiom formation is to be avoided.

8. TOK PISIN IDIOMS INVOLVING THE USE OF BODY PARTS

In this section we will concentrate on the core idiomatic expressions. At the same time we will attempt to organise this section in a way which allows quick comparison with the idioms of CP.

As in CP, Tok Pisin idioms are typically based on a small set of nouns (mainly body parts) and a small number of adjectives. Most of the idioms listed here represent a Melanesian semantic system, though some of the established core items may have come from other sources.

1. the organs associated with the senses: *ai*, *iau*, *maus*, *nus*

ai: As has been pointed out above, *ai* is associated not only with perception and attention, but is also used in a number of idiomatic expressions in the sense of *'something prominent or clearly visible'*.

It thus can refer to both the organ that sees and to what is seen.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) <i>i no stret long ai bilong mi</i> | <i>'this is not correct in my view'</i> |
| 2) <i>ai bilong mi i tudak</i> | <i>'my eye is dark'</i> , i.e. to be
literally or metaphorically
unable to see |
| 3) <i>sanap long ai bilong ol</i> | <i>'stand before everyone's eye'</i> |
| 4) <i>ai bilong mi raun</i> | <i>'my eyes go round = I am dizzy
or exhausted'</i> |

The metaphorical meaning of *ai* as in *ai bilong kar 'the visible front part=grille of a car'* has been illustrated above. The expression

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 5) <i>ai bilongen i ret</i> | <i>'his eyes are red, he is angry'</i> |
|-----------------------------|--|

is less commonly heard than expressions 1) - 4), but it is interesting that this form also exists in CP.

iau primarily means *'ear'*. This item does not figure prominently in idiom formation. The few examples on record include:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 6) <i>iau bilongen pas</i> | <i>'his ears are obstructed=he is deaf'</i> |
| 7) <i>iau bilongen hev</i> | <i>'his ears are heavy=he is slow to
obey'</i> |

It must be pointed out that the item *harim*, from English 'to hear', is not primarily thought of as auditory perception but is used as a general word for any but visual perception. The meaning of *harim* can include that of 'premonition'. The use of *harim* in Rural Pidgin is illustrated by the following examples:

- 8) *mi harim skin bilong mi i pen* 'I feel my body aching'
 9) *harim smel* 'to perceive the odour of s.th.'

As with most verbs of perception, *harim* is neutral with regard to volition. In the same way that *lukim* can mean 'to see' or 'to look at', *harim* can refer to both 'to hear, perceive' and 'to listen to, try to perceive'.

maus: generally means not just the mouth opening or oral cavity but also the organ that speaks. In addition, the meaning is sometimes further extended to include that of 'oral message'. The first set of examples illustrates the meaning 'opening':

- 10) *maus bilong hul* 'the opening of a cave'
 11) *maus bilong sotgan* 'the muzzle of a gun'
 12) *maus bilong susu* 'the nipple'

Another item for nipple is *ai bilong susu* 'eye of breast'. This illustrates that speakers of Tok Pisin often have the choice between several idioms for the same referent, each emphasising a different aspect thereof.

Expressions involving the metaphorical meaning of *maus* include:

- 13) *maus bilongen i hevi* 'his mouth is heavy=he is inarticulate'
 14) *maus bilong mi i no stret* 'my mouth is not straight=I do not pronounce it correctly'
 15) *em i gat tupela maus* 'he's got two mouths=he contradicts himself, he is a hypocrite'
 16) *em i maus bilong mipela* 'he is our mouth=he speaks for us, in our interest'

The item *bikmaus* lit. 'big mouth', illustrates the range of meanings covered by mouth. This form can refer to 'a shotgun with a large muzzle', 'someone with a loud voice, someone who brags', and 'a loud shout or a kind of yodel used among the mountain tribes of the New Guinea Highlands'.

nek: In Tok Pisin there is some overlap in the metaphorical functions of the items *nek* and *maus*, in that *nek* 'neck' also frequently refers to 'voice, quality of voice', and 'melody'. Consider the following expressions:

- 17) *i gat kainkain nek bilong Tok Pisin* 'there are all sorts of necks=pronunciations, dialects of Tok Pisin'

- 18) nek bilong singsing *'the melody of a song'*
 19) nek bilongen i pas *'his neck is obstructed=he is hoarse'*
 20) nek bilongen i hevi *'his neck is heavy=he is a poor singer'*
 21) nek bilongen i antap *'his voice is high pitched'*

There also is some overlap in the semantic ranges of nek and bel *'belly seat of emotions'*, both in the central and expanded meaning of the latter.

Compare:

- 22) bel bilong mi i singaut *'my belly sings out for food= I am hungry'*
 long kaikai
 23) nek bllong mi i singaut *'my neck sings out for beer= desperately want a beer'*
 long bia
 24) tok ya i mas stap long *'this talk must stay in your neck - this is for your ears only'*
 nek

nus: In Tok Pisin, as in CP, nus *'nose'* only figures marginally in idiomatic expressions. The most common semantic expansion of this item is *'something which protrudes'*, in this meaning there is some overlap with the expanded meaning of ai. An example is the use of both nus bilong susu and ai bilong susu for *'nipple'*. Other idiomatic expressions involving nus include:

- 25) nus bilong kanu *'the prow of a canoe'*
 26) sutim (or paitlm) nus *'to punch someone on the nose, to make a fool of someone'*

ii. The organs associated with emotions i.e. bel, tingting and leva McElhanon (forthcoming) observes that:

Generally one's emotional responses are indicated by expressions built upon one of the internal organs, usually the belly and less frequently the liver, the inside, or the intestines. Where a language uses more than one such term, at least one of the terms is the term for belly.

Idiomatic expressions describing emotions are of considerable complexity and no comprehensive study can be attempted here. The main difficulties arise out of the fact that language engineering by various mission bodies has led to clashes between Melanesian and European semantic systems. In addition the distribution between, say, bel and leva, appears to depend on the speaker's first language. To make matters even more complex, speakers with a knowledge of English, in particular those who speak Urban Pidgin, have a tendency to regard the head rather than the belly as the seat of emotions.

bel: Before considering bel as the seat of emotions, some idioms where bel means *'bulging part of'* will be briefly listed. Examples include:

- 27) sel i gat bel *'a sail bellied by the wind'*

- 28) bel bilong lek 'sole of a foot'
 29) bel bilong rot 'bump in a road'

A second more concrete meaning of bel is that of 'uterus, pregnancy' as in:

- 30) meri i gat bel 'the girl is pregnant'
 31) givim bel 'to give belly=impregnate'
 32) rausim bel 'to remove belly=to perform/bring about an abortion'

The expressions in which bel refers to affections and emotions are typically formed with a small set of adjectives and verbs which will be discussed below. Only the most common expressions will be listed here. Additional examples can be found in Mihalic's dictionary (1971) and McElhanon and Barok (1975).

Note that, in contrast to CP, bel in Tok Pisin is regarded as the seat of both unpleasant and pleasant emotions. Again, the motif of sexual emotions is strongly present in Tok Pisin bel. Examples of idioms include:

- 33) bel bilongen i kirap 'his belly is aroused=he is excited'
 34) bel bilongen i gut 'he is happy, satisfied, gentle'
 35) bel bilongen i hat 'is hot=he is angry'
 36) bel bilongen i kol 'is cold=he is calm, disinterested'
 37) bel bilongen i hevi 'he is sad' (McElhanon (forthcoming) also gives 'he is unenthusiastic' as a common meaning)
 38) bel bilong en i pas 'is obstructed=he is unresponsive, disinterested'; for this form there is also the meaning 'sad' as in the following example
 39) ol lokel pipel i hepi 'the local people are happy with
 tru tasol ol i belpas 'this solution, but they are sad
 long lusim mista Brown 'to lose Mr Brown'
 40) em i gat tupela bel 'has two bellies=he is in doubt'
 41) bel bilongen i orait long 'belly is alright=to feel pleased about something'
 42) bel bilong mi sikerap 'belly itches=I am sexually aroused'

leva: Expressions involving the item leva 'liver, innards' appear to be on the way out, with the exception of its use in the meaning 's.th. or s.o. one desires' as in:

- 43) meri ya i leva bilong mi 'this girl is my sweetheart'

For comments on the use of expressions involving leva, Murphy (1966:28-9) and McElhanon (forthcoming) can be consulted.

tingting: In contrast to the concept of emotions expressed by bel and leva the item tingting expresses intelligence and non-emotional argumentation. That the intellect is regarded as an entity separate

from the person or the other organs of his/her body is illustrated in the following examples:

- 44) tingting bilong mi i *'my thoughts think (=are) as
ting olsem follows'*
- 45) tingting bilongen i pas *'his mind is obstructed=he is
incapable of acting in a respon-
sible or reasonable way'*

het: In the more traditional varieties of Tok Pisin is het seldom associated with intellectual activity, though one occasionally hears expressions such as:

- 46) het bilongen i klia *'his head is clear, he is well
instructed'*
- 47) em i guthet *'he is a good thinker, he is
"with it", spot on'*

More common in the use of het in the meaning of 'summit, highest point' as in

- 48) het bilong maunten *'a mountain peak'*
- 49) het bilong diwai *'a treetop'*

iii. the limbs han and lek:

The basic meaning of han and lek in Tok Pisin reflect a general tendency in the languages of the New Guinea area to have one general word for the whole limb. Thus han means 'hand' or 'arm' and lek 'foot' or 'leg'. Another substratum feature is the use of han to refer to the forelegs and lek to refer to the hindlegs of animals, as in:

- 50) dok i gat tupela han na *'a dog has got four legs'*
tupela lek

Interestingly a centipede is a plantihan and not a *plantilek. A further semantic extension shared by both han and lek (and also plnga 'finger' is that of 'imprint made by the bodypart concerned', as in:

- 51) ol man ya i bihainim *'these men followed the pig's
lek bilong pik trail'*

Before turning to the metaphorical use of the individual items, their widespread use in the body-part counting systems must be pointed out. (cf. Laycock 1975:219-34). An example is the quinary system still in use among older Tok Pisin speakers in some areas, where 5, 10, and 20 are rendered as wampela han, wampela lek and tupela lek respectively.

han: The metaphorical meanings of han include 'branch', 'handle', 'bunch', 'sleeve' and 'handwriting' as, for instance, in:

- 52) han bilong diwai *'the branch of a tree'*
- 53) han bilong wara *'the tributary of a river'*
- 54) han bilong kolslot *'the sleeve of a jumper'*
- 55) han buai *'a bunch of betelnuts'*

There are a few other idiomatic expressions which involve han in Tok

Pisin, although none of them could be called a core idiom. Mihalic (1971:93) reports:

- 56) han bilongen i nogut *'her hand is bad=she is menstruating'*
 57) samting i kamap long han *'something arrives in my hands=I*
 bilong mi *receive something'*

The idea of han being involved in the distribution of material possessions is found in the following idioms:

- 58) em i bin kisim long han *'he got it from (through the hands*
 bilong gavman *of) the Government'*
 59) mekim han i tait *'make a tight hand = to be tight*
 fisted'

The idea of 'right hand, right-handed' is expressed by han sut 'the hand involved in shooting' or han rait which is often interpreted as 'hand used for writing'. 'Left-handed, left hand' is han kais (from a New Hanover language, according to Mihalic 1971).

lek: Few idioms involving lek are found in Tok Pisin. As mentioned above, the expression lek bilong wara 'river mouth' is on the way out. Others that are common include:

- 60) lek i pas, or lekpas *'the legs are stuck=to sit down*
 with crossed legs'
 61) karim lek *'to carry legs = a form of court-*
 ship in the New Guinea Highlands
 where a girl sitting next to a boy
 puts one of her legs across his
 thighs'.

Finally, the Tok Pisin lexical items for 'toe' and 'knee' are pinga bilong lek 'finger of foot' and skru bilong lek 'screw of leg' respectively.

iv. other parts of the body: as and bun

as: In addition to the meaning 'arse, buttocks' as is also widely used to refer to 'foundation, basis' and 'origin, cause' as in:

- 62) as bilong diwai *'the bottom, stump of a tree'*
 63) as bilong mun *'the beginning of the month'*
 64) nambatu meri bilongen i *'his second wife is the reason for*
 as bilong kros *the quarrel'*
 65) wara Sepik i as bilong *'the Sepik river is the source of*
 natnat *mosquitoes=is just filled with*
 mosquitoes'

Note the role of as 'original, principal' in the following compounds:

- 66) aslo *'fundamental law = constitution'*
 67) aslaik *'fundamental like = free will'*
 68) asbisop *'fundamental bishop = archbishop'*

The last example illustrates the reinterpretation of English arch as Tok Pisin as.

Idioms involving *as* in the meaning of 'buttocks' include:

- 69) *as malomalo* 'soft arse=decrepit old person'
 70) *as ros* 'rusty arse=lazy person'
 71) *wokabout long as* 'walk on buttocks=to crawl (as of a baby)'

bun: The basic and extended meaning of *bun* are 'bone, skeleton, frame' and 'strength, vigour' respectively. Idiomatic expressions involving *bun* in the second meaning are among the first on record and, though only a few are in use, they are virtually universally known. The meaning 'skeleton, frame' is illustrated in the following examples:

- 72) *bun bilong singsing* 'the skeleton=melody of a song'
 73) *bun bilong haus* 'the frame of a house'

The expanded meaning 'strength' can be seen from the following:

- 74) *man ya i strongpela bun* 'he is strong-boned=a very strong man'
 75) *buai em i bun tru bilong mipela* 'betelnut is our strength=is what keeps us going'

v. The principal adjectives/verbs found in body-part idioms:

As in CP, the number of attributive adjectives is quite small in Tok Pisin. A subset of these adjectives, *gut* 'good', *nogut* 'bad', *hat* 'hot', *kol* 'cold', *hevi* 'heavy' and *malumalu* 'soft' figures prominently in idiomatic expressions involving body terms. McElhanon (forthcoming) has drawn attention to the fact that "predications about the various body parts also reflect features common to the vernaculars."

gut: *gut(pela)* 'good' indicates peace, prosperity, happiness, kindness and naturalness. A few of these meanings are illustrated in the following examples:

- 76) *ndai gut* 'to die well=die of old age or natural causes'
 77) *stap gut* 'to be well, get along well'

nogut: *nogut* 'bad' reflects the opposite of *gut*, thus conflict, unhappiness, un-naturalness and sadness.

hat and *kol*: The semantics of the items *hat* 'hot' and *kol* 'cold' can be explained in terms of human body temperature. Thus Aufenanger and Höltker (1945:138-9) propose:

Hier ist nach dem Vorschlag von P. Joseph Schebesta, S.V.D., der Ausdruck Körperwärme gewählt, weil die Eingeborenen auch in ihren eigenen Sprachen immer von 'warm', bzw. 'kaltwerden' sprechen, wenn es sich um Erscheinungen handelt, die ich hier 'Körperwärme' genannt habe. In konsequenter Verfolgung dieser Vorstellung sagen die Neuguinea-Leute auch in ihrer jetzt gebräuchlichen Umgangssprache, dem Pidgin Englisch: katres i kold finish 'die Gewehrpatrone geht nicht los' (sie ist 'kalt'), oder posin i kold finish 'das Zaubergift ist unschädlich' (ist 'kalt' geworden).

no means exhaustive.

One of the main sources of continuous lexical innovation in Urban Pidgin is the group of English-Tok Pisin bilinguals. Observations made by myself suggest that both languages in this contact situation are subject to borrowing. The way in which traditional Tok Pisin body part images appear in Papua New Guinea English is illustrated in the following lines from a poem by Henginike Riyong (*Nema Namba*, Port Moresby 1974):

My ears open wide
I hear a song
A song from a distant mouth,
My ears search for the sound
My eyes explore to discover the mouth
And above my heads
The sweet melody
Flows swiftly into my waiting ears.

9.1. INFLUENCE FROM ENGLISH

Continuous borrowing from English has led to many changes in the Tok Pisin lexicon over the years, the changes in the conventions for idiom formation being only a minor aspect thereof. The type of change taking place is illustrated by the gradual replacement of adjectival expressions referring to emotional states.

Expressions such as *bel bilong mi i hat 'my belly is hot=I am cross, angry'* can be converted, by means of a lexical rule, into predicative adjectives/verbs of the type *belhat 'cross, angry'*. In recent years such adjectives, which resulted from the development of word formation mechanisms in Tok Pisin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1976a) have increasingly been replaced by simple stems borrowed from English. Compare:

85) Rural Pidgin		Urban Pidgin
aipas	'eye obstructed'	blain 'blind'
belgut	'belly good'	hepi 'happy'
belhat	'belly hot'	kros 'cross, angry'

In some instances a mixture of the two systems can be observed, as in the following form, recorded a number of times in various localities:

86) mi belkros	'my belly is cross, I am angry'
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A similar phenomenon is the gradual takeover of the functions of *bel* as the seat of thought and emotions by the item *het* as in:

87) em i stronghet tru ya	'he is very strong headed'
88) het bilong yu i pulap long pekpek	'your head is full of faeces=you are mad, unreasonable'

In the same vein *slipihet 'sleepy'* is found next to *aihevi 'eye heavy=sleepy'*.

The above examples are symptomatic of the general tendency to bring the lexical information contained in Tok Pisin lexical items closer to that of their English cognates and, in those cases where the meaning of the Tok Pisin items is more general, to supplement the narrowed meaning with new borrowings from English. Thus, one can observe a gradual decrease in the semantic range of the verb *harim* 'to perceive, feel hear'. Compare:

Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin
harim smel 'to perceive a smell'	smelim smel 'to smell a smell'
harim pen 'to perceive pain'	pilim pen 'to feel pain'
harim tok 'to hear the talk'	harim tok 'to hear the talk'

With regard to names for bodyparts, this principle can be illustrated with the changes affecting the items *han* and *lek*. Compare the following items:

Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin
han 'arm, hand, foreleg of an animal'	han 'hand'
skru bilong han 'elbow'	am 'arm'
lek 'leg, foot, hindleg of an animal'	elbo 'elbow'
pinga bilong lek 'toe'	lek 'leg (including that of an animal)'
	fut 'foot'
	to 'toe'

9.2. CREATION OF NEW BODY TERM EXPRESSIONS

A number of authors (e.g. Brash 1975:322ff) have remarked on the vigorous expansion and change in Urban Pidgin:

The city dweller who is forced to enact different roles, and to modulate different identities, is also forced into a more enterprising use of language.

This is illustrated, for instance, by the use of a number of near-synonyms of traditional body-part idioms which are mainly stylistic variations on an established theme. Some examples are:

Traditional expression	Urban variations
89) bel bilong mi i nogut 'to be disappointed'	bel bilong mi i pen (=pain) 'to be disappointed'
90) bel bilong mi i sikerap 'my belly itches=to be annoyed'	bel bilong mi i kaskas (=is scabious) 'to be very annoyed'
91) dispela tok i kirapim bel bilong yu 'this talk arouses your belly=makes you angry'	dispela tok i kikim bel bilong yu 'this talk kicks your belly=makes you very angry'

Other innovations are not constructed in parallel with existing ones. This can be seen from the fact that both the body parts used in them and the verbs/adjectives with which they collocate are not the ones

found in traditional body image language. Only a few of the numerous examples observed will be given here:

- 92) tit bilong ol man i bruk long spak 'the men's teeth break from drinking (=they are drinking a great deal, they open the bottles with their teeth)'
- 93) skin bilongen i tait 'his skin is tight=he is very small for his age'
- 94) man ya i gat tupela tang 'this man has two tongues=he is not consistent or trustworthy'
- 95) putim skin 'to put one's skin=to try to attract attention, to brag'

A special category is that of expressions involving taboo body terms and the words for various excreta. The following expressions are common in animated conversations, pub brawls and similar informal contexts:

- 96) em igat bikpela bol 'he's got big testicles=is unable to walk properly, to be bandy-legged unable to do things quickly'
- 97) bol bilongen i wara 'his testicles are water=he is impotent'
- 98) kan bilongen i wara (wara) 'her genitals are water=she is sexually aroused'
- 99) paitim bun 'to hit the bones=to have sexual intercourse'
- 100) popela lek i bung wantain 'four legs are meeting=to have sexual intercourse'
- 101) mauswara 'saliva=idle talk'
- 102) mauspekpek 'mouth faeces=waffle, to waffle'

Again, it would be easy to multiply such examples. Many of them are relatively shortlived but some certainly have a chance of becoming part of the more widely accepted lexical norms of Tok Pisin.

10. CONCLUSIONS

The above data clearly illustrates the point that pidgin languages can achieve a considerable degree of elaboration even before there is a significant number of first-language speakers. In addition, it appears that an analysis of such elaboration can tell us much about the nature and origins of such languages. Whilst more research in other semantic fields is necessary, a number of claims can be put forward on the basis of the study of body part images alone:

- 1) In comparing pidgins and creoles it seems counter-productive to base the comparison on arbitrary and artificial points in time. Instead, one should compare the dynamics and the multiplicity of manifestations in these languages.

ii) It was felt that the forces determining the semantic structure of a pidgin or creole differ according to the various stages of its life cycle. (This point may be contrasted with the view expressed by Huttar 1975:684-95).

iii) More particularly, it is useful to distinguish between stages that are characterised by linguistic contact and other that are characterised by internal developments and restructuring of linguistic material. Contact with the substratum language is strongest during the stabilisation (nativisation) of a pidgin; contact with the superstratum (lexifier) languages is usually most pronounced during the post-pidgin/creole stage. During both stages one can expect some degree of linguistic conflict and unnatural developments. Internal expansion and creolisation, on the other hand, are marked by language-internal processes, one of which is idiom formation.

iv) An idiom in pidgin can only be defined by referring to the beliefs and semantic conventions of its users. The same linguistic form can be either an idiom or a simple phrase for different speakers (for a European, for example, and a Cameroonian or New Guinean) and at different times in the development of the language (say at its stabilisation and its post-pidgin stage). However, it seems true that any expanded pidgin will have at least some forms that are true idioms for all of its speakers.

v) The fact that the idiomatic structures of CP and Tok Pisin today are quite different neither confirms nor refutes any of the theories about their historical relationships.

N O T E

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LANGUAGE PLANNING AND NEW GUINEA PIDGIN¹

S.A. Wurm

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

New Guinea Pidgin, the major lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, is believed to have at present close to a million and a half speakers which is one half of the total population of the country. During its colourful history a number of attempts at language planning have been made. However, whilst the subject of "Language Planning and Pidgin" is much talked and thought about in post-independence Papua New Guinea, there is very little systematic and planned action taking place in connection with it. At the same time, it appears that without vigorous implementation of concrete language planning actions in the near future, the continued existence of the language or at least its role as a general lingua franca in a country with approximately seven hundred languages may be in serious jeopardy.

To explain the situation, it will first be necessary to give some background information on the history of New Guinea Pidgin and its changing roles and social functions over the years to the present (see also Wurm 1977).

2. HISTORY AND ROLE OF PIDGIN

Recent research by Mühlhäusler (1975a, 1976b) has shown that the earliest stabilised form of New Guinea Pidgin was spoken in about 1882, on the Duke of York Islands, north of New Britain. He attributes the emergence of this earliest form of New Guinea Pidgin to the establishment of a stabilised plantation pidgin in Samoa where labourers recruited from the Duke of York area were working after 1879, with the first of them returning to their home area in 1882. With the spread

of administrative control through parts of German New Guinea, a version of this early New Guinea Pidgin, with its lexicon enriched with words from Tolai and German, spread far and wide and played an increasingly important role as a means of intercommunication across language boundaries. In this process, it became nativised and developed into an expanded pidgin, i.e. a language approximating, in its structural complexity and functional status, a natively spoken language.

The geographic and functional expansion of Pidgin continued and accelerated under Australian administration after 1914, and regional and social dialects began to appear. In the social setup of Papua New Guinea, however, Pidgin remained very much a low-caste language.

World War II saw a great expansion of the social functions of Pidgin which resulted from the emergence of new social patterns (Mühlhäusler 1979) and the breakdown of social barriers between indigenes and Europeans.

After the war, the spread of Pidgin into the realm of Police Motu (the other main Papua New Guinea lingua franca spoken in the former Territory of Papua) which had begun during the war years, gained momentum. At the same time, on the social level, Pidgin gradually changed its role from that of a caste language to a language with new roles and functions in the changing society.

In the early fifties, the status of English was enhanced dramatically for the indigenous population with primary schools generally switching to it as the medium of instruction as a result of a rigid governmental policy. However, the spread of Pidgin continued unabated, and the unrealistic 1953 call to Australia by the United Nations urging it to discontinue the use of Pidgin in the then Trust Territory of New Guinea (Hall 1955) had no effect on this: the administration had no control over the use of a nativised lingua franca as it was used mainly as an intertribal means of intercommunication by the indigenous population.

In the early sixties, regional diversification reached a comparatively high level, but after that the dialects became gradually neutralised as a result of the increasing mobility of the population, and the widening impact of mass media also played a part in this. At the same time, sociolectal diversification increased and an Urban Pidgin sociolect became well established. Creolised Pidgin made its first significant appearance during the sixties.

The coming of the seventies was, in Papua New Guinea, characterised by fundamental political and social changes, with the social position of members of the indigenous population undergoing a radical re-orientation as a result. This had the consequence that Pidgin was

suddenly assigned to much higher functional and social levels than before. It assumed the role of the first and main debate language in the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly (Hull 1968), and later the Parliament, its use by the mass media was greatly stepped up, and it again gained a role in primary education which it had before the switch to English in the fifties. At the same time, it became the inherent means of expression of a new subculture lying between the traditional and the Western, and in this capacity, it is now replacing local vernaculars and entering into a diglossic relation with English in urban areas. Socially determined differences became more prominent, and Rural Pidgin and Urban Pidgin became established as the two main sociolects (Mühlhäusler 1975c, 1979). Thus Pidgin became increasingly fluid and variable, and the stabilisation and remarkable uniformity, both regional and within sociolects, which had been characterising it, began to break down.

These phenomena were the direct consequence of the sudden elevation of Pidgin into a range of new and elaborate functions and social roles. In its forms as extant at the beginning of this development, it was clearly inadequate for fulfilling these roles satisfactorily - especially in terms of its vocabulary. It was therefore subjected to great pressures aiming to make its power of expression commensurate with its functional extensions. Pidgin contains, in its internal structure, powerful means of word formation and creation (Mühlhäusler 1973, 1975b, Wurm, Laycock and Mühlhäusler 1977) and the necessary enlargement of its vocabulary could, to a great extent, have taken place through internal creation if systematic and adequate language planning had been resorted to. Unfortunately, however, unco-ordinated ad hoc approaches reigned supreme, and wholesale borrowing from English became the prime process for the enrichment of the lexicon of Pidgin. The loans often violate the rules underlying the lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1976a) and jeopardise the continued existence of Pidgin as an independent language. In addition, this unsystematic interference with the internal structure of Pidgin has brought about the abovementioned increasing instability of the language and thereby has begun to threaten the continuing value of the language as the main lingua franca of Papua New Guinea. Already, there is an incipient communication breakdown between speakers of different sociolects (Wurm 1976a), and intercommunication between speakers of them continues to be possible only because the older speakers of the heavily anglicised Urban sociolects are bi-sociolectal. With the growing up of a new generation of speakers of the Urban sociolect, the intercommunication situation can be expected to become critical.

3. LANGUAGE PLANNING

It has been pointed out above that very little systematic language planning has been applied to Pidgin in its present precarious situation, though the need for it can only be described as desperate. Interestingly enough, however, Pidgin had been the target of language planning actions of various kinds in the past.

Before reviewing these instances of language planning, some definitions of "language planning" may be called for. Activities concerned with planning related to a language or languages can be broadly classified into two categories, one concerned with the social and functional role, use and standing of a particular language or languages, and the other with the form, i.e. features of the structure, of the language itself. The author has proposed the use of the term, "external language planning" for the former, and "internal language planning" for the latter (Wurm 1977). As an alternative, the term "language planning" has been mentioned with reference to Pidgin in the discussion of the directed role and functions of a language or languages in defined situations and in terms of a conceived language policy. "Language engineering" was used for activities concerned with the form of the language or languages involved (Wurm, Laycock and Mühlhäusler 1977). At the same time, it has been suggested that "language planning" may be the appropriate term to describe the deliberations preceding actions which constitute a direct interference with a language or languages, and that "language engineering" may be reserved for the actions of direct interference. A precise line separating the two concepts may be somewhat difficult to draw, and actions coming under one or the other of the opposing headings are often closely interconnected in actual situations of trial and feedback. In this paper, the terms "external language planning" and "internal language planning" will be used as defined above.

4. PIDGIN AND EXTERNAL LANGUAGE PLANNING

Three significant acts of external language planning directly or indirectly involving Pidgin stand out in the past.

One of these is the successful elimination of Pidgin from the former Territory of Papua in the period between the two world wars as the direct consequence of the encouragement of Police Motu by Sir Hubert Murray, the Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, who had a great dislike of Pidgin. It seems likely that Papua New Guinea may pay dearly for this success (Johnson 1977, Wurm, Laycock and Mühlhäusler 1977) in terms of political difficulties in view of the existence of the Papua

Independence Movement which has adopted Police Motu (now re-named Hiri Motu) as its rallying point and also in terms of problems surrounding the adoption of a single major local lingua franca. Pidgin seems the obvious choice for that: its speakers number close to a million and a half, and it is spoken and understood by some people in most parts of the country, including the areas which were traditionally the realms of Hiri Motu. Nevertheless, the politically highly sensitive issue of the value attached to Hiri Motu by the Papua Independence Movement, and the increasing significance of the language for many of the inhabitants of the former Territory of Papua as a means of self-identification, has made it necessary for the government to assign equal status, as major *lingue franche*, to Hiri Motu and Pidgin, though the former has only about 200,000 speakers, and is a strictly regional lingua franca.

Another act of external language planning involving Pidgin has been the imposition of English as the sole medium of instruction in the education system of Papua New Guinea over the past twenty years. Here again, it seems likely that the success of this action has done a great disservice to the country (Johnson 1977). Knowledge of English is of no relevance to a very large portion of the population of Papua New Guinea which is very predominantly rural.

The great hoped-for results of universal education in English have not materialised, and the resulting decline and, in many instances, elimination of the previous elementary education in vernaculars and *lingue franche* since the mid-fifties (Neuendorf 1977, Mihalic 1977, Renck 1977) has undoubtedly had an adverse influence on the educational level of the masses in the country. Had the same amount of effort and money which has been invested into education through English been spent on elementary and basic education, and vocational training through *lingue franche*, especially Pidgin and to some extent Hiri Motu, and through vernaculars, the country would have a much better supply of people with the type of education it needs than it has at present. The English-speaking elite would still be there, because education would have switched to English as a medium of instruction for those who proceeded beyond basic education, but the overall price of such a process, in terms of monetary and social cost, would have been much lower.

A third, and utterly unsuccessful, act of external language planning in the past was constituted by the attempts directed at the elimination of Pidgin in the former Trust Territory of New Guinea, including the abovementioned call by the United Nations in 1953 to the Australian Administration to discontinue its use immediately (Hall 1955).

The present, or recent, fundamental changes in the social functions

and role of Pidgin and its elevation to higher-level roles (see above) also constitute significant acts of external language planning. However, they have put the language into a precarious situation threatening its basic role and continued survival, as has been pointed out above.

A strong plea for new approaches to the role of Pidgin in national development, education and as a National Language of Papua New Guinea was made by T. Dutton, the foundation professor in the Department of Language in the University of Papua New Guinea, in his inaugural lecture (Dutton 1976). His strong criticism of the existing approach which favours English stresses

- a) that it perpetuates old assumptions and old fallacies subsumed under them, and
- b) that it is too expensive from both social and monetary points of view.

He then proceeds to investigate the suitability of Pidgin as a general national language and proposes its adoption as such, and also advocates its use, in an "improved", i.e. enriched, form as the medium of instruction on all levels of education, including the secondary and tertiary. Its use in this function in education would constitute a novel step in external language planning involving Pidgin. Dutton demonstrates that the adoption of Pidgin in the functions proposed by him would entail very substantial monetary savings over the cost of the present use of English. He also argues that it would produce great benefits on the social side such as universal literacy within a very short time, more jobs for people for less money and at the right levels, education in a language which children can understand, an education for the mass of the people which is relevant to their needs, and the development of an important national symbol. He is, at the same time, aware of possible social costs, especially the fear of "intellectual deprivation" suffered by children educated in a still-developing language which does not have the same range in the subtlety of expression which English possesses. He feels, however, that these fears are largely unjustified and that by the time the children would be receiving schooling full-time in Pidgin the language would have been enriched sufficiently to make such fears groundless. Dutton is also aware of the possibility of both teacher and community resistance against a change of the kind proposed by him, but feels that this resistance would only arise out of the present situation. In other words, if the decision were taken to change the system, then this situation would also change, and the motivation for such resistance would disappear. Dutton continues by suggesting practical steps for the implementation of a non-English, i.e. Pidgin-oriented policy which constitutes a blueprint for external

language planning procedures aimed at achieving this goal. The main points which he makes are the following:

- 1) The Government should establish a national language committee whose task it would be to research further into the present state of the language and make decisions about what should be in the language.
- 2) There should be a "soft" advertising campaign to "sell" the new idea.
- 3) All public servants should be able to speak the national language and be encouraged to use it whenever convenient.
- 4) The national language should be taught in all primary schools not as an alternative to vernacular education but where necessary, together with it.
- 5) The national language should be taught to all adults interested in learning to read in it.
- 6) The national language should be the principal language used on all district and national radio stations for national information. Local vernaculars could be used for local information very much as at present.
- 7) The Government should publish local newspapers with reporting in the national language - not translating from English - and encourage people to publish their own papers and keep their own records.
- 8) Teachers' colleges should be turned over to teaching Tok Pisin and should concentrate on the production of reading materials and community aid programmes.
- 9) Teaching in English at the University should be gradually scaled down and the University should utilise resources for the production of materials in the national language. This could be done as follows:
 - (i) all graduates spend another year at university producing textbooks and writing in the language leading to an increase in the national literature;
 - (ii) the national language to be a compulsory part of all courses;
 - (iii) "diplomates" (if they restructure the university courses as presently being considered) could do useful things in the village helping out teachers with literacy materials in their own field;
 - (iv) the material written by graduate students to be used in first-year courses the next year;
 - (v) English to be offered as part of the course structure for certain professions, e.g. foreign affairs, business executives, university staff.
- 10) Selected Government officers to be sent to Tanzania and Indonesia to study their programmes.

5. PIDGIN AND INTERNAL LANGUAGE PLANNING

The above discussion by Dutton of detailed external language planning proposals concerning the use and role of Pidgin raises the question of internal language planning involving Pidgin.

5.1. PIDGIN AND INTERNAL LANGUAGE PLANNING IN THE PAST AND RECENTLY

Pidgin had been subjected to few acts of internal language planning in the past. One notable instance in pre-World War II times was the attempt by the Catholic Mission at the standardisation of Pidgin orthography, lexicon and grammar (Höltker 1945) which led to the emergence of two distinct (mainland Pidgin versus Island Pidgin) dialects as a result of the differing views held by the Missions in Alexishafen near Madang and in New Britain. However, these standardisation efforts lagged behind the developments in spoken Pidgin and brought about the development of an archaic Church Pidgin.

Another important act of internal language planning was the establishment of a standard Pidgin orthography in the mid-fifties by official administrative action through the efforts of the Department of Education (Wurm 1976b). Unfortunately, the newly devised orthography was not in fact adopted by Administration agencies because of the lack of implementation action. However, it was adopted, and later modified, by the Lutheran Mission and used in its numerous publications, including the Translation of the New Testament which appeared in 1969.

In 1969, a large group of interested persons from missions, government, the press, the House of Assembly, and institutions engaged in the professional and scientific study of language again attempted to fully standardise the orthography of Pidgin following the New Testament spelling. The deliberations and recommendations of this group constituted a good example of careful internal language planning, but again, there was no official action enforcing the proposals, and they were largely not followed by government departments and other agencies. However, the orthography was used in dictionaries (e.g. Mihalic 1971) and Pidgin textbooks (i.e. Dutton 1973) which were published since, then led to its increasing acceptance, especially amongst expatriates.

Apart from this concern with the spelling and orthography of Pidgin, the only significant acts of deliberate internal language planning involving Pidgin was the adoption of a standardised form of the language reflecting the northern coastal usage, by the Lutheran and Catholic Presses in their numerous publications. This also entailed the coining of a number of vocabulary items, predominantly through loans from English and other European sources, but also through the

utilisation of word-building rules inherent in Pidgin.

These controlled and careful attempts at enriching the vocabulary of Pidgin constituted acts which would legitimately come under the heading of internal language planning. On the other hand, the flooding of Pidgin with a mass of unmodified loans from English in ad hoc attempts by speakers using Pidgin in new social functions and roles for which it lacked readily available lexical means of expression, hardly deserves this name. It has, on the contrary, put the language into a situation in which language planning aiming at repairing the damage done is badly needed to ensure its continued existence as a language separate from English, and to enable it to continue its function as the main lingua franca of Papua New Guinea.

5.2. INTERNAL LANGUAGE PLANNING NEEDED FOR PIDGIN

Such internal language actions urgently called for Pidgin would, in this situation, have to be

- a) remedial, and
- b) constructive.

Pidgin has quite elaborate rules of word formation (Mühlhäusler 1976d, Wurm, Laycock, Mühlhäusler 1977) which are radically different from those of English. The wholesale introduction of English loanwords often violates these rules and not only leads to a breakdown of the rules underlying the structure of the Pidgin lexicon, but also decreases the mutual intelligibility of Urban and Rural Pidgin. Unfortunately, anglicised Urban Pidgin remains the variety used in many Government pronouncements and public statements intended for the nation as a whole: this means that much of the contents of such statements remains incomprehensible to the majority of the population and that the basic function of Pidgin as a general means of inter-communication is getting defeated.

Obviously, remedial action aiming at the solution of the two problems mentioned is needed. At the same time, the basic cause responsible for the emergence of these problems must be eliminated. The reason for the overloading of Pidgin with English loanwords is obviously the inadequacy of its lexical range which cannot meet the demands of the new roles and functions into which the language has suddenly been elevated as a result of social and political developments in very recent times. If therefore, carefully considered and vigorous constructive action can be taken to remedy this shortcoming through adequate enrichment of the Pidgin lexicon with vocabulary items which follow the internal rules of the language, two aims would be achieved: Pidgin would remain a language in its own right, and the enriched language would be readily

understood by all speakers of Pidgin. English loans would of course be required in considerable numbers, but if care is taken that the words adapted do not violate the basic rules of Pidgin structure, their presence would not be harmful to the nature of the language, and the mass media could be instrumental in explaining the meaning of new terms to the public. This would be quite feasible if the number of such words is not very large, and they fit into Pidgin structure - but it is fruitless if there is a flood of them, and they have shapes quite alien and structurally strange to the average Pidgin speaker.

5.2.1. Orthography

From what has been said so far it appears that the two areas in which there is the greatest need for language planning for Pidgin are those of orthography and lexicon. With the former, a workable orthography is available - some internal planning improving its shape may perhaps be called for, but in general, it is adequate. What is needed, is concerted external language planning action to ensure its general acceptance and use.

5.2.2. Lexicon

The situation surrounding the lexicon of Pidgin is different, and a large amount of internal language planning is required to enrich the Pidgin vocabulary with items of Pidgin creation. In fact, many such items are already in use by Pidgin-speakers, but they are over-shadowed by the English loans used by others in their place. The collection and sifting of genuine Pidgin creations for new concepts is an important task for internal language planning. External language planning action is needed to enrich the acceptance and use of such genuine Pidgin lexical items, and the discontinuation of the many straight English loans at present employed by speakers of the heavily anglicised Urban Pidgin sociolect.

Plans are under consideration in Papua New Guinea at present on an official level in connection with the establishment of an organisation co-operating with the University of Papua New Guinea, which would have as its task the study of the problems of the lexicon of Pidgin, with a view to its enrichment and elaboration so that the language can more adequately fulfil its present and future roles.

5.2.3. Pronunciation and Spelling of English Loan Words

A problem directly associated with the recent English loans in Pidgin is that of the pronunciation (and in written Pidgin, the spelling)

of such words. The sound system of Pidgin is quite different from that of English, and the tendency of educated Pidgin-speakers to pronounce (and spell) such loan words in accordance with English usage further violates the structure of Pidgin and has an additional adverse effect on its comprehensibility to non-sophisticated Pidgin-speakers who do not know English.

The interesting sociolinguistic phenomenon can be observed that educationally sophisticated speakers of Pidgin tend to adopt an English accent in Pidgin for reasons of prestige, while at the same time they readily admit that such anglicised Pidgin is "bad Pidgin", and non-anglicised Rural Pidgin "good Pidgin" endowed with prestige. It appears that anglicised Pidgin is frequently used merely to enhance personal prestige, identifying the speaker as an educated person who knows English (Wurm 1977).

5.2.4. Grammatical Structure

Another facet of Pidgin which calls for internal language planning is its grammatical structure. Until recently, differences in the grammatical structure of different forms of Pidgin were relatively minor (Laycock 1970, Wurm 1971), and its core grammar comparatively stable. As a result of the abovementioned social changes, however, Pidgin grammar, especially in the Urban sociolect, has become increasingly unstable and fluid in recent times. Remedial standardisation procedures concerning grammar are called for in the framework of internal language planning. In general, Pidgin is losing some grammatical features (such as aspect marking) which were common in some of its varieties until not long ago and which added to its expressive power. It appears that a task of internal language planning concerning Pidgin grammar would be to ascertain the nature and range of functions of such more elaborate forms in past and present forms of Pidgin and to prescriptively include them in the grammar of an enriched standardised form of Pidgin (Wurm 1975).

6. IMPLEMENTATION OF LANGUAGE PLANNING DECISIONS

With acts of language planning, external and internal, the question of the implementation of decisions taken is one of paramount importance. As has already been mentioned, general acceptance of the standardised Pidgin orthography twice foundered on this problem in the past.

While authoritative decrees sanctioning, and prescribing the acceptance of, the decisions of external language planning and the adoption of the language features proposed by internal language planning are

essential for success, they alone are not sufficient. The most important factor in the implementation of the decisions of language planners, once they have been officially accepted and sanctioned by those in authority, is the endowment of the proposed language roles and the use of the suggested language forms with some prestige and economic or other benefits. For instance, appointment to coveted governmental and other positions offering rich rewards in terms of prestige and material advantages could be made conditional on the acceptance and mastery of the planned, standardised form of the language by the appointee. Also of very great importance is the strict adherence to what has been proposed by language planners, on the part of the authorities who have accepted and sanctioned the proposals and decreed their implementation. This would constitute the setting of an example by a body commanding prestige, and this example would stand a good chance of being followed by others.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

It seems that in the case of Pidgin, the need for careful attention to the question of the implementation of language planning decisions has been overlooked in the past. Beyond doubt, the success of urgently needed internal language planning actions involving Pidgin would, if taken, depend entirely on the amount and nature of attention given to the all-important question of the implementation of such actions and on the way in which this implementation is carried out. It seems also beyond doubt that, without adequate internal language planning and suitable implementation of its decisions, Pidgin will not fulfil the roles which it is destined to play in the opinion and views of many in Papua New Guinea.

N O T E

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THE CONCEPT OF A 'CREOLOID' EXEMPLIFICATION: BASILECTAL SINGAPORE ENGLISH¹

John T. Platt

It would seem that a new concept needs to be established for certain speech varieties which are, strictly speaking, neither creoles nor part of a post-creole continuum but which share many features with them. Unlike creoles, these varieties did not develop from a pidgin but by some other process. However, they often show similar structural variables to creoles (or lects along a post-creole continuum) based on the same standard language. I have suggested the term *creoloid* for this type of phenomenon (Platt 1975a and b).

Some tentative defining features of a creoloid are:

(a) A creoloid develops from the transference of features into the standard language from the speech varieties of several (sometimes unrelated) ethnic groups. This is not to say that feature transference has occurred at an equal rate from all of the speech varieties involved nor that the area of transference is identical for every variety. Variety A may have caused interference in a certain part of the standard language whereas variety B may have had that effect on another part. Another possibility is that for certain reasons variety A is the dominant interference factor with B, C and D, because of their own structures, causing reinforcement of the transferred features. This would be the case in Singapore English where the strongest sources of transference are the Southern Chinese dialects of Hokkien and Cantonese (let us call them varieties A_1 and A_2) with Mandarin, Malay and Tamil (varieties A_3 , B and C) playing a more minor part.

Typical transference in a creoloid situation takes place through the education system in its wider sense. The standard language is taught officially in its standard form in the classroom, but unlike a

true learner's language this type of interlanguage is used in regular communicative situations outside the classroom at an early stage, causing partial petrification of certain structures. In addition to this, it is usually the case that if instruction in all or most subjects is given in the standard language, the teachers themselves would use a local variety of this standard language. We therefore find a speech continuum usually ranging from a localised form of the standard language as the acrolect through mesolectal varieties to a basilect, a pure creoloid.

If one considers the whole phenomenon of variable use of certain features (Labov 1972a, 1972b, Trudgill 1974), then one may consider that in such a continuum a few creoloidal features are present to a minor degree in the acrolect itself and that the percentage of their use increases as one moves down the continuum (Platt 1976b, 1977c).

(b) The standard or superordinate language is one of the official languages. It may in certain cases, of course, be the official language. Under British rule, English was the sole official language in Singapore but in the present independent Republic of Singapore, English is one of four official languages, the others being Mandarin, Malay and Tamil.

(c) The creoloid itself is used as one of several native languages by the speech community. In this respect, the creoloid resembles a creole, which serves as a native language for a sector of the speech community.

I would include as native language either the speaker's first language (learned as first language in infancy) or learned at an early stage of childhood. Singapore English is the native language, for example, of most Singapore Eurasians, a number of Singapore Indians of Christian faith, and certain English-medium educated Singapore Chinese. Some of the latter may have first learned, for example, Hokkien, Teochew or Cantonese from servants or older relatives but have picked up Singapore English well before they were of school age from parents, friends or elder siblings and it has become one of their native languages.

(d) The creoloid is used in inter-ethnic group communication within the speech community where it is one of the sub-varieties. This aspect of being a lingua-franca between ethnic groups is usually considered more the function of a pidgin. But the typical creoloid differs from the typical pidgin in that it is not drastically reduced in

lexicon or syntax. The scope of communicative potential is limited with most pidgins whereas the semantax of a creoloid would be flexible enough for it to be used for detailed discussions on many topics (Platt 1975b).

In Singapore, Singapore English (SE) with its basilect, Singapore Colloquial English (SCE) is just one of many speech varieties, the others being Mandarin, Southern Chinese dialects (Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochew, with some Hakka and Hainanese (Platt 1976a), a local form of Malay, Tamil and other Dravidian languages, Hindi and other Indo-European languages of India. In inter-ethnic group communications, SE would be used between Chinese and Indians, Chinese and Malays, Malays and Indians, and between all these ethnic groups and Eurasians and Europeans (Platt 1975b).

One could conceive of similar situations, where a creole (or a creoloid) apart from being a means of intra-group communication could become a lingua-franca for inter-ethnic group communication.

As an example of a pure creoloid I wish to discuss the basilectal form of Singapore English: Singapore Colloquial English (SCE), which is at times barely comprehensible to speakers of other varieties of English.

From these defining features, a tentative definition of a creoloid might be:

A speech variety which has developed through the educational system such that a non-native or introduced prestige speech variety is taught to speakers of another speech variety (or other speech varieties) in a situation where the introduced variety comes to be used in everyday situations, to be acquired by some children before they commence school and to become virtual 'native' speech variety for some or all speakers.²

It would be more accurate to speak of a creoloidal continuum, and a characteristic of such a continuum would be that speakers of higher lects are able to distinguish different functions for different lects along the continuum and to use appropriate lects for different functions. Some speakers would, of course, be restricted to the production of lower lects although they might be able to decode higher lects and be aware of their status and function.

In order to understand the development of SCE in Singapore, it has to be seen against the background of the extremely complex language situation in Singapore arising from a mixture of ethnic, socio-economic and educational factors past and present.

The inhabitants of the island before the establishment of the British colony were predominantly Malays, and they still form about 15% of the population of over two million. They are outnumbered five to one by the Chinese, who arrived from Southern China during the 19th

and earlier part of this century. The third group (about 7% of the population) are 'Indians', of whom the majority are Dravidians, with Tamils predominating. The rest of the population, less than 2%, consists of Eurasians, Europeans and other small groups.

Up to the early part of this century, the use of English (British English) was restricted mainly to administrators, military personnel and British businessmen and their families. The main speech varieties used were Southern Chinese dialects, Indian languages and Malay.

In the pre-Japanese occupation era (until 1942) education was neither free nor compulsory. English-medium schools had been established by various church missions and there was also one English-medium government school, Raffles Institute. It was at these schools that Singapore English came into being (Platt 1975b).

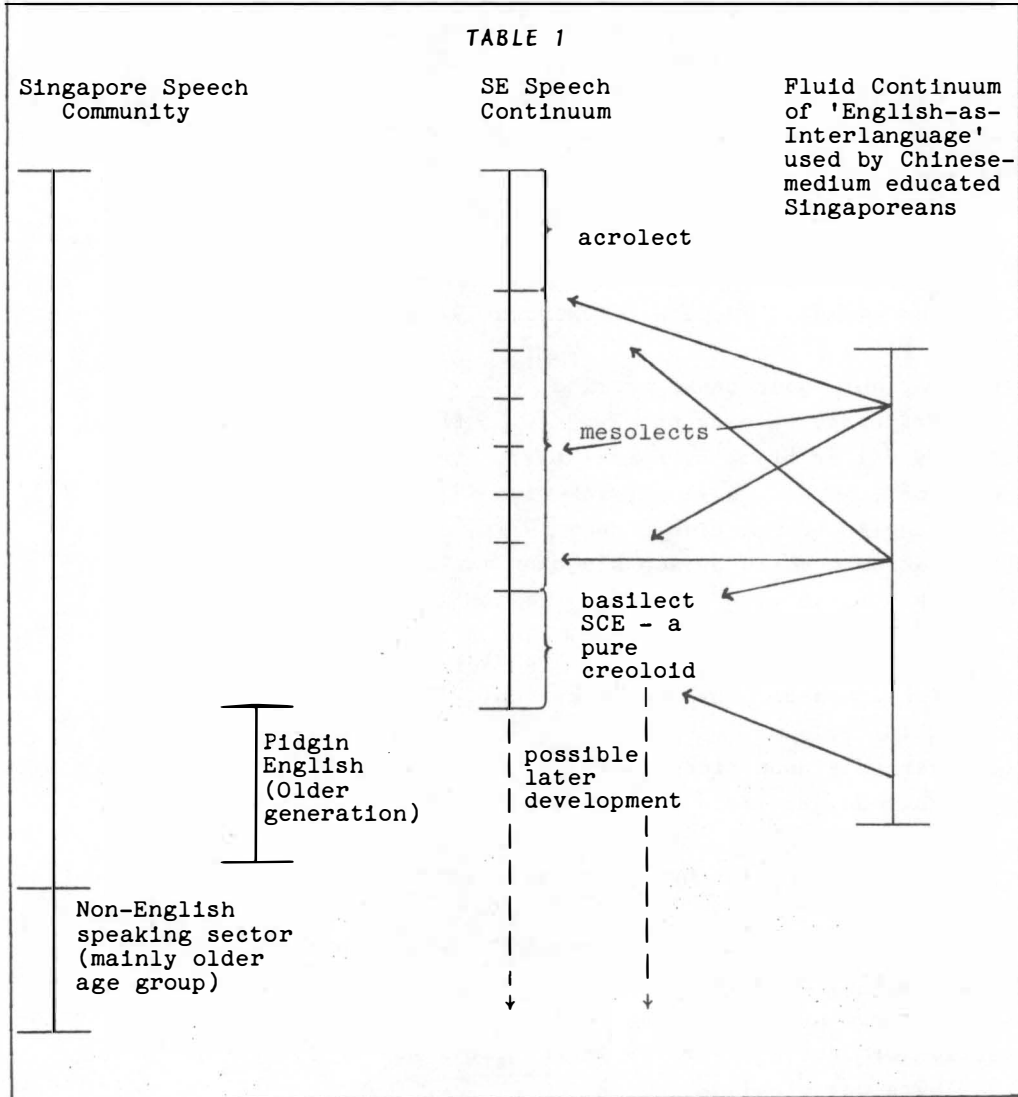
The existence of the whole Singapore English speech continuum can be traced to the transference of certain features from the speech varieties of local ethnic groups (e.g. Hokkien, Cantonese, Malay and Tamil) to the English acquired by school children in English-medium primary and secondary schools. These transferred features were then reinforced by the use of this variety (particularly its basilect SCE) in informal situations at school, at home among siblings, and later on in the Friendship and Employment Domains (Platt 1977a, 1977b).

With the tremendous expansion of education since the war and since independence, the growth in the number of speakers of SE has been rapid, and now most of the younger part of the population of Singapore in general could be considered as speakers of Singapore English. In 1956, an all-party committee recommended bilingual primary and secondary education. Each child was to be taught in English, Chinese (Mandarin), Malay or Tamil. If English was the first language, then one of the other three had to be taken as a second language. If one of the others was taken as first language, English had to be taken as second language. Since 1947, there has been a constant increase in the choice of English as first language (from 31.6% in 1947 to 64.8% in 1972). Recent changes in educational policy have increased pupil exposure to the second language which is to be used as a medium of instruction for some subjects.

Because of the ever increasing number of English-medium educated Singaporeans, a strange phenomenon has developed, namely the existence at the present stage of a speech continuum of Singapore English which does not reach the lower end of the social spectrum and which is conditioned by the age of its speakers. There was a type of primitive English pidgin in use since early times of colonisation but it did not develop as the main lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication was Bazaar Malay (Bahasa Pasar), a pidginised form of Malay.

In addition to the more firmly structured SE continuum of the English-medium educated Singaporeans, there exists a type of more fluid 'English-as-Interlanguage' continuum of the mainly Chinese-medium educated Singaporeans who, as soon as they are more constantly exposed in Friendship and later on in Employment Domains to SE speakers, gradually become absorbed into the SE continuum (Platt 1977d).

Table 1 gives a diagrammatic representation of the situation described above.



If the scope of English-medium education extends further, it is likely that the continuum will eventually extend to cover the full range of the social spectrum.

As mentioned earlier, a creoloid often exhibits similar structural variables to creoles (or lects along a post-creole continuum) based on the same standard language (as in Hawaii, Jamaica and Guyana, e.g. Bickerton 1973, 1975, Day 1973) and Black English Vernacular (e.g. Fasold 1972, Labov 1972a, Wolfram 1969). The status of the latter has been debated but it appears, on the whole, to be accepted as a post-creole type of phenomenon (e.g. Labov 1972a, Todd 1974).

It is not possible here to discuss all structural similarities but some examples are: variable copula realisation, variable past tense marking, variable 3rd person singular marking, and variable noun plural marking.

(a) variable copula realisation

You t'ing I stupi' la? (Platt 1975b)

My paren' also Cantonese. (Platt 1975b)

(cf. for example: Guyana (Bickerton 1975), Black English Vernacular (Labov 1969).)

(b) variable past tense marking

Yesterday we play hockey. (Platt 1975b)

My fat'er bring my mot'er over. (Platt 1977c)

(cf. for example: Guyana (Bickerton 1975), Jamaica (B. Bailey 1971), Black English Vernacular (Labov 1972a, Fasold 1972).)

(c) variable third person singular marking

Tha' radio soun' goo'. (Platt 1975b)

My sister sleep in t'ere. (The reference was clearly to one sister.) (Platt 1977c)

(cf. for example: Guyana (Bickerton 1975), Jamaica (B. Bailey 1971), Lawton 1976).)

(d) variable noun plural marking

How many bottel?

I like orchi'. (Platt 1975b)

T'is here coffee house is qui' goo' - also go' customer come in.
(Platt 1977c)

(cf. for example: Guyana (Bickerton 1975), Black English Vernacular (Labov 1972a, Kessler 1972).)

There are numerous other features, e.g. the use of got as an existence or locative verb as in the previous example or in:

Here go' pipel.

'There are people here.' (Platt 1975b)

(cf. Bickerton and Odo (1976) and Day (1973) on the use of get/got in Hawaii.)

and what Bickerton (1976) refers to as 'pronoun copying'. In Singapore English, 'pronoun copying' agrees in number and gender with the referent, unlike the invariant *i* of New Guinea Tok Pisin:

My cousin(s) t'ey working t'ere.

Even my neighbour(s) I hear t'em spea' Hakka.

But t'e gran'son(s) t'ey know to spea' Malay.

SCE is not an interlanguage in the restricted sense of the term. It is not just a learner's language, a series of lects approaching more and more to the grammar of the target language and showing considerable and unsystematic variation from speaker to speaker. It is rather a 'petrified' system, petrified by constant use, and therefore reinforced among speakers of the variety itself. I do not, of course, mean petrified in any absolute sense. SCE is changing all the time as any speech variety does, but unlike the typical second or 'other' language situation, there is reinforcement of SCE characteristics in all domains: school, home, employment, friendship, transactions (Platt and Platt 1975).

That there is considerable structuring in SCE can be seen from the following examples of variable use and their implicational relationships.

Copula realisation: The realisation of the copula in four syntactic environments (pre-Adjective, pre-Nominal, pre-V-ing and pre-Locative) appears to be highly implicational through the SE speech continuum. For a random sample of 40 speakers,³ a scalability of 93% was obtained (Platt 1976b) with the implication being:

Invariant Copula Realisation

pre-Adj. —→ pre-Nom. —→ pre-V-ing —→ pre-Loc.

For a group with lower educational levels and lower prestige occupations, i.e. the typical speakers of SCE, the following group scores of copula realisation were obtained:

Environment	Percentage
Pre-Adj.	69.8
Pre-Nom.	80.0
Pre-V-ing	81.3
Pre-Loc.	84.1

(Platt forthcoming)

In an investigation of past tense marking by a random sample of 32 English-medium educated Singaporeans with education not above G.C.E. level (Platt 1977e), a scalability of 88.9% was obtained for eight verb types if each cell in the scalogram showed categorical past tense marking or non-categorical past tense marking. The eight verb types are: consonant final + d/t, consonant final + ed, vowel final + d, vowel

change, be, have, get, go. The implicational ordering is: C + d/t → Vw change → Vw + d → have → go → C + ed → be → get.

The overall percentages of marked as against unmarked forms ranged from a low of 26.6% for C + d/t to 92.9% for get.

A recent investigation (Platt 1977d) has shown that there even exists a strong implicational relationship between linguistic features such as the degree of definite and indefinite article insertion, noun plural marking, past tense marking, and 3rd person singular marking, as can be seen by the group averages of a random sample of 29 English-medium educated Singaporeans:

the	a(n)	N.plural	past tense	3 pers. sing.
84.8	71.7	61.9	47.9	29.1

It has been mentioned earlier that there exists in Singapore a type of 'English-as-Interlanguage' used mainly by Chinese-medium educated Singaporeans. As there is a continuous movement from this group towards the SE continuum because of contact with speakers of SE, it is not easy to find and record casual speech of the 'pure' Interlanguage users. Many of our speakers had already had contact with SE speakers in friendship or employment domains or in tertiary education situations. Most of these Chinese-medium educated speakers, however, still spoke English to some extent like a learner's language, carefully and slowly, with considerable hesitation.

This can be shown by a comparison of two groups of speakers: Group E (English-medium educated) and Group C (Chinese-medium educated who all took English as their compulsory second language at primary and high school) (Platt 1977d). The average use of the five variables mentioned earlier is noticeably higher for the E group. By this I mean that not only is the actual use of a variable higher but so is the potential use, where 'actual use' (AU) refers to the number of times that the variable actually was realised, whereas 'potential use' (PU) means the number of places in which the variable was or could have been realised.

GROUP	Mean of Variable Occurrence									
	the		a(n)		N.pl.		Past T.		3 pers.	
	AU	PU	AU	PU	AU	PU	AU	PU	AU	PU
E	30.4	35.9	16.2	22.6	30.7	50.0	10.0	20.3	2.2	7.4
C	19.4	23.9	11.4	18.4	17.7	31.8	5.6	15.1	1.0	4.5

The figures suggest that E group speakers, on the average, spoke more in the half hour recorded interview sessions, backing up my claim that the English-medium educated are the typical speakers of Colloquial Singapore English, using it with a native-like fluency, whereas the

Chinese-medium educated use English more as a 'foreign' or 'other' language.

We can see from some of the above investigations that there is a great deal of system in the interrelationships of variables in SCE and that we are dealing with a group of speakers in an ordered dynamic system developing towards an acrolectal form which is, however, itself a local variety of the 'standard' language.

N O T E S

1. This paper was presented at the Workshop on Pidgins and Creoles, at the XIIth International Congress of Linguists in Vienna, August-September 1977.

2. Todd (1975) independently suggested the term 'creoloid' when referring to Tyrone English (TE), the English used by the uneducated Catholic community in Tyrone, Northern Ireland. Todd's definition of a creoloid differs in two essential points from the one suggested by me: (1) She suggests that only one native language comes into contact with English whereas I propose that a creoloid could arise in a contact situation with one or more native languages; (2) TE appears to have been acquired more or less informally over a considerable stretch of time in a contact situation between two languages, one being the dominant one, whereas Singapore English and similar speech varieties arose specifically through the educational system in a particular community and developed within a relatively short span of time.

3. These and other speakers were recorded in Singapore. The research was supported by Australian Research Grants Committee grant A68/16801.

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SAMOAN PLANTATION PIDGIN ENGLISH AND THE ORIGIN OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN¹

Peter Mühlhäusler

1. INTRODUCTION

The study of the Pacific varieties of Pidgin and Creole English has gained considerable momentum in recent years. However, the progress made in the description of the most important of these languages (New Guinea Pidgin, Bichelamar, Hawaiian Pidgin and Creole, Solomon Island Pidgin and Pitcairnese) is not paralleled by similar advances in the field of historical and comparative studies of these languages. Those interested in the development of English pidgins and creoles in the Pacific are in a much less favourable position than those dealing with their Atlantic counterparts for which a considerable body of historical and comparative studies exists (e.g. Taylor 1963; Hancock 1969; Edwards 1974 and numerous others).

Though remarks on the relatedness of English pidgins and creoles in the Pacific are often found in discussions of the individual languages, no attempt to develop an integrated account of these languages has yet been made. The present paper is not aimed at providing such an account. Instead it is meant to re-examine some earlier opinions about the origins of New Guinea Pidgin in the light of new evidence collected by the author.

The bulk of this paper will be concerned with Samoan Plantation Pidgin (henceforth SPP), a little known variety of Pacific Pidgin English. Remnants of this Pidgin were studied by the author during fieldwork in Western Samoa in January 1975. The information gained from a number of sessions with the few remaining speakers was supplemented by information of a sociolinguistic nature obtained from

several Samoan informants. In addition, materials from hitherto unknown or little known sources were used to supplement the information collected in the field.

The claim put forward on the basis of this data is that the most significant single factor in the development of New Guinea Pidgin (henceforth NGP) was the employment of labourers from the New Guinea Islands on the Samoan Plantations of the Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft (D.H. and P.G.), and that many structural properties of NGP can be traced back to SPP.

2. THEORIES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

The question of how NGP relates to the other varieties of Pacific Pidgin English and jargonised English has been debated in a number of places. Various hypotheses, ranging from mere speculations to some more serious proposals, have been put forward.

Some unlikely explanations include the suggestion that a variety of pidgin (presumably Chinese Pidgin English) was brought to German New Guinea by imported Chinese labour. This theory has little to recommend it since NGP was already established before the arrival of the Chinese and since, moreover, these Chinese were recruited in the Dutch East Indies and Singapore and therefore spoke Coastal Malay. However, as Wu (1977:1047-56) has pointed out, a variety of Chinese Pidgin English was used by the Chinese community in Rabaul after 1900 and this variety may have influenced the development of NGP to some degree.

Equally unlikely is the claim that NGP "was invented and introduced by the Germans in order that they might speak before natives in their own tongue without being understood", a claim which has been discussed and dismissed by Reed (1943:271 fn.13). Helton (1943:5) gives a slightly different version of this theory:

New Guinea Pidgin originated in a peculiar way. The Germans who originally occupied New Guinea, endeavoured to teach the natives to speak German as it was impossible to learn the numerous native dialects. The natives could not master the guttural sounds and the Germans who knew very little English, taught them the various English names of the articles they were using.

In fact, no attempts were made to teach the natives German until well after the firm establishment of NGP in German New Guinea.

The claim that NGP originated on the Queensland sugar plantations has been supported by a strong body of opinion (e.g. Hall 1955:32; Laycock 1970:x; Mihalic 1973:8; and Wurm in Dutton 1973:iv). Wurm (1966:51) has summed up this view as follows:

New Guinea Pidgin came into being as the direct result of the use of indentured native labour on the sugarcane plantations of North Queensland, from approximately the middle of the last century to the first year of the twenties. These natives, who were brought to Australia by the so-called "black-birders", sailors who were engaged in the special activity of providing native labour for the plantations, were largely from the New Britain and Solomon Islands areas, with a prominent part of them from Northern New Britain. The language of many of the latter was Tolai.

The untenability of this claim, at least in its strongest form, was first shown by Salisbury (1967:44-8). He pointed out that:

Very few Tolai went as labourers to Queensland - my own guess would be less than a hundred. Most labourers came from the New Hebrides and the Solomons. Attention turned to the New Guinea Islands only in early 1883.

Salisbury continues to point out that recruiting of labour from New Guinea for the Queensland plantations came to an end in 1884 when the German government prohibited it except with regard to the plantations of the D.H. and P.G. in Samoa.

The Queensland sugar plantations may have played a more important role in the development of Papuan Pidgin English, in particular the variety spoken on the islands to the East of the Papuan mainland. This possibility has been discussed by Mühlhäusler (1978).

Salisbury's own hypothesis is that an already stabilised pidgin was brought to the New Britain/New Ireland area by traders and whalers and that this pidgin underwent significant changes after 1884 under the impact of the Tolai language. However the linguistic evidence does not support Salisbury's claim (Salisbury 1967:45) that many of the characteristics of NGP grammar were already developed by 1881, and the importance of speakers of Tolai in the formation of NGP is also debatable. Although Salisbury mentions the recruitment of labourers for Samoa (p.44) he doesn't attach any significance to this fact.

The hypothesis proposed in this paper, though disagreeing with the views just mentioned, is in agreement with authors such as Wurm in that it maintains that a significant part of the stabilisation and development of NGP took place outside New Guinea. At the same time, Salisbury's view that the Queensland plantations could only have played a minor role is also accepted.

The argument will be divided into the following sections:

- 1) Historical evidence of SPP
- ii) Labour trade between Samoa and the New Guinea Islands²
- iii) The social status of Samoan Plantation Pidgin (SPP) in past and present
- iv) Linguistic evidence for links between SPP and NGP.

3. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF SAMOAN PLANTATION PIDGIN

The early history of SPP, like that of most pidgins, is not well documented and what little has been written about this language was tucked away in old travel descriptions, newspapers and documents. With the exception of Schuchardt's and Keesing's writings, none of the sources mentioned in this section has come under the attention of linguists studying the Pacific varieties of pidgin and creole English. SPP is not mentioned in Hancock's 'List of Pidgin and Creole Languages' (1971:509-23) nor is it mentioned in Wurm's account of Pacific pidgins and creoles (Wurm 1971b:999-1021). In view of this fact I shall present a fairly detailed discussion of the written sources which have come to my attention.

The earliest document at hand is an article by Schuchardt (1889:158-62). The importance of this article lies in the fact that the examples of SPP listed date back to the year 1883, i.e. to a time when the first labourers from New Britain and New Ireland had just begun to arrive. The data presented may be taken as an indication that a stabilised pidgin was found in Samoa as early as the 1870s. The pidgin described by Schuchardt appears to be closely related to Bichelamar of the New Hebrides from where the bulk of the plantation labourers was drawn at the time. A comparison of Schuchardt's data with data collected by Neffgen (1915) and the present author suggests that SPP underwent a number of changes in subsequent years under the impact of the influx of large numbers of labourers from the New Britain and New Ireland areas.

The linguistic character of early SPP appears to have resulted from two major influences, i) the existence of unstable varieties of jargonised English in Samoa and ii) the employment of a large number of Gilbert and Ellice islanders on the plantations in the 1870s. A good source of the kind of broken English spoken in Samoa are Stevenson's writings, both his short stories, such as 'The Beach of Falesá', and his diaries. The following conversation was written down in 1890 (Colvin 1911:198):

Fanny, awfully hove-to with rheumatics and injuries received upon the field of sport and glory, chasing pigs, was unable to go up and down stairs, so she sat upon the back verandah, and my work was chequered by her cries.
 'Paul, you take a spade to do that - dig a hole first. If you do that, you'll cut your foot off! Here, you boy, what you do there? You no get work? You go find Simele; he give you work. Peni, you tell this boy he go find Simele; suppose Simele no give him work, you tell him go 'way. I no want him here. That boy no good.'---Peni (from the distance in reassuring tones), 'All right, sir!!' ---Fanny (after a long pause), 'Peni, you tell that boy go find Simele.' I no want him stand here all day. I no pay that boy. I see him all day. He no do nothing.

Numerous examples of Pidgin English as spoken in the Ellice Islands are contained in a book by Mrs Edgeworth David (1899). The following conversation illustrates some of the linguistic characteristics of this language (p.115):

Boy. "Misi, you wantee fua-moa?" (eggs, or lit., "the fruit of the hen").

Me. "Io, me palenti likee good fua-moa."

Boy. "Ee palenti koot, ee new born a!"

Me. "Me tink you palenti lie--you give me fuamoa palenti pooh!"

Boy. "Me no lie, misi, me tink ee koot, me no lookee in-a-side!"

Edgeworth David's book also contains some more general observations about the use of Pidgin English in the Ellice Islands. She also emphasises the strong mission links between Samoa and the Ellice Islands.

Accounts of Pidgin English as spoken on the Samoan plantations are more numerous. Ehlers (1895:134) only briefly touches on the topic of Pidgin English in Samoa but his remarks provide further evidence that SPP was in currency before 1883 and that it was used by labourers recruited from the Gilbert and Solomon Islands:

Since the inhabitants of individual island groups and often even of individual islands speak different languages, they avail themselves of an idiom similar to Chinese Pidgin English for the exchange of their thoughts.

(translation mine)

Unfortunately, Ehlers does not provide any examples of this pidgin. Baessler (1895:23-4) mentions that about 1,000 labourers from all parts of the South Seas could be found on the Samoan plantations. Communication with these people was easy, since:

they are all more or less proficient in Pidgin English, which they even use among themselves, since they are not familiar with individual vernaculars, whereas Pidgin English has gained access to all South Seas islands. It is a corrupted form of English, mixed with many morsels from other languages and it is adapted to the mentality of the natives; therefore words tend to be simply concatenated and conjugation and declension are avoided. Whole sentences have often come to stand for a single word and the new arrival does not always grasp the deeper meaning.

(translation mine)

Baessler provides two examples of this pidgin:

you sabi this fellow on top? *'Do you know this bloke on top (i.e. God)'*

you speak fellow on top he make finish rain *'You say this bloke on top (i.e. God) stopped the rain'*

Governor Solf's diary for 1895 contains several examples of SPP as well as remarks on its use. As his diary has not been published, the relevant passage will be quoted in full:

...It is a well-known fact that almost every one of the various native islands of the blacks in the South Seas possesses not only one but a whole number of different languages, which are not merely related dialects, but so different that a tribe from the coastal area of an island cannot communicate at all with a tribe living only a few miles away in the bush or the mountains. Thus, in what way do the workers from such different places and islands communicate, when thrown together in Samoa? They use that Volapuk of the South Seas, which has become international among whites and coloureds: pigeon english. Language scholars are not agreed about the origin and spelling of this name; in any case I do not claim that my spelling is the correct one. In addition, I assume that the jargon in use in the South Seas is very different from the corrupted English of the same name current in China, which is more a broken pronunciation and changing of R and L and an adding of -y to numerous words. On the other hand, the black in the South Seas uses some words in quite a different sense from that of the original language, eg. to kiss for 'grasp', 'beat', 'hit',³ when someone is chasing another or wants to catch him, all the others call out: Kiss him, kiss him. To kill means only 'hit' to him, not 'kill', eg. white man he kill a plenty, means: 'the white man gave me a good beating'; if he wants to say that someone has really been killed, then he says: he kill him finish. The words belong and fellow are especially important. The former used with nouns and pronouns indicates property, house belong me, horse belong me, 'my house', 'my horse', boy belong consul, 'the Consul's servant' the latter is added to all numbers, without regard to the gender of the following noun, three fellow woman, 'three women', two fellow horse, 'two horses'. It is incredible how quickly all blacks learn this lingua franca and how extremely clever they are at paraphrasing concepts for which they have no word. A student often finds it difficult to translate: the white man with the bald head, when he does not know the expression for bald patch; nothing is easier for the blacks: White man coconut belong him no grass he stop. The black, like the Samoan, uses the same names for head and hair as for the similar concepts coconut and grass. I once asked my houseboy, with whom I could otherwise communicate very well, to bring me a rat trap, but all my efforts to make myself understood without the word for rat trap, with rat trap, box belong rat etc., were in vain, shaking his head he said: to me me no savee- (I do not understand) and disappeared. Not half an hour later he appeared with the desired gadget and said: Whatfore you no speak me: Calabos belong raty, suppose you speak me all the same me savee. Calabos is the word for prison used here, probably originating from Spanish. An Englishman, who brought a black boy as a witness to a complaint in court, was extremely surprised. After he had explained matters to the judge in very carefully chosen English, the black had to give his evidence. He had been listening attentively and explained to the judge: Master, him fellow white man, he no savee speak English, suppose me speak along you, you savee me no speak lies. In this intelligent way the blacks can communicate over the whole South Seas, both among themselves and with the whites, and even if it is by no means the Queen's English, it fully serves its purpose and is more practical to understand than the Samoan idiom, which is understood nowhere else.

(translation mine)

Parkinson (1887:29), though not referring directly to SPP, must be mentioned as another important source since he reproduces an example of Pidgin English as it was used in recruiting labourers for the Samoan plantations:

The recruiter asks them in classical South Seas English:

"You like go Samoa?"

There is confusion among the people present. He continues:

"Me like plenty Kanakas; you give me plenty boys. One boy, me give you one musket, plenty powder, ball, cap, tomahawk, tobacco, beads....."

and further down the same page:

"Three Yam", says the recruiter, pointing up three fingers of his hand. "You go three Yam! Plenty Kaikai (food)! By and by you come back."

(translation mine)

Parkinson remarks that little or nothing was understood by the New Irelanders involved in this transaction, a remark which can be taken as indirect evidence that the labourers recruited from this area learned pidgin on board the recruiting vessels or on the Samoan plantations.

More examples of SPP as well as remarks on its sociolinguistic status are found in a book by Genthe edited by Wegener (1908). Genthe's examples are unfortunately rather anecdotal and the terms *savvy bokkus 'head, brain'* and *big fellow bokkus white man fight him he cry 'piano'* appear to have been drawn from the standard repertoire of pidgin reported by South Seas travellers. Some of his other examples may lay a greater claim to authenticity:

Hans, where stop white fellow man belong big nose he come steamer (10)

Ten fellow one two fellow kilock all boy come kaikai a rice, ten fellow one two fellow kilock! (157)

Halloh, look here, boy, you sabe place belong water white fellow man go make? (171)

More important than these examples in Genthe's evaluation of SPP as a sociolinguistic phenomenon. He regards this language as a means by which the black indentured labourers attempted to come to grips with the foreign world of the white man:

I believe that the prospect of being able to hear and use this language every day alone is a reward for the journey hither and for the communication with the black boys. There is hardly anything more fascinating from a psycholinguistic point of view than the halting efforts by these savages - removed for a few years during their time of contract on the plantation from the antediluvian way of life in their jungle homes - to linguistically find their way in the foreign world of the white man and to meet the incomprehensible attributes of European culture - millenia in advance of their own - through the use of newly formed verbal monsters composed from the thesaurus of three hundred terms which were brought to them through the contact with the Europeans.

(p.10 translation mine)

This quotation appears to stress the role of the plantations as a catalyst for the development of more stable and extended versions of pidgin, in particular the development of certain rudimentary mechanisms of word formation (circumlocution) which enabled the users of this language to cope with their new environment.

A number of articles in the *Samoanische Zeitung* are concerned with SPP, in particular with its status vis-a-vis the official language of the colony, German. As in the Cameroons, New Guinea and other German colonies, the use of a variety of Pidgin English is deplored and even regarded as a threat to continued German dominance in Samoa. As in New Guinea, the failure to implement the official language policies was largely a result of the unwillingness on the part of the German settlers to communicate with their labourers through a medium other than Pidgin English. This attitude is deplored in an editorial titled 'The English Language in the German South Seas' which appeared in the *Samoanische Zeitung* of 12 October 1912:

Around the middle of the last century the so-called Pidgin-English was introduced into the area of the present-day German South Seas by whalers. After the German flag was hoisted this miscarriage was maintained and one could almost say looked after by everybody with diligence and assiduity. Thousands of labourers have been employed by local firms over the last thirty years. On their arrival none of them understood a single English expression. It would have been easy to speak to them in simple German. However, the dear Germans were not that stupid or old-fashioned. Rather anything other than German!

(translation mine)

In a second editorial (26 July 1913) the *Samoanische Zeitung* resumed its attack on Pidgin English. Again the widespread use of English, and particularly Pidgin English, in Samoa is regretted. It is also pointed out that the purity of the German language is threatened because of the increased use of 'multilated English expressions', a development which, according to the 'Zeitung', must be blamed on 'the vigorous presence of Pidgin English'. The editor calls on the German employers not to use Pidgin English with their Samoan and Chinese employees, adding that:

The position is less favourable in the case of the Melanesians recruited from New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, since many of them already speak this language on arrival.⁴

(translation mine)

As an alternative to using SPP the editor proposes that 'the broken Samoan already used in dealings with the natives' be used.

An invaluable source of information on SPP are two articles by Neffgen in the *Samoan Times* of 23 January 1915 and 15 January 1916. It appears that Neffgen had a good knowledge of this language and, apart

from making a number of interesting remarks on its use, he also provides a large number of vocabulary items and some notes on the grammar. In his article of 23 January 1915 Neffgen wrote:

In Samoa I have had the opportunity whilst in Apia and its environments of getting a better knowledge of this language which proved very interesting to myself as a philologist. There are many so-called "black-boys" from Buka and Bougainville as well as Solomon Islanders here, under indenture as labourers to the firm which is known as the "Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft der Südsee Inseln" and as I had business with them, I had perforce to make use of their dialect. Often this jargon is only a corrupt English and, as I have already remarked, one is often surprised to notice how these people are able to make themselves understood with only a small stock of words at their command.

Though a user of SPP himself, Neffgen is no supporter of its continued use:

It is easy to see how awkward is this jargon, and that it cannot claim to be called a language. If only the lords of creation were to put themselves to a little trouble and use their own language with these people, pidgin-English would vanish from the scene and with it the many disadvantages arising therefrom.

The examples provided by Neffgen and their linguistic relevance will be discussed below.

No reference to SPP was found for the 1920s, presumably because the social decline of the language had already set in. Among the more recent references those of Keesing (1932 and 1934) are the most important. Both sources are concerned with the social rather than the linguistic aspects of SPP. According to Keesing (1932:304):

they (i.e. the Chinese labourers) and nearly a hundred and fifty Melanesians brought to Samoa by the Germans and refusing repatriation⁵ to their Solomon Island homes communicate with their employers in Pidgin English, or *bêche de mer* as it is often called, the lingua franca of a large portion of the western Pacific. Samoan, English and to a minor degree pidgin English are therefore the current language coin of Samoa.

My own enquiries could not confirm the claim that SPP was spoken by the Chinese labourers. I understand that many of them used a kind of Pidgin Samoan rather than Pidgin English. A second point which needs to be raised here is Keesing's reference to the 'Solomon Island homes' of the black-boys. Though this group of people is often referred to as Solomon-boy⁶ in Samoa this label is misleading since only very few of them came from the area of the British Solomon Islands and not many came from the then German Solomons of Buka and Bougainville. More about the origin of the black-boys will be said in the next section.

Keesing (1932:310) also refers to another pidginised variety of English in use on Samoa at the time:

The English that is learned is of very meager and specialized kinds: sailor conversation, trader talk, tourist comments, movie titles, and simple lessons at school. I need hardly remind you of the tendency that the white man falls into when speaking to peoples outside his language group, especially to native peoples, of breaking into a kind of simplified jargon, distorting his word endings and producing atrocious grammar - of such indeed was Pidgin English made.

This kind of unstable English jargon can still be found in Samoa among the groups mentioned by Keesing. I have had the opportunity to observe its use by hotel employees in Apia. However, this form of imperfectly learnt English has little to do with SPP and will therefore not be considered in the linguistic analysis below. Some examples of this type of language are given by Grimshaw (1907:289-307).

Little new information on SPP is found in Keesing (1934) where some remarks on this language are made on pp.367 and 444.

In his comprehensive survey of Pacific Pidgin English Reinecke (1937:736-7) also mentions SPP, but dismisses its importance for the development of other pidgins in the Pacific:

The settlement of Melanesians by German plantation interests in Samoa was probably too small and remote to have much effect on the development of Beach-la-mar. Schuchardt in 1883 obtained from the German consular agent at Apia, Herr Huebel, a list of Beach-la-mar expressions in use there, which hardly differ from those used in the Western Pacific.

Another source briefly touching SPP is Reed's account of NGP. Although he mentions Samoa as one of the 'scenes of Melanesian Pidgin's birth' (1943:271) he does not follow up this suggestion.

The most recent research on the role of the Samoan plantations in the formation of NGP was found in Lawrence (1964:44 fn):

It should be noted here that the Germans did not introduce Pidgin English to New Guinea. It probably originated with the labour traffic to Queensland, Samoa, and Fiji before the German occupation.

There are good reasons to assume that many more accounts of aspects of SPP are still waiting to be discovered in travel books, logbooks, diaries and unpublished sources. However, I feel that the sources examined constitute a representative cross-section of writings on this language.

4. LABOUR TRADE BETWEEN SAMOA AND THE NEW GUINEA ISLANDS

The development of pidgin languages in the Pacific is closely associated with labour trade in the 18th century. The most stable pidgins are spoken in those areas where the labourers returned after serving on one of the various plantation centres, i.e. Queensland, Samoa, New Caledonia or Fiji. Thus, Pidgin English in the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands and New Guinea was transported to these areas in a

stabilised form. This factor may have been more important in the development of pidgin languages in these areas than the scattered varieties of jargonised English spoken there in the days of early European contacts. Whilst New Hebridians and Solomon Islanders were shipped to many plantation centres, New Guineans were shipped to only two, i.e. Samoa and Queensland. In the case of German New Guinea recruiting for Queensland was restricted to the years 1883 and 1884. Some information about their numbers and origins has been given by Price and Baker (1976: 116)⁷. The information available at present suggests that labour trade with Samoa was a much more important element in the development of New Guinea Pidgin.

Background information on this labour trade is found in a number of sources, including the *Handbook of Western Samoa*, 1925:113-4, 'German Firms in the Western Pacific Islands' (Firth 1973:10-28) and 'The Coolie Labour Question and German Colonial Policy in Samoa, 1900-1914' (Moses 1973:101-24). The following quotation from the *Handbook* (1925:113-4) may serve as a convenient point of departure:

Very early in plantation development in Samoa the labour situation was fully appraised, and about 1867 the firm of J.C. Godeffroy and Sohn Hamburg (afterwards the Deutsche Handels und Plantagen-gesellschaft, commonly known as the "D.H. and P.G.") obtained the exclusive privilege of importing Melanesian labour from the German territories in the Solomon Islands....⁸ The number of Melanesians in Western Samoa at any one time seldom exceeded one thousand, an aggregate fairly maintained up to 1914. Recruitment ceased with New Zealand occupation, and repatriations from time to time since then have reduced the number of "black-boys", as they are locally called, to 172 today. All these have deliberately rejected repatriation, choosing rather to remain in Samoa.

The demand for labour from outside Samoa was necessitated by the unwillingness of the Samoans to work on the German plantations:

The Germans considered the Samoans to be naturally indolent and unreliable and in addition they were frequently involved in violent clan disputes. In short, their unpredictability ruled them out as a source of labour.

(Moses 1973:102)

The import of labour began in 1867 but gained impetus only in the mid-seventies. The number and the origin of the labourers up to 1885 can be seen from the following table, quoted from Moses (1973:102):⁹

Year	Total No.	Kingsmill/ Gilbert Islands	Carolines	New Hebrides	Solomons	New Britain New Ireland
1867	81	81	-	-	-	-
1868	115	115	-	-	-	-
1869	40	40	-	-	-	-
1870	69	69	-	-	-	-
1871	48	48	-	-	-	-
1872	15	-	15	-	-	-
1873	438	358	80	-	-	-
1874	140	140	-	-	-	-
1875	280	280	-	-	-	-
1876	101	101	-	-	-	-
1877	251	251	-	-	-	-
1878	272	189	-	83	-	-
1879	718	115	-	570	-	33
1880	535	300	-	-	226	9
1881	378	-	-	179	199	-
1882	264	8	-	153	-	103
1883	355	2	-	29	37	287
1884	245	29	-	-	-	216
mid-1885	512	124	-	187	156	45

The pattern emerging from this table is similar to that found for the other Pacific plantation areas of Queensland, Fiji and New Caledonia. The continuous shift of the blackbirders' hunting grounds was brought about partly by the exhaustion of earlier ones, partly by the fact that the presence of missions and administration in the older recruiting areas made blackbirding difficult.

It appears that after 1885 recruiting of labour for the D.H. and P.G. in Samoa was restricted to the Bismarck Archipelago and the German Solomons. No statistics are available for the second half of 1885 and for 1886. For the years from 1887 to 1912 the following numbers were shipped from German New Guinea to Samoa:

	Recruitments	Deaths ¹⁰
1887	269	108
1888	87	31
1889	-	-
1890	343	121
1891	52	18
1892	-	-
1893	158	50

	Recruitments	Deaths
1894	297	67
1895	179	25
1896	164	63
1897	220	39
1898	206	19
1899	240	62
1900	247	54
1901	98	14
1902	384	79
1903	103	29
1904	332	58
1905	201	40
1906	179	31
1907	159	11
1908	204	53
1909	291	44
1910	350	58
1911	348	56
1912	174	7
	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 5,285	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 1,137

(Source: Enclosure in Hahl to RKA, 16 November 1913, RKA 2313:235. Quoted from Firth 1973:327).

More information about these figures can be found in Moses (1973:102) who provides slightly higher numbers for the years 1887-1903.

Altogether about 6,000 people from German New Guinea were brought to Samoa as labourers¹¹. It has been suggested by Nelson (1972:16) that Germany's decision to declare its protectorate over New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago was at least partly motivated by the potential of this area as a source of labour for the Samoan plantations. At any one time, about 700 to 1,000 labourers from German New Guinea were employed in Samoa, a number which is greater than that of New Guineans employed in German New Guinea until about 1891. Unfortunately exact details about the number of Melanesians recruited in German New Guinea for work in the country itself are missing for these early years.

Other statistical information presented by Firth (1973) demonstrates three additional important facts:

- i) More than 50% of all labourers recruited for Samoa came from New Ireland
- ii) About 20% originated from the Gazelle Peninsula
- iii) No labourers were recruited from the New Guinea mainland and less than 1% from the British Solomon Islands.

Information about the percentage of female recruits is unreliable. Jung (1885:296) praises the efforts of the D.H. and P.G. to employ reasonable proportions of female workers, a practice which Jung compares with the practice on the Queensland plantations of employing almost exclusively male workers. Thurnwald (1910:620) mentions that, in the years from 1905 to 1907, 150 women were recruited for Samoa and German Micronesia. A rough guess is that about one quarter of the black labourers in Samoa were women.

5. THE SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF THE LABOUR TRADE AND THE ROLE OF PIDGIN

Though the numbers themselves provide some evidence of the importance of the Samoan plantations in the early history of New Guinea, only an account of the social and geographical background of this labour trade can reveal the role of the Samoan plantations in the development of NGP. The following account is an attempt to deal with this complex topic by treating the events in a chronological order:

5.1. THE PERIOD BEFORE 1879

Between 1867 and 1879 about 2,000 Pacific Islanders were recruited for the German plantations in Samoa. Most of them were employed on one of the three big plantations of the firm Godeffroy (later D.H. and P.G.) on Upolo Island, namely Vaitele, six kilometres east of Apia, Vailele, just outside Apia, and Mulifanua, the biggest and oldest plantation, situated about 40 kilometres to the north-west of Apia.

A number of the workers recruited at the time may already have had a smattering of Pidgin English, either from previous service on other plantations or from the frequent contacts with European traders in the main recruiting areas. A form of English was spoken on board the recruiting vessels, even those sailing under the German flag - a fact which was deplored in the occasional reports of German travellers. Some jargonised form of English must also have been in currency on Samoa itself. However, the main stimulus for the development of a more stable plantation pidgin was provided by the relative isolation of the plantations. This isolation was social rather than geographical. Since the Samoans refused to work on the plantations, only the foreign labourers and their white overseers had day to day contact.¹² The foreign workers were held in low esteem by the Samoans and tales of cannibalism among the former served to strengthen the social barriers. The social climate on the Samoan plantations did not differ greatly from that found in other plantation areas where pidgins developed. The

data collected by Schuchardt (1889) suggest that a relatively stable form of Pidgin English had emerged during this period. Because of a number of factors, including common recruiting grounds for most Pacific plantations and a number of linguistic conventions that had emerged in Pacific Jargon English, this early form of SPP did not differ greatly from the plantation pidgins found in Queensland or New Caledonia.

5.2. DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN 1879 to 1890

Whereas the social setting on the Samoan plantations remained unchanged during this period, a number of significant changes in the recruiting of labour can be observed. Most significant is the emergence of the Bismarck Archipelago and the German Solomons as the exclusive recruiting ground. Most of the indentured labourers were speakers of the lexically and grammatically closely related languages spoken in the New Ireland, Duke of York and East New Britain areas, and their presence was instrumental in changing the character of SPP. Influence from these languages is most easily recognised in the loan vocabulary, for instance, in terms such as *taberan* 'spirit' and *matmat* 'cemetery, grave'. Unfortunately the paucity of the data available does not warrant any strong claims about substratum features in other components of SPP grammar, though some evidence of ongoing regrammaticalisation will be presented below.

Before discussing points of grammar, however, I shall discuss the evidence which suggests that NGP was brought from Samoa to New Guinea and that it therefore cannot be regarded as a variety of Pacific Pidgin, which developed independently.

The focal point in the contacts between New Guinea and Samoa was the Duke of York Islands situated halfway between New Britain and New Ireland.

The area to which SPP was carried in the first place was this group of islands and in particular Mioko Island, which served as a transit camp for recruited labour destined for the Samoan plantations and as a centre for the trading activities in New Britain and New Ireland by Samoan-based German trading firms. In addition, the Duke of York Islands were the point of departure for the operations of Fijian and Samoan missionaries in the New Guinea area and the scene of the plantation and trading empire of 'Queen Emma' of Samoa. The missions and trading posts were already established before the beginning of the labour trade and the use of an English-based trading-jargon is reported for several localities. Nelson (personal communication) informs me that the first church service held in New Ireland in 1875 was partly

in Pidgin English. Brief references to jargonised English are also made by Mouton (in Biskup, ed. 1974)¹³. One thus finds that:

Within this limited area around the Duke of York Islands, however, white men became familiar visitors, and steel axes, iron hoops, bright beads, and cotton cloth in some quantity were introduced into the native material culture. It is probable that the birth of the lingua franca Pidgin English, now spoken over all the New Guinea Territory, took place here at this time and under these conditions,
(Valentine 1958:73-4)

Among the trading and recruiting stations in this area (a fuller account of which can be found in Firth 1973:10-28) the following ones deserve special attention:

5.2.1. The Godeffroy Trading Station on Mioko Island

This firm, based in Samoa, established a trading post, staffed by two or three whites, in 1876 which served as a centre for miscellaneous trading activities in the New Britain/New Ireland area. Due to its excellent harbour and its large-scale trading activities it was the centre of European enterprise in the Bismarck Archipelago and remained so well into the 1880s. It then began to decline, due to the lack of a viable hinterland and the emergence of other bigger trading centres on New Britain. In the years after 1885 the importance of Mioko shifted from that of a trading post to that of a recruiting centre for the plantations of both the D.H. and P.G. in Samoa and the New Guinea Company of New Britain and the New Guinea mainland.

The main importance of Mioko for the history of NGP and SPP lies in the fact that it functioned as a transit camp for both newly recruited labourers and those who returned from the Samoan plantations:

On the German side one has begun to develop labour depots in convenient localities, where labourers of a group are held until they are collected by a vessel assigned to this purpose. Such a depot has been erected on Mioko Island in the Duke of York group. A schooner is engaged continuously in recruiting people in the Bismarck Archipelago and in bringing them hither, whereas a number of larger vessels are destined to export the labourers to Samoa.

(Jung 1885:284, translation mine)

It seems likely that the recruits acquired some knowledge of Pidgin while they were still waiting to be taken to Samoa. Mr P. Rasmussen informs me that Pidgin was also taught to newly recruited men on board the vessels.

5.2.2. Queen Emma and the Farrell Trading Company

In 1878, Queen Emma and the trader Farrell established themselves in Mioko from where they expanded their trading and plantation activities

to the neighbouring islands and the Blanche Bay of New Britain. By 1882 the business of Farrell and Co. was growing rapidly and earlier plans to establish plantations in the Blanche Bay could be realised. Instead of relying on the allegedly untrustworthy natives of the Blanche Bay, about 150 labourers from Buka and Bougainville who "had formerly worked in Samoa" (Oertzen 1885:10) were employed on the first Farrell plantation at Ralum.

The example of the Farrell plantations did not remain unnoticed. In 1885 Jung (p.298) remarks:

In New Britain, a staff of skilled labourers would be immediately at hand who have absolved their apprenticeship on the plantations in Samoa.

(translation mine)

We have some evidence that labourers who had returned from Samoa were indeed employed on plantations in New Britain and on the New Guinea mainland, though details about their exact numbers would be extremely welcome. Zöllner (1891:40) mentions that the first Melanesian labourers employed by the New Guinea Company were known as 'Miokesen', a name which refers to the fact that the first shipments of labour for this company were made from Mioko Island. Zöllner's complaints to the effect that:

This necessity to avail oneself of Pidgin English is a sad price which has to be paid if workers from the Bismarck Archipelago are employed.

(p.438, translation mine)

may be interpreted in a number of ways. They may be an indication that workers learnt Pidgin on Mioko before they were sent to their place of employment, but their knowledge of Pidgin may have also been a result of previous employment on the Samoan plantations.

5.2.3. Other Trading and Recruiting Stations in the Duke of York Group

In the late 1870s the brothers HERNSHEIM from Hamburg established themselves on Matupi Island in the Blanche Bay from where they engaged in a number of trading operations. In 1886 the island of Kerewara became an important recruiting station for the New Guinea Company.

The importance of the Duke of York group was further enhanced by the presence of the Methodist Missionary Society which employed a number of Samoan and Fijian missionaries.¹⁴

The result of the labour trade with Samoa and the establishment of trading firms in the Duke of York area was the rapid emergence of a stable pidgin and its subsequent spread to the Blanche Bay of New Britain and the main recruiting areas of New Britain and New Ireland.

When the German Empire declared its protectorate over German New

Guinea in 1884, a proclamation to this account was read on Mioko Island to the assembled chiefs of the Duke of York Archipelago. This proclamation was made in Pidgin, culminating in the threat: Bye and bye you kill white man, man of war kill you. (Finsch 1888:140).

A number of sources mention Pidgin-speaking natives in various parts of German New Guinea who had learnt Pidgin on the Samoan plantations:

5.2.3.1. In spite of the virginity of this country (i.e. south of New Ireland) with regard to white visitors, there were a number of natives who could speak a broken Pidgin English. They had acquired their knowledge whilst working on plantations in the Bismarck Archipelago or Samoa.
(*Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, 30/24:406; 1913 translation mine)

5.2.3.2. Stephan and Graebner (1907:21) mention that pidgin-speaking young men could be found in every coastal village in New Ireland. One of their interpreters was

Jonni, aged about twenty-six who originally came from the Laur region of the east coast but who had come to Samoa while he was still a young boy and who had served long terms of employment as a sailor and plantation worker.

(translation mine)

5.2.3.3. In an article on the early days of the European presence in New Ireland the *Samoa Times* (6 March 1916) refers to the life of a man called Tom Simbo who,

having returned from the high school of the plantation labourers, Samoa, equipped with all sorts of information including a knowledge of Pidgin English, was led by his spirit for adventure to a white trader in New Ireland.

(translation mine)

5.2.3.4. A last example was found in a travel book by Krämer-Bannow (1916:20):

For the rest, one had to rely on the ghastly, incomplete Pidgin English of the Bismarck Archipelago, a knowledge of which has also penetrated here, being brought by returned workers. Among them were the chiefs of the neighbouring villages: Tamapipe of Kambitengteng, Toelilian of Piglinbui, and Anis of Tano, who had been a worker in Samoa, together with a few others who had a smattering of Pidgin.

(translation mine)

Summing up the events between 1879 and 1890, it can be said that during this period a stabilised form of Pidgin English became firmly established in the Blanche Bay - Duke of York - New Ireland area of the Bismarck Archipelago. The factors instrumental in bringing about

this development were an expansion of trade with Samoa-based German firms, the establishment of trading and recruiting agencies in the Duke of York Archipelago and the recruiting of about 1,500 local people from this area for Samoan plantations, about 600 of whom had returned by 1890.

The influx of large numbers of Miokese workers (i.e. recruited by firms operating from Mioko) appears to have resulted in some structural changes in SPP. This new variety of SPP was taken back to the New Guinea Islands by the returning labourers and spread over the coastal areas of the New Guinea Islands. At the same time, returned labourers were employed on plantations in various parts of German New Guinea where their variety of stabilised Pidgin must have served as a model of speech for the non-pidgin-speaking workers recruited in other areas of New Guinea.

5.3. THE YEARS 1890-1914

During these years, and particularly after 1900, the number of New Guineans recruited for plantations in German New Guinea itself was rapidly increasing, whereas the numbers of those recruited for Samoa remained relatively constant. The social context for the use of Pidgin in New Guinea was no longer restricted to trading and plantation activities but was widening as a result of the situation created by the German colonial presence. The most important aspect is that NGP was beginning to be used for communication across language and tribal boundaries.¹⁵

In contrast, such an expansion of social functions did not occur in the case of SPP. It is true that a number of intertribal marriages took place on the Samoan plantations between men and women recruited from different parts of German New Guinea and that a fair number of children grew up on the plantations speaking SPP as their first language. (Mr A.J. Belford, personal communication). However, those children who remained in Samoa soon learnt Samoan, and for the rest of their lives spoke this rather than SPP as their first language and, at least in some cases, even forgot SPP.

The main reason for this functional stagnation of SPP was that, outside the few plantation communities with their foreign population, there was no need for a lingua franca such as SPP in the rest of Samoa, since a single language was spoken by the entire population and since the prestige of the Samoan language was enhanced by support from the German government and the missions. The only Samoans who made an effort to learn SPP were found 'in villages adjoining the plantations

of the white man or among Samoan women who consort with the labourers' (Keesing 1932:307).

5.4. THE YEARS AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The end of German rule in New Guinea also meant the end of the labour trade between New Guinea and Samoa. All but 172 of the 'black boys' employed by the D.H. and P.G. were repatriated to their original home area. (cf. Melaisea 1976)

With the disappearance of the recruiting of black labourers the main justification for SPP also disappeared. After the first World War SPP continued to linger on among those 'black boys' who had opted to stay in Samoa. Its use as a medium between white plantation overseers and black (and even Chinese) plantation labourers is reported by Keesing (1932:304) but, with the gradual phasing out of the employment of foreign workers on the plantations, the functions of SPP became more and more restricted to those of a group language spoken by a small and marginal group of speakers. Church services in SPP were held until about a decade ago (Mr P. Kelly, personal communication) but today the remaining handful of original speakers hardly ever use the language actively because of their great age and because they live in different localities. However, the present author had little trouble in communicating with his informants in New Guinea Pidgin spoken slowly and articulated carefully. All of the informants showed a great sentimental attachment to their pidgin.

A comparison between NGP and SPP offers a very good example of the principles underlying the life-cycle of pidgin languages (Hall 1962:151-6). SPP's becoming restricted to a small communicative niche on the one hand, and NGP's continued expansion on the other, must be regarded as the result of the social conditions in which these two intimately-related pidgins developed. It was only when SPP was taken to New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago that it could develop from a restricted plantation pidgin into an extended pidgin serving as a means of communication over a wide range of topics.

The history of SPP and NGP also reveals a second point, namely that creolisation of a pidgin only results in a viable creole language if it becomes the first language of a large and socially viable speech community. The fact that SPP was spoken as a first language by a number of children on the Samoan plantations did little to arrest the decline of this language.

Having outlined the external history of SPP I shall now proceed to a brief discussion of some of its linguistic characteristics, concen-

trating on the linguistic evidence for the claim that NGP must be regarded as a direct development of this language.

6. LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE FOR A CONNECTION BETWEEN NEW GUINEA PIDGIN AND SAMOAN PLANTATION PIDGIN

A full structural comparison between NGP, SPP and other varieties of Pacific Pidgin English is not possible at present, since the available data are neither reliable enough nor complete enough.¹⁶ I shall therefore concentrate on areas of grammar which are relatively well documented. In comparing SPP and NGP, one has to distinguish between regularities which are categorically present in both languages (but sometimes lacking in other Pacific pidgins) and agreement in the statistical tendencies of variable phenomena. Statements about the latter aspect are severely hampered by the small size of the corpus, and it is frequently only possible to state that some feature of NGP was already found as a variable feature in SPP. It was found that a comparison of lexical materials provided the most reliable evidence.

6.1. SOME NOTES ON THE LEXICON OF SAMOAN PLANTATION PIDGIN

In contrast to NGP, which has been growing in functions and structure ever since its stabilisation, the growth of SPP became arrested at a fairly low level of linguistic sophistication, probably around the turn of the century, but certainly before the end of the First World War. From that point onwards the main justification for the use of SPP, the plantation labour system using black labourers, ceased to exist; it lingered on for some while, but no expansion in its use or structure after this time can be expected to have occurred. One seems to be justified in calling SPP - or what is left of it today - a reflection of an earlier stage of NGP.

A study of both syntactic and lexical structures confirms this view that the linguistic character of SPP is that of a pidgin in an early stage of stabilisation and development.

The lexicon of this pidgin is characterised by a relatively small inventory of lexical bases and a fairly unarticulated word formation component. The size of the lexicon is enormously reduced when compared with that of its main lexifier language English, and much of the lexical information inherent in the lexical items of the lexifier language has been lost. Some of this loss of lexical information is made up for by a gradual restructuring of semantic and grammatical properties of these items, using both universal principles of lexical organisation and lexical information from a number of substratum languages of the

Duke of York - Blanche Bay area. There is a striking similarity in the semantic properties of many lexical items when compared with those of present day NGP. A fair number of these properties are not shared by any other Pacific pidgins.

6.1.1. The Lexical Inventory

It was not possible for the author to ascertain the approximate number of lexical items of SPP, the reasons being that nothing like a complete vocabulary was compiled at the time when this language was widely used, and that none of the remaining informants was proficient enough in Pidgin to perform this task. The very age of my informants rendered direct elicitation difficult, if not impossible. Genthe (1908: 10) estimated the number of lexical bases in SPP at about 300, which were used in a number of combinations, particularly circumlocutions, to translate a much larger number of English terms. 300 is about the number of items I found in 1975. The actual number may have been somewhat higher: however, since the functional range of SPP was restricted to the plantation context, and since for communication outside this context Samoan had to be learnt, a very much impoverished vocabulary could be expected. The great shortage of nouns was compensated for by loans and circumlocutions, whereas the shortage of verbs and adjectives was never really overcome. A few verb-adjectives such as *mekim*, *laik*, *go*, *big*, *gut*, and *nogut* cover a very wide area of meaning, disambiguation in many instances being only possible by extralinguistic means, such as pointing and gestures. These mechanisms were used much more commonly than in present day NGP.

Some variation was found in the lexicon. One of my informants used both *wuman* and *meri* for 'woman' and referred to a 'captain' as both *kiapen* and *kaptan*. This use incidentally confirms that NGP *kiap* 'patrol officer' is related to 'captain' as well as to Micronesian *kiap* 'chief'.

Most of the lexical bases collected and reported in the literature have English cognates, and both meaning and phonological shape coincide with NGP forms. A number of differences can be observed however. These are as follows.

6.1.1.1. Items of Samoan Origin

These are nouns referring to objects needed in everyday speech for which no adequate expression was available in the Jargon English from which developed. They include:

SPP	Gloss	Remarks
matau	<i>axe</i>	NGP tamiok was known to one of the four informants interviewed.
lango	<i>fly</i>	NGP lang; since this is an item of very wide currency, the New Guinean form is probably not directly derived from Samoan lango but a loan from Tolai or another language of the Duke of York-Blanche Bay area.
puamo	<i>egg</i>	From Samoan fuamo'a; NGP kiau, a word which was not available in Jargon English; Churchill (1911:47) lists pickanniny stop along him fella a cumbersome circumlocution. Fuamo'a is also documented for Ellice Islands Pidgin English (cf. Edgeworth David 1899:115).
manu	<i>bird</i>	From manu, presumably Samoan; again this word has a very wide currency and may have been taken from another language. NGP uses pisin < English 'pigeon'.
pisup	<i>tinned food, bully beef</i>	This item may have come into SPP via Samoan, though it may also have come directly from the Pacific Jargon English term peasoup. Churchill (1911:47) has the following remarks on this item: This is the designation of all foreign foods which are preserved in tinned drums. Its origin is in fact less simple than might appear, for in the dietary schedule of the whalers pea soup was not put up in tins but freshly prepared in the galley when needed. NGP uses timmit < English 'tinned meat'.
sasa (bilong hos)	<i>whip</i>	From Samoan sasa 'rod, whip'. NGP uses wip.
nofoa (bilong hos)	<i>saddle</i>	From Samoan nofoa 'saddle'. NGP uses sadol.

SPP	Gloss	Remarks
toi	<i>axe</i>	From Samoan to'i 'axe'; some speakers use another item of Samoan origin matau. NGP uses tamiok from English tomahawk.
kavale	<i>carriage, car</i>	From Samoan ta-avale 'carriage'. NGP uses kar.

6.1.1.2. A number of words whose origin is not known; they are neither Samoan nor found in NGP:

SPP	Gloss
bami	<i>umbrella</i>
saksak	<i>breasts</i>
mamiok	<i>female genitals</i>
muluk	<i>home country</i>

6.1.1.3. Some items which are found in older varieties of NGP but have since been replaced by other items or more anglicised pronunciation:

SPP	Present day NGP	Gloss
bilinat	buai	<i>betelnut</i>
gokabaut	wokabaut, limlimbur	<i>walk, stroll</i>
lilebit	liklik	<i>a little bit</i>
poldaun	pundaun	<i>fall down</i>
bresprut	kapiak	<i>breadfruit</i>
kabora	kopra	<i>copra</i>
manis	mun	<i>month</i>

6.1.1.4. Items derived from English, which are not found in NGP:

SPP	NGP	Gloss
bakbak	singaut	<i>to bark</i>
draimap	mekim drai	<i>to dry up</i>
lai	giaman	<i>to be mistaken, to lie</i>
laim	kambang	<i>lime (for betelnut chewing)</i>
pusim	subim	<i>to push, shove</i>
singsing	kalabus	<i>prison</i> (however kalabus is also used in SPP)
wumen	meri	<i>woman</i> (however meri is also used in SPP)
waif	merl bilong mi	<i>(my) wife</i>
tri	diwai	<i>tree</i>

6.1.1.5. Surface reflexes which are identical in SPP and NGP, with differences in the semantic range of the items concerned:

SPP	Gloss	NGP	Gloss
han	<i>arm, hand</i>	han	<i>hand, arm, forelegs of an animal</i>
lek	<i>foot, leg, fore and hindlegs of animals footprints</i>	lek	<i>foot, leg, hindlegs of animals, footprints</i>
kuskus	<i>to write</i>	kuskus	<i>clerk</i>
kiapen	<i>captain, chief</i>	kiap	<i>patrol officer</i>
ol	<i>old</i>	ol	<i>old (of inanimates and animals)</i>
		lapun	<i>old (of people)</i>

In the majority of cases, however, close agreement in both surface reflexes and semantic properties of NGP and SPP items can be demonstrated. Moreover, since the semantic properties of a number of items are shared by these two languages but not Bichelamar of the New Hebrides, the close relationship is underlined. First, I shall list a number of lexical items which are not found in Pacific pidgins other than NGP and SPP; the origin of these items can be traced back to the area around the Duke of York Islands

The number of these words is fairly small, although it is conceivable that the presence of large numbers of workers from this area in the years after 1890 may have resulted in others which were not recorded by the author. By this time, however, the New Guinean plantations had become more important than the Samoan plantations and the development of NGP proceeded independent of Samoan influences. The following items were found:

SPP	NGP	Gloss
taberan	tambaran	<i>ghost, spirit</i>
muruk	muruk	<i>cassowary</i>
pukpuk	pukpuk	<i>crocodile</i>
kakaruk	kakaruk	<i>chicken, rooster</i>
matmat	matmat	<i>cemetery</i>
lotu	lotu	<i>church</i>

(this last item was brought to the Duke of York and Blanche Bay area by Fijian missionaries in the 1880s).

Samoan words in NGP have often not been recognised as such in the past. Mihalic (1971) lists *malolo* 'to rest' as being of Gazelle Peninsula origin, though I do not know of a word of this form or meaning in Tolai or related languages. A closer examination of NGP words of non-English origin may reveal more Samoan loans than are listed here.

Nevermann (1929:254) remarks that

The employment of Melanesian labourers on the plantations of Polynesia has added to Pidgin's vocabulary not just the already mentioned words bulmakau (cattle) and pusi (cat) but also the Polynesian words lavalava 'loincloth', kaikai 'to eat' and lotu 'religion'.

Of the items listed by Nevermann only lavalava is of interest here, as the other items were already found in the earlier Pacific varieties of jargon English. Other items of Samoan origin found exclusively in NGP and SPP include:

Item	From Samoan	Gloss
kamda	tamuta	<i>carpenter</i>
malolo	malolo	<i>to rest, relax</i>
taro	taro	<i>taro</i>
popi	pope	<i>Catholic</i>
mumu	mumu	<i>(to bake in an) earth oven</i>

The following list contains a few items which show close agreement regarding their semantic properties in NGP and SPP, although the agreement is only partial when compared with New Hebridean Bichelamar:

Item	Meaning in NGP and SPP	Meaning in Bichelamar
as	<i>arse, stump of a tree</i>	<i>arse, buttocks</i>
belo	<i>bell, noon</i>	<i>bell</i>
bris	<i>bridge, wharf</i>	<i>bridge</i>
holimpas	<i>to rape, hold</i>	<i>to grab, hold</i>
kuk	<i>to cook, be defeated</i>	<i>to cook</i>
nating	in the collocation: <i>bun nating skinny</i>	not used in this meaning: instead <i>bun nomoa</i>
subim	in the collocation: <i>subim wara to swim</i>	not used in this meaning
snek	<i>snake, worm, larva</i>	<i>snake</i>

6.2. LEXICAL SYSTEM: THE FORMATION OF NEW LEXICAL ITEMS FROM INTERNAL RESOURCES

It is a characteristic of the stabilisation phase of a pidgin that new modes of extending the vocabulary develop. These can be labelled as circumlocution, compounding, multifunctionality and reduplication. Apart from these four methods, borrowing remains a major process in enriching the lexicon. In the case of SPP one can observe a very limited amount of genuine word-formation along with a fair number of ad hoc inventions, mainly circumlocutions. We can observe, as it were, the first traces of the development of a word-formation component.

6.2.1. Circumlocution

Circumlocation has been characterised as a first attempt to come to grips with the new concepts and objects encountered by the plantation workers in their new environment. A number of such circumlocutions are quoted by Genthe and Neffgen, and some were still remembered by my informants. Most of these examples appear to be genuine but some may be European fabrications. They will be listed without further investigation as to their status, mainly to illustrate the vigorous presence of such ad hoc formations in SPP.

Genthe (1908:9) lists the following:

he white fellow man bilong cocoanut *a bald headed European*

stop no grass

manuoa stop long bush *locomotive*

big fellow bokkus white man fight *piano*

him he cry

Further examples are found in Neffgen (1915:4)

mama bilong snek *the rhinoceros beetle; an insect which is very destructive to coconut palms; mama = mother, snek here meaning larva*

bikfela lavalava bilong hos *a horse cloth*

spia bilong laus bilong kokonat *a comb (kokonat = head)*

haus bilong tabaran *a devil's house, a warship*

bikfela sip him mek plenti bumbum *a big warship (this and the above example are strange, because of the presence of a single item manua 'man of war' in SPP)*

him mek ol haus bilong man i

pinis

ai bilong haus bilong tabaran *a warship's searchlight*

kavale him hos nating him go *a motor car*

puspus¹⁷

haus bilong glukgluk¹⁷ *hotel*

stima bilong bus *railway*

glas bilong longwe *telescope*

brata bilong matau him kam him go *a saw*

bikfela bokis stop haus sapos yu *piano*

fait him, him krai

bokis bilong devel *camera*

Neffgen (1916:5) lists some more examples:

wut bilong haus goap go daun *ladder, steps*

buter¹⁸ bilong pik *lard*

masta bilong pofela ai *European with spectacles*

haus bilong pepa *printing office*

The circumlocution for 'saw' was remembered by one of my informants in the form of

brata bilong akis pusim i go pusim i kam 'saw'

which confirms the view that these circumlocutions are ad hoc creations and not fixed lexical phrases. Since their main purpose is to overcome referential inadequacies in the lexicon, they give an indication of the magnitude of those deficiencies in SPP at the time.

6.2.2. Compounding and Multifunctionality

Compounding and multifunctionality (zero-derivation) are only marginally present in SPP and I suspect that hardly any productive derivational patterns were in existence by the time SPP was arrested in its linguistic growth. However, the few examples of motivated words found in SPP at the time can be regarded as the basis on which the extension of the word formation component took place at a later stage in NGP. The following types of compounds were found:

6.2.2.1. Compounds semantically related to a construction adj+N

blakboi	'Melanesian labourer'
waitman	'European'
gutwok	'good performance, good work'
nuboi	'new arrival, new labourer'
dedman	'dead body'
blakbokis	'flying fox'
olboi	'labourer having served a three-year term'

6.2.2.2. Compounds related to a construction N i N:

man hos	'stallion'
wumen hos	'mare'

6.2.2.3. Compounds containing taim 'time' as the second element:

nautaim	'now'
naittaim	'night, evening'
pinistaim	'end of contract'

6.2.2.4. Lexical phrases related to a number of other syntactic constructions:

haus simen	'concrete building'
haus pepa	'office'
haus sik	'hospital'
plantessin kabora	'copra plantation'
longpela pik	'human flesh'

The patterns and most of the items related to these patterns can also be found in NGP as it was spoken towards the end of German control in New Guinea. A vigorous increase in the productivity of these patterns can be observed in NGP from about the mid 1920s.

6.2.3. Reduplication and Repetition

As in the case of compounding, reduplication at this stage is not really a productive process, though repetition of adjectives to express some notion of intensity is occasionally found as in

plenti plenti blakboi 'many many black boys'.

I do not want to list the whole inventory of lexicalised reduplications but rather draw attention to two items which are found both in NGP and SPP but not in Bichelamar or Solomon Islands Pidgin English. The first one is *waswas* 'to wash oneself'. Nevermann (1929:256) has drawn attention to the fact that the reduplication of *was* reflects a distinction made in Tolai between *iu* 'to wash' and *iuiu* 'to bathe, wash oneself'. The second item is *longlong* 'mad, insane' derived from Tolai according to Mihalic (1971). This list could be supplemented with items such as *kuskus* 'to write, clerk', *matmat* 'cemetery' and *lukluk* 'to gaze' which again are exclusive to SPP and NGP.

6.3. A SYNTACTIC SKETCH OF SAMOAN PLANTATION PIDGIN

A comparison of the syntactic characteristics of the varieties of Pidgin English spoken in the Pacific may provide additional evidence about their historical relationships. However, as the syntax of any incipient Pidgin English is bound to be very simple, and as it is determined by universal processes of language simplification and universal second-language learning strategies together with substratum and superstratum influences, similarities can be expected and even the identity of constructions may not be proof for their historical connection. The areas that are of most interest to the comparative linguist are those in which the present day varieties of Pacific Pidgin English exhibit the most pronounced structural differences, such as in the pronoun system, quantifiers and embedding of relative and complement clauses.

A factor which increases the difficulty of comparative studies is that SPP, as well as the other pidgins at an earlier point of their development, exhibits a considerable amount of variation. In many cases one can recognise developmental tendencies but no categorical rules. The syntactic sketch on the following pages is descriptive rather than comparative, though evidence suggestive of close links between SPP and NGP will be pointed out in the text.

6.3.1. Personal Pronouns

A distinction between subjective and objective forms of the pronoun is found in both earlier accounts and in the texts recorded in 1975. However, there is a tendency to use the same set of pronouns in both subject and object positions. No distinction is made between exclusive and inclusive plural first person. It appears that two sets of formatives are competing for the position of pluralisers in pronouns, i.e. *-pela* (>*fellow*) and *ol* (>*all*). Such variation can be found not only in SPP but also in Queensland Plantation Pidgin and early NGP. It appears that *-pela* initially functioned as a noun rather than an adjective marker or pluraliser of pronouns. The common form of the plural pronoun is [singular form + *ol*]:

SUBJECT FORMS

person	sg.	pl.
first	mi	mi ol ¹⁹
second	yu	yu ol
third	em, him, hi	em, him, ol

OBJECT FORMS

person	sg.	pl.
first	(bilong) mi	(bilong) as
second	(bilong) yu	(bilong) yu ol
third	(bilong) em (him)	(bilong) dem

In addition to these forms, a number of fossilised forms of English pronouns are found in expressions such as *aiting* '*it seems to me*', *aidono* '*I don't know*', *yes aidu* '*yes*', and *maiwot* '*my word!*'. Such forms indicate that the Melanesian plantation workers were exposed to some kind of standard English during the formative period of SPP.

The pronoun system of present day NGP, though differing from the one found for SPP, can still be regarded as a development of the latter. The distinction between subject and object forms has disappeared and the pluralising of pronouns with *ol* is only reflected in the third person plural *em ol*, which appears next to *ol*.

6.3.2. Interrogative Pronouns

No distinction is made between animate and inanimate interrogative pronouns. No simple lexical items corresponding to *who?* or *what?* are found; instead a phrase consisting of *wat* + N is used to ask various wh-questions:

SPP	Gloss
wat man i kam?	<i>Who is coming?</i>
wat nem dispela?	<i>What is its name, what is it?</i>
wat taim yu go?	<i>When are you going?</i>
wat peles yu kam?	<i>Where do you come from?</i>
wat kaikai yu mekim?	<i>What food did you prepare?</i>
watnem is sometimes used instead of wat preceding the noun when asking 'who?' or 'what?', as in:	
watnem muluk bilong yu?	<i>What is your home country?</i>
watnem man i kam?	<i>Who is coming?</i>
we is sometimes used instead of wat peles as in:	
we stap waitfela man?	<i>Where is the whiteman?</i>

Neffgen (1915) reports the form watfela 'what kind of' as in his example kaikai blong watfela manu? 'what kind of bird is the meat from?'. This form was not found in the corpus recorded in 1975 nor is this form documented for NGP.

6.3.3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

SPP nouns are used without an article. There is no grammatical gender and the category of number is not obligatory. Singular can be signalled by means of wan(fela) 'one' and plurality by means of ol(o). The variable absence of these markers is illustrated in the following examples:

SPP	Gloss
nau blakboi i kam Solomon i pinis	<i>The black labourers from the Solomons are gone</i>
boi i mekim nem long pinga	<i>The 'boys' used their fingerprint as a signature</i>
Siaman kolim kaukau	<i>The Germans call(ed) it cocoa</i>
em i kros tumats long olo boi	<i>He was very angry with the black plantation labourers</i>
olo pikininl bilong olo blak-boi	<i>the children of the black plantation labourers</i>
dokta i katim ol bol bilong Samoa	<i>The doctor treated elephantiasis</i>
ol sande ol plpol go long lotu	<i>On Sundays people go to church</i>
wanfela bos bilong mi	<i>one of my bosses</i>
i gat wanfela Siaman	<i>There was a German</i>
wan waitfela man	<i>a white man</i>

The plural marker *ol(o)* does not appear when plurality is expressed by numerals or quantifiers such as *plenti* 'many', confirming the principle that little redundancy is found in the early phases of a pidgin's life-cycle.²⁰ Thus, one finds:

SPP	Gloss
<i>plenti Solomonboi i stap</i>	<i>There were lots of Solomon Islanders</i>
<i>plenti Buka</i>	<i>many Buka Islanders</i>

but not:

* *ol plenti Buka* *many Buka Islanders*

While grammatical gender is unknown, sex differences are signalled by adding *man* 'male' or *wuman* 'female' before a noun. This mechanism is found in a number of other pidgins and creoles (Mühlhäusler 1974: 90-91). In NGP the forms *man* 'male' and *meri* 'female' usually follow the noun. Compare:

SPP	NGP	Gloss
<i>man hos</i>	<i>hos man</i>	<i>stallion</i>
<i>wuman hos</i>	<i>hos meri</i>	<i>mare</i>
<i>man pik</i>	<i>pik man</i>	<i>boar</i>
<i>wuman pik</i>	<i>pik meri</i>	<i>sow</i>

The basic structure of SPP noun phrases is:

(optional number marker) (adjective) N
or (quantifier) N

In a few instances attributive adjectives were found after the noun.

6.3.4. Samoan Plantation Pidgin Adjectives

As is the case in all pidgin languages known to me, the number of true adjectives, i.e. adjectives that can appear in both attributive and predicative position, is very small in SPP. The ones most commonly used include *gut(fela)* 'good', *nogut* 'bad', *smol(fela)* 'small', *bik(fela)* 'big', *ol(fela)* 'old', and *nu(fela)* 'new, recent'.

6.3.4.1. The Use of -fela

The use of attributive adjectives with or without *-fela* is highly variable. The following observations regarding its use were made:

6.3.4.1.1. *-fela* need not be dropped when an adjective appears in predicative position. Examples include:

SPP	Gloss
<i>yu yangfela</i>	<i>You are young</i>
<i>samfela ol i smolfela</i>	<i>Some are small</i>
<i>haus i longfela</i>	<i>The building is long</i>

6.3.4.1.2. For adjectives preceding nouns, there is a tendency to drop -fela if the adjectives contains more than one syllable as in:

SPP	Gloss
planti Buka	<i>many Bukas</i>
nara boi	<i>another 'boy'</i>
tumats kokonat	<i>lots of coconuts</i>

but:

narafela wuman	<i>another woman</i>
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6.3.4.1.3. Monosyllabic adjectives in attributive position appear with or without -fela and inherent variability is common, i.e. adjectives with and without -fela are found in the same speech event from the same sentence, as in:

SPP	Gloss
pastaim mekim bikfela fait	<i>In the beginning they had a big</i>
bik fait pastaim	<i>fight, a big fight in the beginning</i>
em gut bos, gutfela man	<i>He is a good boss, a good man</i>

6.3.4.1.4. Inherent variability. Variation in the adjective marker was found with all speakers. It appears that the use of -fela after bik is more frequent than after other adjective stems. In my own corpus 13 out of 18 instances of bik were found with -fela. All eight instances found in Neffgen, Schuchardt's and Wegener's examples took the shape bikfela. With other adjectives, the use without -fela appears to prevail: 16 out of 24 occurrences in my own corpus showed no -fela in attributive position; 4 out of 10 examples in the other texts had no -fela.

Significant differences in the use of -fela before animates and inanimates can be shown. It appears that the likelihood of -fela appearing is significantly higher before animate nouns. -fela appeared in about 75% of all instances (including numerals) before animate nouns, but in only 55% of all instances before inanimate nouns. This indicates a gradual reinterpretation of the meaning of English 'fellow' as an adjective marker. The system of later NGP is already inherent in the variation found in SPP.

On the other hand, the degree to which the meaning of a noun phrase is lexicalised does not appear to determine the choice of -fela.

Compare:

SPP	Gloss
bikfela han	<i>arm</i>
smolfela han	<i>hand</i>
bikfela nait	<i>midnight, middle of night</i>

SPP	Gloss
nu boi	<i>newcomer</i>
gut taim	<i>peace</i>
grin kokonat	<i>drinking nut</i>

6.3.4.1.5. Comparison of adjectives is expressed by means of paraphrases such as in the form of a disjunctive question, as in:

SPP	Gloss
Samoa i gut ples. Na watnem	<i>Is New Guinea a better place than</i>
Nugini ples? gut ples i	<i>(as good a place as) Samoa?</i>
nogut?	

6.3.4.2. Intensification of Adjectives

Adjectives can be intensified by means of a number of methods:

6.3.4.2.1. by reduplication as in:

mi siksik '*I am very ill*'
plenti plenti boi '*lots of "boys"*'

6.3.4.2.2. by lengthening the vowel as in:

pleeeenti Solomonboi i stap '*there were lots of Solomon Islanders*'

6.3.4.2.3. by adding tumats after the adjective, if its is in predicative position:

Samoa i small tumats '*Samoa is very small*'

6.3.4.2.4. with attributive adjectives tumats comes after the noun:

bikfela masta tumats '*a huge European*'

6.3.4.2.5. a single instance of veri '*very*' was found:

ples i no veri gut i no gut '*the place isn't very good at all*'

No examples of a synthetic comparative or superlative were found. NGP uses basically the same mechanisms to express comparison but the analytic constructions used have less of an ad hoc character.

6.3.5. Numerals and Quantifiers

The cardinal numbers up to 20 were elicited and found to be very similar to those of present day NGP. The main difference lies in the variable and apparently unsystematic use of -fela, something which is also found in earlier stages of NGP. This is further evidence that the status of -fela as an adjective marker was not fully clear at the beginning of the century. Thus, I found wanfela waitman '*a European*', wan

bulmakau 'one cow', sikis pikinini 'six children', wanfela ten sikisfela tala 'sixteen Tala (unit of currency in Western Samoa)'. The numbers from one to twenty are:

1 wan (fela)	11 wanfela ten wan (fela)
2 tu (fela)	12 wanfela ten tu (fela)
3 tri (fela)	13 wanfela ten tri (fela)
4 fo (fela)	14 wanfela ten fo (fela)
5 faif (fela)	15 wanfela ten faif (fela)
6 sikis (fela)	16 wanfela ten sikis (fela)
7 seven (fela)	17 wanfela ten seven (fela)
8 et (fela)	18 wanfela ten et (fela)
9 nain (fela)	19 wanfela ten nain (fela)
10 wanfela ten	20 tufela ten

Whilst all reports concerning SPP numerals agree that one is dealing with a decimal counting system, a certain variability in the forms of numerals is found in earlier sources. Thus Genthe (1908) reports ten fellow one two fellow kilock 'twelve o'clock', while Lentzner (1891) quotes the sentence two big fellow man he stop six fafine (Samoan for 'wife') and two ten and four small fellow piccanini 'there are two boars, six sows and twenty-four piglets'.

As is to be expected, there are few ordinal numbers in SPP, the only ones on record being nambawan 'the first' and nambatu 'the second'.

The indefinite quantifiers of SPP are plenti(fela) and sam(fela).

Examples illustrating their use include:

SPP	Gloss
he make plenty plcaninny too much	She has given birth to many children
plenti Solomon i wok long mi	Many Solomon Islanders worked under me
sam ples bikfela	Some villages were big
mekim sam wara i boil	Make some water boil, bring some water to the boil
mi no gat plenti mani	I have not got much money

6.3.6. Verbs and Verb Phrases

Verb phrases consist of one or two verbs plus an optional adverbial. In contrast to present-day NGP, the tense and aspect system of SPP is not well developed. Tense and aspect can be expressed optionally by means of adverbs or aspect markers. Adverbs used for this purpose are generally found at the beginning of a paragraph and not repeated with every instance of the verb:²¹

Mi stap long Fiji WAN FAIV YIA BIPO. Mi go long ples mekim suga bilong as. Plenti Indian fella wokim de. Plenti Yuropin i wokim long suga.....

'I was in Fiji fifteen years ago. I went to this place to cut sugar for us. Many Indians were working there. Many Europeans were employed in the sugar industry.'

The use of tenseless and aspectless verb forms is also found in the following examples where contextual information provides the clues:

SPP	Gloss
mi no gat masis	<i>I have got no matches (now)</i>
ol pikinini bilong ol blakboi i stap	<i>The children of the black labourers are alive (now)</i>
mi wanpela mi stap Samoa	<i>I alone am left in Samoa</i>
blakboi i kam Samoa	<i>The black labourers came to Samoa</i>
ol i spik dispela woataim i stap long Rabaul	<i>They said, this war was in Rabaul</i>
ol i go Nusilan	<i>They went to New Zealand</i>

Tense and aspect is signalled by *nau* 'now, then', *pinis* 'after completion of' and *baimbai* 'subsequently, in future'.

6.3.6.1. *nau* sentence initially and/or after the verb indicates an action taking place simultaneously with a speech act or at the same time as a reported event, as is the case in NGP. Some examples of sentences containing *nau*, and its variant *nautaim*, are:

SPP	Gloss
<i>nautaim</i> mi no toktok, mi tu ol	<i>I don't talk a lot these days; I am too old</i>
<i>nau</i> yu stap hia yu kam hia	<i>Now you are here, you came here</i>
<i>nau</i> mi spikim long yu	<i>Now I am telling you</i>
<i>nau</i> i ren <i>nau</i>	<i>It is raining at this moment</i>
<i>nau</i> pikinini i bikpela	<i>Now the children have grown up</i>
orait, taim <i>nau</i> mi olupela lilebit	<i>Then, when I had grown up a bit</i>
<i>nau</i> mi kam long Samoa long taim long Siaman	<i>I came to Samoa in German times</i>

Another adverb used occasionally to indicate the present is *tete* 'today', as in:

long Samoa <i>tete</i> haus sik i antap	<i>Today the hospital in Samoa is situated on a hill</i>
--	--

6.3.6.2. *pinis* before or after a verb signals completion of an action, as in:

SPP	Gloss
grass bilong kokonas i dai <i>pinis</i>	<i>The hair on his head has become grey</i>

SPP	Gloss
mi pinis drink	<i>I have finished drinking</i>
mi kambek pinis	<i>I have come back</i>
mi pinis drink mi pinis smok	<i>I do not drink or smoke any more</i>
em i go pinis	<i>He is gone</i>

Past tense is signalled by means of a number of sentence-initial or final adverbials including bipo 'before', i longtaim 'a long time ago' or long Siamantaim 'in the German days'. Examples are:

SPP	Gloss
bipo em i stap hia Samoa planti lilebit - nau i go olgeta	<i>He stayed in Samoa for a fair time but now he has left for good</i>
bipo mi lukim dispela maresin	<i>I saw this medicine in the past (contextual meaning: in German times)</i>
waitman i spik long mi bipo	<i>The whites told me so</i>

6.3.6.3. baimbai at the beginning or end of sentences signals that an event took place subsequent to another event in a text or that it will take place after the time of speaking. As in NGP, the meaning of baimbai thus embraces tense and aspect. Examples are:

SPP	Gloss
yu go bek gen baimbai	<i>You will go back again</i>
baimbai masta Kelly i kam	<i>Mister Kelly will arrive (soon)</i>
baimbai yu slip long hotel	<i>You will sleep at the hotel</i>
baimbai ren i pinis	<i>The rain will stop (eventually)</i>

In one instance the future marker was found directly before the verb, as in the case of the NGP of younger speakers:

SPP	Gloss
brata bilong mi baimbai dai	<i>My brother will die</i>

With the exception of the occasional use of post-verbal i go as a duration marker, the aspect system of SPP is undeveloped in comparison with later stages of NGP. This is a reflection of the fact that present day NGP represents an expanded pidgin, whilst in the case of SPP one is dealing with a variety that has just become stabilised.

6.3.6.4. In NGP, aspect is sometimes expressed by means of verbal chaining, as in em i kisim traिम 'he tried to get hold of him' or em i save dring 'he used to drink'. This type of construction is very rare in SPP, the only two types of verbal chaining on record being:

6.3.6.4.1. after verbs of motion:

SPP	Gloss
man i kam lukim mi	<i>The man came to see me</i>
Solomonboi i kam wok iong kem	<i>The Solomon Islanders came to work in the camp</i>
mi go sitsit	<i>I went to relieve myself</i>
mi gokabout lukluk long peles	<i>I wandered around and had a look at the place</i>

6.3.6.4.2. one instance of verbal concatenation involving the verb *spik* 'to speak, say' was recorded. However, the construction *spik lai* is ambiguous, since *spik* can also be regarded as a transitive verb without *-im* plus a noun *lai* 'lie'.

6.3.7. Intransitive, Transitive and Causative Verbs

The development of verb classes whose behaviour is quite different from that found in the lexifier languages is one of the major developments in NGP's expansion phase. A more detailed account is being prepared by Edmondson and Mühlhäusler (forthcoming).

Whilst the suffix *-im* has become a categorical feature marking transitive and causative verbs in NGP, considerable variability is found in SPP. A formal distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs such as is found in present-day NGP is not consistently made in SPP, neither in the examples quoted by earlier authors nor in the samples recorded by the author. The transitivity marker was found in cases where NGP does not have such a marker, as in *gatim* 'got' and *kaikaiim* 'eat', it was lacking in cases where it is compulsory in NGP, as in *mek* 'do' and was variably absent with other verbs.

6.3.7.1. Intransitive verbs, including many items that are adjectives in English, never take the ending *-im*. The following sentences illustrate the use of some of them:

SPP	Gloss
kabora i DRAI	<i>The copra is dry</i>
em i SIKSIK	<i>He was ill</i>
tok i KRANKI	<i>The talk was foolish</i>
naittaim mi SLIP lilebit	<i>At night I slept a little</i>
smolpela boi i go long	<i>The little boys went for a walk along the road</i>
GOKABAUT iong rot	
ol i GOAP long kalabus	<i>They went to prison</i>
mi KAMBEK long muluk bilong mi	<i>I returned to my home country</i>

SPP	Gloss
wan man DAI long bus	<i>A man died in the bush</i>
ren i FOLDAUN	<i>The rain i falling</i>
bik SIP i kam	<i>A big ship came</i>
mi STAP Samoa	<i>I stayed in Samoa</i>
mi GROAP lilebit	<i>I had grown up a bit</i>

6.3.7.2. The use of reduplication to signal intransitive verbs is a feature carried over directly from Tolai and the languages of the Duke-of-York Islands. It is only found in the later sources, as it was not part of the original SPP. Its presence in SPP illustrates the structural changes resulting from the influx of large numbers of workers from the New Guinea Islands.

As in NGP, reduplication signalling intransitive verbs is of limited productivity in SPP, and forms such as *spikspik* 'to speak' compete with *spik* 'to speak'. Only the following reduplicated intransitive verbs were found:

Intransitive form	Transitive form
wasim 'to wash s.th.'	waswas 'to wash o.s.'
lukim 'to see s.th.'	lukluk 'to look, gaze'
spikim 'to speak to'	spikspik 'to speak'
paitim 'to hit s.o.'	paitpait 'to fight'
tokim 'to tell s.o.'	toktok 'to talk'

6.3.7.3. Transitive verbs are either morphologically unmarked or take the suffix *-im* or the preposition *long*. Earlier texts have very few examples of *-im*, whilst it appears to be the preferred form in later texts. The spread of *-im* to more and more transitive verbs appears to be a genuine example of lexical diffusion. However, an exhaustive account of its diachronic development is still outstanding. In the following only my own data, collected in 1975, will be considered. They illustrate that SPP never became fully stable in some areas of grammar.

6.3.7.3.1. A number of transitive verbs were found without *-im* including:

SPP	Gloss
pikinini LAIK dispela tru	<i>The children really like it</i>
bos bilong mi i SAVE Pidgin	<i>My boss knew Pidgin</i>
monintaim mi LAIK kopi	<i>I like coffee in the morning</i>
muruk i GAT wan lek	<i>The cassowary has got one leg</i>
boi i KAIKAI tasol bilinat	<i>The 'boys' used to chew betelnut</i>

SPP	Gloss
masta i tumas PAIT mi	<i>The European beats me a lot</i>
waitman DRINK ti	<i>The Europeans drink tea</i>

6.3.7.3.2. -im was used to signal transitivity in the following instances:

SPP	Gloss
meri i KARIM kabora	<i>The women carried copra</i>
man i KATIM kabora	<i>The men opened the dry coconuts</i>
papa bilong mi i stap WATSIM	<i>My father supervised them when they</i>
olgeta i go long wok	<i>went to work</i>
mi KISIM wanpela woman	<i>I took a wife</i>
man i KILIM i dai	<i>A man killed him/her</i>
nau Siaman i BRINGIM mi Samoa	<i>Then the Germans brought me to Samoa</i>
mi stap i long bik plentesin-	<i>I stayed on the big plantation and</i>
PLANIM taro kokonas	<i>planted taro, coconuts,.....</i>
mi WANTIM gan bilong yu	<i>I want your gun</i>
boi i SUBIM wara	<i>The 'boys' were swimming</i>

6.3.7.3.3. The preposition long appears between the verb and its direct object. This was found in two instances, namely:

SPP	Gloss
masta i kros long mi	<i>The master was angry with me</i>
mi marit long wuman	<i>I married a girl</i>

Note that in present-day NGP one finds the forms krosim and maritim in addition to kros long and marit long.

6.3.7.3.4. In a number of cases both -im and long are used to signal transitivity where a verb has only one direct object. This is also encountered in NGP, though the rules underlying this construction are not clear. Examples are:

SPP	Gloss
em i kisim long gan	<i>He took his gun</i>
plenti Yuropen i wokim long	<i>Many Europeans are employed in sugar</i>
suga	<i>manufacturing</i>
mi spikim long yu	<i>I am telling you</i>
yu pulimap long Moskita net	<i>Pull up the mosquito net</i>
mi lukim long em	<i>I saw him</i>

6.3.7.3.5. Verbs derived from English verbal compounds only have one -im after the verb stem and do not repeat this -im, as is often done in NGP (cf. Wurm 1971a:31ff). Examples are:

SPP	Gloss
wanpela hia i holimpas naip bilong mi	<i>Someone stole my knife</i>
mi laik pilimap paip	<i>I want to fill the pipe</i>
boi draimap kabora	<i>The 'boys' dried the copra</i>
polis i lokimap ol boi	<i>The police lock up the 'boys'</i>

6.3.7.4. *Causative Verbs.* Causative constructions are not very numerous in the texts examined. In contrast to present-day NGP where causativity can be signalled by means of a number of devices (cf. Edmondson and Mühlhäusler forthcoming), the only causatives found in SPP are the lexicalised ones such as kilim 'to kill' and periphrastic causatives of the form mekim + V. Examples of the latter construction include:

SPP	Gloss
yu ²² mekim dai lam	<i>Extinguish the light!</i>
mekim wara i boil	<i>Boil the water!</i>
mekim op botel	<i>Open the bottle!</i>

6.3.8. Sentence Formation

The basic word-order in SPP is SVO, though some variation is found. A relatively large proportion of the sentences in the corpus is defective in the sense that either subject or object are missing. The word-order is fixed for all sentence types. Statements, questions and commands are distinguished by means of intonation.

Four simple sentence types were found:

1. equative sentences:
 mi blakboi 'I am a black labourer'
2. locative sentences:
 mi stap plantesin 'I was on the plantation'
3. intransitive sentences:
 em plenti sik 'He was very ill'
 em gokabout 'He went for a walk'
4. transitive sentences:
 em go kisim man 'He went to catch the man'
 em i tok tu tala 'He mentioned two dollars'

From the above examples, and from examples quoted earlier, it can be seen that there are no fixed conventions for the use of the predicate marker *i*. The presence of sentences of the type *mi wantaim mi kam Samoa* 'I came to Samoa at the same time' next to *white man he come here* suggests that anaphoric pronouns may have served us the source of this grammatical element.²³

Negative sentences are formed by means of *no*, which usually appears directly before the verb. The scope of negation is the whole sentence, not individual constituents. Some early records exhibit double negatives, as in Colvin (1911:198) *he no do nothing*.

Most sentences found in the corpus are of the simple type. Coordination and embedding are rare, as is to be expected of a little-developed pidgin. With the exception of *sapos 'if'*, embedded sentences are not signalled overtly by complementisers and relativisers. Some examples of grammatically complex sentences include:

SPP	Gloss
nau blakboi i kam Solomon i pinis	<i>Today all the black workers that came from the Solomon Islands are gone.</i>
papa bilong mi i stap watsim em ol i go long wok	<i>My father used to watch them go to work</i>
yu tel dis boi i go fainim em meri mi kisim long Samoa i dai finis	<i>Tell this 'boy' to find her/him The wife I got in Samoa is dead</i>

Note that no exhaustive analysis of all the syntactic patterns of SPP has been made as yet. A preliminary impression is, however, that such an analysis would be of rather restricted relevance for comparative purposes, as the syntactic properties of all English-based incipient pidgins are very similar.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.1. The various varieties of Pacific Pidgin English and to a lesser degree, English pidgins and creoles in other parts of the world derive many of their common properties from certain conventions current in the jargonised English spoken on board trading and recruiting vessels.

7.2. These conventions appear to be mainly lexical and include the use of such universally found items as *save 'to know'*, *pikinini 'child'*, *sapos 'if'*, among numerous others. (cf. Clark 1977:21-2).

7.3. The Jargon English spoken in the Pacific area from the beginning of the 19th century derived its lexical and structural properties from a number of sources, the most prominent ones being ad hoc simplification of English, the existence of certain lexical and grammatical conventions, and local conditions. It was characterised by both regional variation and inherent variability.

7.4. The development of stable pidgins took place in a number of focal areas in the Pacific during the second half of the last century. These areas include the plantations of Queensland, Samoa, New Caledonia and, from 1880, the trading and recruiting areas of the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands and the Duke-of-York and New Britain/New Ireland areas.

7.5. Features of stabilised pidgins were spread from area to area via these foci, in particular through the intensive labour trade.

7.6. Among the Pacific varieties of Pidgin English SPP and NGP exhibit the closest structural relationship. Up to 1914 the speakers of these two pidgins constitute a single speech community.

7.7. The close relationship between SPP and NGP is a result of the special historical links between New Guinea and Samoa. New Guineans were first exposed to a stabilised pidgin on the Samoan plantations where large numbers of them served as contract labourers.

7.8. The first plantations in German New Guinea made extensive use of labourers who had already worked on the Samoan plantations and who, among other skills, had brought back a knowledge of SPP. Other returned workers went back to their villages where they spread the language. Working in Samoa was thought of as prestigious as was the language associated with the Samoan plantations.

7.9. As a result of the influx of large numbers of workers from the Blanche Bay-Duke of York-New Ireland areas, SPP underwent a number of structural changes after 1880. The Samoan plantations thus became the main centre for the formation of a New Guinean variety of Pacific Pidgin English.

7.10. SPP was arrested in its development because of the limited number of communicative functions to which it was put to use. NGP, on the other hand, underwent a drastic structural expansion as a result of its rapid functional expansion from a plantation pidgin to a lingua franca capable of dealing with an ever-increasing range of topics.

7.11. The influence of the Samoan plantation system on the development of NGP is seen as the most important but not the only factor in the early development of this language. It is hoped that further evidence will be found to allow a more precise evaluation of other factors.

7.12. Recruiting to Samoa may also have been an important factor in the development of other Pacific pidgins, in particular Solomon Islands pidgin and Bichelamar. The dialectal variation found in these two languages may be partly due to the fact that inhabitants of some areas were usually shipped to Samoa whilst others were shipped to Queensland or New Caledonia.

N O T E S

1. This Paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of Australia, Sydney 1975.
2. The term 'New Guinea Islands' refers to the Bismarck Archipelago together with the German Solomon Islands, i.e. Buka and Bougainville.
3. As most early accounts of Pidgin English in the Pacific are given in conventional or slightly modified English spelling no comparison of their respective sound systems is possible. The case of kɪsɪm for 'to catch' is an exception. Note that this pronunciation is shared by NGP and SPP but not by other Pacific pidgins.
4. This quotation indicates that a change in the patterns of transmission of SPP and NGP had taken place by 1913. In contrast to the situation described by Parkinson (1887:29), many of the New Guineans already knew some Pidgin English when they were recruited.
5. Keesing here appears to subscribe to the official point of view which is also found in the *Handbook of Western Samoa* (op. cit.). However, there are indications that many of the remaining 'black boys' were never given the opportunity to return to their home country.
6. Mr Meleisea has informed me that the use of this label was reinforced by the New Zealand administration of Samoa which classified the Melanesian workers as Solomon Islanders.
7. Recruiting was restricted to a small number of areas, in particular the Gazelle Peninsula and the Lihir, Tanga and Tabar groups of islands to the north-east of New Ireland. It would be an interesting project to carry out linguistic fieldwork on these islands to determine whether any influences of Queensland Plantation Pidgin English can be traced in the NGP spoken there.

8. The Islands of Choiseul and St. Isabel, now part of the British Solomon Islands, were originally part of the German protectorate but were transferred to Britain in 1883 and 1899 respectively.
9. The reliability of these numbers is not beyond doubt. Parkinson (1887:35) mentions that about 700 labourers from New Britain and New Ireland were shipped to Samoa during 1883 and 1884 instead of the 500 reported by Moses.
10. The rate of mortality on the Samoan plantations, though very considerable, still compares favourably with that among workers on the first plantations in the New Guinea mainland. It appears that this was one of the reasons why the Samoan plantations were preferred to New Guinean plantations by new recruits.
11. Reed (1943:284-5) estimates 'the number of natives who learned the speech during German times' at about 15,000. This would mean that more than a third of the NGP speakers had learnt their Pidgin on the Samoan plantations.
12. It is not strange, therefore, to learn that the Samoan 'black boys' were under the impression that they were speaking English, a belief which has survived in Samoa until today.
13. Whilst Mouton must have seen the entire development of NGP from its earliest beginnings to its stabilisation in the 1910s and expansion in the 1920s only a few scattered remarks are found in his autobiography (Biskup 1974:42,44,78,130).
14. It is commonly believed that lexical items of Polynesian pidgin such as *kanaka* 'native', *kaikai* 'food', *lotu* 'church', or *taro* 'taro', were brought to New Guinea by these missionaries:
- The introduction of these few Samoan words briefly epitomizes a phase in the growth of the common language. These Polynesian teachers whose position in New Guinea villages endowed them with special status, used their own speech-forms for introducing elements strange to the communities in which they were settled. (Reed 1943:278)
- However, it seems likely that some such items were spread by returning labourers as well as missionaries.
15. This is reflected in the increase in the use of lexical items from local vernaculars, meeting the communicative need to discuss topics foreign to the plantation context.

16. No phonological analysis of SPP has been undertaken by the author; the orthography used is that of NGP with some minor changes, apart from those anglicised examples quoted directly from earlier articles.
17. Note the use of onomatopoeia in these circumlocutions. None of them have survived in NGP.
18. This item is one of the few of German origin, in contrast to German New Guinea the position of the German language in Samoa was much less favourable. As a result, the role of German as a superstratum language is minimal. There is no evidence that any reduced form of German was ever used on the Samoan plantations.
19. Whilst the form *mi ol* meets the requirement of pattern conformity (symmetry) it nevertheless is not optimally encoded, as '*we*' is not just a collection of '*I's*'.
20. Redundant plural marking is a widespread feature in present-day NGP, especially among younger speakers and among those for whom it has become a first language. (cf. Mühlhäusler 1976).
21. The theoretical implications of the development of compulsory tense and aspect marking out of tenseless and aspectless basic pidgins have been discussed by Labov (1971).
22. The SPP examples listed here illustrate yet another area of variability, i.e. variable second person pronoun deletion in imperatives. In the core varieties of NGP this second person pronoun is categorically present.
23. It appears that the Tolai predicate marker *i-* served as an important additional stimulus and may have contributed to the predicate marker's becoming categorical in many varieties of NGP.

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THE FUNCTIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF LEXICAL BASES IN NEW GUINEA PIDGIN¹

Peter Mühlhäusler

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THIS PAPER

This paper deals with the behaviour of lexical bases which can appear under more than one of the main categorial symbols N, V, adj. and adv.² This phenomenon is henceforth referred to as multifunctionality.³

It has been observed that MF can be found in a large number of pidgins and creoles,⁴ and it may be regarded as a salient feature of these languages. However, its occurrence is not restricted to pidgins and creoles and it is not known at present whether MF plays a significant role in the grammar of all pidgins and creoles. It therefore seems unwarranted to speak of MF as a universal of pidgins.⁵

This paper is designed to:

- a) solve a number of descriptive problems
- b) provide a description of the behaviour of nominal word bases in New Guinea Pidgin (NGP)
- c) throw light on the development of NGP and pidgin languages in general.

1.2. DESCRIPTIVE PROBLEMS

The status of MF in linguistic description has been the topic of long debates⁶ and both Kempen (1969) and Fillmore (1971), who have dealt with MF recently, acknowledge that a number of difficulties remain to be overcome:

If *plastre* is defined as something which one attaches to a surface for a particular range of purposes, then that fact should be shown to be related to uses of the verb *plastre*. I have no proposal on how this is to be done; I merely suggest that when both the nominal and the verbal use of a word refer to events of the same type, the event-description should, other things being equal, appear only once in the lexicon. (Fillmore 1971:385)

Two kinds of descriptive difficulties have to be distinguished, the first being the status of MF with regard to the establishment of formal word classes. Here, as has been pointed out by Bazell, linguists can adopt several alternative solutions.

If each of these four linguists took his system seriously from the standpoint of typology, the first would say that English has a large measure of over-lapping in its categories; the second that not the categories, but rather their range, overlap; the third that English is characterized by a large number of homonyms; and finally the fourth, that it is characterized by a large number of defective paradigms. (Bazell 1958:6f)

Taxonomic linguistics, being preoccupied with the establishment of classes rather than providing a theory of language containing principled grounds for the justification of classes, is unable to give good reasons why one rather than another of the possibilities outlined by Bazell should be selected. For reasons outlined below any classification based merely on formal criteria appears to be unrevealing and of little relevance to our understanding of MF.

The second problem arises out of the semantic behaviour of multi-functional word bases. There appear to be grounds for expecting close correlations between categorical and semantic properties of multi-functional bases. A number of regular correspondences between categorical and semantic status of lexical bases will be outlined in the descriptive statement.

These difficulties together with the lack of data explain the limitations of earlier descriptions of MF in New Guinea Pidgin, a number of which will be outlined in brief.

1.3. OUTLINE OF EARLIER DESCRIPTIONS OF MF IN NGP

Two different kinds of treatment of MF in NGP can be distinguished in earlier descriptions, one being a lexical treatment consisting of mere listing of lexical bases exhibiting such behaviour, the other being the establishment of form classes and their supplementation by a set of rules accounting for the transition of items between these form classes.

The first observation about MF is found in Brenninkmeyer (1924:23):

The natives use few words but are clever in the use of the basic meaning... and in the use of the same word as noun, adjective and verb. (translation mine)

Brenninkmeyer regards the multiple use of words as an instance of making maximal use of a limited lexicon. However, he does not attempt to describe the regularities underlying this process nor does he provide a list of examples found at the time.

Such a list, comprising more than one hundred multifunctional lexical items, is supplied by Borchardt (1930:21ff). Introducing this list, Borchardt remarks:

It is very easy to form verbs from nouns, adjectives and other forms. However, to do this, it is necessary to know well the character of the language. Otherwise one will go amiss - and it is of greatest importance that this should not happen if matters of religion are concerned.
(translation mine)

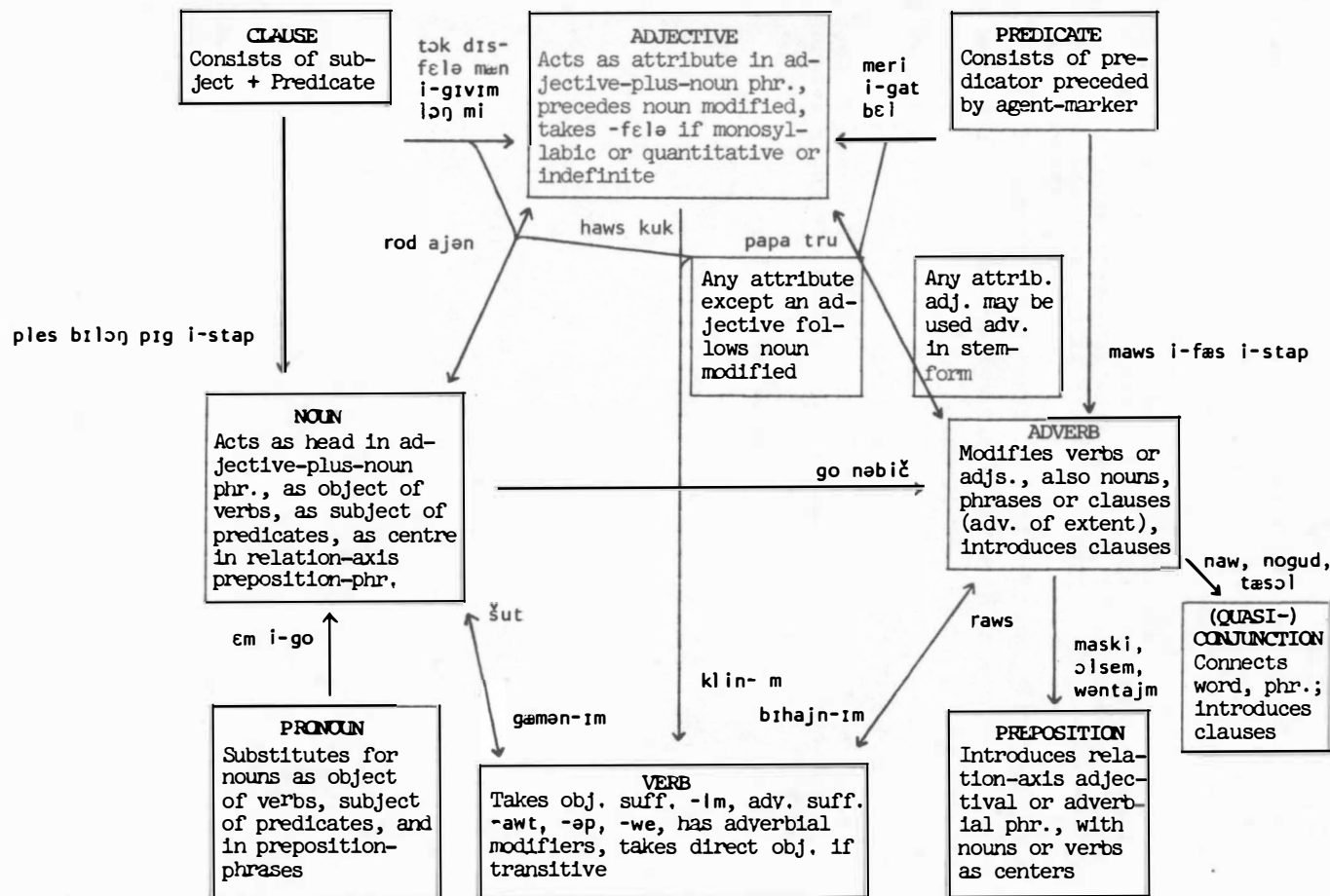
Although this quotation implies that there are restrictions, Borchardt does not mention any such restriction but merely provides a list - admittedly large - of items.

The first attempt to describe the regularities underlying MF in NGP is found in Hall (1943a:23ff). Hall states that

change of function, from that of one part of speech to that of another, is found in many words and is even more common than in English.

He illustrates this with the following scheme (1943a:24):

PARTS OF SPEECH AND THEIR SUBSTITUTION



Hall's analysis, however, is based on a number of assumptions to which I cannot subscribe, including the following:

1) Hall does not distinguish between units of different size levels and treats the embedding of clauses into positions usually occupied by a noun as an instance of substitution of a part of speech.

The term 'substitution' used by Hall covers a wide range of phenomena and the difference between these is blurred in his scheme. Thus, substitution includes the expansion of immediate constituents as in *ples bilong pik i stap 'the place where the pig is'* from *ples bilong pik 'the place of the pig'*, i.e. embedding of a clause into a position otherwise occupied by a noun.

ii) Substitution as used by Hall also refers to the relation of noun and pronoun where items of the same size level and the same restrictions with regard to their occurrence in grammatical structures are exchanged for one another. Incidentally, pronouns do not only replace nouns but also noun phrases.

iii) Substitution further refers to cases where an item belonging to one form class is used like an item of the same level belonging to a different form class. An example in Hall's scheme is the use of the adjective *klin-pela 'clean'* as a transitive verb *klin-im 'to make clean'*. This case is quite different from embedding and pronominalisation. In contrast to embedding, where both the meaning and internal structure of the embedded construction remain intact, neither the formal behaviour nor the semantic properties of *klinim* can be recovered by referring to the adjective *klin*. There is also a difference in the conditions for the application of these substitutions; whereas embedding can occur freely if certain syntactic conditions are met, the occurrence of verbs as adjectives is severely restricted by phonological, syntactic and semantic conventions. This difference can be illustrated using Hall's example of substitution of a predicate for an adjective. *I gat bel 'has a belly = is pregnant'* is given as an example of a predicate substituting an adjective such as *aipas in meri aipas 'blind woman'*. The number of clauses which can be embedded after *meri* is very large and corresponds to the number of relative clauses which can occur after *'woman'* in English. On the other hand, *bel 'belly'* belongs to the very small class of nouns which can also function as adjectives as in *meri i bel 'the woman is pregnant'*. Now compare:

<i>mi lukim meri i gat bel</i>	<i>meri i bel</i>	<i>'I saw the woman who was pregnant'</i>
<i>mi lukim meri i gat bilum</i>	<i>*meri i bilum</i>	<i>'I saw the woman who had a stringbag'</i>
<i>mi lukim meri i gat pikinini</i>	<i>*meri i pikinini</i>	<i>'I saw the woman who had a child'</i>
<i>mi lukim meri i gat pulpul</i>	<i>*meri i pulpul</i>	<i>'I saw the woman who had a grass skirt'</i>

Thus, *meri i gat bel* has to be treated as an instance of embedding of a relative clause, whereas *bel in meri i bel* has to be treated as a noun which has become an adjective expressing *i gat bel*. It appears that the kind of substitutions which occur between the categories noun, verb, adjective and adverb (the inner circle in Hall's scheme) should be treated quite differently from the other substitutions. I suggest that the former should receive lexical treatment and the latter a syntactic one. This suggestion will be elaborated upon below.

iv) The last objection against Hall's scheme is his treatment of compounds as being on the same level as syntactic constructions. Thus *kuk*, in the compound *haus kuk* '*kitchen*', is treated as an instance of a verb becoming an adjective, although neither its formal behaviour (*kuk* in *haus kuk* cannot be modified with an adverb, for instance) nor its semantic properties have anything to do with the formative. It seems as if there are good reasons for excluding compounds and lexical phrases from the grammar of parts of speech and their substitution. Again, compounds can be treated more adequately in the lexical than in the syntactic component of the grammar.

Thus, the main argument against Hall's analysis is that he treats as equal elements which belong to a number of different levels and components of the grammar. I do not claim that his treatment is wrong, but merely that it does not provide any insights into the regularities of MF. I am not concerned with the examples used by Hall to illustrate the substitution of parts of speech, although I could make a number of factual objections.

I have devoted a considerable amount of space to the discussion of Hall's proposed treatment of MF since it is the only attempt to date to make explicit the mechanisms underlying this process.

I shall conclude this discussion with a number of quotations from sources where the problem of MF has been mentioned more recently.

L.R. Healey (1972, session 10:3) briefly touches this problem by pointing out that "many transitive verbs stem from nouns, but they tend to change their meaning". This is undoubtedly true, yet some of Healey's examples fail to bring out this point. Misled by formal similarity, Healey associates:

<i>bai</i>	'future marker'	with	<i>baiim</i>	'to buy'
<i>mak</i>	'shilling'	with	<i>maklm</i>	'indicate, imitate'.

These examples are obviously absurd and only illustrate what a grammar of NGP should not attempt to describe.

Laycock (1969:xvii) writes:

Pidgin shares with English the major word classes, or 'parts of speech'; or pronoun, noun, verb, adjective, and adverb; but it uses them with greater flexibility, so that the same 'base' may be used as many different 'parts of speech'; thus we have strongpela man *strong man* (attributive adjective), man i strong *the man is strong (insistent)* (predicative adjective), rop i no gat strong *the rope has no strength* (noun), strongim pos *strengthen the post* (transitive verb), and tok strong *speak loudly* (adverb). Not all bases can undergo so many changes, however; thus muruk *cassowary* is a noun only, gat *have* is a verb only, and tru *truly* is an adverb only.

Wurm (1971:8) also briefly mentions the importance of MF in NGP, stating that it is "fundamental to the grammar of Pidgin". He also acknowledges that "many Pidgin bases show limitations in the range of functions in which they can appear". In spite of these important insights, however, no further indications about the underlying regularities are given. This part of Pidgin grammar remains virtually uncharted territory.

2. THE DATA AND THE DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK

2.1. THE DATA

Before presenting the descriptive framework, a brief account of the data⁷ which are to be explained will be given. It is assumed that a mere formal analysis of MF would fall short of explaining this phenomenon in full. Here follows a list of instances, being a pretheoretical classification⁸ based on formal and semantic relations between parts of speech.

1) Instances in which there is a periphrastic relationship between two constructions involving the change of grammatical function of a lexical item but no semantic change:

mi amamas (N)	mi gat amamas (N)	'I am delighted'
mi kleva (adj)	mi gat kleva (N)	'I am clever'

In these cases an adjective or verb is semantically equivalent to a verb phrase consisting of a verbal auxiliary and an abstract noun. It will be shown below that the choice of either of these alternatives is syntactically conditioned.

ii) Instances in which the meaning of a lexical item in one grammatical function differs - to a greater or lesser extent - from the meaning of the same lexical item in another grammatical function. This difference in meaning is felt to be reflected by paraphrases involving lexical items other than auxiliaries.

baira	'hoe'	baira-im ⁹	'break the soil with a hoe, to hoe'
matmat	'grave'	matmat-im	'put into a grave, to bury'
sub-im	'to push'	subim	'the force'
prai-im	'to fry'	praiim	'fried sago pancake'
pris	'priest'	pris	'to preach'
rere	'ready'	rere	'to prepare o.s.'
lapun	'old'	lapun	'to grow old'

iii) Cases where the semantic link between two forms is not immediately obvious. This appears to be a special case of ii) involving metaphorical shift of meaning.

skin	'skin'	skinlm	'invite to sexual activity by pulling back the foreskin'
poket	'pocket'	poketim	'purloin, steal something by making it disappear in one's pocket'

iv) Changes between subcategories, such as between transitive and intransitive verbs or animate and inanimate nouns. Here a surface function serves to accommodate lexical items which in deep structure may have to be given different functional interpretations. However, it was felt that a case grammar treatment would not add significant new insights into the nature of changes between subcategories and MF. Instead, the view was adopted that such changes could be explained in terms of lexical redundancy conventions.¹⁰ Change of subcategory is primarily a function of the meaning of lexical items.

Instances are:

sindaun	'sit down'	sindaun-im	'cause to sit down, settle s.o.'
pekpek	'defecate'	pekpek-im	'deliberately defecate on'
nambis	'beach'	nambis	'coastal dweller'
Amerika	'America'	Amerika	'American'

This short presentation of the data suggests that the term MF covers a number of phenomena which may have to be treated in different parts of a grammar of NGP. The first example differs from all other cases in that no change in meaning is involved. This, together with other arguments which will be given below, suggests that a syntactic treatment involving non-meaning changing transformations is called for. Such a syntactic treatment is not possible for the other cases, and a number of reasons will be advanced for a treatment of these cases in the lexical component of the grammar of NGP.

2.2. REMARKS ON THE TERMINOLOGY AND THE DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK

The term multifunctionality is used as a cover term applying to all cases in which a word (which is either a lexical base or a compound) is found to occur with more than one wordclass. Wordclasses, or parts

of speech, in NGP are established by showing the syntactic surface functions in which members of a word class can appear. The term noun, as used in this paper, refers to words which can appear as either subjects of sentences, objects of sentences involving transitive or causative verbs, or predicates in equative constructions. A more detailed description of word classes in NGP can be found in Hall (1943). This formal behaviour of word classes is paralleled by semantic properties shared by most members of a word class.

The term *functional change* is applied to those instances of MF where a direction of change from one wordclass to another can be indicated. The decision to introduce directionality into the analysis has been arrived at for the following reasons:

1) Speakers of NGP will provide paraphrases for words in certain functions which contain the same word in another function. Thus for bairaim 'to hoe', a paraphrase such as brukim graun long baira 'to break the soil with a hoe' will be provided. The paraphrase for baira 'hoe', on the other hand, will not involve the verb bairaim 'to hoe', but a paraphrase such as samting bilong brukim graun 'something for breaking the soil' will be provided instead. I am aware of the objections against this criterion (cf. Kempen 1969:10); however, it appears to support the second argument for directionality put forward here.

11) If it is assumed that words belong to a basic word class from which they can be derived and put into other classes, a number of restrictions on MF can be explained.

It can be observed that the class of verbs which cannot be derived into abstract nouns coincides with those verbs which have concrete noun correlates, or are causative verbs which have adjective or intransitive verb correlates. These facts could conveniently be described by establishing a basic class membership for each item and a general rule that functional shift in any direction can only occur once. This view is supported by the fact that the semantic properties and categorical (class) status of a lexical item alone are insufficient for the prediction of occurrences in other functions. Thus, the semantically causative verb subim 'cause to move, push' can also be used as an abstract noun subim 'force, act of pushing', whereas gohetim 'cause to go ahead or progress', which is related to gohet 'to go ahead', cannot be expanded into an abstract noun expressing 'the action of causing to progress'. Similarly, kru 'sprout' can become a verb 'to sprout' but neither a causative verb *kruim 'cause to sprout' nor an abstract noun *kru 'act of sprouting'.

The principle of single functional shift is operative with all 'programs' described below. This is quite different from English where

on is dealing with multiple derivation yielding sets such as pig - piggyish - piggyishness. Exceptions to this principle were found in creolised Pidgin where sets such as huk 'hook', huk 'to catch fish' and huk 'act of catching fish' were recorded.

111) A third and very strong argument in favour of introducing directionality is the behaviour of NGP words with regard to reduplication. The stem of Pidgin verbs can be reduplicated to express intensity, as in tantanim 'to turn round and round' from tanim 'to turn' or painpainim 'to search thoroughly' from painim 'to search for'. Excepted from this reduplication are verbs which can be considered derivations from nouns. Thus *brumbrumim is rejected by speakers of NGP because of brumim 'to broom' being derived from brum 'broom'. This suggests that information about the derivational history of lexical items is needed in another part of NGP grammar.

More will be said about these constraints later. The decision to introduce directionality does not mean that this will apply for all instances of MF. It is conceivable that a number of items would be better described with terms as noun-verb, than as nouns derived from verbs or verbs derived from nouns.

The term syntactic derivation refers to instances of MF where the change of grammatical function can be explained in terms of simple fully recoverable transformations which involve no change in meaning. The term 'conversion'¹¹ is used by some writers to refer to this phenomenon.

Syntactic derivation accounts for certain stylistic alternatives in the syntax of NGP; it does not, however, provide any new lexical items.

The main difference between syntactic derivation and lexical derivation is that, with the latter, the derived functionally shifted items contain elements of meaning which are not contained in the basic items to which they are related. They "contain a new 'grip' on reality which is not solely conditioned by the new word class". (Gauger 1971:77; translation provided).

Thus lexical derivation can be regarded on a par with, and complementary to, other processes of formation of lexical items not dealt with here. These processes include compounding, derivation by suffixation (very rare in NGP), reduplication, and formation of lexical phrases. For this reason, these instances of MF are referred to as 'zero derivations' by some authors. The decision to describe most instances of MF as lexical processes does not imply that they are treated as irregularities. Rather, this view was adopted because of strong indications that the regularities found in the lexicon are different in kind from syntactic regularities. The nature of the lexicon and lexical

derived from *graun* 'soil' can be interpreted as either 'to hill up plants' or 'to put into the soil'; in the former case *graunim* follows the pattern just described for *malselim*, i.e. instrumental use, in the second case it follows a program (N + im) $V_{tr} \longrightarrow$ *putim sampela samting i go insait long 'N to put something into N'*.

The operation of programs is restricted by two factors; first, linguistic factors accounting for systematic gaps and secondly non-linguistic factors accounting for accidental gaps. The term *norm*, created by Coseriu, has been adopted to refer to the fact that a number of forms (lexical derivations in the case of this analysis) are not accepted by the speakers of a language in spite of the fact that they are grammatical. This notion is particularly useful in the case of processes of limited productivity, such as word formation processes. The norm used for the description of MF in this paper is that of Rural Pidgin, the variety of fluent NGP least influenced by English or substratum languages.¹³

Whereas the programs of MF are stable and virtually identical for all sociolects of NGP, there are considerable variations in the norm valid for each sociolect. Changes in the norm are particularly frequent in creolised NGP, where more extensive use is made of the possibilities offered by the programs.

The term *lexical redundancy convention* refers to conventions involving lexical items sharing certain properties. Redundancy conventions, as will be shown below, are of many kinds. The extent and precise form of these conventions is not fully understood at present. These conventions, a few of which will be listed below, may be of use for lexicography in that they enable lexicographers to reduce the number of sub-entries to be listed in a dictionary of NGP.

The term *lexical base* is used to refer to a single morpheme word which is a member of one of the major word classes (parts of speech). Thus noun bases are bases which are nouns in their basic function; verbs derived from noun bases will not be referred to as bases.

The term *lexical item* refers to units of the lexicon found at various size levels. It comprises lexical bases, compounds, lexical phrases and higher level units often referred to as 'lexical span'.¹⁴ This paper is meant to deal with lexical items at word level only, i.e. lexical bases and compounds.

The term *lexical item* refers to both basic and derived items. Syntactic rules typically operate on lexical items regardless of their derivational history. The distinction between basic and derived items is relevant only for the correct operation of lexical programs. Derived items are also referred to in this paper as motivated items.

Having outlined the nature of the descriptive framework used I shall now proceed to the description of MF itself.

3. DESCRIPTIVE STATEMENT

The description will be subdivided into two main parts involving the treatment of various types of MF in syntax and lexicon respectively.

3.1. SYNTACTIC DERIVATION¹⁵

The most common case is that of 'abstract nouns' derived from verb or adjective bases. Hall (1943a:23) wrote: "Almost any verb may be used as a noun, indicating the performance of the act denoted by the verb".¹⁶ This process is governed by the following rules and restrictions:

1) Transitive verb bases which can occur without the transitivity marker *-im* yield abstract nouns not ending in *-im*. If transitivity is to be expressed in the periphrastic form involving the abstract noun, the preposition *long* is used. Compare:

mi tok	'I am talking'	mi mekim tok	'I am talking'
mi tokim yu	} 'I am telling you' =	mi mekim tok long yu	
mi tok long yu			

ii) Transitive verb bases which never occur without the transitivity marker *-im* retain the *-im* in the derived abstract noun. If transitivity is to be expressed in the periphrastic form *long* has to be used.

Compare:

mi laik askim	'I want to ask'
mi laik mekim askim	'I want to ask'
mi laik askim yupela	'I want to ask you (pl)'
mi laik mekim askim long yupela	'I want to ask you'

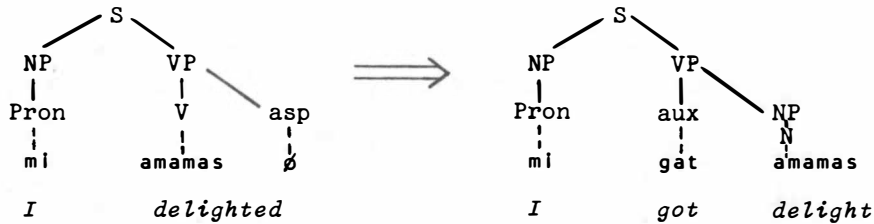
Since these regularities apply to verb bases only, it is not possible to use Wurm's list of transitive verbs which can never occur without *-im*, since this list contains verbs which are derived from other bases (Wurm 1971:24ff). Thus *mi laik hamarim nil* 'I want to hammer the nail' cannot be expanded into **mi laik mekim hamarim long nil*. Wurm explicitly states that

in a scientific linguistic description of Pidgin, this subdividing of Pidgin verbs into subclasses would follow lines which are quite different from those underlying the subdivision presented here.

Wurm's pretheoretical classification will have to be superseded by a different classification of verbs, which may well turn out to have to be characterised by a feature notation if cross-classification is to be avoided. The verbs susceptible to syntactic derivation would then

have to be marked by a feature (- derived).

Syntactic derivation of adjectives and verbs can be presented as follows:



In this transformation the verb or adjective bases plus aspect marker become abstract nouns plus auxiliary. The auxiliaries available are mekim, gat, and painim. The choice of the auxiliary can be predicted in terms of the aspect marker associated with the verb or adjective bases.

The following correspondences can be established:

Aspect marker used with adjective or verb base	Auxiliary selected in syntactic derivation	Function
wok long + adj/V	mekim + N	performative
iaik + adj/v	painim + N	inchoative
∅ + adj/V	gat + N	neutral

Consider the following examples:

a) mekim 'to make'

em i wok long hambak	em i mekim hambak	'he is humbugging'
ol i wok long toktok	ol i mekim toktok	'they are talking'
ol i wok long kivung	ol i mekim kivung	'they are gathering'
em i promis	em i mekim promis	'he promised'

The syntactic derivations containing mekim are all related to basic forms containing verb bases, as can be expected from their semantic properties.

b) painim 'to experience'

Painim is used when inchoative aspect is used in the basic construction. Most commonly it is found with expressions referring to a state of health, as in the following examples:

em i iaik sik	em i painim sik	'he is becoming ill'
yu laik bagarap	yu painim bagarap	'you are getting hurt'
man i laik indai	man painim indai	'the man is about to die'

c) gat 'get'

Gat is the most neutral of these auxiliaries. Abstract nouns appearing as surface structure objects of gat are commonly derived from adjectives which are unmarked for aspect, as in:

mi kros	mi gat kros	'I am angry'
mi les	mi gat les	'I am tired'
klos i doti	klos i gat doti ¹⁷	'The garment is dirty'

Other examples include:

mi kleva - mi gat kleva 'I am clever';
 mi amamas - mi gat amamas 'I am delighted';
 mi sori - mi gat sori 'I am sorry'.

The range of meaning of abstract nouns such as strong '*strength insistence*' can be explained in terms of the aspect markers used in the basic constructions, namely wok long strong '*to insist*' and strong + \emptyset '*strong*'.

d) notes on other auxiliaries:

The verbs givim '*to give*' and kisim '*to receive*' are found in periphrastic constructions derived from basic constructions involving benefactive verbs. Examples of these constructions are:

mi tenkyu long yu	mi givim tenkyu long yu	'I am thanking you'
mi stiaim yu	mi givim stia long yu	'I give guidance to you'
mi blesim yu	mi givim blesim long yu	'I blessed you'
mi helpim yu	mi givim helpim long yu	'I helped you'

If the focus is on the recipient rather than on the benefactor kisim is used, as in:

em i kisim stia long mi 'he received guidance from me'
 em i kisim blesim long Pater 'he received a blessing from the priest'.
 If the benefactor is identical with the recipient kisim is used, as in
 mi kisim waswas 'I wash myself'.

3.1.1. The 'Work' of Syntactic Derivations

So far the discussion has been restricted to the structures involved in syntactic derivation. I have maintained that there is no difference in meaning between the constructions involving an adjective or verb base plus aspect marker and those involving a derived abstract noun plus verbal auxiliary. Thus, it appears that NGP has two stylistic alternatives to express the same idea. This, however, is not always the case. Further investigation of the phenomenon will reveal that we are dealing with two syntactically conditioned variants of a construction.

Whereas in English sentence pairs such as

- i) the teachers talk too much
- ii) the teachers do too much talking

can be regarded as being stylistic alternatives (cf. also Liefrink 1972), in NGP the choice depends on certain conditions. Thus, whilst sentences i) to ii) are grammatical, iv) is not:

- i) olgete manmeri i amamas 'the people are happy'
 ii) olgeta manmeri i gat amamas 'the people are happy'
 iii) olgeta manmeri i gat bikpela amamas 'the people are very happy'
 iv) *olgeta manmeri i amamas bik 'the people are very happy'

The ungrammaticality of iv) can be attributed to the fact that *bikpela* is an adjective base from which no adverb can be derived. Hall's claim that "any adjective may be used in its stem-form as an adverb" (1943a:23) is certainly not true. Therefore, if verbs are to be modified, they must first be transformed into periphrastic constructions containing the derived abstract noun. Adverbs which are derived from adjectives are a marginal instance of lexical derivation and are not favoured by the norm of Rural Pidgin.¹⁸ On the other hand, the use of periphrastic constructions with abstract nouns modified by adjectives is extremely common. Consider the following examples:

- i) mi laik tenkyu long yu
 mi laik mekim tenkyu long yu
 mi laik mekim bikpela tenkyu long yu
 *mi laik tenkyu bik long yu 'I want to thank you very much'
- ii) ol i kivung
 ol i mekim kivung
 ol i mekim draipela kivung
 *ol i kivung drai 'they came together in large numbers'
- iii) em baiisori
 em baiigat sori
 em baiigat bikpela sori
 *em baiisori bik 'he will be very sad'

In some instances adverbs derived from adjective bases are found, as in:

- em i tok tru
 em i mekim trupela tok 'he talks truthfully'

My own feeling is that, in at least some such cases, the adjective base has not become an adverb at all but that we are dealing with verb serialisation. The co-existence of pairs of sentences such as *em i wok strong* and *em i wok i strong* 'he is working hard', can be taken as a confirmation of this view.¹⁹

I do not want to follow up this topic here, since verb serialisation is a mechanism of the grammar of NGP which is not yet well understood. It must be stressed that surface similarity between NGP and English constructions should not lead investigators into the temptation to neglect deep structure differences between these two languages.

3.1.2. Summary

Syntactic derivation is obligatory when verb bases are to be modified with elements ('adverbs') other than adverb bases such as *tumas* 'very', *olgeta* 'completely', *tru* 'truly' and some other adverbs of manner. It appears that there are severe restrictions on the derivation of adverbs of manner from adjective bases. Preference is given to a periphrastic construction in which abstract nouns are modified by adjectives.

It has to be added that abstract nouns occurring in constructions other than paraphrases involving verbal auxiliaries tend to assume elements of meaning beyond those contained in the verb base. This will make it necessary to treat abstract nouns in the lexicon too.

3.2. LEXICAL DERIVATION

3.2.1. Introduction

The description of lexical derivation is done in terms of three mechanisms, namely:

- i) lexical redundancy conventions
- ii) derivational programs
- iii) conventions for the assignment of idiomatic and metaphorical meaning.

The analysis is an attempt to describe certain data found in NGP within the theoretical framework outlined above. It must not be regarded as the final answer to the problems encountered. It appears likely, for instance, that both the number of programs and their form would have to be changed with the discovery of new redundancy conventions. This is an empirical question, however, and to answer to more detailed descriptions of the grammar of NGP will have to be available. The study of the grammar of NGP has not yet passed the very first stages.

3.2.2. Lexical Redundancy Conventions

This term is used, not to refer to notational conventions which permit the simplification of the descriptive presentation, but to language-specific redundancy conventions. It appears that the redundancy conventions of NGP and English differ significantly, and the implications of this will be discussed below. A distinction can be made between phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic redundancy conventions for the use of lexical items in functions other than their basic ones.

3.2.2.1. Phonological and Morphological Redundancy Conventions

The reasons for dealing with phonological and morphological restrictions at the same time is that for some speakers of NGP, the number of syllables occurring in a lexical item determines its acceptability, whereas other speakers appear to base their judgement of the number of morphemes. Thus, the first convention can be stated in two ways:

- i) NGP phonological words are to have no more than three syllables
- ii) NGP lexical words cannot consist of more than two morphemes.

The first convention restricts the derivation of transitive verbs from noun bases consisting of three or more syllables. Thus, for some speakers, the form *pupuluim* 'to cast a love spell on', derived from *pupulu* 'love spell', is not acceptable.

I regard the occurrence or rejection of such forms as being determined by a norm which can vary from speaker to speaker. It appears that this convention is an unnecessarily strong restriction on the derivation of new lexical items in Pidgin and it may disappear with continued development of the language.

The convention on morpheme structure, on the other hand, appears to be more powerful. A fair number of examples can be listed in which the only factor forbidding the generation of a new lexical item is the restriction on its morpheme structure.

Verbs can be derived from noun bases referring to instruments, the derived verbs expressing 'to use N to do something'. An extensive list of items following this program can be found below. Instances are:

<i>strena</i>	'strainer'	<i>strenaim</i>	'to strain'
<i>spana</i>	'spanner'	<i>spanaim</i>	'to tighten with a spanner'
<i>sarip</i>	'grassknife'	<i>saripim</i>	'to cut with a grassknife'

However, the derivation of transitive verbs from synonymous or semantically similar lexical items is barred:²⁰

<i>koswaia</i>	'gauze wire, strainer'	* <i>koswaiaim</i>
<i>pukpukspana</i>	'crocodile spanner, pipe wrench'	* <i>pukpukspanaim</i>
<i>grasnaip</i>	'grassknife'	* <i>grasnaipim</i>

I have found no counterexamples to this convention.²¹ However, an interesting way of overcoming this restriction was found in *sandim* 'to scrub with sandpaper', in which is related to *sandpepa* 'sandpaper'. Here, only the first component of the compound referring to the instrument is regarded as the instrument used in the action. The case *glasim* *long glas bilong lukluk* 'give signals with a mirror' can be regarded as a similar one.

This restriction is also operative with other programs, such as the one deriving a transitive verb from a noun expressing 'to mix with what

is referred to by the noun'. Thus yisim 'to mix with yeast', derived from yis 'yeast', is grammatical whereas *bekpauraim 'to mix with baking powder', related to bekpaura 'baking powder', is not.

The restriction also accounts for the choice of either suffixed -im or separate long as a means of expressing transitivity.²² Thus we have:

tok 'talk' - tokim 'talk to, tell'

bilas 'decorate' - bilasim 'decorate something'

but:

nauswara 'waffle' - mauswara long 'tell tall stories to'

tokbilas 'be offensive' - tokbilas long 'offend somebody'

and many more examples. Thus, Wurm's statement (1971:32ff) that -im expresses complete transitivity and long incomplete transitivity has to be modified, and the choice between the two has to be regarded, for most lexical items at least, as being phonologically conditioned.

3.2.2.2. Derivational Redundancy Conventions

Here we are concerned with a general principle of NGP grammar which forbids multiple derivation,²³ i.e. a derived item cannot be further derived even if the phonological and semantic conditions for derivation are met. This means that lexical derivations only operate on lexical bases. This principle will be illustrated with some observations on the derivation of abstract nouns in NGP.²⁴ Abstract nouns can be freely derived from adjectives or verb bases as in:

lap	'to laugh'	lap	'laughter'
hepi	'happy'	hepi	'happiness'
kam	'come, arrive'	kam	'arrival'
save	'know'	save	'knowledge'
kros	'angry'	kros	'anger'

However, abstract nouns cannot be derived from adjectives or verbs which have been derived from other word bases. This excludes:

Lexical Base	Derived Verbs/Adjectives	Abstract Nouns
bek (N) 'bag'	bekim 'put into bags'	*bekim 'the bagging'
savol (N) 'shovel'	savolim 'to shovel'	*savolim 'the shovelling'
spun (N) 'spoon'	spunim 'to spoon'	*spunim 'the spooning'

To express the concepts of 'bagging' etc. paraphrases such as wok bilong pulimapim long bek 'the work of filling into bags' must be used.

Similarly, abstract nouns cannot be derived from causative verbs which are derived from adjectives or verbs. Thus, sindaunim 'to settle' can be derived from sindaun 'sit', however, *sindaunim 'action of settling, the settling of' is excluded. Instead the paraphrase pasin bilong sindaunim 'the manner of settling' must be chosen.

Verb bases with causitive meaning such as kilim 'to kill' can become abstract nouns.

3.2.2.3. *Semantic Redundancy Conventions*

The third factor determining whether or not lexical items can be functionally shifted is their semantic properties. Two kinds of semantic redundancy conventions will be dealt with here:

- 1) general conventions for lexical bases which are impervious to functional change.
- ii) conventions for the interpretation of lexical items in the predicate.

3.2.2.3.1. *Lexical Bases Impervious to MF*

Lexical bases which never occur in functions other than their basic ones are not frequent in NGP. The most important instances are:

- 1) proper nouns such as Pita, Dogare, Sospen, Nancy, etc.
- ii) nouns referring to animals²⁵, plants, musical instruments, garments and units of currency. A number of other semantic restrictions will be mentioned with the relevant programs.
- iii) verbal auxiliaries and aspect markers.

In making these observations I am concerned only with programs and not with the norm of Pidgin. A number of lexical items are not functionally shifted and it appears that most of these cases have to be regarded as accidental gaps rather than the result of general redundancy conventions barring their realisation. At present too little is known about Pidgin semantics to make strong claims about the nature of such gaps. If language planners want to make use of multifunctionality for providing new lexical items they should be well aware of this difference. The author has made some observations elsewhere (Mühlhäusler 1973) that this is not always done.

3.2.2.2.2. *Interpretation of Lexical Items in the Predicate*

The three main classes of lexical bases have been distinguished because of the differences in the grammatical functions in which these bases can be used. It was noted that members of all three classes can be used as the predicate of NGP sentences. The predicate is introduced by the predicate marker *i* as is shown in the following sentences.

- em *i* soldia (N) 'he is a soldier'
 em *i* wokabaut (N) 'he is walking'
 em *i* bik (adj.) 'he is big'

In contrast to English, where the class membership of lexical bases

appearing in the predicate can be easily recognised on formal grounds, this is not the case in NGP. The formal distinction between classes of word bases appears to be virtually neutralised. This view is supported by the following observations:

1) noun bases appearing in the predicate cannot take the pluraliser *ol*. Compare:

meri 'girl'
ol meri 'girls'

but not:

**ol i ol* meri 'they are girls'

ii) aspect and/or tense markers can appear with anything that appears in the predicate. It is not the case that these markers, can appear only with verbs as is implied, for instance, in Wurm's treatment of aspect and tense. (1971:38ff) Here follows a list illustrating how bases of different classes appear with aspect and tense markers in the predicate:

a) noun bases

em i tisa	'he is a teacher'
em i tisa pinis	'he has completed becoming a teacher' 'he has finished his teacher training'
em i laik tisa	'he is about to become a teacher'
em i tisa i stap	'he continues being a teacher'
em i tisa nau	'he has just become a teacher'
em i save tisa	'he is customarily a teacher'
em i bin tisa	'he was a teacher'
em i tisa nating	'he is just a teacher'

b) verb bases

em i wokabaut	'he is walking'
em i wokabaut pinis	'he finished walking'
em i laik wokabaut	'he is about to walk'
em i wokabaut i stap	'he continued walking'
em i wokabaut nau	'he has just started walking'
em i save wokabaut	'he is in the habit of walking'
em i bin wokabaut	'he walked'
em i wokabaut nating	'he is just walking (aimlessly)' (also: 'he is walking naked')

c) adjective bases

em i strong	'he is strong'
em i strong pinis	'he has finished becoming strong = he has grown up'
em i laik strong	'he is about to become strong'
em i strong nau	'he has become strong = is strong now'

(bipo) em i save strong	'he used to be strong'
em i bin strong	'he was strong'
em i strong nating	'he is just strong (but has not other virtues)'

The notional differences between verb bases and adjective bases in particular are neutralised in predicative position. Only the use of different sets of aspect markers indicates a difference between bases with stative and those with non-stative meaning. The English translations of the following examples are an indication of the economy found in the NGP lexicon. A small set of aspect markers and a similar number of conventions for their interpretation contrasts with a large number of lexicalisations in English.

rere pinis	'ready'
laik rere	'prepare oneself'
hat pinis	'hot'
laik hat	'heating up'
bik pinis	'big'
laik bik	'growing up'
kela pinis	'bald'
laik kela	'getting bald'
bruk pinis	'broken'
laik bruk	'disintegrating'
hepi pinis	'satisfied'
laik hepi	'getting pleased'
lus pinis	'lost'
laik lus	'loosen (v.int.)'

Note that the combination of aspect markers with verbs or adjectives in the predicate depends on their derivational status. Verbs and adjectives which are derived from nouns cannot freely appear with all aspect markers.

A case illustrating this is what has been referred to by B.A. Hooley (1962:118) as the passive transformation in NGP. Hooley wants to derive sentences such as *glas i bruk* 'the thermometer is broken' from *em i brukim glas* 'he breaks the thermometer'.

Hooley also points out that in NGP sentences of the structure N i V can have both 'middle' and 'passive' meaning and are therefore ambiguous.

It appears, however, that sentences such as *glas i bruk* are not the result of any passive transformation. Instead the presence of certain aspect markers stresses certain aspects of the meaning of the verbs involved. A better translation of 'the thermometer is broken' would be *glas i bruk pinis*. Compare:

kaikai i redi pinis	'the dinner is prepared'
mani i lus pinis	'the money is lost'
wara i hat pinis	'the water is heated up'

with

em i rediim kaikai i stap 'he is preparing the dinner'
 em i bin lusim mani 'he lost the money'
 em i wok long hatim wara 'he is heating water'

and

kaikai i laik redi 'the dinner is about to be ready'
 mani i laik lus 'the money is about to be lost'
 wara i wok long hat 'the water is heating'

The 'passive' meaning of verbs cannot be expressed, however, with verbs derived from nouns. The second form in the following groups is always ungrammatical:

kamda i hobelim plang 'the carpenter straightens the board with a plane'
 *plang i hobel pinis 'the board is straightened (planed)'
 meri i spunim hatwara 'the woman spooned out the soup'
 *hatwara i spun pinis 'the soup is spooned out'
 mankimasta i ainim klos 'the servant irons the clothes'
 *klos i ain pinis 'the clothes are ironed'

The behaviour of lexical items in the predicate is yet another confirmation of the necessity of distinguishing between bases and derived items.

3.2.2.4. Other Redundancy Conventions

Whereas the redundancy conventions discussed above have to be regarded as constituting part of the system of NGP grammar, the conventions discussed below have to do with the norm of the language. Forms which could be expected from the operation of a regular program are not used because this would result in a homophone. Pidgin already has a very high number of homophones resulting from loans, and output restrictions on derivational programs yielding homophones are one way of checking this development. The acceptance of such homophones varies from speaker to speaker, and only in few cases does one find agreement as to the unacceptability of such forms. These include:

spet	'saliva'	spetim	'to spit on'
spet	'spade'	*spetim	'to dig with a spade'
haphap	'slipshod'	haphapim	'to do in a slipshod manner'
haphap	'hoe'	*haphapim	'to hoe'

Disambiguation is sometimes achieved by using different transitivity markers, i.e. -im for one form and long for the other, to distinguish between the output of a derivation and an otherwise homophonous word. Thus pul 'paddle' derives the verb pul long 'to paddle' in order to distinguish this form from pulim 'to pull, entice'; similarly kis 'the

kiss derives *kis* long 'to kiss' to distinguish it from *kisim* 'to get, catch'.

Kolim, meaning 'to make cold', is rejected by some speakers because of the homophone *kolim* 'to call' and *mekim kol*, stemming from an alternative program, is used in its place.

In some cases homophones resulting from functional shift are accepted, for instance, *bekim* 'to fill into bags' or 'to return something', *winim* 'to blow up' or 'to win' and others.

3.2.3. Derivational Programs

As I have pointed out above, the term 'derivational program' is used to refer to paraphrases which can be provided by speakers of Pidgin to illustrate the meaning of a derived item. No claims are made about the generative power of these programs. Examples from Rural Pidgin are listed with each program.

It is not suggested that these programs provide the foundation for the classification of motivated words in Pidgin, I am aware of the fact that a number of other criteria would have to be considered too. I propose that the sensitivity of a lexical item to one or the other of the programs described below could be listed as one of the many possible lexical features of such items. Feature notation will be necessary for the reason that there is no hierarchic ordering among the programs described here. I have isolated ten programs operating on noun bases.

Program I. $(N + im) V_{tr} \longrightarrow$ jusim N long $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} mekim \\ wokim \end{array} \right\}$ sampela samting
'use N to $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} make \\ do \end{array} \right\}$ something'

The nouns sensitive to this program can become transitive verbs by adding the transitivity marker *-im*. The following list includes the items most commonly used:

BASIC ITEM		DERIVED VERB	
ain	'iron'	ainim	'to iron'
baira	'hoe'	bairaim	'to hoe'
blok	'pulley'	blokim	'raise with pulley'
bombom	'torch'	bombomin	'catch fish with torch'
bros	'brush'	brosim	'to brush'
bulit	'glue'	bulitim	'to glue'
dril	'drill'	drilim	'to drill'
glas ²⁶	'thermometer'	glasim	'take the temperature'
glu	'glue'	gluim	'to glue'
hama	'hammer'	hamarim	'to hammer'
huk	'hook'	hukim	'catch with a hook'

BASIC ITEM		DERIVED VERB	
kom	'comb'	komim	'to comb'
laim	'glue'	iaimim	'to glue'
lok	'lock'	iokim	'to lock'
ium	'loom'	iumim	'to weave'
maisil	'chisel'	maisiiim	'to chisel'
meta	'yardstick'	metaim	'to measure'
nat	'nut'	natim	'to secure with a nut'
nii	'nail'	niiim	'to nail'
pam	'pump'	pamim	'to pump'
pin	'pin'	pinim	'to pin'
roia	'roller'	roiain	'to move with rollers'
siing	'sling'	slingim	'to lift up in a sling'
smok	'smoke'	smokim	'to smoke'
sarip	'grassknife'	saripim	'to cut with grassknife'
savoi	'shovel'	savoiim	'to dig with shovel'
sib	'sieve'	sibim	'to sieve'
sop	'soap'	sopim	'to wash with soap'
soda	'soldering iron'	sodaim	'to solder'
spun	'spoon'	spunim	'to spoon'
skei	'scales'	skeim	'to weigh'
skru	'screw'	skruim	'to join with screw'
susu	'punt'	susuim	'move with a punt'
swit	'switch'	switim	'to switch on or off'
spaten	'spade'	spatenim	'dig with a spade'
vais	'vice'	vaisim	'hold in a vice'
wara	'water'	waraim	'clean with water'

(as in: em i waraim piua 'he is cleaning the floor with water')

Not every instrument can yield a transitive verb. A number of restrictions²⁷ are operative including:

a) Restrictions on the syllable or morpheme structure of words. Because of these restrictions a number of polysyllabic lexical bases and nominal compounds cannot become transitive verbs, including *pisba* 'fish bar', *wasewage* 'water level', *pukpukspana* 'pipe wrench' and others.

b) Restrictions on the semantic properties of noun bases referring to instruments.

No transitive verbs are derived from nouns referring to weapons. This excludes forms such as:

- *akisim 'kill with an axe'
- *bunaraim 'shoot with bow and arrow'
- *kewerim 'shoot with a rifle'
- *masketim 'shoot with a shotgun'

Although the forms *splaim* 'to spear', *stonim* 'to stone' and *wlipim* 'to whip' can be heard occasionally, they must be considered as resulting from recent English influence. Most conservative speakers of NGP prefer the expressions *sutim long spia* 'shoot with a spear', *kilim long ston* 'hit with a stone' and *paitim long wip* 'hit with a whip'. The constructions *givim spia long* 'give a spear to' and *givim wip long* 'give the whip to' are also heard.

When a weapon is used as a mere instrument the derivation can take place. Compare *bruder i stikim belo* 'the Brother is sounding the bell with a stick' and *em i paitim man long stik* 'he hit the man with a stick'.

Instruments used for cutting belong to another subclass of noun bases which cannot become verbs. Forms such as **sisisim* 'cut with scissors' or **naipim* 'cut with a knife' are not acceptable.

A last group of nouns to be mentioned here are instruments used for closing containers such as *kilamo* 'plug', *kor* 'cork', or *tuptup* 'lid'. No verbs can be derived from nouns belonging to this group.

Program 2. (N) V → mekim wok bilong N
'perform the work of N'

Nouns referring to persons have a certain professional or other status can be used as verbs. Both intransitive and transitive verbs can be derived. For most such derivations the transitivity marker *long* is chosen. This program is of less generality than the previous one and a number of possible derivations are not accepted in Rural Pidgin. The following cases have been recorded:

NOUN BASE	INTRANSITIVE VERB	TRANSITIVE FORM
<i>boskru</i> 'crew member'	<i>boskru</i> 'be crew member'	-
<i>bos</i> 'boss'	<i>bos</i> 'be in charge'	<i>bosim</i> 'rule over'
<i>draiwa</i> 'driver'	<i>draiwa</i> 'be the driver'	<i>draivim</i> 'to drive'
<i>het</i> 'head of'	<i>het</i> 'to be the head'	<i>hetim</i>
<i>jas</i> 'judge'	<i>jas</i> 'to be the judge'	<i>jasim</i> 'judge'
<i>kaunsil</i> 'councillor'	<i>kaunsil</i> 'be the councillor'	<i>kaunsil long</i> 'to council'
<i>komiti</i> 'second in village'	<i>komiti</i> 'be second in village'	-
<i>kundar</i> 'acolyte'	'be the acolyte'	<i>kundar long</i>
<i>lida</i> 'leader'	'be the leader'	<i>lida long</i> 'lead'
<i>mandor</i> 'supervisor'	'be the supervisor'	<i>mandorim</i> 'supervise'
<i>memba</i> 'member'	'be member'	-
<i>mekanik</i> 'mechanic'	'be a mechanic'	-
<i>ministran</i> 'acolyte'	'be the acolyte'	-
<i>papa</i> 'father, owner'	'be the owner'	<i>papa long</i>
<i>pasindia</i> 'free loader'	'to sponge'	<i>pasindia long</i>

NOUN BASE	INTRANSITIVE VERB	TRANSITIVE FORM
poroman 'mate'	'be a mate of'	prormanim 'to accompany'
pren '(intimate) friend'	'to have sex'	prenim 'have sex with'
waspapa 'foster father'	'be the foster father of'	waspapa long

Here follows an illustration of the use of such derived verbs:

- i) yumi no ken memba nabaut nabaut long ol pati
'we cannot change our party membership randomly'
- ii) gavman i mas waspapa long dispeia wok
'the government must look after this project'
- iii) han bilong mi bai i poroanim pes belong yu
'my hand will accompany your face = I shall hit you'

Program 3. (N + im) V_{tr} → mekim samting long hap bodi
'perform an action with a part of the body'

Only a small number of noun bases referring to parts of the body can become nouns expressing 'do something with a part of the body'. In the majority of these cases the relationship is lexicalised as in:

ai 'eye'	lukim 'to see'
iau 'ear'	harim 'hear, listen'
lek 'leg, foot'	wokabout 'walk'

The oldest example on record is kaisim 'to hit with the left hand' or 'to kick with the left foot', derived from kais 'left arm or leg'; lepim derived from the more recent loan lep 'left arm or leg' is also heard. No similar expression is available to refer to actions performed with the right hand or leg, presumably because the derivations from sut or rait 'right arm or leg' would yield homophones of raitim 'to right' and sutim 'to shoot'. However, some speakers interpret sutim as 'action performed with the right = shoot' and raitim as 'action performed with the right = to write'.

Recently some new loans have been adopted from English, including hetim 'to head a ball' and toim 'to toe a ball', in football terminology, and pesim 'to face' which was found in heavily anglicised Pidgin. These forms would probably be rejected in Rural Pidgin.

Program 4. (N + im) V → putim sampela samting i go insait long N
'put something into N'

The productivity of this program is restricted by the preference of many speakers for periphrastic sentences. The following forms, however, are widely accepted in Rural Pidgin:

banis 'fence, bandage'	banisim 'fence in, bandage'
bek 'bag'	bekim 'put into bags'
bilum 'stringbag'	bilumim 'put into a stringbag'

bus	'bush'	busim	'send to the bush, cha e off'
graun	'ground, soil'	graunim	'bury'
kalabus	'prison'	kaiabusim	'to jail'
kompaun	'compound'	kompaunim	'settle in a compound'
matmat	'grave'	matmatim	'to bury'
umben	'net'	umbenim	'to gather'

A large number of nouns are impervious to this functional shift, including *avenim 'put into the oven', *bokisim 'put inside a box', *betim 'to shelve', *konaim 'to corner', *pausim 'put in a pouch', *sarangim 'put in a cupboard', *tinim 'to tin', and *plesim 'to place'.

Program 5. (N + im) V → rausim (tekeweim) N
'to remove N'

The derivation of deprivative verbs from noun bases is a program recently borrowed from English and not acceptable in Rural Pidgin, with the exception of selim (related to sel 'shell') in selim kopi 'remove the skin of a coffee bean'. Skinim is often used by Europeans to mean 'to skin'. The meaning of this form in Rural Pidgin is actually 'to pull down the foreskin and thereby invite someone to sexual activities'.

Program 6. (N + $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{im} \\ \text{long} \end{smallmatrix}$) V → salim N iong
'send N to'

Noun bases referring to messages, materials or specimens instrumental in conveying messages, or to spells, can become transitive verbs as in the following examples:

brotkas	'broadcast'	brotkasim	'send a broadcast to'
marila	'love spell'	marilaim	'cast a love spell on'
glas	'mirror'	glasim	'send a mirror message'
pupulu	'love spell'	pupuium	'cast a love spell on'
papait	'sorcery'	papaitim	'subject someone to sorcery'
poisen	'sorcery'	poisenim	'subject someone to sorcery'
tanget	'invitation'	tangetim	'to invite'
telipon	'phone'	teiiponim	'to phone'

Program 7. (N + im) V → mekim i kamap oisem N
'reduce to, make into'

The meaning of the transitive verb is 'to make into what is referred to by the noun'. Examples include:

baret	'ditch'	baretim	'drain by making ditches'
(could also be understood in terms of Program 1.)			
hap	'piece, part'	hapim	'reduce to parts'
hip	'heap'	hipim	'pile up into a heap'

meme	'pulp, inedible part of a betelnut or sugarcane'	memeim	'pulverise, chew up'
pudel	'heap'	pudelim	'to heap' (obsolete)

Program 8. (N) $V_{int.}$ → mekim long N (= sampela taim)
'do something at a certain time'

Noun bases referring to a point or period of time can become intransitive verbs expressing 'to do what is normally done at such a time'. The following examples were recorded:

brekpas	'breakfast'	brekpas	'to have breakfast'
limlimbur	'period of rest'	limlimbur	'to stroll'
malolo	'time of rest'	malolo	'to rest'
pesto	'celebration'	pesto	'to celebrate'
pinistaim	'end of labour contract'	pinistaim	'to end contract labour'
potnait	'fortnight'	potnalt	'to pool wages'
sande	'Sunday'	sande	'to pool wages on Sunday or to spend Sunday'
spel	'time of rest'	spel	'to rest'

To interpret the derived verbs correctly, some cultural knowledge as to the activities performed on certain days or at certain times is necessary.

Program 9. (N) $V_{int.}$ → mekim long N (= sampela ples)
'do something in a certain place'

The program is similar to Program 8, the main difference being that locality instead of time is the focus of the action in the derived intransitive verbs. Examples include:

BASIC NOUN	DERIVED VERB		
bung	'gathering place'	bung	'to come together'
ami	'army'	ami	'do military school'
haiskul	'high school'	haiskul	'go to high school'
kivung	'gathering'	kivung	'to gather'
klap	'club'	klap	'meet at the club'
kot	'court'	kot	'hold a court'
opis	'office'	opis	'work in an office'
klinik	'clinic'	klinik	'hold a clinic'
skul	'school'	skul	'to go to school'
woa	'war'	woa	'to make war'

Program 10. (N) adj. → i gat N
'has the property'

Noun bases referring to a number of alienable and inalienable properties can become predicative adjectives expressing 'having a certain

property'. Examples are:

brosgras	'hair on chest'	brosgras	'grown up (of men)'
grile	'ringworm, tinea'	grile	'having ringworm' also 'having a rough surface'
gris	'fat'	gris	'fat'
kambang	'mould'	kambang	'mouldy'
kaskas	'scabies'	kaskas	'scabious'
masel	'muscle'	masel	'very strong'
mosong	'fluff'	mosong	'fluffy'
ros	'rust'	ros	'rusty'
susu	'breasts'	susu	'grown up (of girls)'

There are good reasons for assuming that *hangre* 'hunger', *sik* 'sickness' and *testi* 'thirst' are noun bases in NGP. These items should then be listed here, too.

3.3. CONVENTIONS FOR THE ASSIGNMENT OF IDIOMATIC AND METAPHORICAL MEANING

At present, little is known about the regularities underlying metaphorical and idiomatic meaning of lexical items in NGP, nor is there much clarity about the descriptive mechanisms needed to handle them. As a result, listing has been the standard treatment so far.

Brash (1971) has drawn attention to the importance of what he calls "the imaginative dimensions of Melanesian Pidgin". His approach is basically one of listing and not so much concerned with descriptive problems.

The processes of assigning metaphorical and idiomatic meaning must be regarded as concerning the lexicon as a whole and not merely the field of functional change. Some cases, involving functional change, may be explained as following programs containing such elements as *olosem* 'like' or *mekim olosem* 'do like'. I do not devote much space to this problem since it is clearly outside the scope of this paper and I shall restrict myself to presenting a pretheoretical classification of some phenomena.

It appears that one has to distinguish the following instances:

- 1) cases with an underlying program (N) adj i olsem N 'is like N'.

Examples are:

diapela man i sak 'this man is like a shark'
gras bilong mi i bus 'my hair is like the bush = is tousled'
dispela masta i sol 'this European is like salt = ill-tempered'
bel bilong mi i paia 'my belly is like fire = I am hungry'
 (this case has to be distinguished from *haus i paia* 'the house is on fire').

The above cases can be described as transition from noun to predicative adjective.

i) cases such as *poketim*.

It appears that *poketim* follows Program 4, meaning '*to put something inside a pocket*'. However, this meaning is normally not recognised and only the meaning '*to steal*' is found. This can be thought of as being related to '*to put inside one's pocket without the knowledge of its owner*'.

iii) cases such as *palai i klok*.

These can be related to a program *palai i mekim olosem klok* '*the lizard does what a clock does*', i.e. '*it indicates the time by making a certain noise*'.²⁸

iv) cases such as *ol i draidok long wok*.

Here the derived verb *draidok* means '*to work as if the work was done in a dry dock*', i.e. '*in the full heat of the sun*'.

I chose these cases to illustrate an area of NGP about which very little is known at present. I suggest that a comparison of such processes in different pidgins together with a comparison between a pidgin and its source language might provide valuable insights into their relationship.

The remainder of this paper will be devoted to two questions, first, that of the origin of multifunctionality in NGP and, second, the alleged close similarity between English and Pidgin grammar. These two questions are both of extreme relevance to hypotheses about the origin of pidgin languages and comparative research is badly needed.

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MF IN NGP

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Unfortunately, data from the early stages of NGP (before 1890) are scarce,²⁹ which makes statements about diachronical developments of many aspects of NGP grammar difficult if not impossible. However, some useful information was found in Schuchardt (1889), Churchill (1911), and Brenninkmeyer (1924) as well as in a number of old travel books.

Among the explanations provided for MF in pidgin languages, there are four which deserve closer attention:

- 1) the hypothesis that a confusion of parts of speech is involved
- ii) the theory of multi-level generative systems
- iii) relexification theory
- iv) theories stressing the optimisation of grammars.

4.2.1. Confusion of Parts of Speech

In the unstable jargons spoken in the New Guinea Islands and elsewhere in the South Seas, confusion of parts of speech was indeed common.

This confusion was facilitated by various factors, including extra-linguistic ones such as misunderstanding and imperfect learning. Churchill (1911:13) argues that this confusion was already present in the source language of these jargons, the 'crude' English spoken by the sailors.

He (the white man speaking English) betrays no respect for the parts of his speech. Nothing could shock him in the using of a noun for a verb, or a pronoun for an adverb....

It is certainly conceivable that the presence of MF in English is partly responsible for MF in NGP.

However, the main reason for the 'confusion' of parts of speech must be seen in the grammatical structure of the jargons. There were two constructions, which incidentally are still found in present-day Pidgin, in which the categorical status of words was virtually neutralised and irrelevant for interpretation. One construction is the predicate in intransitive sentences (which will be discussed in more detail below), the other the construction N bilong. Both constructions are among the most frequently recorded for this period.

In a sentence such as all man he growl for you, growl could easily be interpreted as an adjective and be used by a person ignorant of English in a construction *yu growl fellow man '*you are a grumpy fellow*'. Below are a number of examples found in the above-mentioned sources (using the original spelling) in which parts of speech in predicative position are open to multiple interpretation as to their categorical status:

SUBJECT	PREDICATE
spirit belong all white men	no good
me	fright long you
you fellow	strong along fight
he	small fellow
you	too much gammon
knife he	sharp too much
marry belong tultul he	kalabus
all boy he	line long road
this fellow man he	longlong all day
likelik samting he	no enough long fight
German by and by	strong belong English

Neutralisation of grammatical categories can also be found in constructions such as man bilong trabel '*he is a man of trouble, a trouble*

maker'. This construction may be a later development under the influence of Tolai. (Cf. Borchardt's comments and Bley 127:130).

em i man bilong	trabel	trouble'
'he is a man of	kamda	carpentry'
	ki mlimbur	walking around'
	kros	anger'
	sitil	steal'
	giaman	deceive'
	bulsit	deceive'
	karai	cry'
	kaikai	food, eating'
	pekato	sin'
	pait	fight'
	smok	smoke'

In the above examples we found systematic neutralisation rather than confusion. Unfortunately, few connected texts of very early Pidgin have been preserved and most are of dubious character, probably being fabrications by Europeans. However, supporting evidence for a confusion of parts of speech can be found in the varieties of Bush Pidgin found in isolated areas in New Guinea. In the following text spoken by an informant from Wofneri (Amanab Patrol Post, West Sepik District) a number of unusual functional shifts can be observed. The passage is spoken in highly deviant NGP and translation is partly based on guesses:

Katim diwai tu olsem HAMBAKⁱ tumas hambak tumas
to cut trees to is a great nuisance very difficult
 HAMAS HAMASⁱⁱ olsem bipo nogat olsem mipelaⁱⁱⁱ tumbuna hia
how often like this before not our ancestors
 bipo nogat olsem skin kambang tu mipela SKIN KAMBANG^{iv}
before not like this penis gourd too we had penis gourds
 man na orait pikinini ol i putim nabaut orait
men an, well, children they put them on, well,
 PULPULIM^v nabaut hia pasim meri orait man i putim skin kambag
the women wore grass skirts, well, the men wore penis gourds
 SKIN^{vi} nau ol i singsing nau nau masta i kam na pasim laplap nabaut
they wore penis gourds they are dancing now the Europeans come and
put on loin cloths
 bipo nogat olsem tasol orait mipela katim bunara
before not like this only alright we cut a bow
 mipela sapim pinis olsem ston bilong ston tasol
we finished cutting it with a stone of a stone only
 sapim bunara nau STON PINIS^{vii} orait sapim nau.
we are carving the bow the action involving a stone being carried out
we carve the bow.

Remarks: 1) hambak qualified with adverb tumas used as adjective, normal use as intransitive verb 'to humbug', possibly a misinterpretation

of *hatwok* 'hard word'; ii) *hamas hamas* possibly meaning *hamamas* 'to be glad'; iii) *mipela* should possibly read *bilong mipela* 'ours'; iv) *skin kambang* nominal compound used as adjective, a very frequent phenomenon in the text spoken by this informant; v) *pulpulim* noun referring to garment used as transitive verb, ordinary NGP would use *ol i pasim pulpul nabaut long meri* or *meri i pasim pulpul nabaut*; vi) *skin nau* standard NGP repeats the predicate but not the object for connecting sentences in discourse, thus *putim nau* or *putim skin nau*; vii) *ston pinis* instrumental noun used with aspect marker of completion, standard NGP does not derive instrumental verbs from nouns used for cutting or carving; standard Pidgin would also require the transitivity marker *im* with the denominalised instrumental verb.

Further evidence for confusion of parts of speech is that a number of lexical items in NGP never belong to the same part of speech they belong to in English. A short list of such items can be found in Hall (1943b:196).

4.2.2. Multi-Level Generative Systems

Silverstein (1972) has proposed that for Chinook Jargon there was not a unique grammatical system for all speakers but a surface system which could be generated with the systematically reduced rules of either component language. This may be a characteristic of all jargons, i.e. unstabilised pidgins. The data we have about the first stage of NGP are insufficient to test this hypothesis; however, an investigation of the two unstable varieties of NGP, Tok Masta and Bush Pidgin, could provide evidence for it. For fully fledged NGP this explanation is certainly not possible. It remains to be seen if functional change and multi-functionality can be explained in terms of systematic reduction of two grammatical systems to yield a jargon in which grammatical categories are neutral in that they could equally well have been generated by either system.³⁰ One could also follow up the hypothesis that the system of categorical change in NGP is the result of neutralisation of categories in English and Tolai.

4.2.3. Relexification Theory

Relexification theory in its strongest form claims that all pidgins possess identical grammars which can be traced back to an early Portuguese Pidgin or even the *Lingua Franca*. The differences between pidgins are said to be lexical only.

I am not sure what this claim means and I suspect that it is based on a very simplistic notion of the lexicon. I have tried to show in

this paper that grammar is not only found in the syntactic component of a language but also in the lexicon. At present, our knowledge of lexical processes in NGP, in particular those of word formation and the assignment of metaphorical meaning and idiomatisation, is extremely limited. To confirm the theory of relexification two kinds of evidence are necessary:

- 1) comparative analyses of word formation in other pidgins
- ii) evidence that any similarity found is due to historical reasons and not to universal tendencies in language.

Such information is still forthcoming and therefore nothing more can be said about relexification at this stage.

4.2.4. Theories Stressing the Optimisation of Grammar

The role of multifunctionality in providing greater economy has been discussed in detail by Mühlhäusler (1973) and Voorhoeve (1961) and the argument will therefore not be repeated in full.

The core of the argument is that the use of a lexical item in a number of predictable functions constitutes a means of saving the introduction of new lexical items. Thus, a limited number of lexical programs providing a large number of new lexical items. However, the very fact that not all lexical items can appear in all functions indicates that optimal use is not made of this mechanism. I have tried to show that this is not merely a case of accidental gaps but rather the result of a number of restrictions on the operation of this mechanism. Four main restrictions on the optimal use of derivational programs can be distinguished:

- i) redundancy restrictions barring the output of certain phonologically unacceptable forms
- ii) the principle of single derivation which prohibits further derivations from derived items
- iii) the presence of alternative programs to do the same job
- iv) suppletive patterns.

The first two restrictions having already been dealt with, I shall proceed to the discussion of restrictions iii) and iv).

4.2.4.1. *Presence of Alternative Programs*

An example is the derivation of abstract nouns from verbs or adjectives for which there are two programs, one yielding a compound of the form adj/v + *pasin* as in *isipasin* 'patience', the other one deriving the abstract noun by mere functional shift as in *siki* 'cheekyness'. Three cases have to be distinguished:

- i) both forms are acceptable and there is no difference in meaning as in prautpasin or praut 'pride'
- ii) both forms are acceptable but there is a difference in meaning as in klin 'cleanliness' against klinpasin 'chastity'
- iii) only one of the forms is accepted as in senis 'change' but not *senispasin, or daunpasin but not *daun 'humility'.

In a number of other cases both multifunctionality and compounding are used to do identical jobs. The regularities underlying the choice of either of the two mechanisms are complex and appear to be a matter of listing in some instances. The co-presence of two alternative ways of expressing the same thing must be regarded as a complication of the grammar of Pidgin. Often it can be explained with reference to the historical growth of the language. This point, NGP as a polysystemic language, will be dealt with below.

4.2.4.2. Suppletion

Suppletion can also be explained in terms of the history of NGP. A number of suppletive forms have been in the language for a long time and are acceptable in Rural Pidgin. Recent loans have led to a drastic increase in suppletive patterns in Urban Pidgin. The following types of suppletion can be recognised:

- i) systematic suppletion resulting from the absence of programs for functional shift as in

nus 'nose' - smelim 'to smell'
 iau 'ear' - harim 'to hear'

etc.

- ii) suppletion yielding exceptions to existing programs as in the cases:

bekim 'to answer' bekim or ansa 'to answer'
 resa 'razor' resaim or sep 'to shave'

etc.

- iii) suppletion yielding expressions that are either more general or more specific than the forms derived. These contribute to the increased referential adequacy of the language. An example is digim 'to dig' replacing the very general wokim 'to make' and the very specific form savolim 'dig with a shovel', bairaim 'dig with a hoe' and pikim 'dig with a pickaxe'. Occasionally suppletive expressions become reinterpreted, as is the case with beloim derived from English 'blow', meaning 'blow a horn'. This has become interpreted as being derived by regular program from belo 'bell, horn'. Truck drivers now use the expression beloim or beloim belo 'to blow the horn of the car'.

5. MF IN NGP AND ITS ENGLISH COUNTERPARTS

5.1. HYPOTHESES ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NGP AND ENGLISH

No attempt will be made to present a detailed contrastive analysis of MF in NGP and English. However, I would like to discuss the kind of evidence available for accepting or rejecting certain commonly held views on the relationship between NGP and English. Three kinds of statements about the genetic affiliation of pidgins can be distinguished:

1) The grammar of functional shift is basically identical in NGP and English. Such a view has been adopted by Hall who claims

the surface characteristics of the various Pidgins are indeed non-English, and differ from one Pidgin to the next; but all varieties of Pidgin English have an underlying identity of structure with English. (1955:72)

1i) The grammar of NGP differs from that of English only in that it is a simplified version thereof. This means that irregular patterns of the source language have disappeared in NGP and that the coverage of general rules has become wider.

1ii) There is a substantial difference in the systems underlying word formation in the two languages, which cannot be explained exclusively in terms of simplification.

It has to be remembered that MF is only one of the various processes of word formation in NGP, the others being compounding and reduplication, the latter being of less importance since its main function is the stylistic variation of words rather than the provision of new words. Thus the main load of word formation is carried by MF and compounding. English, on the other hand, has the additional mechanism of affixal derivation,³¹ at its disposal. Thus the job done by each of the two mechanisms in NGP can be expected to include cases which are dealt with by affixal derivation in English. Thus, the agentive suffix *-er* in English can be rendered in NGP by a compound having *-man* as its second component. On the other hand, derivational suffixes such as *-ness* are expressed by functional shift in NGP, as in *tait 'tired'* or *'tiredness'*.

This fact alone will account for a substantial number of surface differences in the word formation patterns of NGP and English. However, such surface differences should not be taken as evidence of fundamental differences in the word formation processes in these two languages, since it does not exclude the possibility that the identity of the grammars of NGP and English is realised at a deeper level.

One also need not expect the full set of programs underlying word formation in English to be present in the grammar of NGP. Pidgin languages have been described as impoverished versions of their source language and the absence of certain programs in Pidgin would not affect claims as to their basic structural identities.

The view that pidgins are simplified versions of their source language implies that the 'minor rules' of the source language are dropped and that their role is fulfilled by more general rules. This would mean, for instance, that in cases where English has two programs doing the same job, NGP would only have one. Thus, the large number of ways of deriving abstract nouns in English (as can be seen from the forms *pride*, *happiness*, *sanity* and so on) would be replaced in NGP by a single mechanism. We have seen above, that this is not the case, and that NGP possesses two alternative ways of deriving abstract nouns.

The analysis of my data suggests that there are good arguments for view iii) and that the system of multifunctionality and word-formation in general is quite different in English and NGP.

5.2. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ENGLISH AND NGP WORD FORMATION

The argument that the grammar of word formation of NGP is substantially different from that of its source language will be presented in three steps, dealing with surface differences, differences in general principles underlying word formation, and differences in the restrictions on productivity.

5.2.1. Surface Differences

These include the following:

- 1) The absence of a number of English programs of MF in NGP.

English	NGP
noun bases referring to plants and animals are used as verbs to express ' <i>to gather, catch N</i> ' as in ' <i>to go eeling, nutting, fishing</i> ', etc.	<i>go painim N</i> ' <i>go and find N</i> ' no functional shift
noun bases referring to young animals used as verbs to express ' <i>bring forth N</i> ' as in ' <i>to calve, foal, lamb</i> ', etc.	<i>karim N</i> ' <i>give birth to N</i> ' no functional shift
noun bases used as verbs to express ' <i>remove N</i> ' as in ' <i>to skin, bark, weed, gut, husk, shell</i> ', etc.	<i>rausim N, tekewe N</i> <i>remove N</i> no functional shift in Rural Pidgin
noun bases referring to musical instruments used as verbs as in ' <i>trumpet, guitar, fiddle</i> ', etc.	<i>pilal long N, winim N</i> ' <i>play on N</i> '

NGP uses analytic syntactic constructions to express the concepts provided by MF in English.

1) English affixal derivation is subsumed under MF in NGP as in the above mentioned cases of derivation of abstract nouns from verbs or adjectives.

11) There are differences in the norm of the two languages, i.e. the distribution of accidental gaps differs. This statement has to be treated with caution, since it is possible that as yet unrealised regularities, and not the norm, account for such gaps. A possible example is:

English

Noun bases referring to garments and ornaments can be used as verbs expressing 'to provide, adorn with' as in 'to cloak, barb, belt, muzzle, handcuff, lable, mask', etc.

NGP

Only few instances are found in NGP, including bilasim 'put on ornaments', letim 'to belt', and sadolim 'to saddle'.

5.2.2. Differences in General Conventions

The most important difference is that, in English, derivation can be applied to a depth of several layers, i.e. derived items can be further derived, usually with the help of affixes for which a fixed order is provided. In NGP words that have been derived from lexical bases by means of functional shift cannot be further derived. This principle seriously limits the power of word formation programs in NGP.

Less important is the restriction on morpheme structure in NGP which often bars the derivation of transitive verbs from compounds.

5.2.3. Differences in the Restrictions on Productivity

A case in point is the derivation of causative verbs. Here the following differences between NGP and English were found:

1) causative verbs derived from intransitive verb bases referring to movement or location.

NGP

Regular derivation signalled by

-im as in:

sindaunim 'cause to sit, settle'
pundaunim 'cause to fall, fell'
wokaboutim 'cause to walk, walk'

English

- a) direct derivation as in: 'to walk a horse', 'to grow'
b) lexicalisation as in:
'fall - fell', 'rise - raise'
c) syntactic means: 'make disappear', 'make (cause to) come'

ii) causative verbs derived from adjective bases.

NGP

English

a) by adding -im to base:

a) direct derivation: 'to dry'

kolim 'make cold, chill'

b) suffixation: 'to shorten',

bikim 'make big, enlarge'

'to tighten'

draim 'make dry, to dry'

c) lexicalisation: 'big - enlarge',

gutim 'make good'

'small - diminish'

strongim 'make strong, strengthen'

d) syntactic means: 'make conscious, make drunk'

iii) causative verbs derived from noun bases.

not permitted in NGP

'to cripple, outlaw, dwarf'

5.3. THE POLYSYSTEMIC NATURE OF NGP

NGP is the result of an encounter between a European language and Oceanic (Melanesian) languages. The phonological, syntactic and lexical systems of the languages in contact are different in very fundamental ways. In the field of word formation there is only a partial overlapping between the programs available and their realisation in surface structure.

The origin of the system of word formation as found in Rural Pidgin is not well known and can probably be explained in terms of a number of factors, such as adaption of programs from the source or substratum languages and independent tendencies towards simplification. The point is that a stable system developed in a fairly short period and that the programs available in Rural Pidgin have been used extensively to provide new lexical items for the language. In recent years innovations in the form of loans from English have become numerous.

In the sociolect which I have called 'Urban Pidgin' (Mühlhäusler 1975), the influence of English is particularly prominent. The following discussion is aimed at demonstrating the effects of this intensive language contact on the system of MF in NGP.

As I have already mentioned, English and NGP have different patterns of word formation. These differences account for the difficulties often met with in integrating new loans into NGP. The examples discussed below are taken mainly from advanced Urban Pidgin and do not reflect the situation in the more conservative Rural Pidgin. Although some of the examples are still fairly marginal, they represent fairly well the ongoing processes in NGP and are an indication how the character of this language has changed under the impact of English.

New loans from English fall into three main classes with regard to their potential for becoming integrated into the system of MF in NGP.

These are:

- 1) new loans providing additional patterns of multifunctionality previously not found in NGP.
- ii) new loans susceptible to integration into existing patterns.
- iii) new loans destroying existing patterns, thereby increasing the number of irregularities in NGP.

5.3.1. Additional Patterns of MF

A number of new patterns of MF have made their appearance in NGP in recent years. An example is the derivation of transitive verbs from noun bases to express '*remove N*'. The forms found include *selim* '*to shell*', *skinim* '*to skin*', and *palpim* '*to pulp*'. It appears that these innovations can be easily incorporated into the word formation system of NGP. However, *skinim* should be avoided because of its common meaning '*pull down the foreskin*'.

Another example is football terminology providing demoninalised verbs such as *hetim* '*to head the ball*' and *toim* '*to toe the ball*', the latter being unfortunate since '*toe*' in Pidgin is *pinga bilong lek* '*finger of foot*'.

Various proposals can be found in Balint (1969), for instance, the use of *ski* '*ski*' as the verb *ski* '*to ski*'. However, noun bases referring to means of locomotion are impervious to functional change in Rural Pidgin and thus render such a proposal dubious.

There are a number of cases which may be called incipient programs of MF. In most instances the productivity of these newly acquired programs is very limited. However, continued borrowing may increase the number of items susceptible to a new program. Instances which were observed in Urban Pidgin include the cases *laisens* '*license*' - *laisensim* '*to license*' and *profit* '*profit*' - *profit* '*to profit*'.

5.3.2. Successful Integration of New Loans

The majority of new loans - once they have become part of the NGP vocabulary - can appear in functions other than those they perform in English. The semantic properties of the new loans, rather than their categorical status, in the source language, appears to be decisive. Among more recent innovations which have successfully been integrated into the grammar of NGP word formation the following cases deserve to be mentioned:

- 1) adjective bases used as abstract nouns

<i>hepi</i>	' <i>happy</i> '	<i>hepi</i>	' <i>happiness</i> '
<i>helti</i>	' <i>healthy</i> '	<i>helti</i>	' <i>health</i> '

kleva	'clever'	kleva	'cleverness'
jeles	'jealous'	jeles	'jealousy'
prout	'proud'	prout	'pride'
stupid	'stupid'	stupid	'stupidity'
smat	'smart'	smat	'smartness'
ii) abstract noun bases becoming adjectives or verbs ³²			
mistek	'mistake'	mistek	'be mistaken'
paua	'power'	paua	'powerful'
stail	'(fashion) style'	stail	'fashionable'
progres	'progress'	progres	'to progress'

5.3.3. Loans which cannot be Integrated

In the cases of some loans it is almost impossible for them to become integrated into existing patterns of MF. One can distinguish between cases where:

- i) new loans destroy already existing patterns by replacing regularity with suppletion.
- ii) new loans are phonologically or morphologically complex.

Indiscriminate borrowing from English has led to an increase in suppletive patterns found in NGP. The following list contains a number of such cases found commonly in Urban Pidgin. Abstract nouns which can be derived from verbs or adjectives have become unmotivated as in:

Rural Pidgin		Urban Pidgin	
askim 'ask'	askim 'question'	askim 'ask'	kwesten 'question'
bekim 'to answer'	bekim 'the answer'	bekim 'to answer'	ansa 'the answer'
bungim 'gather'	bung 'gathering place'	kolektim 'gather'	bung 'gathering place'
hariap 'hurry up'	hariap 'speed'	hariap 'hurry up'	spit 'speed'
subim 'shove'	subim 'force'	subim 'shove'	pos 'force'
tingting 'think'	tingting 'thought, idea'	tingting 'think'	aidia 'idea'

In the second set of examples the derivational relation between bases and derived instrumental verbs has disappeared in Urban Pidgin:

Rural Pidgin		Urban Pidgin	
beng 'bank'	bengim 'to save money'	beng 'bank'	sevim 'to save'
resa 'razor'	resaim 'to shave'	resa 'razor'	sevim 'to shave'
win 'wind'	win(im) 'blow'	win 'wind'	blo(im) 'blow'

Phonological and morphological complexity of loans provides another reason for the derivational 'barrenness'. Thus, although the semantics of loans such as *ridikules* 'ridiculous' or *kompetisin* 'competition' would allow their functional shift, it would result in phonologically unacceptable forms such as **ridikulesim* 'to ridicule' and **kompetisinim* 'to compete with'.

There are some outstanding instances of 'impervious' words. These include English participles such as *ediketid* 'educated', *andadivelop* 'underdeveloped' and *livin* 'living'. Others are transitive verbs which cannot easily be used in their middle form or as abstract nouns. These include *modanaisim* 'to modernise', *eksplenim* 'to explain', *divaidim* 'to divide', *enrolim* 'to enrol' and *atendim* 'to attend'.

Nouns which are morphologically complex in the source language tend to belong to this category too. The forms *fridom* 'freedom', *kompetisin* 'competition', *institusen* 'institution' and *posisin* 'position' can only be noun bases in NGP.

Similarly, adjectives which are morphologically complex in English can only be used as adjectives in NGP. Examples are *sosel* 'social', *nesinel* 'national', *konstitusenel* 'constitutional', and *ikonomik* 'economic'.

Continued unchecked borrowing of such new forms may lead to considerable restructuring of even breakdown of the patterns of word formation found in NGP at present.

6. CONCLUSIONS

1) Multifunctionality is not a unitary phenomenon. A distinction has to be made between what has been referred to as 'syntactic derivation' and 'lexical derivation'.

ii) The bulk of this paper deals with lexical derivation. The shift of lexical items from a basic function to another is characterised by a shift in meaning which cannot be accounted for by transformational rules. Lexical derivation should be treated on the same level as compounding and other word-formation processes.

iii) The speaker's intuitions about the meaning of derived items can be explained in terms of programs together with a number of redundancy conventions.

iv) The operation of these programs is restricted by two factors, linguistic restrictions and the norm of the language. These two factors account for systematic and accidental gaps respectively.

v) The data do not support the view that the structure of English and NGP are identical or even very similar. There is also no support

for the view that lexical structures of NGP are a simplification of English structures.

vi) It is not the case that the lexicon of NGP is optimal. Moreover, the economy provided by programs of functional change is partly neutralised by the presence of alternative programs for identical purposes and a number of suppletive patterns.

vii) Theories about the origin and linguistic affiliations of pidgin languages should abandon a simplistic notion of the lexicon as a list of irregularities in favour of a view acknowledging the lexicon as having linguistic structure. A comparison between the structures of pidgins should not be restricted to syntactic structures only. Comparative data are badly needed before hypotheses such as relexification theory can be either confirmed or disconfirmed.

viii) A purely formal analysis of word formation is not only inadequate but can suggest similarities between a pidgin and its source language where underlying structures may be quite different. A case in point is the claim that adjectives in NGP can freely become adverbs.

ix) The continued presence of English as a source language can lead to partial destruction of the word formation mechanisms in NGP. Not all new loanwords can be integrated with the same ease, a result of the fact that the lexicon is not merely a list.

x) The question of the relative power of word formation mechanisms in Pidgin and English has not been dealt with in detail. However, it appears that new words can be created in NGP with less ease than in English, particularly because of the absence of derivational affixes. This may have serious implications for the further development of this language.

N O T E S

1. This paper in its original form was presented at the Pidgin and Creole Conference in Honolulu in January 1975.
2. Hall (1943a), and others, have given good reasons for recognising these main word classes in Pidgin. However, it will be argued below that this categorical information has to be supplemented with information about the derivational history of NGP words.
3. Multifunctionality is henceforth referred to as MF.
4. A detailed discussion can be found in Mühlhäusler (forthcoming).
5. Valkhoff (1966:230ff) appears to be under the impression that MF is a typical 'creolism', i.e. something like a universal of creoles.
6. A thorough analysis can be found in Kempen (1969:4ff). Kempen is concerned mainly with non-transformational proposals for a solution of this problem. J. Voorhoeve (1961) has alleged that transformational grammar is incapable of handling MF and has proposed an alternative method for dealing with it. However, Voorhoeve's proposals can be shown to be nothing more than suggestions for discovery procedures similar to Nida's principles for the 'Identification of Morphemes'. Following his principles we will learn from the position of a word in the surface structure, and from its possibilities of combination with other words, to which category this word belongs. We do not learn, however, how one arrives, from Sranan doro 'door', at the intransitive verb doro 'to arrive'. Thus, the failure to analyse this relationship in terms of the semantic regularities, makes this proposal uninteresting

and I do not see how it could exclude such non-instances of functional shift as between *bailm* 'to buy' and *bal* 'future' marker.

Voorhoeve's proposal results from a rejection of Chomsky's early model of grammar and the claim that a 'Syntactic Structures' grammar could not explain(!) the relationship between *hebi* 'heavy'-adj, *hebl* 'burden'-N and *hebl* 'to make heavy'-V, because "transformational analysis can only give a solution to those transformations which are in some way recognised by word-form". (p.48) This remark appears to be based on a lack of understanding of transformational grammar and cannot be considered to be a counterexample to transformational theory even as it was at that stage. If MF was a purely syntactic process, it could certainly be handled even by an early transformational model. If it is not, and there are good reasons for it not to be regarded as part of syntax, then one cannot insist that it should be treated in the syntactic component of a transformational grammar.

7. The data discussed in this paper include:

i) the set of all items listed in NGP dictionaries to date with the exception of a number of dictionaries which I was unable to obtain. The dictionaries and vocabularies used are listed in the bibliography.

ii) analysis of taped conversations equalling roughly fifty hours speaking time.

iii) double checking of the examples with at least three informants in different parts of New Guinea. All examples were also tested with informants whose first language is NGP.

iv) informal observation of speakers of NGP during ten months spent in various parts of Papua New Guinea.

The data used in this paper comprise those which are accepted in the sociolect of Rural Pidgin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975) unless otherwise indicated. Rural Pidgin is the most stable variety and the one least influenced by English or vernaculars of Papua New Guinea.

8. A discussion of the nature of pretheoretical classifications and classification of linguistic data in general is found in Botha (1968: 51ff).

9. *-im* is commonly referred to as transitivity marker. However, it also serves as causative marker and reflexive marker in NGP. It cannot be regarded as a derivational suffix because it also occurs with words such as *kɪsɪm* 'to get, catch' which are clearly not derived from any other form. *-im* may be attached to lexical items by virtue of the fact that these items appear in certain grammatical surface functions. Thus

amamas 'to rejoice' (V.int.) also occurs as amamasim 'to make glad' or 'rejoice over', with -im being attached to the basic item amamas because a change in function has occurred. This change in function can take place because the semantic, syntactic and phonological conditions for this change are met. Further remarks relevant to this point are found in Zifonun (1973:41).

10. The role of such redundancy conventions in the lexicon has been discussed by Chomsky (1965:168ff).

11. A discussion of the terminology used with reference to MF can be found in Marchand (1960:293ff).

12. The claim that word formation, in particular derivation, is part of the syntax has been discussed and rejected by Zifonun (1973:60ff). Zifonun adopts the view, which is also adopted in this paper, that there is a structural relation between derived items and syntactic structures (paraphrases). However, it is not the case that derived lexical items are generated directly from such structures by means of transformational rules.

13. A description of the salient features of Rural Pidgin is found in Mühlhäusler (1975:64-5). They include the fact that:

- a) the grammar of Rural Pidgin is characterised by its relative independence from English,
- b) the grammar is stable and dialectal variation is not significant,
- c) the vocabulary is conservative, new words being introduced by using the grammatical resources of the language rather than by borrowing from English.

14. A discussion of lexical units is found in Longacre (1964:5ff) and Halliday (1966:148ff).

15. A detailed discussion of the distinction between lexical and syntactic derivation can be found in Kurylowicz (1936:79ff).

16. This statement would reflect more adequately the grammar of NGP if the expression 'verb' was replaced by 'verb base'.

17. The expression klos i gat doti differs in structure from English 'the clothes got dirty'. A literal translation would be 'the clothes have got dirt(iness).

18. Although it is possible to derive adverbs from a number of other word bases, this is not done very often in Rural Pidgin. The reason is probably that adverbs are not formally marked in Pidgin and their appearance in a construction increases its ambiguity. The criteria for the establishment of a class 'adverb' are not well understood at present and the items that have been traditionally grouped here may turn out to belong to a number of separate classes. It needs to be mentioned that the dropping of *-pela* in the derivation of adverbs from adjective bases is not found in all instances, as, for example, in *em i singaut bikpela* 'he shouted loudly'.

19. Two interpretations can be made of the sentence *em i wok i strong*, namely, *em i wok na wok i strong* = *em i mekim strongpela wok* 'the work is strong = he is working hard', or *em i wok na em i strong* 'he is working and he is strong' (or: 'insisting').

20. A more detailed discussion and additional examples can be found in Mühlhäusler (1973).

21. Dr Laycock has pointed out to me that the form *sandpepaim* 'to smooth with sandpaper' is used by some speakers.

22. *-im* can only be replaced by *long* if it is a transitivity marker. If *-im* appears with causative verbs such a substitution is not possible.

23. Marchand (1960:302) mentions instances where a similar restriction is found in English. "It would be contrary to reason to form such verbs as arrival, guidance, improvement, organization when arrive, guide, improve, organize exist."

24. Wurm's statement (1971:58) that "all adjectives can function as nouns - those with *-pela* losing it in the process - and constitute abstract nouns" is an overgeneralisation. Not only is this derivation restricted to adjective bases, it also does not always result in the loss of *-pela*. Compare:

<i>hevi</i>	'heavy'	<i>hevi</i>	'weight'
<i>longpela</i>	'long'	<i>longpela</i>	'length'
<i>bikpela</i>	'big'	<i>bik or bikpela</i>	'seize'

25. An apparent exception is the pair *mumut* 'bandicoot' - *mumut* 'to scavenge'. However, Dr Laycock has pointed out to me that this may be an instance of two unrelated homophones. The verb *mumut* appears to be

related to a Tolai verb with a similar meaning, whereas the origin of the noun *mumut* is not known. The English noun *marmot* might be the source of the noun base.

26. Because of the wide meaning of the NGP noun base *glas*, *glaslm* can be interpreted in a number of ways. Contextual information provides the clue to correct interpretation. Compare:

Kiap i glasim wanpela longwe ples	<i>'The district officer observed a distant place with his field glasses.'</i>
daiwa i glaslm pis	<i>'The diver went skin diving for fish (using goggles).'</i>
dokta i glasim sikman	<i>'The doctor took the patient's temperature.'</i>

27. Rose (1973:509ff) has put forward arguments to the effect that certain limitations on the productivity of denominal verbs are universals of language.

28. The popular belief is that the number of chirps made by a gecko indicate what time it is. However, this method is not reliable.

29. The present state of diachronical studies in NGP has been discussed by Mühlhäusler (forthcoming).

30. The importance of the principle that constructions in a Pidgin language can have two separate origins has been acknowledged by a number of linguists. However, detailed investigations are scarce. A number of interesting remarks on 'linguistic encounter' can be found in Valkhoff (1966:232ff).

31. Tauli (1968:110) refers to what he calls 'Zero' or 'direct' derivation as "the most economic way". This supports the view that Pidgin languages are simpler in every component of their grammars when compared with the source language.

32. No attributive adjectives are derived from abstract noun bases. The distinction between adjectives and verbs in the predicate is difficult to draw, as has been pointed out above.

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DESCRIPTIVE AND PRESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR IN NEW GUINEA PIDGIN¹

S.A. Wurm

The various regional dialects and sociolects of New Guinea Pidgin differ amongst themselves in a number of ways, with the differences manifesting themselves predominantly on the phonological and lexical levels, with idiomatic usage, as an extension of the lexical sphere, also showing quite marked variation. With the differences in lexicon, the rules underlying the nature and formation of lexical items also differ appreciably. In this field, the differences between various sociolects in particular consist of a greater or lesser disturbance through the introduction and adoption of foreign, usually English, lexical items whose internal set-up violates the Pidgin rules of word-formation which are near-identical in all Pidgin regional dialects, but which are basically different from those valid for English (Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977).

Apart from these areas of dialectal and sociolectal differences, a certain amount of difference is noticeable between regional dialects and sociolects, and to a limited extent, between idiolects or small-group sub-dialects, on the levels of morphology and syntax, with the differences manifesting themselves essentially in a greater or lesser elaboration and realisation of morphological and syntactic possibilities, with some dialects, sociolects, idiolects and sub-dialects showing greater differentiation and complexity in certain areas of grammar, with a resulting increase in clarity and unambiguity of expression than others.

One particular local dialect, i.e. the one spoken on the north-east coast of the New Guinea mainland with its focal point in Madang and Wewak, has, in a non-urbanised sociolectal form, achieved a considerable amount of standardisation through its widespread use in print,

essentially by the Lutheran Kristen Pres in Madang and the Catholic Mission Headquarters in Wewak which amongst other publications, issues the Pidgin newspaper Wantok which has a wide circulation.

It is somewhat unfortunate that this dialect, though quite elaborate in some respects, compares somewhat unfavourably with some other dialects, sociolects, idiolects or sub-dialects observable in the New Guinea Pidgin language as a whole, with regard to its elaboration and differentiation in some areas of the morphological and syntactic fields, and in the realisation of morphological and syntactic possibilities which are observable in some of the other forms of Pidgin.

In New Guinea Pidgin, in common with Pidgin languages in general, increased grammaticalisation compensates for a characteristically reduced lexicon. At the same time, there is a comparatively low degree of elaboration in surface features of morphology resulting in a multiple signalling function of certain morphological forms, with increased areas of ambiguity. It is this particular area of grammar in which differences between various forms of Pidgin are observable, and differences in the level of ambiguity are present between them.

One example may be given:

In the northern coastal standard form of Pidgin, future tense can be signalled by pronoun + the basic verb-form, with an adverbial expression denoting futurity present in the clause, e.g. *tumara mi kaikai* = '*I shall eat tomorrow*'. General futurity is denoted by *bai* before the pronoun + verb (or pronoun + *bai* + *i* + verb with the 1st and 2nd person sg.), e.g. *bai mi kaikai* (or *mi bai i kaikai*) = '*I shall eat (sometime)*', and near future by *iaik* between the pronoun and verb, e.g. *mi iaik kaikai* = '*I shall soon eat*'. The same form denotes intention or desire in this dialect, i.e. '*I want to eat*'.

The present writer observed that in the Highlands Pidgin dialect, especially as spoken by the Chimbu, the first form mentioned above, i.e. *tumara mi kaikai*, was commonly used, as in northern coastal Pidgin, whereas the form with *bai*, though known to quite a few speakers and applied with the same meaning as in the northern coastal dialect, occurred only very rarely. However, two other forms were frequently employed: pronoun + *ken* + *i* + verb to denote a definite future, e.g. *mi ken i kaikai* = '*I shall definitely eat*', and *nau* + pronoun + verb to indicate an immediate future, e.g. *nau mi kaikai* = '*I am about to eat*'. A form identical with the northern coastal dialect form pronoun + *iaik* + verb was employed to denote near future, but to express intention or desire, *i* was interposed between *iaik* and the verb, i.e. *mi iaik iaikai* = '*I shall soon eat*', but *mi iaik i kaikai* = '*I want to eat*'. In addition, the pronoun + *klosap* + *i* + verb was frequently

observed as denoting a very near future, e.g. *mi klosap i kaikai* = 'I shall eat very soon'. This form is met with also in the northern coastal dialect, but seems to be rare in it.

A unified list of the forms encountered in the two dialects would be as follows:

<i>tumara mi kaikai</i>	<i>'I shall eat tomorrow'</i>
<i>bai mi kaikai</i>	<i>'I shall eat sometime'</i>
(or: <i>mi bai i kaikai</i>)	
<i>mi ken i kaikai</i>	<i>'I shall definitely eat'</i>
<i>nau mi kaikai</i>	<i>'I am about to eat'</i>
<i>mi klosap i kaikai</i>	<i>'I shall eat very soon'</i>
<i>mi laik kaikai</i>	<i>'I shall eat soon'</i>
<i>mi laik i kaikai</i>	<i>'I want to eat'.</i>

What has been outlined above concerning the morphological differences between two regional dialects of Pidgin in one particular narrow field of verb morphology appears to have considerable significance for the nowadays very topical question of the standardisation of New Guinea Pidgin. The unified list of forms given above constitutes a larger inventory than either of the two dialects possesses, and allows for greater clarity and precision of reference, and disambiguity of denotation.

The question of the standardisation of Pidgin in the framework of language planning, has been predominantly concerned with matters of the lexicon, the introduction of new words into the language and the problems of the acceptability or otherwise of the nature and formation of new words and items introduced, and the rules and models which newly introduced terms should follow in their formation (Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977). These procedures constitute prescriptive acts whose guidelines are based on the study of descriptive analyses of observed Pidgin usages. It seems that a similar approach with regard to morphological and syntactic phenomena as illustrated by the examples given above, would come very much under the same heading. The purpose of the standardisation and language planning procedures on the lexical level is to enrich the vocabulary of Pidgin in a manner which does not violate the rules of word formation and creation inherent in Pidgin as is done by the wholesale introduction of foreign, mostly English, terms whose underlying word formation rules are quite different from, and alien to, Pidgin. In the same way standardisation and language planning on the morphological and syntactic levels would prescriptively aim for an enrichment and greater differentiation and disambiguity of New Guinea Pidgin on these levels on the basis of the results of described observations of usages in various forms of New Guinea Pidgin.

As a further example, a unified presentation of some of the most important functions of the particle *i* in New Guinea Pidgin will be given in a popular descriptive-prescriptive style (Wurm 1971):

The Particle *i*

The functions of the particle *i* - usually referred to as the predicate marker - are fundamental for many parts of Pidgin grammar. A summary of its most important functions is given below:

1) *i* appears before a verb or non-verbal predicate if the subject is the third person, e.g. *em i toktok* = '*he talks*', *man i toktok* = '*the (indigenous) man talks*', *ston i hevi* = '*the stone is heavy*', *diwai i yar* = '*the tree is a casuarina*'.

Exceptions:

a) *i* is often omitted under the above circumstances after *em* = '*this is*', '*he is*', etc. if *em* is the first word of a sentence, e.g. *em papa bilong mi* = '*this (or: he) is my father*', but: *dispela man, em i papa bilong mi* = '*as far as this man is concerned, he is my father*' (this is the idiomatic way of expressing this concept in Pidgin). This rule overrides rule b) below, e.g. *dispela, em i wonem* = '*this one, what is it?*'

b) *i* does not appear before an interrogative word which constitutes a predicate, e.g. *dispela wonem?* = '*what is this?*' Similarly, *i* does not appear before *bilong* and an interrogative even if the combination of the two constitutes a predicate, e.g. *dispela dok bilong husat?* = '*whose is this dog?*'; *dispela man bilong we?* = '*where is this (indigenous) man from?*'

It is more idiomatic, however, to render the concepts expressed by the above two sentences in the following manner:

dispela i dok bilong husat? = '*this is whose dog?*'

dispela i man bilong we? = '*this is an (indigenous) man from where?*'

c) Before predicative *pas* = '*stuck*' in expressions referring to '*blind*', '*deaf*' and '*dumb*' *i* is often omitted, e.g. *ai bilong mi (i) pas* = '*I am blind (lit. my eye is stuck)*'; *yau bilongen (i) pas* = '*he is deaf (lit. his ear is stuck)*'.

2) *i* + *bilong* + noun or pronoun cannot constitute a predicate by itself. *i* must be preceded by *em* (or: *tupela*, *tripela*, *ol* in the case of non-singular subjects) or followed by a noun, e.g. *dispela dok em i bilong mi*, or: *dispela dok i dok bilong mi*, or: *dispela dok em i dok bilong mi* = '*this dog is mine*'. *Dispela dok i bilong mi* is not idiomatic. (Note what has been said above in 1b, in this connection.)

3) *i* can appear instead of the repeated simple pronoun after an emphatic pronoun, even if the latter is not of the third person, e.g. *mi yet (or: tasol) mi save*, or: *mi yet (or: tasol) i save* = '*I myself*'

know', mi wanpela (tasol) i no inap = 'I by myself am not able to...'

4) i appears between some auxiliary verbs denoting tenses and other features, and the main verb, i.e. ken i + verb: definite future; laik i + verb: desire, intention, 'to want'; bai i + verb: indefinite future (i is only used if the subject is mi = 'I' or yu = 'you (one)', and bai follows the subject); optionally: inap i + verb: physical ability. Examples: mi ken i kaikai = 'I shall (definitely) eat'; yu laik i wokim spia = 'you want to make an arrow'; mi bai i wokim haus = 'some time I shall build a house' (more commonly: bai mi wokim haus); mi inap (i) brukim stik = 'I am able to break the stick'.

5) After singaut long = 'to call out to (for information)', singautim = 'to call (to move someone)', larim = 'to let (someone do something)', 'allow (someone to do something)', tokim = 'to tell (someone to do something)', helpim = 'to help (someone to do something)', mekim = 'to cause (someone to do something)' and a few other verbs, i appears between the object of these verbs and the next verb, irrespective of the subject of the latter, e.g. em i singautim mi i bringim i go wara longen = 'he calls me to take water to him'; mi larim yu i kaikai kaukau = 'I let you eat sweet potatoes'; em i tokim mipela i katim diwai = 'he tells us to cut trees'; mi helpim yu i liptimapim diwai = 'I help you to lift the tree'; mi mekim yu i kaikai = 'I make you eat'; etc.

Also, i appears after hariap = 'to hurry' and a verb following it and determining it, e.g. em i hariap i kaikai = 'he eats hurriedly' (more commonly, this is expressed by em i kaikai hariap).

Similarly, i is placed between larim = 'to let, allow (somebody to do something)' and a verb following it immediately, without an intervening object. If the clause contains an object indicated by a separate word (noun or pronoun), it is usually placed between larim and the other verb (see the first paragraph of 5)). Examples: larim i go = 'let him go'; larim i kaikai = 'let him eat'; but: larim em i kaikai = 'let HIM eat'; larim dok i kam insait = 'let the dog come in'; etc. However, if the object consists of a noun with adjuncts, it can optionally be placed after the verb which follows larim. In such a case, no i appears between larim and the second verb, e.g. larim dispela tupela man i kaikai, or: larim kaikai dispela tupela man = 'let these two (indigenous) men eat'; larim ol dispela draipela pik i go, or: larim go ol dispela draipela pik = 'let all these big pigs go'.

If, in such sentences, the object consists of a noun determined by a (relative) clause, the placing of the object after the second verb is obligatory, e.g. larim kaikai man i sindaun i stap lohap = 'let the man eat who is sitting over there'.

The situation is somewhat comparable with regard to mekim = 'cause (someone to do something)', except that with a few verbs, notably dai = 'to die, cease to exist', and save = 'to know', no i appears between them and the mekim precedes them immediately if the clause contains no object. The rules governing the position of the object, with or without adjunct, are comparable to those mentioned above with regard to larim, except that with some sequences of mekim + a verb, especially mekim dai = 'kill (a living being)' and mekim save = 'to teach a lesson, punish severely', the object tends to be placed after the second verb even if it has no adjunct, unless it is a singular pronoun (mi, yu or em). Examples: mekim i kaikai = 'make him eat'; mi mekim dispela tupela dok i dring, or: mi mekim dring dispela tupela dok = 'I make these two dogs drink'; mi mekim dai dok (or: mi mekim dok i dai) = 'I killed the dog'; mi mekim save dispela tupela dok (or rarely: mi mekim dispela tupela dok i save) = 'I taught these two dogs a lesson, punished them'; mi mekim kaikai ol man i kam kamap asde = 'I made all the men eat who arrived yesterday'; mi mekim go ol man i stap long haus = 'I make all the men go who are in the house'; but: em i laik i mekim mi i dai = 'he wants to kill me' (rarely: em i laik i mekim dai mi); mi mekim yu i dai = 'I('ll) kill you' (rarely: mi mekim dai yu).

It must be noted that with mekim + dai referring to the extinction or destruction of an inanimate object, i is placed between them, e.g. mi mekim i dai = 'I put it out (i.e. the light)' (but: mi mekim dai = 'I killed it or him'). In contrast to mekim (and larim) + other verbs, this i appears even if an object follows dai in such instances, e.g. yu mekim i dai paia (or: yu mekim paia i dai) = 'extinguish the fire'; em i mekim i dai wara (or: em i mekim wara i dai) = 'he poisoned the water'.

With traiim = 'to try', no i is placed between it and the verb following it (unless the latter is go = 'go away', kam = 'come', or stap = 'to be; to continue; to be at rest; to stay', see 6)). The object usually follows the second verb. Examples: mi traiim wokim spia = 'I try to make an arrow'; em i traiim liptimipim diwai i hevi = 'he tries to lift the heavy tree'; but: em i traiim i kam long dispela pies = 'he tries to come to this village'.

The concept of trying to do something can also be expressed through placing the verb indicating the attempted action first, with the object following it, and traiim, with i preceding it, placed after it, e.g. mi wokim spia i traiim = 'I try to make an arrow'. This construction is also used if the object is accompanied by adjuncts, but not if the object consists of a noun determined by a relative clause, e.g. mi wokim longpela spia bilong yu i traiim = 'I try to make a long arrow

for you', but: mi wokim traiim spia em yu laik i peim = 'I try to make the arrow which you want to buy'.

If the object of a clause or sentence containing a reference to an attempted action is placed at the beginning of the clause or sentence for emphasis, traiim follows the verb which it determines, without i appearing between the two, e.g. akis mi wokim trailm = 'I try to make an axe'; dispela spia bilong yu em yu laik i peim, mi wokim traiim = 'I try to make this arrow for you, the one which you want to buy'. If the object is not overtly indicated, a clause such as mi wokim traiim = 'I try to make it' denotes emphasis on the object.

To end this section 5), it may be mentioned that if stap, as the marker of continuing action, is placed directly before the verb which it determines, no i appears between the two, e.g. mi stap kaikai = 'I am eating', em i stap go = 'he is going away'.

6) Before go = 'go away', kam = 'come' and stap = 'to be; to continue; to be at rest; to stay', i appears after some auxiliaries which are not usually followed by i if other verbs follow them, i.e.

ken	= 'may'
laik	= 'near future'
mas	= 'necessity'
traiim	= 'attempted action'
kirap	= 'starting action'

Examples: yu ken i go = 'you may go away' (but: yu ken kisim dispela = 'you may take this'); mi laik i go = 'I shall soon go away' (but: mi laik kaikai = 'I shall soon eat'); yu mas i stap = 'you must stay' (but: yu mas wokim haus = 'you must build a house'); yu traiim i kam = 'try to come!' (but: yu traiim wokim spia = 'try to make an arrow'); em i kirap i go = 'he began to go away' (but: em i kirap toktok = 'he began to speak').

In the case of ken and laik, this can lead to confusion, because before go, kam and stap the distinction between ken = 'may' and ken i = 'definite future', as well as laik = 'near future' and laik i = 'desire, intention, to want', is obliterated because of the obligatory appearance of i before go, kam and stap.

However, after larim = 'to let, allow (someone to do something)', mekim = 'to cause (someone to do something)', and stap as the marker of continuing action, no i appears before go, kam and stap in those instances in which the former are followed by other verbs without the insertion of i between them (see 5)).

7) i is always present in the direction of action markers i go and i kam which respectively denote movement of the action away from the speaker or focus of action, or towards him or it, and in the marker of

continuing action i stap. All these markers follow the verbs which they determine, either immediately or separated from them by one or several words, e.g. salim i go pas, or: salim pas i go = '*send the letter away*'; em i lukluk l stap long mipela, or: em i lukluk long mipela i stap = '*he is looking at us*'.

8) Before a verb, i appears optionally if the subject is a non-singular first or second person pronoun, e.g. yumitupela i kaikai kaukau, or: yumitupela kaikai kaukau = '*we two(incl.) eat sweet potatoes*'.

However, if an order (an imperative or hortative concept) is expressed, i does not appear, e.g. yumitupela kaikai kaukau = '*let's eat sweet potatoes*', yutupela wokim banara = '*make a bow, (you two)!*'.

However, in sharp commands addressed to first or second persons, singular or non-singular, i, with a clause stress, can be placed between the pronoun and the verb, e.g. yu f kaikai = '*eat!!*', yupela f kaka = '*you (all) eat!!*', yuml f kaikai = '*let us eat!!*'.

9) i can be used instead of na = '*and*' between those adjectives which cannot accompany a noun on the same side of it without a connecting word or particle, e.g. bikpela i planti bun, or: bikpela na planti bun = '*many big bones*'.

10) i is often used to link co-ordinate clauses if the actions referred to in the two clauses are very closely connected and are either simultaneous, or follow each other closely, e.g. em i go i brukim paiawut = '*he went and chopped firewood*', ol i bung i toktok = '*they got together and talked*'.

11) i before verbs with a third person subject is often dropped if a number of such verbs follow each other in a narration.

Similar cumulative prescriptive statements based on observations of various forms of New Guinea Pidgin can for instance be made regarding a) aspects of verbs and their combination in individual verbal forms; b) qualitative noun adjuncts of various kinds; c) the linking of co-ordinate clauses in sentences, etc.

What is required for this work is a detailed study and exhaustive description of such features and their variations in all observable forms of New Guinea Pidgin which would provide the basis for cumulative prescriptive statements of value for standardisation and language planning and engineering.

N O T E

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S.A. WURM

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TOK PISIN SYNTAX - THE EAST AUSTRONESIAN FACTOR¹

D.S. Walsh

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE DERIVATION OF TOK PISIN LEXICON AND SYNTAX

There is general agreement that the lexicon of Tok Pisin (TP) consists predominantly of English-derived forms whose phonological make-up owes much to various languages of Papua New Guinea and whose specific semantic values have been substantially shaped by the indigenous cultural context. Laycock (1970:x1) proposes the following proportions (based on a count of vocabulary in Mihalic's dictionary) for the sources of TP lexical forms:- English 77%; Tolai 11%; other New Guinean languages (mainly Austronesian languages of New Britain and New Ireland) 6%; German 4%; others 2%. Wurm (1973:111) suggests similar proportions:- English 75-80%; indigenous languages (mainly Tolai) 15-20%; other languages (mainly German) 5%.

There has been much less agreement on the derivation of TP syntax. Hooley (1963:126-7) has argued that TP shares a greater number of transformations with English than it does with 'Melanesian' languages. Hall (1975:184) has maintained that

In the case of any European-based pidgin or creole [and he regards TP as being primarily English-based], it is immediately evident that its functors, its grammatical categories, its part-of-speech-system, and a large part of its syntactic structures are shared with the European language involved.

Mihalic (1971:10) considers that

Having been derived historically from English, it [TP] naturally carries along much of the English influence in its grammatical framework. But it is not broken English. Over the course of a century it has developed its own features, as any living language does, from the speech patterns that surround it. That explains the strong Melanesian flavour of its syntax.

Wurm (1973:111) takes the view that TP's "structure [i.e. syntax, as against vocabulary] is un-English and is patterned on that of the Austronesian languages of the South-Western Pacific".

This paper suggests (with supporting evidence) that many features of TP syntax are more plausibly derivable from a subset of East Austronesian (EAN) languages than from English, and it outlines a historical rationale for the operation of this EAN factor in the origin and early development of what was to become TP.

1.2. THE EAST AUSTRONESIAN FACTOR

Among the various proposals that have been made as to just when and where the synthesising that was crucial for the shaping of what was to become TP syntax took place, that of Mühlhäusler (1975b) is most germane to the argument of this paper. He suggests that this synthesising occurred among the plantation labour force in German Samoa between the late 1870s and the late 1880s, a period during which the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands were major sources of imported labour.² The pidgin which took shape in this context was then spread to the new plantation developments in New Britain, New Ireland and mainland German New Guinea as skilled plantation labour was transferred to these areas from German Samoa.

If Mühlhäusler's scenario is accepted, then the fact that during the crucial decade (late 1870s to late 1880s) the plantation labour force in German Samoa included a substantial majority of people whose first language was drawn from the subset of EAN languages spoken in the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands and the Bismarck Archipelago is compatible with the functioning of an EAN factor in the shaping of the syntax of what was to become TP. The process of pidgin formation that operated among the labour force on the plantations of German Samoa could well have been broadly similar to that implied by Bickerton (1975) for the development of a pidgin in the context of the West African Slave Trade. In this process the contrived mixing of speakers (many of whom were habitually locally multilingual) drawn from a range of languages that were not necessarily all even broadly related led to the development of a pidgin with a lexicon of which the forms were derived predominantly from non-West African sources and a syntax which was substantially derived from a model common to the range of West African languages involved.

In the plantation labour force in German Samoa there was certainly a contrived mixing of speakers (at least some of whom, if the present-day situation in island Melanesia is any guide, would have been locally

multilingual) drawn from a range of relatively closely related languages (the subset of EAN languages spoken in the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands and the Bismarck Archipelago). This situation could well have produced a pidgin with a lexicon of which the forms were derived predominantly from non-EAN sources and a syntax derived substantially from the generalised model compatible with the subset of EAN languages involved.

1.3. THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE

The evidence in this paper is drawn from the kind and range of syntactic elements and structures referred to by Hall (*supra*), which is essentially the same kind and range as that used by Bickerton (1975).

As is the case with the lexicon, the form of the TP syntactic morphemes is derived predominantly from English, with the appropriate phonological modifications. The syntactic values of these morphemes, however, are frequently more plausibly derivable from an EAN model than from English.

The main source of TP data for this paper is the 1971 edition of Mihalic's dictionary, which includes what is still the most comprehensive published description of TP syntax. The order of presentation follows Mihalic, and his terminology has been retained for convenience of reference. The EAN model is represented by data from Raga³, a language from the North-East New Hebrides, which is here regarded as typical of the relevant subset of EAN languages. It is recognised that further testing over the whole range of EAN languages represented in the plantation labour force in German Samoa during the crucial decade is desirable.

2. EVIDENCE

In this section the wording of most of the subheadings follows Mihalic, and, where it is appropriate, a subheading is followed by his numerical section reference. Within the text wording in double quotation marks is Mihalic's.

2.1. NOUN PHRASES (3.1.5.)

The TP construction manifested by *haus lotu 'church'*, *sospen ain 'iron kettle'*, *sip plang 'wooden ship'*, and *haus kuk 'kitchen/cook-house'* is more plausibly derivable from the construction represented by Raga *imwa vatu 'house stone (i.e. stone house)'*, *atat meto 'person black (i.e. black person)'*, and *tahi mate 'sea dead (i.e. calm/lifeless sea)'* than from the construction manifested by English *'wooden ship'*,

'iron kettle', and 'cook-house'.

2.2. THE ARTICLES 'the' AND 'a' (3.2.)

According to Mihalic

There is actually no definite article. However, ol, the plural indicator which is otherwise untranslatable, is a kind of plural article, e.g. ol man 'the men', ol pikinini 'the children'... The indefinite article is either wanpela or nothing at all.⁴

In fact the situation is that English has a definite article and an indefinite article, TP does not, and Raga does not. Therefore, for this feature, TP is more plausibly derivable from the model represented by Raga than from English.

The TP plural indicator ol has no structural counterpart in English, whereas Raga has the plural marker i-ra which can occur with nouns referring to people, e.g. i-ra vavine

plural woman
'women'.

The affinity of the TP plural indicator ol with ol 'they/them' is paralleled by the affinity of Raga i-ra with ra- 'they' and -ra 'them'. The syntactic value of the TP form is again more plausibly derivable from the model represented by Raga than from English.

2.3. GENDER (3.3.)

In Melanesian Pidgin there is no gender expressed in the nouns as such. The sex of living things is sometimes indicated by the qualifying additive man 'male' or meri 'female'. These two words always follow the noun they qualify and thus form noun phrases. For example: pikinini man 'son', paul meri 'hen'.

This statement ignores the gender distinction present in TP when man and meri are used as nouns. English manifests gender either by specific terms such as 'sow' and 'boar' or by a noun preceded by 'male' or 'female'. Raga has a few pairs of terms which manifest gender, e.g. atamwani 'man' and vavine 'woman', and where the distinction is not made in this way it may be manifested for living things by a noun followed by atamwani or vavine, e.g. toa atamwani 'rooster' and toa vavine 'hen'.

The difference of pattern between English on the one hand and TP and Raga on the other in the manifestation of gender by a means other than pairs of specific terms conforms to the difference of pattern for noun phrases (ref. 2.1.).

2.4. NUMBER (3.4.)

There is nothing in TP or Raga which corresponds structurally to the English pattern of suffixed plural marking for nouns. TP has the

possibility of a noun preceded by *ol* or by a numeral, e.g. *ol man 'men'*, *sikispela de 'six days'*. Raga has the possibility of noun followed by a modifier (which may be a numeral) with a plural value, e.g.

<i>toa ivusi</i>	<i>toa gai-vasi</i>
<i>fowl many</i>	<i>fowl four</i>
<i>'many fowls'</i>	<i>'four fowls'</i>

or of noun followed by verb phrase containing a pronoun which indicates number, e.g. *vavine ra-m hae*

woman they action-in-progress go-up
'the women go up',

or noun referring to people preceded by *i-ra* (ref. 2.2). The evidence under this heading is considerably less decisive than that presented under most other headings, but, on balance, it gives more support to an EAN derivation than to an English one for the TP patterns.

2.5. THE NOUN AS SUBJECT (3.5.1.)

In general the noun as subject in Melanesian Pidgin clauses or sentences precedes the predicate. As: *Tri i pundaun* 'The tree fell down'. However, after the interrogative clause: *We stap*, the construction may be inverted, e.g. *We stap luluai?* 'Where is the village chief?' It is equally correct to ask: *Luluai i stap we?*

In stative constructions in both English and Raga the noun as subject typically precedes the predicate. In interrogative constructions English typically has a discontinuous predicate with subject noun insertion and initial interrogative, e.g. 'Where is John going?' Raga interrogative constructions typically have subject noun before predicate with final interrogative, e.g. *ratahigi mwa do behe?*

chief he stays where
'where is the chief staying',

which is the same pattern as TP *luluai i stap we?* Again the evidence is not decisive, but it does give some support for the presence of an EAN factor in the derivation.

"Between the subject and the predicate one finds only the modifiers of the subject, e.g. *Ol man bilong ailan ol i save swim* 'Islanders know how to swim'".

The structural similarities between this example from Mihalic and Raga (*i-ra*) *atatu ata Raga ra-m ilo gagaruva* (human plural marker) *person from Raga they-tense-marker know swimming*

'people from Raga know how to swim'

are not matched in standard English, which does not have the pronominal subject repetition of *'all people from England they know how to swim'*.⁵

2.6. PRONOUNS (4.)

2.6.1. Personal Pronouns (4.1.)

The TP personal pronouns are:-

mi	'I/me'	yumitupela	'we/us dual incl.'
mitupela	'we/us dual excl.'	yumitripela	'we/us trial incl.'
mitripela	'we/us trial excl.'	yumi	'we/us plural incl.'
mipela	'we/us plural excl.'		
yu	'you singular'	em	'he/she/it, him/her/it'
yutupela	'you dual'	tupela	'they/them dual'
yutripela	'you trial'	tripela	'they/them trial'
yupela	'you plural'	ol	'they/them plural'

The forms of these pronouns are obviously derived from English, but the structuring of semantic values for this paradigmatic set is patently derivable from an EAN model, as the following table indicates:-

	English	TP	EAN
Gender Marking in 3rd person singular	+	-	-
Number Marking in terms of singular/plural only	+	-	-
Number Marking in terms of singular/dual/trial/plural	-	+	+
Marking for inclusion or exclusion of addressee	-	+	+
2nd person singular formally distinguished from any 2nd person non-singular forms	- ⁶	+	+

2.6.2. 'Possessive' Pronouns (4.3.)

The TP pattern of *bilang* + personal pronoun is more plausibly derivable from the EAN pattern of possession marker (often one of a paradigmatic set) + suffixed possessive pronoun form than it is from the English set of specifically possessive pronoun forms. Compare TP *bilang mi* 'my/mine' with Raga *bila-ku* 'possession class marker + 1st person singular marker (*mine of the specified possession class*)' or *bila-k* 'possession class marker + 1st person singular marker (*my [something] of the specified possession class*)' and with English 'my/mine'.

2.6.3. The 'Intensive' Pronouns (4.7.)

"The intensive pronoun is expressed by *tasol* after a personal pronoun, e.g. *Mi tasol mi mekim* 'I myself did it'."

The TP pattern here of emphatic/intensive personal pronoun + personal pronoun + predicate resembles the Raga pattern of focus or emphatic

pronoun + pronoun-tense marker + verb or verb phrase, as in *inau na-n ioli-a* 'I (focus/emphatic form) I-tense marker *did it*', more than it does the English pattern of personal pronoun + intensive/emphatic personal pronoun + predicate as manifested in, e.g., 'I myself *did it*'.

2.7. VERBS (6.)

2.7.1. The Use of the Predicate Marker (6.0.3.)

It [the predicate marker] is always used between a subject and predicate when the subject is a noun or the third person singular or plural personal pronoun. [e.g.] *San i lait* 'The sun shines', *Em i lukim mi* 'He sees me', *Ol i go long ples* 'They went home'. It is usually used between subject and predicate when the subject is either the first person plural (exclusive) or the second person plural personal pronoun. e.g. *Mipela (i) kam nau* 'We are coming now', *Yupela (i) stap we?* 'Where are you people?'. It is never used if the subject is the first or second person singular of the personal pronoun. e.g. *Mi no save* 'I don't know', *Yu laikim wanem?* 'What do you want?'.

The Raga pattern has some resemblance to that of TP here in that after a singular noun subject or after the zero allomorph of the 3rd person singular tense marker linked pronoun, the long allomorph of the appropriate tense marker is used, e.g. *boe Ø-nu hae* 'pig (it) went up', and *Ø-nu hae* 'he/she/it went up'.

According to Mihalic "The constant recurrence of the form 'i' between the subject and predicate in Melanesian Pidgin is a feature unknown in European grammar. It is typically Melanesian." (1971:23). He also quotes Wurm as follows "'The predicate marker /i/ is derived from an Austronesian particle, and its usage in Pidgin corresponds largely to that of this particle in the Austronesian languages.'" (1971:24). There would seem to be no case for the derivation of this TP feature from English, but the case for an EAN derivation has not yet been adequately documented.⁷

2.7.2. The Transitive Suffix (6.1.1.1. and 6.1.1.2.)

"Any verb ending in the suffix *-im* is transitive and has a direct object, e.g. *bihainim mi* 'to follow me', *kukim kaikai* 'to cook food'."

The form of the TP transitive suffix *-im* is derived from English, but there is no model in English for the construction verb base + transitive marker + object. This construction is present in many EAN languages. Raga does not provide an example, but another New Hebridean language, Nguna⁸, has *munu-gi* a 'drink (transitive suffix) it' (Schütz 1969:31, 36).

"Any transitive verb not ending in the suffix *-im* requires *long* before its object, e.g. *lukluk (long)* 'to look at', *driman (long)* 'to dream about'."

Mihalic's examples here are of TP verbs which may take an indirect object. The form of the TP indirect object marker long is derived from English, but in this case there are models for the TP construction verb base + indirect object marker + object in both English, e.g. '*they look at John*', and EAN, e.g. Raga ra-n manu-hi Pita '*they (tense marker) laugh-at Peter*'.

2.7.3. Time Relation (6.4.)

"Verbs have no real tense forms in Melanesian Pidgin. Time relation outside of the present is expressed with the help of adverbial modifiers." Another description of TP tense-marking is:- "Verbs in Pidgin can refer to present, past or future actions unless they occur with adverbs....or with special auxiliary verbs or particles to indicate the time (or tense) of the action and/or the nature (or aspect) of it" (Dutton 1973:9).

An integral part of tense-marking in English is modification of the base form of the verb, either by suffixation ('-ed, -ing') or radical change of shape (e.g. '*see*' > '*saw*'). Tense-marking in TP does not entail any modification of the verb base. Tense-marking in Raga does not entail modification of the verb base by suffixation, nor does it entail radical alteration to the shape of the base.⁹

2.8. REDUPLICATION¹⁰

The main functions of reduplication in TP are:- intensification (e.g. bruk-bruk-im '*to break into little bits*'), duration (e.g. kaunim kaunim '*to count on and on*'), and diversity (e.g. siot i gat kala kala '*the shirt has all sorts of colours*'). It can also indicate plurality (e.g. dispela tumbuna tumbuna, em tupela tumbuna '*those ancestors, those two ancestors*') and reciprocity (e.g. ol i helpim helpim '*they help each other*'). (Mühlhäusler 1975a:203-9). Reduplication with these kinds of function is widely manifested in EAN languages, whereas it is not so manifested in English.

Mühlhäusler suggests (1975a:210)

at least three possible answers to the question of where the reduplications in Pidgin originate. Firstly, the patterns found in the native language which has influenced other parts of pidgin grammar and lexicon most, namely Kuanua, were taken over into Pidgin. This answer reflects the substratum theory. Secondly, reduplication is a universal feature of all pidgins and creoles and can be traced back to Portuguese Pidgin. This answer reflects the relexification theory. Thirdly, reduplication is a universal of languages which is bound to appear wherever a pidgin language originates. This answer reflects the universals of pidgin theory.

A fourth possibility is that the reduplication in TP derives primarily from a general EAN model rather than from Kuanua. This possibility is not incompatible with reinforcement from Kuanua after the pattern had developed during the period in which Kuanua was only one of several EAN languages (drawn from the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands and the Bismarck Archipelago) which influenced the seminal synthesising of TP syntax.

3. CONCLUSION

On the basis of an exploratory and by no means exhaustive consideration of TP syntax it has here been suggested that a significant proportion of the structural features of that syntax is more plausibly derivable from an EAN model rather than from English. This lends support to Mühlhäusler's suggestion (1975b) as to the time and place of occurrence of the seminal synthesising of the syntax of what was to become TP. At the same time it attributes more significance than he does to the pan-EAN model. It is recognised that testing over a wider range of TP syntax and with an adequate sample of the relevant EAN languages (including Kuanua) is necessary before a definitive (rather than an heuristic) statement can be made.

N O T E S

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1978 conference of the Linguistic Society of Australia.

2. The following figures for the place of origin of the plantation labour force in German Samoa have been extracted from Mühlhäusler 1975b:9:-

Year of Arrival	Total	Gilbert & Kingsmill	New Hebrides	Solomon Islands	New Britain & New Ireland
1878	272	189	83	-	-
1879	718	115	570	-	33
1880	535	300	-	226	9
1881	378	-	179	199	-
1882	264	8	153	-	103
1883	355	2	29	37	287
1884	245	29	-	-	216
mid-1885	512	124	187	156	45

3. Raga is spoken today by about 2600 people, most of whom live in the northern part of Pentecost Island. The data come from my own field-notes.

4. Mihalic's equating of *wanpela* with the English indefinite article is suspect, especially when one takes into account his primary gloss of 'one' for *wanpela* (1971:201).

5. Some non-standard varieties of English do have this construction.

6. The 'thou/you' distinction had largely disappeared from English before it could have had an effect on TP.

7. Corne (1974-75:68-73) on 'the mysterious i in Seychelles and Reunion Creole' describes a situation worth comparing with that in TP.
8. Ngunu is representative of a set of dialects spoken on North Efate and some adjacent small islands in the Central New Hebrides.
9. Some Raga verb bases do have morpho-phonemic variation of initial consonant as a 'fossilised' tense-marking feature.
10. The terminology and examples in this section are from Mühlhäusler, not Mihalic.

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