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PAPERS IN PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS No. 3

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CONTRIBUTIONS BY

Lois Carrington
Jeff Siegel
Peter Mühlhäusler
Linda Simons
Alan Baxter
Joyce Hudson
Alan Rumsey
Ann Chowning

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

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The Secretary
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
The Australian National University
G.P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2601
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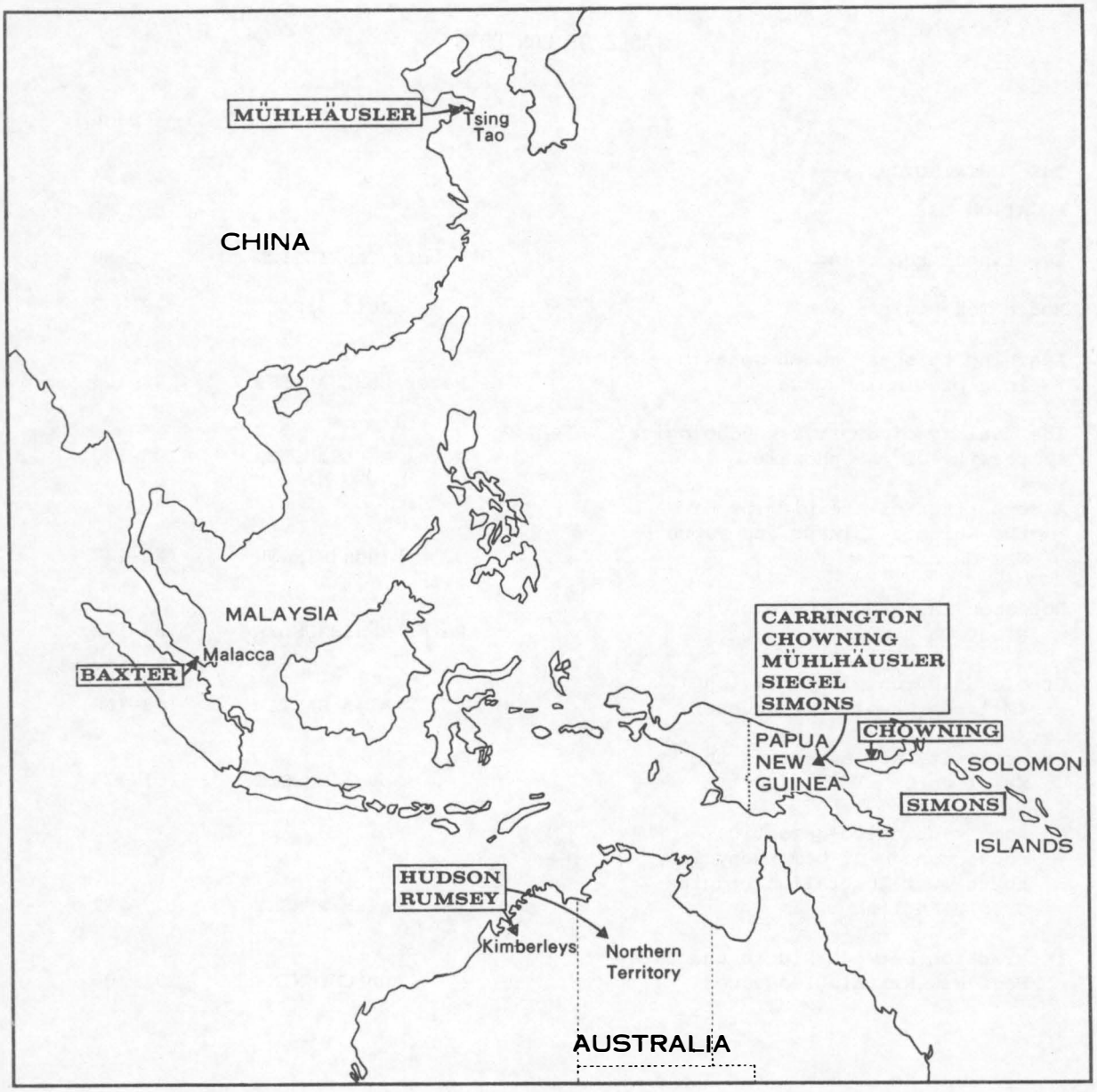
TABLE OF CONTENTS

		page
THE CONTRIBUTORS		v
LOCATION MAP		vi
Eyewitness reporting	Lois CARRINGTON	1-80
Media Tok Pisin	Jeff SIEGEL	81-92
Learning to speak about speaking in a pidgin language	Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER	93-103
The reality of Sapir's psychological reality of the phoneme	Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER	105-120
A comparison of the pidgins of the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea	Linda SIMONS	121-137
Notes on the Pidgin German of Kiautschou	Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER	139-142
Creole Universals and Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese)	Alan BAXTER	143-160
Transitivity and aspect in the Kriol verb	Joyce HUDSON	161-176
On some syntactico-semantic consequences of homophony in north-west Australian Pidgin/ Creole English	Alan RUMSEY	177-189
Interaction between Pidgin and three West New Britain languages	Ann CHOWNING	191-206



Location of language areas referred to by the authors

THE CONTRIBUTORS

ALAN BAXTER is a research scholar in the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

LOIS CARRINGTON has had wide experience in teaching English to non-native speakers, in Australia, overseas, and especially in Papua New Guinea. She is now employed in research work in linguistics at the Australian National University, Canberra.

ANN CHOWNING is Professor of Anthropology at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand; in addition to West New Britain, she has done fieldwork with the Molima of Fergusson Island, Milne Bay Province.

JOYCE HUDSON is working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch. She has worked extensively in the Fitzroy Crossing area of the southern Kimberleys in Western Australia, in Walmajarri and Gooniyandi, as well as in Kriol.

PETER MÜHLHÄUSLER is the University Lecturer in General Linguistics at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Linacre College, Oxford.

ALAN RUMSEY is a lecturer in the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney.

LINDA SIMONS is a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics working in Malaita, Solomon Islands, with the Solomon Islands Translation Advisory Group.

JEFF SIEGEL is a research scholar in the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

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EYEWITNESS REPORTING

Lois Carrington

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The body of data presented and described in this paper is a collection of eyewitness reports in Tok Pisin (widely referred to in the past as New Guinea Pidgin and, by the subjects themselves, also called Pidgin), henceforth TP. The reports were written during class training by post-secondary students at the Administrative College[1] in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, during 1973.

The circumstances of the writing and collection of the data require some explanation. To those working intensively in the field of applied linguistics it was apparent, in the years immediately before Independence, that studies of TP already made, by Hall (for instance 1943, 1955, 1959), Wurm (1966, 1969 and 1971, to single out a few), Laycock (1966, 1969, 1970b and elsewhere), Murphy (1966), Mihalic (1971) and others were forerunners of a necessarily accelerated study of the areal development of TP, historically and functionally (cf. Mühlhäusler, 1983a "Learning to speak about speaking in pidgin language", this volume, pp. 93-103) which is, nearly a decade later, still of vital concern, and to serve which still more data are needed. Thus, when the opportunity arose to collect this material it was taken.[2]

1.1 The nature of the reporters

The value of the data lies principally in that it was accumulated from a largely homogeneous group of 160 people representing all but one of the main areas of Papua New Guinea, all within a narrow age range, all with much the same educational level and, more interesting, all with an orientation towards a certain type of employment within the community. However, their time as middle to senior level professional public servants was, in 1973, still in the future, and all but a handful were innocent of any 'register' which might be associated with the speech of such professionals (see Mühlhäusler 1979a:161f). Their homogeneity lay not in that, but rather in the level of education obtained, and their ranking within that level: these were not the 'cream' who were encouraged to go on to senior High School and thence to university, but the next rank of students,[3] who seemed, then, to find their way to agricultural colleges, local government college, forestry colleges, or to the Administrative College (or its twin training institution, ASOPA: the Australian School of Pacific Affairs in Mosman, Sydney).

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The Administrative College's role, from the early 1960s on, in training Papua New Guineans for positions of responsibility in the rapidly localising Public Service of the country has been well outlined in prospectuses and other publications. Its founding Principal, David Chenoweth, saw the College as

> a setting for the training and personal development of the young men and women who will be making a significant contribution to the development of the nation of Papua New Guinea, by going into its Public Service and working together, with a mutual knowledge and understanding gained through being at the training centre and engaging in co-operative work there ... the idea being ... to encourage the development of alert, alive, and responsible Papuan and New Guinean public servants (personal communication, 1970).

There were various categories of student: those on a two-year Diploma in Administration course, various short-term management trainees, senior Local Court Magistrate trainees, junior library officers, but the greater part of those at the Administrative College spent three-quarters of a year working towards a Public Service Higher Certificate, at approximately matriculation standard. In 1973, as in previous years, over one hundred young people already serving in Papua New Guinea government departments took their PSHC course at ASOPA in Sydney, whilst 180, mainly school leavers, took theirs at the Administrative College.

1.2 The Public Service Higher Certificate trainees

These 180 trainees were destined for government service as patrol officers, welfare workers, librarians, local government officers, local court magistrates, DIES[4] extension officers and police prosecutors. They represented 17 of the then existing Districts (few Southern Highlanders had yet reached secondary level, much less post-secondary, in education); most had completed Form IV[5] in 1972, generally at a school in the home area. Some had completed Form IV in 1971 and had then undertaken a year's field training before coming to the Administrative College. A few entered training from the work force: most of these were trainee Local Court Magistrates, for whom a minimum age of 23 was set to begin the second year of their training (i.e., for these people, in 1974).

1.3 Course components

In addition to theory and practical training for their own vocation, the students took Social Science, Law or Government Accounting (whichever was the more appropriate), and Communication Skills: this included six hours a week of work in writing and comprehension of written English, and two hours a week of practical skills, which included training in public speaking, office procedures, the nature of Public Service correspondence, drafting of telegrams, basic reporting techniques, the use of the telephone (and of the telephone directory!), writing and transmission of messages by radio telephone (R/T), keeping of minutes of meetings, microphone technique, and so on. The oral/aural work at the same time developed an awareness of the student's own problems in pronunciation, and his ability to respond to others'; this was reinforced by occasional practice in the language laboratory.

Of most aspects of the work in practical skills little need be explained outside of an occasional endnote to the data, except where the training methods were such that phrases in the data require that they receive some comment. Telephone training and more especially R/T training will be described to clarify the action of the October reports, for, whereas the 'real situation' introduced in June is clear in terms both of general familiarity with office routine and of brief notes on training (see endnotes), in October a situation real enough in terms of communication experience in Papua New Guinea and elsewhere was adapted or interpreted in a way sufficiently novel to require explanation.

1.4 Radio Telephone training

Before 1972 R/T training had not been undertaken at the College, except insofar as the way was paved by work on drafting of telegrams, use of the telephone, etc. Trainee Patrol Officers (TPOs) were afforded opportunities for formal practice during their four months in the Department of District Administration (DDA) training school at Boroko in the following year, their training or practice being carried out on full-sized sets of the kind found in outstation offices.[6] The trainees there were able to spend only minimal time at work on the set, with no opportunity for spare-time practice; they mostly suffered an initial intimidation in front of the set, and by the end of this second and final leg of the course for TPOs, most were still taking 15-20 minutes to send a brief message.

In 1972 I suggested to DDA training officers that I might extend my course content to provide introductory R/T training, using small portable transceivers (or walkie-talkies) of short range but high quality. Such transceivers were used a little by police and ambulance workers in Papua New Guinea, but were almost entirely unknown to the public. Thus they presented themselves as an ideal training device, as none of the students had ever used such equipment before (I doubt if effective use could be made of transceivers today!). This was the same factor which made closed-circuit television[7] a remarkably good device for training in public speaking - it was novel, attention-holding, and made its point ten times as fast as any more usual classroom technique.

Discussion with the DDA men and with students experienced in R/T operation led to the compiling of training tapes for introductory listening and message-taking, to the design of practice exercises, and to the purchase by the College for my use of four transceivers.

It was of course necessary for these to be licensed as 'stations'. Such was the novelty of 'walkie-talkie' equipment in the country, however, that my licence numbers were only 11, 12, 13 and 14! But we needed to create realism, and so the stations were dubbed, for that reason, Yambo (TP for guava) Kasang (peanut), Kapiak (breadfruit), and Mausgras (moustache), names which students suggested for convenience, because there were no actual stations bearing these names, and because it was felt that pretty well any Tok Pisin speaker anywhere in the country should be familiar with these terms (but see text note 1.0!). Our use of the sets was subject to normal monitoring procedures, and awareness of this lent desirable formality to student practice sessions. As well as that, because nobody had ever taught R/T techniques this way previously, we came in for quite a deal more monitoring; the Posts & Telegraphs College, to name one, later adopted my system. The students well knew that their transmissions were on open air, as they would be in genuine situations, and that their efforts were being listened to with interest - it all helped to keep us on the rails.

Learning to operate the little sets took a very short time; students worked in pairs, with one perhaps indoors, say in the office adjacent to our classroom, the other out of sight on the lawn beyond the building. Prepared sets of graded cards were used, these bearing realistic messages designed to provide practice in R/T style, practical abbreviation of information, and mastering of pronunciation techniques. The message cards were in English, but there was no ban on using TP or any other language to get the message accross efficiently. What was written, at the receiving end, was later checked against checker cards kept in the classroom. As far as possible, wantoks (those with a common mother tongue) were discouraged from practising in pairs. This applied also to telephone practice.

1.5 Telephone training

A word perhaps needs to be said on telephone training for, as already noted, the 'situation' in the June reports is clear but for a brief explanation, which is that the training equipment, here, consisted of five sets of field (or magnetic) telephones, which were rigged in the classroom and two adjacent rooms. It is probable that most readers are familiar with field telephones, which require a handle to be turned vigorously to ring the bell of the set at the other end of the wire. (It was the job of one student in the group, primed beforehand, to ring the bell at the beginning of the June scenario.) Again, sets of cards were available giving guidelines on information to seek and obtain by telephone. They all had relevance to the forthcoming working world of the trainees. Checker booklets were available, so that the telephone users, also, could verify that what they had taken down was largely correct. This and R/T practice could be carried out during class time, as an alternative to other excercises (composing telegrams, for instance) and the facilities were made accessible at other hours when students had free time. It may be worth noting that not only were the students completely unfamiliar with the use of R/T sets, when they entered the College, but the vast majority of them had never actually handled a telephone.[8] Hence it was a matter of training them in basic telephone techniques to begin with. Material from the Department of Posts & Telegraphs Training Centre, some from Christine Kaputin at ASOPA, and some from Jitka Mulqueeny who taught Communication Skills to the magistrate trainees, supplemented my own.

Describing these activities at length has been done not only to explain the relationship of trainees to equipment, to techniques and to their future involvement with the use of such apparatus, but also to point up that all of them were entirely familiar with telephone and R/T practice and so situations involving use of the equipment were something they were accustomed to, and could write about with ease. As well as this, it should be appreciated that whilst as much time as possible for practice was allowed, it spread quite thinly among 180 people, and so the sets retained their desirability and remained attention claimers. This needs to be taken into account when reading the reports.

2.0 TRAINING IN REPORTING

2.1 Preliminaries

As time was so precious, streamlining in teaching and acquiring these skills was mandatory. Much use was made of the wallboard, for example in the presentation of the vocabulary of reporting; in essence, grammar as such was not taught in the course, except as it was essential for clarity in reporting, and this little was set out on charts. Time was allowed for study of the wall charts, then students were given sheets of exercises, with examples of this kind:

(a) Peter said, "Don't put the kaukau into this basket."
with space for a report such as:
Peter said not to put the kaukau into that basket. or:

(b) "Sergeant Poro interviewed our witness two days ago."
with space for a report such as:
Sergeant Poro had interviewed their witness two days before. or:
The witness had been interviewed two days before by Sergeant Poro.

Complexities were avoided, and clarity could always be checked over with your neighbour.

2.2 Oral reporting

Then a start was made on simple oral reporting. Some, of course, were at home with the technique, depending on school training as well as on fluency generally acquired. To give an example of what was done, let us take photograph description. The equipment was two sets of photographs, fairly detailed, often but not necessarily of a Papua New Guinean subject, such as a sawmill, a pig outside a mountain village, an R/T operator; the size averaged 8"x10" (20x25 cm). One set was mounted individually onto card, the other, in groups of five (we needed 30 all told) onto sheets of card. A speaker was sent outside for a minute to study his photograph, which he surrendered on re-entering. In the meantime the class had had an opportunity to look at the set on the sheet of card, to note main features which should be recalled from the photograph. The class assessed him on his 60-second description, for accuracy, fluency, stance, etc. This was a valuable exercise which got everyone onto his feet well within the 55-minute class period, and gave us all a lot of lively amusement.

Most of the College students, it should perhaps be emphasised, had spent at least four years in a boarding school, getting home to their villages infrequently,[9] and certainly having little if any opportunity for acquaintance with towns, especially such trappings of the functioning world as telephones, typewriters or filing systems. This meant that their formal education was largely a thing of the school world, which needed to be borne in mind when designing the training units, equally along with the uses to which their training would be put in the future: for most of them, the functioning world would be at best a very small town, and for many it would be a government outstation. So what was emphasised in training, and the type of practice provided, was ever dictated by these considerations.

2.3 Written reporting

Following oral reporting in turn came written reporting. All were aware that this would become a feature of their working lives. Few, at least in the next few years, would be expected to produce lengthy formal reports, but all would constantly be expected to produce periodic reports to superiors and associates in other government concerns (few, incidentally, would have either typist or typewriter: handwritten reports in a pen-carbon book would be required from most). Also, because of their position in the community, they would frequently be called upon to act as witnesses in hearings and court cases, to report to authority on events witnessed where theirs might well be the only available testimony of a trained observer.

The point was well taken by all that some skill in eyewitness reporting, and indeed the ability to detect that skill in others, would be essential in their future occupations. So this unit of the year's work was taken on with gusto, as had been the description of photographs earlier on.

It is not the purpose of this paper to comment in detail on the accuracy of the reporting, nor yet on *what* these students recalled as salient points. The literature on the process of recall was borne in mind when devising the exercises. What was said is of concern here only insofar as it expresses a reaction to visual/verbal stimulus in terms of language use. That the quality of reporting declines as fluency in the use of the language declines (see section 4.0) may easily be seen: it is sufficient to say that students within the range of higher numbers included many high achievers, both while at the College and subsequently in the field. Brief or incomplete reports (113O, 118J, 124O, 135O, for instance) provide examples to bear this out.

3.0 EYEWITNESS REPORTING

3.1 Method and attitudes

To make the most effective use of knowledge, to reinforce previous training units, and to provide all groups with the same stimulus to learn as had the units described already, I devised a series of brief 'real situations', to be spread over six months. As it turned out, there was a burst of eyewitness reporting in May-July, and another in September-October. The content of each 'situation', or scenario, was appropriate to units of training then being covered.

Forms were prepared (pages 10 and 11) to be distributed and headed up with course number (we never used actual names, as frequently work was exchanged around within or between groups for assessment) and date, before the viewing/ writing was done. Afterwards, these were either collected to be marked and returned at the next class session for inclusion in the student's Training File (see note 14.J), or else - more frequently - were retained for personal checking from a model on the wallboard. Writing was generally done in English, except for these two occasions. We had not been restricting ourselves to English in other aspects of the training, it being an understood thing that *communication* in any language, be it English, or Tok Pisin, or any other of the hundreds of Papua New Guinea languages which might be used, was what mattered. All were sensible of the growing importance of TP in their country, and most welcomed an opportunity to use it in an on-duty situation. Those who spoke little or no TP in February had perforce to learn during the course of the year (these were still the days before provincial government, when a young officer might expect

— and indeed was almost certain — to be sent anywhere in the country except his own home ground).[10] That progress was made is apparent from some of the reports bearing higher serial numbers. See Carrington 1977 for further remarks on attitudes towards the acquisition of TP by 'non-speakers'; see also section 4.3 for additional comment.

However, what is important here is to stress that reporting was an integral part of training, and that it was *the ability to make a brief, accurate report* which was the goal, with acceptable use of the reporting language as a very secondary goal, and that people were *not* principally concerned, here, with writing in Tok Pisin. Hence what was written down was in the subject's 'usual, everyday' language, and not a 'dressed-up' version; that is, their Tok Pisin was not conscious or contrived writing, and there was no suggestion of producing for a public - none of us knew that these exercises would ever get any further than the students' own class files, until I asked if I might have then at the very end of the year.

3.2 The scenario

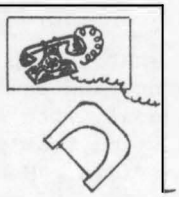
As there were six classes, of about thirty students each (three for TPOs or Trainee Patrol Officers, one for LCMs or Local Court Magistrate trainees, one for Librarians and one for Community Development Officers, i.e. social workers), it was essential that the small scenario was played exactly the same to each group. So, the whole series was plotted at once, stepped out and sketched in true Savoy Opera style towards perfection of staging. It was important to wear the same pair of shoes three days running, to carry the same files in the same colour order, and to rehearse the scene so thoroughly beforehand that picking up the transceiver the right way round became automatic. It was important in October that the transceiver lying on the table really *was* Yambo, just as it was important in June that the props were arranged in exactly the same way. (For one thing, there was never the *time* to prepare six lots of checkers, and there was ever the need for parallel assessment ...). Again, it needs to be realised that because this was done, the data have great reliability.

Once the reporting forms had been distributed and headed, they remained on the desks while the students having noted the indicated limits of the action gathered at the front of the room, sitting, standing, or perched high on the desks, so that all could see. They were relaxed but alert. All understood the convention that the action occurred within the words GO and STOP (very few, as may be seen, included the words or any action which happened outside them). It should be noted that when the June scenario began, I was already sitting down; in October, I was standing and then sat down. At STOP, there was a scuttle for desks and papers; a minute went on brief notemaking, then four on the report itself (see pages 10 and 11).

3.3 Checking the report

I had made a set of instruction cards for myself (see the diagram below) from which were prepared wallboard 'checkers'; these were pinned up once all six groups had completed the exercise, along with, sometimes, four or five students' reports which made good models in various ways. Students then checked their own versions for accuracy.

My own instruction card for the June reports looked like this:



EYEWITNESS REPORT NINE to be done in Pidgin

@ - shoes under chair (left), seven files on the table, telephone; ashtray on the table.

Sitting at phone. GO @ (it rings). Pick up (r.h.) "District Office" ..... "All right, I'll come straight away". Hang up.

Walk to table. Pick up (r.h.) three files, put one down (l.h.), put ashtray (from rt) on top of it. Look around for shoes (detailed look). Find them under the chair (left). Put them on. Go out with the two files (north door). STOP

@ Instruction: When I say GO, ring! Then watch.

The wallboard 'checker' for this report was, of course, in Tok Pisin.

Misis C. em i sindaun klostu long telefon. Telefon i krai. Mrs C. i tok "District Office" na tok "Orait bai mi kam nau tasol." Em i go long tebel, nau i kisim tripela fail (buk, pepa). Em i troimwe wanpela, nau i putim wanpela astre antap long en. Em lukluk raun long rum - em i painim siu (slipa) aninit long sia. Em putim siu long lek bilong en, nau wokabaut i go long doa, wantaim tupela fail long han bilong en. [Translation courtesy my Enga office-mate]

There seems no need to include a sketch plan for October: my chair faced the group, I crossed my right knee over my left, removed the shoe with my left hand, dropping the shoe (the same white leather sandal as before) to the floor.

X (the fetcher of Yambo)[11] was primed and ready at a desk at the front, where lay the transceiver Yambo. I said "Bring me Yambo, please." X did, then returned to his/her place to observe the rest of the action. Raising the antenna and rotating the 'on' switch were done with the left hand, pressing the 'speak' button with the right hand, in which the set was held.

The wallboard checker which I retain for the October exercise is in English — when the exercises were designed there was no plan to write this time in Tok Pisin. It read:

> GO Mrs C sat down on a/the chair*, took off her right shoe/ sandal, then asked X to bring her Yambo+. X got up, fetched Yambo, took it to Mrs C and returned to his place. Mrs C said "Thank you." Mrs C put up the antenna and switched on the set. Then she said "Kasang from Yambo. Kasang from Yambo. I have two messages for you." STOP
>
> * You could insert: crossed her legs/crossed her right leg over the left one.
>
> + You could have: wireless/wireless set Yambo.

This version was wallboarded, along with a typed copy of student No.2's report, thus:

> HERE IS A VERSION IN PIDGIN. YOURS WILL PROBABLY BE DIFFERENT! THAT'S ALL RIGHT - THERE ARE MANY ACCEPTABLE WAYS OF REPORTING IN PIDGIN. ALL THAT MATTERS TO US IS THAT THE FACTS ARE ACCURATE!
>
> Misis Carrington i sindaun long sia. Em putim wanpela lek antap long wanpela na rausim su long rait lek putim i stap long flo. Em tok i spik, Bringim Yambo i kam. Wanpela boi harim na igo kisim i kam givim em. Misis i traim tok tok ken i spik long redio walis olsem: "Kasan mi Yambo salim". Tupela taim em i tok. Mi gat tupela tok tok long yu.

LC/73/15 52

EYEWITNESS REPORTING DATE 4/6/73 NUMBER 9

Observe and listen. Confine this to what occurs between GO and STOP.
Immediately after STOP, make abbreviated notes, to get the events in order. (about 30 secs)
Then write your report - about four minutes - remembering to

- be selective
- include all the Main Points
- largely omit all the less important detail
- be accurate, paying attention to sequence, and to tenses, pronouns, etc.

ABBREVIATED NOTES HERE: L.C. St → ch.
↓
pl rg - pkd →
↓
Spk → t cmg - St - awy.
↓
Std u - Sto - sh → wkd - t - dr.

REPORT HERE:

Mrs. Carrington i sindaun long sia na telepon i ring. Em i holim risiva na i toktok long man em i bin ring. Mrs. Carrington i tok, District Office, "Orait bai mi kam stret awei" Bihain em i kirap long sia na i lukluk long ol fail. Em i kisim namba wan file, namba tu na namba tri. Bihain em i putim bek nambatu fail na i lukautim su blong em. Em i lukluk nambaut na i painim aninit long wanpela sia. Em i putim long lek blong em, na i karim ol fail (tupela) na i wokakabaut i go long dua. Em i opim dua na i go arasait.

THE JUNE REPORT (SEE NUMBER 90)

LC/73/28

EYEWITNESS REPORTING

Observe and listen. Confine this to what occurs between GO and STOP. Immediately after STOP, make abbreviated notes, as you would in the field, to get the events in order, and to note correctly what took place.

Then write your report, in clear concise English, remembering to

- be selective
- include all the Main Points
- largely omit all the less important detail
- be accurate, paying attention to sequence, and to tenses, pronouns [illegible]

ABBREVIATED NOTES HERE:

Fm wt Go St down tok Right/Shree off Luke beg. Yambo. Mak go Turn volume on Kasang fm Yambo 2 mages 4 U.

REPORT HERE:

Mrs. Carrington i sitdaun long sia na i rausim su long rait lek bilongem. Bihain em i tokim Luke long bringim Yambo. Taim em i kisim Yambo, em i tok Tenkiu long Luke. Em i tanim Yambo na i singautim Kasang. Em i tokim Kasang igat tupela telegram bilongem.

THE OCTOBER REPORT (SEE NUMBER 157)

Quite apart from looking through whatever was wallboarded, many students conferred with one another, reading through others' reports, discussing points. It seems obvious, in terms of what happened around the College in the way of language-swapping sessions at lunchtime, etc., that there *must* have been debates and discussions about 'correct' Tok Pisin. I cannot remember. I do, however, recall clearly the debates over language use when, a year or two before this, we had wallboarded traditional songs and poems both in one's own *tok ples* and in one's own literal English translation! And, again, there is the evidence that the Papuan-born *were* learning TP .....

3.4 Collecting the data

The data were collected towards the end of the course, from students in their final week of lectures. There was no thought, as I said, at the time of writing of their ever being anything more than classroom exercises in eyewitness reporting. Nonetheless they were contributed most willingly when I explained their potential usefulness in the future study of TP.

Of the original 180 course members, a few had left before time; another few were absent at the time of collection; yet a few more declined to contribute, wishing to keep their Training Files intact. Two of the six classes, alas, had disbanded (one of these had departed early for fieldwork) before I was able to approach them to contribute their June reports. So, what we have in hand is 160 reports written in October, plus all I could collect, just over 80, of the June reports from the same people in the four classes who were still available when — almost too late — the thought occurred to me to do so. There is, nonetheless, sufficient June data for it to be meaningful, be it considered separately or in conjunction with the later material. The files lay by me for some time, as other preoccupations obtruded. Peter Mühlhäusler and Stephen Wurm, who had used the data some time ago, suggested publication, so at last they appear in this volume. The original handwritten reports have been checked carefully to see that reproduction, particularly of spelling, is entirely accurate. They are presented here in a way which makes for convenient reference. Translation, report by report, was not considered necessary: the checkers are there, and notes to the text provide elaboration of any obscure points. May it be said, however, that the writer sees remaining no 'unsolved problems' and each reporter's meaning appears completely clear.

One perceives that a valuable next step will be to contact, after ten years, as many of the report writers as can be found (contacts maintained suggest that a gratifyingly high proportion are still traceable), and to obtain from them brief details of their careers over that period, and then to ask them to perform a short but specific writing task, in TP. I hope to present the results of this exercise in a future paper.

4.0 THE WRITING IN THE REPORTS

Before, at last, setting out the data, it seems advisable to comment on some vital aspects of them, aspects which are never far from mind in any consideration of the future (or, for that matter, the past) of TP. A most fruitful use to which these data may be put, one which can only increase in urgency as literacy develops and as geographical needs become more demanding in Papua New Guinea, is to provide evidence to substantiate analyses of influences and effectiveness of policies, in the matter of orthography.

4.1 Influences

The history of writing systems in TP — and indeed in other Papua New Guinea languages, for the two inevitably must be considered together — which were largely developed by the missions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, together with later attempts to standardise spelling, have been described (Wurm forthcoming (MS 1983); Laycock 1977b; Siegel 1981; Piniau 1975, and others) and need little further comment here. Readers wishing to study further the 'history' of TP orthography might also look at Hall 1956, and especially Hall 1943, where his use of IPA phonetic symbols is quite reasonable: few people *could* read in TP in these times. Wurm (forthcoming) speaks of the complexities which have come to bear on the spelling of TP — a nice example in this data might be 18's ŋ; one might profitably follow the *outside* list, or that for *she sat down*. The examples which follow the text (section 7.0) are merely extracted raw data — a great deal, I hope, will be done with this material in the future, perhaps especially by Papua New Guinean linguists.

Two or three points deserve comment, over and above this: it would be useful to know who apart from some who had come to us from the work force, and perhaps some writers/receivers of letters home or who exchanged letters with age-mates who had already left school for employment, had ever *written* in TP, as opposed to reading. What was *read,* by this group and also by the rest? What was then available to be read has been well catalogued by Laycock (1977a, especially the bibliography) and others; one might note newspapers, literacy materials and especially, for many, bible selections, hymns and sermons in TP. There was almost certainly greater ease of access to TP written matter in most secondary schools than in most villages. Indeed, one noticed an abundance in College dormitories and recreation rooms! However, virtually no other overt use was made of TP within the College classrooms (except in the LCMs' mock court) one obvious reason being that there was so very little to read in TP which was relevant to a streamlined, high-level training course. As well as this, it was apparent to us all that it was necessary to undertake most training in English: apart from the more obvious reasons it was necessary just *because* English would be largely only a formal means of communication in their early working years in the remote areas: the students realised that they would rarely need the 'concert pitch' to which their English was tuned then, not until they moved up the line into senior positions, and for some of them the 1973 course would be the last bite of the educational cherry. Hence, as I remarked before, we realised the need to make every technique apply to communication at large, and not just in the English which was the vehicle of training.

As a last source of reading matter in TP, one cannot but mention exposure to the visual trappings of town and marketplace — the posters, the signs and the graffiti.

The next point to be noted here is that all writing in secondary school and, as just implied, within the College, was in *English*; as well, note that all of these people were fluent *writers*: despite any vagaries of English style, they could cope with the skill of producing written matter — otherwise, they would not have been admitted to the course. This has an important bearing upon the written TP, just as much, perhaps, as had their fluency in speaking TP. Many whose spoken TP was excellent (in that they communicated successfully on any number of levels, in more than one register) wrote comparatively poor TP in the reports, as this was perhaps a thing they had rarely if ever had to do — but even these people retained their ability to get the gist of the action down, in fairly literate TP.

One might seek, in comparing a June report with its opposite October report, an accretion of writing skill brought about by four months' *training*: this also needs to be considered. The factor of education had its importance.

This is probably best seen by comparing the TP written down in the reports with that in a letter written by a Highlands man with only two years' schooling, all in TP. He spoke no English, nor could he read it, and at the date of writing the letter (about November 1973) his comprehension of English was small. I have reproduced his spelling and punctuation as accurately as possible. Personal names are disguised, and writer's capitals (most of it) are presented in lower case to facilitate reading. He put a full stop after almost every word — these too have been omitted.

> Diar Carrington na yu tok long (W) na (W) em igo tok long (L) em sitilim $30 dorass em ino ken sipolim em mas gipim (W) na (W) em mas putm istap na mi ikam rukim dispera man em sitlim long faus bilong mi em ino gipim dispera man long taim mi ikam long kari em oresm na mi tok saw long yu Miss Carrington sapos sapera boi ikam long haus bilong me yu pera mas rausim ol (L) tu mi ino raiki em ikam silip long haus bilong mi em man bilong sitil em mi ino raiki em ikam silip long haus bilong mi na Misis Carrington mi bai ikam long Januar 14 de mi bai ikam sapos mi no hasiki yu long de na mi ikam em oresm na mi hasikim yu Misisi Carrington na mi raiki kisim meli bilong mi ikam daun mi asikim yu sapos yu raiki orait em mi ken kisim oli ikam sapos yu ino raiki orait em mi bai rusim oli na ikam na mi bai long sade 14 de. Tegiyou Misisi Carrington .... (T)

(Of course we 'raused' the light-fingered (L), and we welcomed the shy wife who arrived from the Highlands with (T) in January 1974, to become a beloved household member as he was.)

4.2 Punctuation

I have been — may I say punctilious? — in transcribing exactly the punctuation used in the handwritten reports. Allowing that these were written within four minutes from brief notes, and were not intended for the public eye, there is, it would seem, a paucity of punctuation marks, compared with, say, what was expected in their written work in English, and with what they found in material currently being read (everything from Patrol Reports to textbooks on development to daily papers to novels full of dialogue by African authors). Use of quotation marks is to be noted and, too, the instability of the use of capital initials for proper nouns.

4.3 Reports from the Papua-born

The case of the students native to Papua, more particularly its eastern half, deserves a few words. They had generally a poor command of TP, for historical reasons well known. Whilst ability to speak and write TP varied among the students from New Guinea side, with few exceptions (see reports by Tolai girls, for instance, and the notes to these and others) it outshone that of the Papuans. My 1977 paper, in which was described a 'crash course' in TP given to about 30 students at the Administrative College in 1971, explains

historical and current reasons why TP had not flourished as a lingua franca in Papua. Dutton's work (for instance Dutton 1973:xii-xiv, 1978) elaborates upon this.

The TP used in the reports by many of the Papuans needs to be read with these points in mind, including the reiterated conclusion (see Carrington 1977:750) that the age of prejudice against TP was almost over, the age of dissembling about one's capacity to speak and understand it, entirely so. Many (marked xNO) claimed not to be able to speak TP at all, several months before. Perforce, by October, they had learnt *some* from classmates, dormitory mates, and very occasional trips to town. But theirs was a pidgin Pidgin.

Some (for instance, 137) who had been brave enough to write in TP in June show that an improvement took place. But often, even when the forms of TP were used, the spelling remained English. A larger sample would be valuable, of course.

It may be interesting to conclude this section on orthography with a comment from Sam Piniau (1975:93):

> A man educated in English tends to introduce English concepts and expressions into his Pidgin whenever he has to write that language. This also gives rise to an incorrect orthography in his written Pidgin. He has been trained to *write* in English. The habits he has learned are naturally transferred to his written Pidgin.

While this is evident to a degree, the data here, examined in terms of what has already been said, tend to show that a man's *education* shows in his written TP, rather than his English, at least under the circumstances of writing that we had here. Doubtless, were my students to have been asked to write me a few hundred words, in TP, on management policy, or even on radio telephony, then Piniau's dicta would have proven quite correct.

5.0 THE DATA

5.1 Heading identification/information

Identification for each report is given thus:

A. (B). C. D/E.

F G H. I. J.

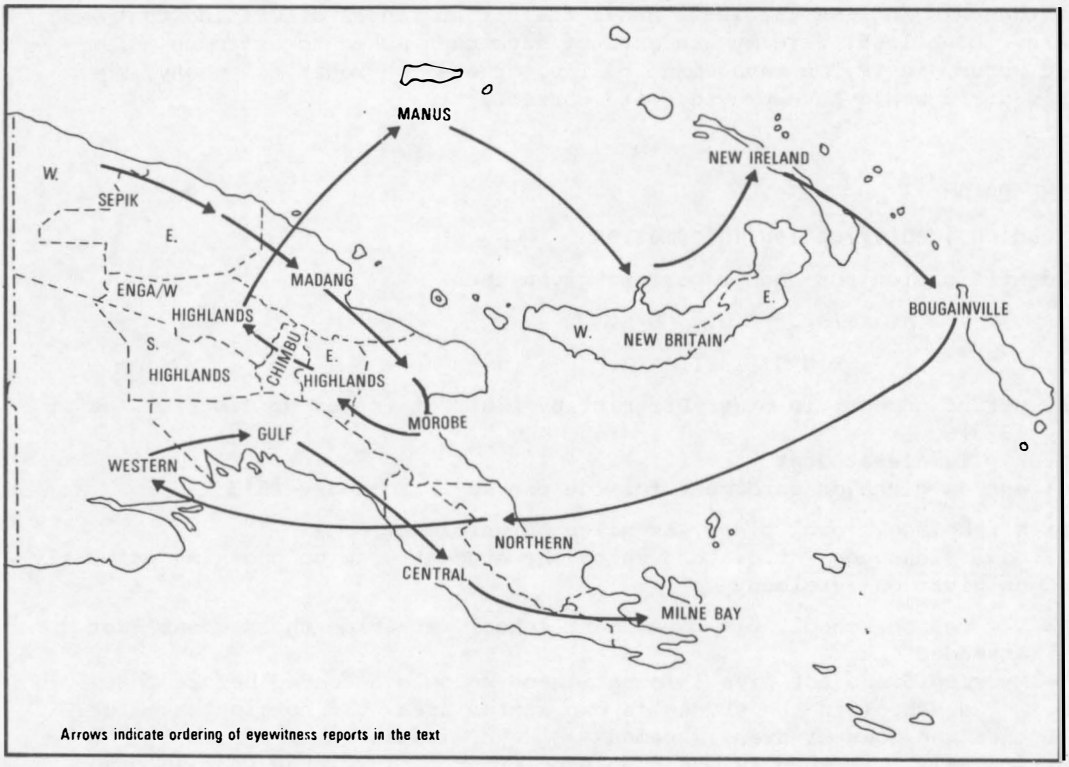
A: serial number, in order District by District (names of Districts as at 1973)
B: F = female student
C: age as given on enrolment for the course in February 1973
D: birthplace, 'own' place, as given on enrolment
E: 'own' language — i.e. that which the student grew up speaking primarily — as given on enrolment
F: † = church school, G = government school, at which the student last attended
My records do not give information on schools attended before that
G: Ω = a school in the student's own stated area. If not in that area, then the town or area is named
H: ∫ = 1972. If Form IV was completed prior to 1972, the year is given. Note that No.23 attained only Form III level

I: indicates employment history. FT 72 = Field Trainee in 1972; if outside the student's own area, and if known, the location is given. Teachers, officers, technicians, and the like are indicated as having professional training and employment, with years and location given as available.
= employment history, if any, not stated (for pre-∫s, only).

J: & = a member of one of the two groups who did not contribute their copies of the June report
x-abs = a member of one of the contributing groups who was absent either in June, or on the contributing day at the year's end, or who (a very few) elected not to contribute, wishing to keep his Training File intact
xNO = a student who claimed, on enrolment or at the time of reporting, to be a non Pidgin (i.e. Tok Pisin) speaker, or to be such a poor TP speaker as to be unwilling to report in TP.

5.2 Personal names and birthplaces

These are not supplied, by agreement at the time of contribution of the reports. The reports are instead allotted numbers. Any order might have done, but it seemed reasonable to follow a rough geographical order, so that the scheme begins with the Sepik Districts (1-16) (note again that the 1973 titles are retained), proceeding through Madang District (17-31), Morobe (32-39), Eastern Highlands (40-42), Chimbu (43-49), Enga/Western Highlands (50-65), Manus (66-72), New Britain (73-86), New Ireland (87-98), Bougainville (99-104), Northern (105-112), Western (113-116), Gulf (117-123), Central (124-129), Milne



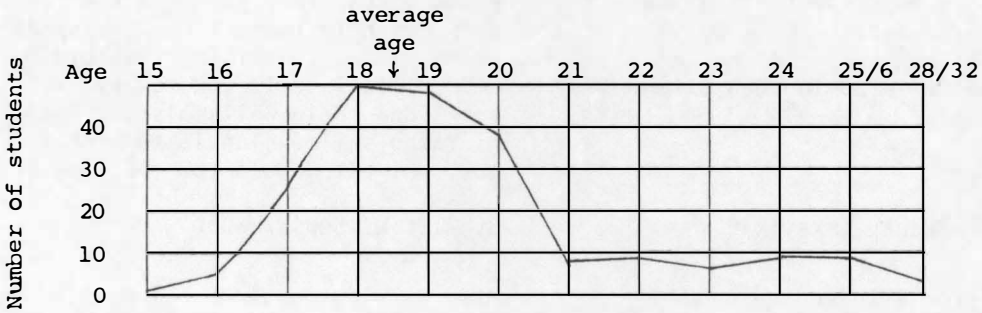
Map 1: Papua New Guinea: Administrative Districts as at 1973

Bay (130-140). There follow numbers 141-152 who came from assorted Districts, but who wrote (October only), for assorted reasons, in English. From 153 and 154 come two reports: they also wrote in English in October. The last six (155-160) fail the homogeneity requirement in that their authors were aged over 25 years; they are nonetheless well worth their inclusion perhaps as a 'control', as here we have six experienced professional workers with a notable range of standard in their Tok Pisin. One of these was a paramedical worker, three were teachers of varying rank, one was a fairly senior policeman, and the other was a public servant who had been in charge of an office: all except No.158 had moved about the country and so had a contact with varieties of TP.

5.3 Age of students

It is perhaps relevant, the more so for readers unfamiliar with Papua New Guinea's educational conditions, to provide this basic information:

Stated ages at entry to course, late February 1973, by 180 students



So that average age of the PSHC students at June was 19.76, and at October 20.01.

5.4 Language names

These are given as supplied on their enrolment forms by the students. Both the lecturer in charge of the language laboratory and I collected these, as we found it useful when setting reinforcement exercises in pronunciation to have an idea of each student's own language, or at least in general from which area he came. Where given language names differ from those in Wurm and Hattori's *Language atlas* (1981), these latter are supplied in parentheses following the headings in the June column. Where the identity of a language is doubtful, this too is indicated, as with numbers 14, 25, 29, and others. This seemed desirable in view of potential use in structural comparisons, mother tongue~TP.

5.5 Notes on the text

Explanation of some small points not already covered in course unit outlines — and of one quite lengthy one — given immediately after the text. A § in the space to the left of the October report directs the reader to a note, which is itself prefaced, for example, 29.J or 137.O. These notes are separate from the endnotes, of which there are a few, as well.

THE JUNE REPORTS

SEPIK

1. Olio (=Olo)

2. Lumi/Olo

Telepoun i rin na em i kisim na i toktok lon man lon nadapela end lon lain. Emi pisini toktok na i wokabaut i go lon teibol bilon, na kisim tiripela fails. Em i putim wan pela igo bek long trei na tupela i holim istap lon han bilon em. Emi lukau

3. W. Sepik/Wanap (=Kayik)

Mrs Carrington isindaun na phone ikarai em ikisim na itok tok na itok bai ikam long Distrik Office. Em i kirap, kisim fopela files tasol em i putim tupela igo bek. Em iwas long painim sandel bilong em. Em ilokim nau, iwokabaut igo, putim

4. W. Sepik/Miniden (=Kayik)

Misis Carrington, i sindaun long sia bilong em na telephone i ring. Em i bekim tok long telephone olsem "Bai em ikam". Wantu em kisim tufelo fail. bilong em na lukautim su bilong em aninit long Tebol tasol su ino stap. Em i lukautim, lukautim na las long en, em i findim ananit long wanpela tebol. Em i hepi moa na i putim long lek bilong em na em igo lukim dispelo man i bin kolim em long telephone bifor.

THE OCTOBER REPORTS

1. 19. Aitape/Olio
† Ω 71. FT 72 Wewak. &.

Mrs i sindan long sia na behind asikim K long kisim YAMPO. Na kisim long em. Taim em i kisim pinis em i kolim Kapiak na givim tufelo nius long em. Taim nius i pinis em tu i stop wok.

2. 17. Lumi/Olo
† Ω ∫.

Misis Carrington i sindaun long sia. Em putim wanpela lek antap long wanpela na rausim su long rait lek putim i stap long flo. Em tok i spik, Bringim Yambo i kam. Wanpela boi harim na igo kisim i kam givim em. Misis i traim tok tok ken i spik long redio walis olsem: "Kasan mi Yambo salim. Tupela taim em i tok. Mi gat tupela tok tok long yu.

3. 19. W. Sepik/Wanap.
† Ω ∫.

Mrs. Carrington sindaun long sia na em rausim su long rait leg bilong em. Pinis em tokim L brigim Yambo long mi plis, L kisim Yambo iko givim long em na em itok tenk yu long em tanim on na em itok Kasang from Yambo. Kasang from Yambo. You harim onokgat. na em itok mi gat tupela tok long tokim yu.

4. 18. W.Sepik/Miniden
† Ω ∫.

Misis Carrington i sindaun long sia na putim lek sut bilong em antap long lek kais na rausim su long lek sut bilong em long hand kais. Singaut long M long bringim Yambo igo long em. Bihain M i kirap long sia bilong em na ikisim antap long fom na karim igo na igivim misis. Na misis i holim long han kais. Bihain em i ring igo long Kapiak tupela taim bihain em i pinis

5. Aitape/Pidgin

Phone i rin. Mrs Carrinton kisim
a ie spik i tok Distrik Office. §
Pinis na em tok babiam em i go long §
Distrik Office strait. Em kirap
na wak aboat i go long pinim soe §
bilong em. Em werim na wak abut i
long door long

5. 17. Aitape/Pidgin
† Moresby ∫.

Mrs Carrington i sin daun na em i
rausim silipas bilong em. Behain
em i tokim W long kisim Ratio Yambo
na givim em. Em kisim na salem
tok long Kasun i tok em igat tupala
tok long salem long em.

6. 18. Yangoru/Arapesh
G Ω ∫. x-abs.

Mrs. Carrington sindaun long chair,
hapim onepela leg na putim antap
long narapela lag na lusim sue
bilong em. Taim em ilusim sue em
pinis i kolim M long kisim yambu
ikam long en Taim man ikisim yambo
ikam em i pulim wire igo antap na
putim on or switchim on na em itok
§ yambo kolim kasan. Na em itok em
igat tupela tok tok long en ne em
itok over.

7. Yangoru/Boiken

Mrs Carrington sindaun long sia
telepon i krai na emi tok halo Sab
District Ofis. Em tokim caller,
"Yes bai mi kam." Em kirap
wagabaut i kam long table kisim 3
pela fail na lukluk long graun
long atink em lusim wanfelo samnting. §
Em wakabaut i kam long big felo
tebol na painim slipes blong em stap
ananit, em putim long leg belong em
na wagabaut i go autsaid long
narofelo dua.

7. Yangoru/Boiken
G Ω ∫.

Misis Carrington sanap pinis na em
sindaun long sia na em rausim
wanpela shoe blong em. Emi tokim
M A long kisim walis i kam nam
blong em Yambo. Emi pulim ariel
i go antap pinis na opim. Emi
§ salim tok long Casan olsem mi gat
tupela tok tok blong yu.

8. 24. Yangoru/Sausa (=Boiken)
G Ω 67. prof trng and empl
Morobe. x-abs.

Mrs. Carryton isidaun long sia na
rausim su bilong em. Em itokim
L K long bringim "Yambo". L K
ibringim Yambo igo long em na em
itok tankyu na salim walis igo
§ long KASEM. Em itokim Kasem, em
igat tufela mesige or toktok
bilong em.

9. E. Sepik/"Middle Sepik Lang" (=Iatmul)

Pastaim em sindaun stap na telephone i ring na em i kisim na bekim. Sub-district offis orait baibai mi kam ino long taim bai yu lukim mi. Biain em i kirap kisim ol peper 3 pelo na putim bek wonfelo na putim palet or ahs tray antop long ol pepa na lukluk ananit nambaut long tepol na biain wokoubaut i go painim su bilong em na werim na kam go ausait, long door wantaim ol pepa em i holim yet 2 pelo.

10. E. Sepik/Pidgin-Lek (=Laeko)

Mrs. C i sindaun long table telefoni i ring na emi kisim na bekim olesem district opicer. Na em i orait bai § mi kam nau. Em ikam kisim 3pela fails na putim wanpela bek gen na putim ex trey on long en na em tanim nau pain slipers bilong em andernit long tebl. Behaint nau em sanap na lukim slipers bilong em istop long narapela sait. Em i wokabaut igo putim finish em tanim back ikam tramoim ol fails na kisim long narapela hand na igo opim door ma igo autsait na i pinish.

9. 19. E. Sepik/"Middle Sepik Lang" G Ω ∫.

Pastaim Mrs. Carington i sitaun long sia na i rausim su long leg kas bilong em na i tokim M K long bringim Yambo i go long em. M i kisim na i bringim i go long em. Na em i opim Redio Yambo na i tok singautim narapela Redio. Mi gat tufelo tok save long you.

10. 24. E. Sepik/Pidgin-Lek † Ω 71. #.

Misis Carington i sindaun pulim su bilong em. Na em iaskim M long kisim radio na bringin igo long em. M igo kisim Radio Yambo na go givim em na emi tok tenk you. Na em i tok Kasan from Yambo tupela taim. Na behaint em i tok mi gat tupela toktok belong you.

11. F. 20. Maprik/Pidgin G Ω 71. FT Hagen, Goroka 72. &.

Mrs Carrington sindaun long chia rausim su long rait leg bilong em putim long flo. Pointim left hand long wanpela man askim em long bringim Yambo, em kisim igo givim em. Miss pulim ariel na opim radio na toktok. "Mausgras Yambo, Mausgras Yambo. Mi gat tupela tok tok long tokim yu."

12. 19. Angoram/Pidgin G Ω 71. FT 72. &.

Mrs. Carrington i sidaun na rausim wanpela shoe long lelf leg bilong em. Bihind em i askim C long bringim Yambo igo long em. Em i kisim na pulim aerial bilong radio igo antap na em i putim switch on. Bihind em

i toktok insait long en. Em i tok Kasen calling Yambo tupela taim na i tok tu olsem em igat tupela toktok bilong Yambo. Mrs. Carrington switchim radio off na putim antap long table. Em Tasol.

13. F. 17. Angoram/Pidgin
G Ω 71. FT Wewak 72. &.

Mrs. Carrington sit daun long sia na rausim su blong em iputim long floa na pointim han long wanpela man na askim em long bringim wailes oli kolim Yambo long em na em isalim toktok igo long Kasang. Em tok em igat tupela toktok long tokim em. Em toktok pinis na putim wailes daun long tabol.

14. Angoram/Duel (=Angoram?)

Mrs. C i anserim phone na em i tok oright bai mi kam. Bihained em i kisim 3 pela fail or folder i gat § paper, putim back wanpela na em i holim tu or 2 pela. Behained em i luklu nambout long ol shoes bilong em. Em i lukluk i go undernit long table na lukim ol i stap. Em i wokubout i go na putim ol shoes. Behined em i wokubout i go long sab district office.

14. 18. Angoram/Duel
† Ω ∫.

Miss Carigton i sindown long sia na em i putim left leg ontop long rait leg. Behained em i lussim sue bilong left leg na askim M long kissim Yambo i go long em. Taim em i kissim Yambo em i salim wailis long Mugiano.

15. E. Sepik/Kairuru (=Kairiru)

telephone i karai na Misis Carrington i toktok pinis na behaind em i tok bai em i kam hariap tru. Em i paimimol file i go pungim tupela na i kisim long tebol behaind em painim slipers bilong em aninit long tebol. Em i sanap tinktink liklik ina i tinkim. Em i wokobout i go kisim hap na em i tanim karem fail i wok abaut i go out sait long dor.

15. 20. E. Sepik/Kairuru
† Ω 71. #.

Misis Carrington isidaun long sia pasim leg wantaim na kamautim wanpela su bilongem long han kais na bihain em i tokim M long bring Yambo i kam long em. M i bringim. Em i pulim mas bilong Yambo long han kais gen na putim on na singaut long Kasang. Em i tokim Kasang em i gat tupela tok bilong tokim em. Em tasol.

16. Wewak/Musangun (=Bungain)

Mrs. Carrington i sindaun na harim telepon i rink. Em i holim telepon na i tok "Halo despela em distrik office. Na em i tok bai em iko. Em i go long desk bilong em na kisim tupela fail behand em putim wanpela bek na holen tupela tasol. Mrs Carrington i laik iko tesol em ino painim su bilong em. na em i wok long lukluk nambaut na painim aninit long siha. Em na i wokapaut iko long chair na putim su bilong em. Behand em i tanim na wokabeut iko long dua. Em i tromoue all file na holim long rait han bilong em. na iko long dua. Opii dua na iko autsain.

16. 23. Wewak/Musangun
G Ω 69. clerical.

§ Mrs Carrington em sindaun long chair na brukim sukuru bilong en na lusim wanpela su log rait lek bilong em. Em is sindaun long wanpela sia ikot piksa behain long en. Carington i tokim L log bringim Yambo na L i kirap igo kisim Yam na kisim long han bilong Carrington. Em i put reidio on na tok "Kapiak em Yambo hia" em tok tupela taim. Nau em tok ken olsem ikot tupela toktok long salim long Kapik long Radio.

MADANG

17. Madang/Takian (=Takia)

17. 18. Madang/Takian
† Ω ∫. &.

§ Mrs. Carrington taim em sanap, em i sindaun long sia na putim wanpela lek igo antap long narapela. Mrs. Carrington i singautim wanpela skul boy long bring Jumbo. Taim em i kisim, em i pulim mas bilong radio long ples kilia, Na tanim liklik baton bilong en. Em i spik Jumbo ikam long Kapiak tupela taim na tok bilong em i tok "Mi igat tupela toktok bilong yu"

18. 23. Karkar/Takia-Waskia
G Ω 70. clerk Madang, 71-72.
x-abs.

Mises i sidaun long sia na em i hapim wanpela leg na i putim antop long arapela. Behain tasol, em i rasim slipa loŋ lek sut. Em tokim L long briŋim kasaŋ long em. Taim em kisim pinis, tanim ol liklik paten na behain tasol i salim tupela toktok igo loŋ wailes.

21. Madang/Naga

Mrs Carrington i sidaun kolostu long telepon taim telepon i karai. Em bekim e tok long em bai igo. Kirap lukluk long ol buk, kisim wanpela na i wok long painim silipas bilong em. Em kisim na igo autsait.

22. Madang/Manam

Mrs Carrington i sidaun istap na telepon bilong em ring. Em ikism na itok se District offis. Ating oli bin singautim em bilong igo. So Misis Carrington itok se babai em igo long kuiktaim tru. Long tebol em kisim tripela pail, tasol bihain iputim wanpela bek na putim astrei antap, na ipainim su bilong em.

19. F. 17. Karkar/Waskia
G Ω ʃ. x-abs.

Misis Carington i sidaun long sia na ilusin wanpela hap su bilong em. Na itokim W long igo kisim radio oli kolim Yambo. W i kirap igo kisim radio na givim em. Misis i tanim on na i salim toktok igo long narapela radio ol i kolim Kasang.

20. 20. Manam Is/Manam
G Ω ʃ. x-abs.

Long taim Misis Karington isidaun long sia emi ting ting behain long emi kisim su blong ap lek na putim long graun. Beaen em ting long tok long walis na em kisim Walis Yamba na salim tok save igo long Kasam olsem emi gat 2 pela tok tok save blong tokim em. Em tok long P na ibringim lik lik Yambo walis we istap long arere blong em. Em tenkim em tru. Na em tok wantem Kasam gut beaen Olsem 3 pela minit em istap.

21. 17. Madang/Naga
G Ω ʃ.

Mrs. Carrington sidaun rausim su na tokim M long kisim Jambo radio igo givim em em pulim aerial ing antap opim radio na tok Jambo to Kasan Jambo to Kasan mi igat tupe.. hap toktok bilong yu.

22. 20. Madang/Manam
G Ω ʃ.

Misis Karington isindaun long sia putim rait lek antap long kais. Biain em i putim rait han antap long lek na igivim M oda long bringim Yambo long han kais. M ikisim Yambo na bringim long Misis Karington. Em i holin Yambo long rait han na pulim hap waia long kais. Iswisim Yambo in na ring igo long wanpela man. Em isalim tupela toktok bilong em.

23. Madang/Pidgin (Chungri) (=Rao)

Mrs. Carrington iansa long fon na tok. "District Offis, Olrait bai mi kam kwik taim." em igo long table na kisim twopela fail and behain em ipainim su belong em na em ipainim pinis na em wokobaut igo autsait.

23. 23. Madang/Pidgin (Chungri)
111 G Ω 67. prof trng 68. clerical.

Mrs Carrington igo sitdaun long sia na rausim su bilong em na tok long L kisim Yambo ikam. L ikirap igo na kisim Yambo igo long em na em salim walis igo to Kasang na Kasang from Yambo, Kasang from Yambo, mi gat tupela mesez long iu, mi gat tupela mesaz long iu na em putim Yambo igo arere long em.

24. Madang/Long Island (=Arop)

Misis Carrington ensarim telepon istap nau. "Em tok orait bai mi go. Em kirip igo long teble na kissim ol buk wan, wan na lukin. Taim em finim ol em laikim orait em putim wanpela igo bek. em ino laik. Nau em wok long tink tink long wanpela samting. em lukluk wari tru long samting em painim. I longtaim liklik nau em tingim nau. em igo long ples we samting istap long en. Em kissim silipa nau em wakabaut hamamas na opin dua na igo otsait.

24. Madang/Long Island
G Ω ∫.

Misis Carrington i sanap orait sidaun long sia. Na tokim mi long kisin Yambo radio igo long en. Bihain mi givim em. Em ring long Kasan olsem me igat tupela toktok bilong you.

25. Madang/Kai (=Kaian?)

Mrs. Carrington istap long office taim telephone i ring na em i bekim na em i tok bai em igo hariap. Bihaind em kisim ol files na kisim tu-pelo na em faindim ol istap long hap said bilong rum na em igo kisim na em opim dua igo arasaid na em igo.

25. 21. Madang/Kai
G Ω 71. #.

Misis Carrington i sidaun long sia pinis em rausim su bilong em lo hand kais leg bilong em. Bihaind em tokim M A long bringim Yambo samting bilong salim toktok. em kisim pulim erial igo antap em i kirapim paten bilong em pinis putim long yau bilong em na i toktok long kasan em bekim na em to em igat tupela toktok bilong em long salim.

26. Madang/Beli

Mrs. Carrington tokim usait i ring, Se em bai igo long distrik opis. Em i tok bai em ikam. I kisim tripela file, tasol putim onepela bek. Em i painim su bilong em tasol em i no lukim. em igo long narapela sait na i lukim. Em putim su na igo upim dua a igo long distrik opis.

26. 18. Madang/Beli
G Ω ∫.

Misis Carington i sidaun long sia. iputim right leg bling em antap long arapela na rausim right sue. Na i tokim M kisim walis Jambo ikam. M igo kisim na givim long em. Na Misis itok Kasang from Jambo tupela tok bilong tupela taim na i tok over

27. Madang/Mauwake (=Ulingan)

Mrs Carrington emi sidaun istop klostu long telepon sia na telepon i ring emi kisim resiwa na emi tok, yes bai mi ikam stret nao. Emi kirap na kisim 3 pela fail na lukim pinis, putim wanpela bek na kisim estre, putim antap long fail. I holim tupela na emi work long lukatim slipa bilong em. Biaen em i tingim emi istop aninit long sia long apide, Emiwokebaut ikam na putim slipa bilong em na em wokebaut igo long dua, opim dua na igo aut sait. Long tebol bilong em i gat planti fail na estry.

27. 19. Madang/Mauwake
G Ω ʃ.

Mrs Carington sidaun long sia pulim out rait lek su long an kais putim long polo. Singuitim M long bringim Jambo. Emi kisim putim on volum na mekim kol long Kasan. Na itok emi igat tupela toktok bilong em. Biaen emi putim radio of. Biaen long sia emi putim piksa bilong pes bilong man eni droim long pepa. Na eni tikim long sia.

28. 19. Madang/Pidgin
† Ω ʃ. x-abs.

Misis Karington sitdaun long sia. rausim hap su long hap lek bilong em. Bihain em i tokim M long bringim Yambo (em i radio bilong toktok) na M i bringim. Misis i toktok olsem: Yambo i toktok, Yambo i toktok long Mausgras. na last long em, em i stop na i finis wantaim.

29. Madang/Maiyani (=Saki?)

Mrs Carrington ibin toktok wantaim wanpela man long phone na itok bai brigim quicktaim tru. Bihain em i kirap igo na kisim ol paper na ilaik igo tasol em wok long painim ol shu bilong em. Bihain em i bin painim em i bin wearim na igo autsaid long lukim dispela man.

29. 19. Madang/Maiyani
G Ω ʃ.

Mrs Carrington sidaun long sia na putim rait leg antap long lep lek na rausim su. Orait askim M long bringim Jambo. Orait bian em i putim on na sailim mesis igo long Jambo.

30. Madang/Aruamu (=Aramo?)

Mrs Carrington in ansarim telepon na itok, em i sub distrik opis. Na em i kirap igo long tabol painim tripala pail long tabol. Tasol em tingting gen na ilusim one gen long tabol. Em laik putim ol slipes bilong tasol em painim long uninit long tabol tasol ol ino stap. Em tingim gen

30. 19. Madang/Aruamu
G Ω ʃ.

Misis Carington isidaun long sia. Em ilitimamp wanpela leg bilong em na iputim antap long narapela. kamatim wanpela su bilong em na itokim M long bring Iambo long em. M ikisim Iambo na igivim long em. Na emi tok long radio olsem. Yambo isingautim Kapiak, na itok mi gat

olsem em putim long narapal opis;
Em epi tru long painim ol gen.
Taim em putim ol slipers bilong em,
em iamamas na tromoim olpail igo
antap long narapala hand na igo
insait.

31. Madang/Korog (=Isebe)

tupela toktok bilong yu.

31. F. 20. Madang/Korog
G Ω 70. clerk 71, FT 72. &.

Mrs. Carrington i sit down long
chair na putim right leg over left
and took her shoe off her right
foot and put it on the floor. Emi
askim wanpela man long kisim Yambo
ikam long em. Man i kirap igo
kisim Yambo na go givim long Misis.
Mrs. Carrington kisim Yambo long
right han na pullim ariel igo antap
long han kais blong em. Emi stat
toktok olsem. Kasan from Yambo
§ tupela time na askim inap you harim
me gut.

MOROBE

32. Lae/Bukawa (=Bukawac)

Misis sindoun lon sia na kisim
telepon cal na emi tok Distik Opis
Orit Bai mi kam. Emi gou hon tabal
pinim pile lon tray. Behin emi.
pinim slipas belong em. Tim emi
pinim pinis emi wok abut. i'go
out site.

32. 24. Lae/Bukawa
G Ω 70. clerk Panguna.

Yu go na sidaun long sia nau bai yu
apim leg long rait bilong you na you
lausim one pela su em long leg i
angamap nating long narapela.
Orait yu askim bai yu kisim Jumbo.
L kirap na kisim jumbo na givim yu.
Yu tok tenkyu na you to olsem "Long
Jumbo na igo long Kapiak mi gat
tupela toktok bilong you - na i
pinis".

33. 20. Finschhafen/Kâte
G Ω 71. FT Rabaul 72. &.

§ Mrs Carrington i tok go na sindaun
long chair. Em kisim right leg
bilong em putim antap long narapela
leg bilong em na rausim subilong em.
Behain long em rausim su bilong em
e i toking C long karim radio igo
givim em. Taim e kisim radio i
pulim waia bilong em igo antap na
toktok lik lik na pasim.

34. Finschhafen/Kâte

Mrs Carrington is toktok long telephone itok bai em i brigim quicktaim tasol. Bihain long despela em is go na kisim tripela files tasol is senisim tingting na i kisim tupela tasol red na blue na purim onepela back Wantaim ol narapela na antap long ol i putim ash tray. Behind i lukluk long shoes bilong em na i painim aninit long sia. Behin i opin doa na i go aresait wantaim tupela files.

34. 25. Finschhafen/ Kâte
G Central 67. prof trng & empl.

Mrs. Carrington i sidaun long sia na bihain emi rausim su long lek sut bilong em. Emi tokim L long kisim redio (Yambo) igo long em. Taim emi kisim redio emi opim redio na salem tupela tok save igo long Kasang.

35. Morobe/Komba

Mrs Carrington i tok em i district Ofis na tu em bai i go stret. Tiam em i putim reciver down i go long narapela table na i kisim 3 pela file tasol i putim back wanpela na i putim as tray antap long ol file inside long out tray. Bihian em i holim 2 pela file na i lukluk nabaut long sandal blong em. Bihian em i painim ol sandal blong em aninit long wanpela chair long kona blong room. Bihian em i putim sandal blong na i wakabaut i go outsait long dua

35. 19. Morobe/Komba
G Ω ∫.

Mrs Carrington pastime i sanap. Orait biain em sit daon na putim leg sut antap long kais. Na em putim slipas long floor. Orait em i kolim M na askim em long bringim Yambo igo long em. M i bringim Yambo igo long em nao em i pulim airi igo andap na
§ em ringim Kapiak na tok mi gat tupela tok bilong you. Over!

36. Morobe/Yabim

Mrs. Carrington kisim telepon long em. Em sindaun long Distrik Opis. Harim tok pinis na puttim pon daun long tabol na em i kirap. Em igo long tabol bilong em na kisim tripela bok or pail, wanpela i retpela wanpela i yellopela na wanpela i braunpela Em i lusim braun pela pail na kisim retpela na braunpela Fail na lukautim su bilong em.

36. 22. Morobe/Yabim
G Ω ∫.

Misis Carrington i sindaun long chair bilong em. lek sut bilong em in pin istap antap long lek kais bilong em. Han kais bilong em kisim shoe long lek sut bilong em na putim long floa. Behain em askim M long kisim radio Kasing na givem em. M kisim Kasang igo givim em na em i pullim pon long radio

37. Morobe/Hube (=Dedua?)

Mrs. Carrington - emi sidoung long District Office. T-phone - krai na em tok: bai mi come kuit - emi kilop na kisim or paper (bok) puting narapela istap. Na em lukating

37. 19. Morobe/Hube
G Ω ∫.

Mrs. L. Carington sitdoun long sia na lausing hap silipa bilong en na i tok long M. Birining Jambo igo long en. M kilop igo long tebal na kising Jambo igo long em. No Mrs

silipa blong em aninit long table. Bihaen em luking istap long narapera hap long house. emi igo puting silipa blong em na emi go pinis long District Office.

§

Carington puling eria belong en na oping key belong en. na tok long man emi igot 2 news.

38. Lae/Azera (=Adzera)

38. 17. Lae/Azera
G Ω 71.#. x-abs.

Mrs carrington isindoun long chair, apim rait leg bilong putim antap long left leg na rausim su long rait leg bilong em. Em itokim W long kisim Yambo ikam. Em ikisim Yambo na tok hallo na kolim Mausgras na tok em igat tupela messages long em.

39. Lae/Labutali (=Labu)

39. 19. Lae/Labutali
G Ω 71. FT 72. &.

Mrs Carrington em i sidaun long chair na itokim wanpela boi long kisim walkietalkie name olsem Jumbo. Na dispela boi ikisim Jumbo na givim long Mrs Carrington na em plurim airial long Jumbo na em opim walkie talkie na askim long Kasan. Na tu em tok olsem long Kasan olsem em igat tupela toktok long tokim Kasan (or long tok English olsem I have two message for you.) Em Tasol.

EASTERN HIGHLANDS

40. EHD/Gahuku

Mrs Carrignton sintaon long sia istap na telepon ring. Em ansarim telephone na ating wanpala man askim em long ikam. Mrs Carrignton tok liklik taem em bai kam. Em kisim 3 pala fail tasol em putim wanpala igo bek na em holim 2 pala tasol long han bilong em. Em wok long painim slipas bilong em tasol em ino painim olsem na em igo long narapala rum na em panim slipas bilong em istap aninit long sia. Em putim long lek bilong em na em igo long lukim man ring long em na em tok long lukim em.

40. 19. EHD/Gahuku
G Ω ∫.

Mrs Carrington sindaun long sia na em lusim su bilong lek kas. Em askim M long kisim wanpela redio bilong salim tok tok long givim em. M kisim ikam givim em na em pulim hap wai igo inatp na em salim tok tok igo long Pasang.

41. EHD/Kamano

Pestaim yu sindaun na harim telepon i cry, kuik taim yu kisim na bekim talk. Behain ken yu tok bai yu go nau tasol. Yu wokabaut ikam long tembol na kisim 4 pela skin pepa tasol yu putim one pela bek na kisim 3 pela tasol. Behain ken yu § kisim pipia tin bilong smok na putim antap long ol skin pepa. Yu uokem pinis yu painim su bilong yu tasol yu no painim, Yu kirap nogut na wokabaut igo long narapela kona na painim ol su. Yu putim su long lek bilong yu na wokabaut icome long namel. Yu trom we all skin pepa na quik taim tasol kisin bek na wokabaut igo autsait.

41. 18. EHD/Kamano
G Ω ∫.

Pastaim yu sanap clostu long sia, yu tok stat na yu sindaun long sia. Namba tu samting yu rausim wanpela su bilong yu long leg kais. Namba 3 samting yu askim M long kisim Jambo ikam long yu - Yambo em i bin istap long steidge. M i kisim i kam givim yu na yu tok tenk yu - Yu pulim win stick igo antap na kirapim masin na tok yu gat 2 pela tok-tok long salim long Kasang.

42. Henganofi/Pidgin, Kafe (=Kamano)

42. F. 20. Henganofi/Pidgin, Kafe
G Ω 70. Ft Hagen 72. &.

Mrs C sidaun long sia, rausim shoe long han kais na tokim wanpela man § olsem "Bai you kisim Yambo ikam. Dispela man bringim long en. Kisim long han kais na putim ariel go up na itok Yambo singautim Kasang, Yambo singautim Kasang you harim me. Bihain em putim arial igo back na stop.

CHIMBU

43. Gumine/Giolin (=Golin)

Misis Karington i sindaun long sia klostu long telepon na wanpela man itoktok long em. Misis itok 'orait § baimbai em igo nau tasol. Pinis em i kirap long sia na igo kisim buk o ol i kolim Fail na wok long painim inap em i kisim wanpela stret em i gat laik long kisim. Taim em ipinis em i bin putim long em na igo putim ol long leg bilong em na karim ol buk or fail long han sut bilong em na opim dua na igo autsait.

43. 22. Gumine/Giolin
† Ω ∫.

Mrs. Carrington i sanap stap na em sindaun long sia. Bihain em lusim hap su belong em. Em tokim M long kisim Yambo i go long em. Mrs. Carrington i singaut i go long Kasem na tok, Mi i gat tupela toktok long.

44. Gumine/Kuman

Mrs Carrington sindaun long seya telepon ring. Ikam long sampela man long District Office. Mrs Carrington kessim file 3 pela olageta tasol em putim onepela igo bek ken na kesim tupela tasol na em lukluk round long painim silipas tasol em ino painim na silipas istap aninit long ceya, em (Mrs Carrington) na em carrim files ino go long rond na tromoi ingo long lept hand na karim i go long District Office.

45. Kerowagi/Kuman

Mrs Carignton anserim telepon na itok distrik opis na tok long taim em igo nao tasol. em i kisim 2pela file, putim ash tray antap long ol files. behind long en i lukluk raun long painim slipers bilong en na taim em painim em i putim long leg, kisim fils na igo out long door.

46. Kundiawa/Kuman

Mrs. Carrington i sindaun long chair i stop. telephone i ring na em toktok. toktok belong em i olsem. Mi bai kam nau tasol. Em i lukautim wanpela something igo igo na bihain tru em i painim. Dispela samtin, i su bilong em. Em i go opim dua na go autsait.

44. 24. Gumine/Kuman
† Ω 68. clerical 69-72.

Yu sindaun na putim leg bilong yu antap long narepela na yu rausim so bilong yu na yu tok long L kesim Yambo i kam, taim L kesim Yambo ikam long yu na yu pulim lain bilong Yambo na kolim Yapiok na yu tok mi igat tupela tok long yu.

45. 19. Kerowagi/Kuman
† Ω ∫.

Mrs. Carrington i sidaun long chair upim right leg bilong en, lusim su na tokim M long bringim Yambo. M kirap igo kisim Yambo na givim em. em pulim arial na opim radio na stat kolim Kasam. em holim long left han belong en. Pinis long en em stretim leg na sidaun gud.

46. 19. Kundiawa/Kuman
† Ω ∫.

Em i sat dawn an rusim sue belong em long rait leg tasol. Behind em § askim long kukiboi belong em long bringim Yambo. Kuki-boi i go long table na i brigim Yambo i kam long Master belong em. Master i tok long Yambo an it tok. Mi i gat tupela toktok save belong yu Kasam. Master i tok olsem na a tok long Kasam pinis.

47. 19. Kundiawa/Kuman
G Ω ∫. &.

Mrs. Carrington sidaun na rausem wanpela shoe bilong em istap long riat lek bilong em. Behind em askim J P long kisem Yambo, liklik wialas igo long em. P kisem na given long Carington.

48. Chimbu/Sinasina

There was a phone called. Mrs Carrington got the reciver and said "District office. Then she listen. After a while she said she would come straight away. Em wok baut i go long tabel na em kisim popela file na em putim brawn file i go bek lon peles bilong em. Taim em i pinis, meria em i painim wanpela samting lon plor §

48. 17. Chimbu/Sinasina
† Ω ∫.

Mr Carrington i hapim rait leg bilong en na putim antop long knee bilong em na rausim su bilong em. Behain long en, em tokim M A na tok kisim radio Yambo i kam. na M kisim i go long em. Na Mis ia switsim radio na tok Yambo Kasam, Yambo Kasam. na em tok em igat tupela tok tok long em. Em stopim.

49. 19. Chimbu/Sinasina
G Ω ∫. &.

C sindan long sia na rausim slipas long rait leg bilong em. Na em ken putim leg antap long lep leg bilong em. Em i askim wanpela man long kisim redio ikam. Man igo givim na em salim igo wanpela station na tok mi igat tok save long tokim yu. Em pinis orait em pasim redio na putim antap long tebol.

WESTERN HIGHLANDS - ENGA

50. WHD/Nii

Mrs. Carrington ya, i bin anerim wanpela Phone kol. Na em i tok General office. Bai mi ken tokim em. Bihind em i kam kisim tripela Fail long haf tabel. Bihind gen em i putim wanpela bek na kisim tupela i go. Em i wok long panim wanpela samting na i tingting planti ya. Bihind em i go long haf tabel na is kisim tog bilong en. na i wokabout i go outsait. §

50. 18. WHD/Nii
† Ω ∫.

Mrs. L. Carrington i sidaun long cher na rausim onpela su bilong en. Behind em i tokim M long kisim Yambo redio i kam. Na M i karim i go givim em. Em i holim long rit han na i pulim arial i kam antap na bihind em i senetim han na holim long left han nat i kolim Yambo - Kapiaka 2 taim, na i tok mi gat wanpela tok long yu.

51. 21. Wabag/Enga
† Ω 71. FT Hagen, Wabag 72. &.

Misis ii sidaun long sia na rausim onepela shoe belong em. Em ii lukluk igo long narepela site na em toktok long onepela man. Em tok. You bringim Yambo belong mi long ia. Em ii bringim nao emiitok Tankiu. Man em igo sitdown. Misis ii kamautim aerio bilong raidio nao opim. Em ii tok Yambo ia kolim

53. Wabag/Enga

Mrs Carrington sindaun long chair telepon ring em bekim telepon na itok orait baibai mi kam long opis. em ikisim tripela book em lukim na em putim wanpela ken istap insait long out tray na em kisim tupela tasol na em igo putim sandels pinis em wokabaut iko opim do na iko outside.

55. Laiagam/Enga

Mrs Carrington i sindaun long sia. taim telepon i ring em i kisim na tok Distrik Office. na tok orait mi bai i go stret. putim beck fon, kam long tebol kisim tripla fail lusim bek nabwan fail kisim tupela tasol na wok long lukatim sandel blong em. Em i kam kisim anenit Kapiak. Mii igat two pela toktok bilong you. You harim.

52. 21. Wabag/Enga
† Ω 71. #. &.

Mrs Carryington sitdon long sea na rasim rit shoe. Behane em poindim han long J long kisim Yambo radio ikam long em. Olsem na J kisim radio na wakbat igo long Carryington na givim dispela radio. Mrs. Carrington pulim dispela longpela wair na toktok wanepela man. Em tok em igot 2 pela took long em. Em tasol.

53. 24. Wabag/Enga
G Ω 69. prof trng & empl to 72.

Mrs Carrington sindaun long chair na hapim right leg bilong em na putim antop long left leg na bihain rausim sandal bilong en na putim go daun long floor long left hand. Orait bihain em tokim L itok "Bringim Jambo na givim em orait Mrs Carrington ikisim long right han na hapim aerial of left hand na salim tok igo long Kasang.

§

54. 25. Laiagam/Enga
G Ω 70. salesman. x-abs.

Mrs. Carttgon i sidan long sia na lusim wanpela su tasol igo daun long ploa na em tokim L long kisim raidio ikam long em. Em kisim raidio na tok tangu long L na em olim raidio long lit han na em pulim waia long lep han na em opim na arim liklik na em tok igo Kasiak na em tok mi igat tupela sanding em tok olsem na pinis.

55. 20. Laiagam/Enga
G Ω ∫.

Misis Carrington sidan long sia na em poldim lek bilong em. Bian em rausim rait sait su bilong em. Em nau askim L K olsem: "Bringim Yambo ikam long mi plis?" L bringim "radio" Yambo long em na em tok tenk yu. Bian em sukuruim skru bilong redio na tok olsem. Yambo

long sia, put na holim fail long rait han na opim dua na i go ausait.

56. Hagen/Melpa (=Medlpa)

Missis i kissim telipon em bekim tok i spik. "Alo DISTOF, Orait Bai Mi kam nau tasol. Em kisim file long table insait long out-tray. Em kisim 3 pela tasol, lusim 1 pela na karim tupela tasol. Biain em i wok long painim silpes belong em. Em painim long hap cona na putim long leg bilong em. Klostu long finis em amamas na igo autsait.

§

ikolim or Kasang from Yambo. Mi igat tupela tok bilong yu. Over end out.

§

56. 19. Hagen/Melpa
G Madang. &.

Misis i sindaun long sia. Biain lusim su long foot bilong em long lep han. Em i lukluk long M na tok "Kisim Yambo i cam." Em tok tenkio. Biain em i kisim liklik Walis na tok, "Kasam i cam long Yambo. Mi gat tupela tok savi bilong yu."

57. 22. Hagen/Melpa
G Ω ∫. x-abs.

Mrs. Carigton i sidaun long chair. Behain put narapala leg i go antop long narapala leg. Biain long en, em i rausim narapala shoe long left hand bilong em. Biain gen pontim M long go kisim wireless na givim long em. Taim em kisim, em switchim wireless na makim sampela toktok long friend long em.

58. F. 20. Mt Hagen/Melpa
† Ω 71. FT Hagen 72. &.

Mrs Carrington sat down took off her slippers she looked around Missis Karington sindown na rausim su bilong em. Bihain em i tokim wanpela man - "Kisim Yambo ikam." man lukluk raun na painim radio (walkie talkie) nai givim Mises. Missis kisim na tok. "Tenk yu". Em pulim waia igo antap long radio long lep han na opim radio na tok. "Kasang kam long Yambo (tu taim) - Mi igat tupela toktok bilong yu". Em i pasim radio na pinis.

59. 18. Mt Hagen/Melpa
† Ω 71. FT Ialibu 72. &.

Mrs Carringtion i sindaun long chair na rausim wanpela shoe belong em. Bihain em i kolim C long kisim Yambo i kam long em. C kisim Yambo i kam givim em, na em i kolim

Kasang na tokim ol olsem em i gat tupela kain toktok bilong ol.

60. 22. WHD/Melpa
† Ω ʃ. &.

Mrs Carrington stinap clostu long chair na behain em i sidaun long chair. Taim em i sidaun em i brugim leg belong em i kam antap long narapela leg. Na behain em i rausim sue belong em long rait leg. Taim em i rausim sue em i ask J P long kisim Yambo i go long em - Em i kisim Yambo no bringim igo long em na em i tok tenkyu. Behain em i sigautim Kapiak long transmitter olesem. Kapiak Kapiak. Yambo mi singaut na tok mi gat tupela tok save bilong yu.

61. 18. Kuia WHD/Melpa
† Ω ʃ. &.

Mrs Carrington i sindaun long sia na rausim su bilong em long rait lek. Em iputim dispela su long plo na singautim J P long kisim Yambo igo long em. Em i tanim radio na pulim arel bilong em igo antap. Em i kisim dispela radio transmita na tok tok igo long narapela transmita. Bihain em i sindaun long ples bilong em olosem bipo na olim radio transmita long han bilong em.

62. Hagen/Mid-Wahgi

Mrs Carington i sindaun na wanpela man em i ringim em long telephone. Taim em harim em i kam na kisim tupela file istap long table. Em i laik iko tasol em i no painim silpas bilong em. Painim liklik iko na painim dispela silpas. Em i kisim na pasim long lek bilong em. Taim em i pasim pinis em i ko long wanem man i kolim em long en.

62. 20. Hagen/Mid-Wahgi
G Ω ʃ.

Mrs Carrington isitdawn long chair. Em upim wanpela leg blong em na lusim hap shoe. Taim em lusim pinis em pointim long M na tolkim em long bringim Walis nem bilong em Yamba. M bringim walis na em i salim tolk inko long wanpela hap igat wanpela walis long en. Em it tok em i gat tupela toktok bilong tokim long man long em it tok long en.

63. Minj/Mid-Wahgi (Kuman)

Mrs Carrington em sindaun na answer long phone na tok. District Office. Orait bai mi kam. Kirap i kam long table kisim 3 pela pail na putim bek wanpela na karim 2 pela. Em putim Em lukluk raund na paindim silipper bilong em na ino istap. Em lukluk long hap na tongs i stop. Em kam kisim putim na wokabout igo autsait long dua istap klostu.

64. Minj/Mid-Wahgi

Mrs. Carrington i go ansewer im phone i go tok ser, Distroff, na man long narapela side is askim long ol file, na Mrs. carrington i tok bai i go baringim. Mrs. C. i go long Office desk belong em na i go kisim tiripela file na i tanim tingting ken na i kisim tasol two pela na em putim ashtray antap long ol narapela file. Biaen em i work long lukautim ol su (thongs) belong em. Na em i tingting ken na i go kism ol aninit long chair na em i go.

65. Minj/Mid-Wahgi

Mrs Carrington em sidaun i stop na telephone i karai. Em kisim na tok, "District Office". a ting one pela man o meri em i tok long em i kam. Em i tok "Orait mi come". Na em kisim tripela pail. Bihand em tormoi first o nam bawan i go back na karim tupela. Em pain tongs bilong em long peles em sindaun long en tasol em i stap long narpela ap. Em kisim tongs putim long leg na wokabaut i go long aus sad.

63. 23. Minj/Mid-Wahgi (Kuman)
G Madang 68. clerical 69-72.

Mrs. Carrington sindaun long chair na krosim narepela antap. Rausim hap su bilong em na putim long floor. Em tokim L K olsem. Plis bringim Yambo long mi. L K igo na kisim Yambo na igo givim Meri Carringtion. Em tok tengiu long L K. Em pul im waia na opim radio telephone na salim toktok igo long Kapiak olsem. Mi igat tupela nius bilong yu. Em i pinis.

64. 25. Minj/Mid-Wahgi
† Ω 68. prof trng, empl as FO.

Misis Karinton putim rait lek blong em antop long lek kais. Pointim L long han kais na askim em long bringim Yampo long em. Em i kisim long rait han na tanim baten long han kais. Tok tank yu pastim long L. Em i tok long Kasang.

65. 20. Minj/Mid-Wahgi
G Lae ∫.

Mrs. Carrington em i sindaun na lusim su bilong em. Em askim M long bringim radio (walis). Nem bilong em Yambo long em. M i senap na igo kism Radio Yambo long pletpom na kisim igo givim em. Mrs. Carrington tenkim M. Bihaind em opim Radio na salim tok olesem. "Yambo i gat tupela tok save" Yambo i gat tupela tok save" na stop.

MANUS

66. 19. Manus/Titan
G Ω ∫. &.

Misis Karington, pastaem tru, em i sanap. Behain i go sindaun long sia na putim wanpela lek bilong em i go antap long narapela lek. Orait taim despela i pinis em i rausim su long lek bilong em na putim tam bolo. Behain em i kolim J P long
§ kisim radio walis em i komlim Yambo i kam long em. Em i stat toktok igo long Kasam long em i gat tupela toktok long tokim em.

67. F. 18. Manus/Titan
G Ω 71. FT Manus 72. &.

Mrs Carrington i bin sitdaun long chair kolostu long table igat sampela papers long en. Em i rausim onepela sue belong em na em i singaut i go long wanpela man long bringim Yambou ikam long en. Man ya i kisim i go long en. Behain em i salim tupela hap toktok to go long
§ wanpela out-station ol ikolim Yambom.

68. Manus/Titan

Mrs. Carrington i sindaun long chair na phone iring. Em kisim phone na tok, bai mi kam raet nau. Em kirap long chair, kisim tripela files bihaen putim wanpela file igo bak long table. Mrs. Carrington is kisim tupela file na em iwok long paenim su bilong em. Em paenim na wokabaut igo long do na opim do na go arasaet.

68. F. 22. Manus/Titan
G Ω 68. typist Moresby 69-72.

Mrs. Carrington i sindaun long chair. Putim raetpela lek bilong em hantap long lefpela lek bilong em. Behaen em i tekwei sho bilong em long lefpela han bilong em. Pinis em i tokim L long kisim Yumbo igo long em. Em i opim na holim long raet han bilong em. Behaen em sensim Yumbo igo long raet han bilong em. Behaen em i toktok, olsem Yumbo, Mus kras, Yumbo Muskras, Yu arim mi tu.

69. Manus/Andra

Mrs. Carrington i sindaun long sia na telepon i ring. Em i holim risiva na i toktok long man em i bin ring. Mrs. Carrington i tok, "District Office, Orait bai mi kam stret awei." Bihain em i kirap long sia na i lukluk long ol fail. Em i kisim

69. 22. Manus/Andra
G Ω 69. prof trng & empl 70-72.

Mrs Karingten i sindaun long sia na i rausim su long lek blong em long han kais. Bihain em i toktok long K bai i givim em long Wokakabaut Redio em Yambo. K i givim em long Redio na em i kisim long han kais blong em na putim long rait han.

namba wan fail, namba tu na namba tri. Bihain em i putim bek namba tu fail na i lukautim su blong em. Em i lukluk nanbaut na i painim aninit long wanpela sia. Em i putim long lek blong em, na i karim ol fail (tupela) na i wokakabaut i go long dua. Em i opim dua na i go arasait.

Em Karingten i pulim eriel long han kais blong em na putim redio klostu long maus na ia blong em na i tok, Kasam from Yambo tupela taim pinis, na i spik, Mi gat toktok blong yu, over.

70. 18. Manus/Penchal
G Ω ∫. &.

Mrs. Carrington i sindaun long chair na i karim won pela lek bilong em igo antap long narapela. Em i rausim wonpela sue bilong em. Em i kolim wanpela somatin to kisim "Yambo" igo long em. Somatin i karim i go. Mrs. Carrington i karim na i tok thankyou. Behin em i kolim "Kasang igo long Yambo, you harim me, over".

71. Manus/Penchal

Mrs Carrington i sindaun long office bilong em na phone i karai. Em i kisim na tok General Office, bihain § itok bai em ikam kwiktaim. Em i go long desk bilong em na kisim tupela file, onepela i brown na narapela i green. Bihain i painim su bilong em, tasol su bilong em ino stap klostu, em i laik lukluk igo long narapela tepol na em i lukim su bilong em aninit long sia. Em i go putim na wokabaut igo ausait hamamas.

71. F. 17. Manus/Penchal
G Ω ∫.

Mrs C. i sindaun na putim right leg bilong em antap long left bilong em. Bihain i rausim su istap long right leg na putim tampolo na em i askim W i go kisim Wambo. W i go na kisim na givim long Mrs. C. Em i kisim long left han bilong em na tunim bihain i holim long left han bilong em klostu long ear bilong na i tok mi gat

72. Manus/Kelei (=Gelei)

72. 19. Manus/Kelei
G N.I. ∫. &.

Mr. Carington, sintaun long sia, i lusim wonpela su belong em long leg ond bihond i askim J P long kisim "Yombo" i go long em. Em i holim Yombou na i pulim entener ond bi hind i tok tok i go narapela station

NEW BRITAIN

73. Rabaul/Pidgin & Kuanua (=Tolai)

Telephone em iwork long ring long insait long Mrs Carrington office, em iarim na itok bai igo lukim em. Em igo kisim 3 pela file, iputim wan pela back, na put ash ray antam long en. Em walkabout nambaut luk luk long slippers belong en. I wokobaut igo long narapela hap na painim petpet belong en. iputim na igo long narapela door na igo housaet.

73. 19. Rabaul/Pidgin & Kuanua
G Ω ∫.

Mrs Carrington isindaon long chair na irausim white pela shoe belong en long left leg long left hand, na isingautim M long biringim em Yambo. M igivim em long Yambo na em ipulim aerial belong Yambo long left hand igo antam na em isingaut long Kasam olsem. Em i gat 2 pela tok tok long givim em

74. Rabaul/Kuanua

Mrs Car. i sidaon long chair na telephone iring. Em i ansarim telephon. I kirap na i lukluk long su bilong em. Time i painim su i kisim 3 pela book na i go ouside.

74. 18. Rabaul/Kuanua
G Ω ∫.

Mrs charinton hi sidaon nai rausim su belongen. Taim hi pinis hi tokim M long kisim radio Taim M he givim em, tok thankyou na pulim mas belong radio igo antap. Behain em ring igo
§ long tofi tokim ol se two pela masege belong all. Behain longen taim all he answere. em he pinis.

75. Rabaul/Kuanua

Mrs Carryington ibin sidon long opis
§ na telepone iring, ibekim na toktok olsem, Yes ba mi tokim, behain in go long table na kisim 3 pela file luk na putim bek 1 pela, Ikisim 2 pela na sanap lukluk panim slipas belong em, tasol long nara pela ap, Ikisim na igo long dua biaen itok pinis.

75. 19. Rabaul/Kuanua
G Ω ∫.

Misis Carryington ibin sanap na ilaik sidion long chair. I putim leg koros bilong em na rausim su bilong em. Nau I asikim M bai kisim liklik radio na i biringim igo em. I pullim liklik waia long en na tanim liklik roun sumting.

76. Rabaul/Kuanua

Mrs Carington ibin toktok wantaim wan pela man/meri long telephone behind long despela em i kirap na go long table. I kamap long table na painim Ol samting man/meri ibin tokim em long painim, em i kisim 3
pela files inside long Out tray
§ belong em na behind i painim tongs belong em. Ilukluk aninit long table tasol ino painim last tru i lukim tongs belong em i silip aninit long narapela table em igo

76. 18. Rabaul/Kuanua
G Ω ∫.

Pastaim tru em in sindaon long chair, rausim su long rait leg belong em. Behain em i tok long M You bringim Yambo ikam long mi. M i go na Bringim Yambo long Mrs Karington. Mrs Carington i pulim
§ poul belong Yambo igo antap na tanim pastaim behain itok Yambo to Kasang. Last tru itok mi gat tu pela tok bolong yu.

kwik taim na kisip, i putim long leg belong em na Walk Outside long door wantaim 3 files long han belong em.

77. Rabaul.Kuanua

Misis C is kisim telepone na i ansa. EM i tok bai i kam liklik taem tasol oraet i put poun tabolo na i kirap. EM i holim 3 pela pael Buk behaen i i lukluk aninit long des log sues blong em. I kirap na i lap bi haen i woko baut i go long sia blong em na i kisim sus blong em. Taem i pinis em i kirap i wokabaut i go aut saet long dua.

78. ENB/Kuanua

Meri ia i kisim telephone na bekim man long phone na i tok bambai kam. Biaen igo long table belong em na ikisim tripela file long table belong em. Beaen iputim wanpela file bek long table, na kisim tupela. I sanap na tingting long go long man nau na ino painim shoes belong em. Biaen now ipainim long narapela hap na igo kisim na suwim long lek belong em, I tanim ken na igo long dowe na igo arasaet §

80. Rabaul/Kuanua

Mrs Carrington sitting long chair, na phone iring i karim phone, na tok olsem, Distrik Office Isanap na karim onepela file, behain i vok long luk luk nabaut. long §
papainim tupela su blong em. Now §
em igo long chair, na ipaim ol, na putim long leg. Behain long despela

77. 18. Rabaul/Kuanua
† Ω ∫.

Misis Karington i sidaon long sia na i tokim M blong karim iambo. M i kisim na i biringim long em. I kirap i putim on na i tok tok i go long narpela man em Kasin. I tok i gat tupela hap nius blong em. Misis Karington is askim you harim mi o nogat.?

78. F. 17. ENB/Kuanua
G Ω ∫.

Mrs Carrington sidaun long chair. Putim right leg antap long left leg. Rausim shoe long right leg putim long floor. Askim W long kisim Yambo. W kisim radio belong toktok ikam long em. W igo kisim na karim ikam long em. Kisim long W na toktok long en. Isingautim Iambo.

79. F. 22. Duke of York/Kuanua
† Ω 69. prof trng & empl. x-abs.

Mrs. Carrington em i sidaon long chair, rausim shoe long right leg belong em. Biaen singautim W long kisim Yambo na givim igo long em. Biaen Mrs. Carrington i salim two pela tok save igo long Kasen.

80. F. 18. Rabaul/Kuanua
† Ω ∫.

Mrs Carington isidaun long chair, na iputim right pela leg blong em untup long narapala na ipulim out shoe long en. Behain, left hand ipointim W na salim em bai ikarim Iambo Carrington ikisim nai pulim airial long right hand na tunim long left hand. Na isalim two pela messages.

ivokabaut igo long door, na opim
na go aresaet.

81. F. 17. Rabaul/Kuanua
G Ω ∫. x-abs.

Mrs L. Carrington i sidaun long sia na putim left pela leg bilong em antap long right pela leg bian i salim W long kisim lambo (walkitokii). Na em i kisim lambo na pulim erial na itanim na itok tok long Kasang, emi tok this lambo over.

82. F. 20. Rabaul/Kuanua
G Ω 71. FT Rabaul 72. &.

Mrs Carrington i sidaon long chair (sia) na i rausim wanpela shoe bilong en. Em naw i tokim wanpela man long karim Yambo igo longen. Man i karim Yambo igo longen. Bihaen Mrs Carrington i tanim na itok Yambo.

83. 18. Pomio/Mengen
G Ω ∫. &.

Meri ia em ibin sidaun long chair na behain em i kamautim shoe belong em. Behain em i bin askim one pela boi long bringim radio nembilong em lambo igo long em. Em is kisim radio pinis na behind em is bin toktok long radio igo long narapela man.

84. WNB/Ekolet (=A Kolet = Arawe)

84. 17. WNB/Ekolet
G Ω ∫. &.

Misis Karrington isidauon long sia na i lusim wanpela su belong em na i toktok igo long J P "bringim yambo i kam long mi." Taem J P i bringim yambo igo. Misis Karrington i tenkim em na i kisim long han sut belong em na i pulim mas i go antap na i tok. Kasang long yambo tupela taem. Tasol em i no lusim yambo.

85. Talasea/Bakovi

Pastaim tru Misis i harim telephone i ring i go i tokim man i ring olosem "yu belong District Office, em i karim pinis bekim belong tok i

85. 20. Talasea/Bakovi
G Ω ∫.

Pastaim tru Misis Carrigton i sidaun long sia bilong en. Na em i rausim su long right leg bilong em. Na bihain i singautim M P i mas bringim

go long narapela table i lukluk long ol kain pepa nabaut na em i painim pinis i karim tripela ologet, tasol i laik go nau em i lus im su belong em, i lukluk nabaut na i painim. Taim i panim pinis i kasim ol tripela leap pepa na go arasait long dua na em i go ologeta. em tasol ol Tok i pinis.

86. WNB/Nakanai

Mrs. Carrington sidaon long chair, telephone i ring Kisim reciever na i tok: General office. one pela man long nara pela sait i toktok long one pela something na Mrs. Carrington i tok yes. Na em i putim reciever back na i go long table. Kisim 3 pela files putim long an belong en. Behind kisim narapela ken na toromoi igo back long table. Behing em painim radio ol i kolim Jab. Mrs Carrington i putim radio long wanpela stesin na tokim narapela man long narapela stesisn i gat tupela tok save or message i laik salim i go long en. Taim i ring pinis em stop na ologeta something i pinis.

86. 23. WNB/Nakanai
† Ω 71. clerical.

Mrs Corrington i bin sidaon long sia na behain rausim su bilongen, § puttim one pella lek antap long one pella. Emi tok "Givim me lambo, long L. na emi tok hamamas longen. Emi pullim mas igo antap na opim behind emi start tok olsem "lambo kapiak lambo Kapiak harim, mi gat tupela samting long tokim yu oraet."

NEW IRELAND

87. 25. NI/Mussau
† Highlands 68. prof trng & empl x-abs.

Mrs Carrington em sidaun long siar. Bihaen em krosim leg bilongem na rausim raet su bilongem. Now em tokim long L. biringim Yambo plis. L em go na kisim Yamba na biringim long em. Bihaen em tok tenkiu long L. taem L igo sit daun. Nau em swisim Yambo on na tok igo long Kasam. Em tok long Kasam me gat tu pella tok tok igo long you.

88. Kavieng/Quot (=Kuot)

88. 17. Kavieng/Quot
† Ω ∫. x-abs.

Misis Carrington i sanap klostu long siar, bihian em i sindaun long siar, na em i rausim sandal long lek blong em na i putim klostu long siar. Bihian em i tokim M blong go na kisim Yambo na givim long em. Taim M i kam blong sindaun. Mis Carrington i salim one pela toktok i go long Kasam. Bihian em i pinis.

89. NI/Sursurnga (=Sursurunga)

Mrs Carrington ibin toktok long telephone. Behin ibin go na kismin 3 pela file and losim wanpela na kisim 2 pela tasol. Behin gen ibin look look long shoe belongen. oraet ipainim shoes belong en na iputim behin igo long do.

90. Namatanai/Patpatar

Mrs Carrington i bin toktok long telepon wantem onepela man na man i bin haskim em belong kisim sampela book igo long em. Em i bin sanap na lukluk long ol buk belong em na i kisim tupela. Em i bin sanap na lukluk nabaut long ol sliper belong em, i bin lusim aninit long wanpela chair. Taim i bin kisim sliper belong em, i putim long lek belong em na i bin wokabaut i go outside long nam.

91. NI/Patpatar

Em i bin sindaun long sia taem Telepon i ring. I answa pinis bihain em igo long table na i kisim 3pela pael na i putim bek wanpela tasol em i karim tupela. Bihain em i luk luk nambaot long su blong em. Em i lukim istap haninit long narapela sia. I kam putim long lek bilong em na i wokobaot igo pilai long tupela pael. Bihaen i opim dua na i go aot sait.

92. NI/Pidgin

Mrs Carrington ibin stap long District office. Na telephone ibin ring. Emi ansarim na emi tokim em bai go nao tasol Emi kam long teibal na kisim tripela fail Na bihain gen emi lusim wanpela istap na em karim tupela tasol. Emi laik go tasol emi no putim slipas bilong em. Olsem na emi painim. Na emi painim andanith long chair. Em

89. 19. NI/Sursurnga
G Ω ∫.

Mrs Carrington ibin sidaon long chair. Biain irausim shoe long right pela leg bilongen. Aright ikolim M belong bringinim Hambo radio. Behind itoktok lang Hamo. Emi salim twopela toktok:

90. 19. Namatanai/Patpatar
G Ω ∫.

Mrs Carrington ibin sindaun long chair na bihain i tikiwe onepela su belong em long left hand belong em. Bihaind em i askim M belong bringim Yambo igo long em. Mrs Carrington i bin kisim Yambo long left hand belong na em ibin pulim mas belong Yambo i go antap. Bihain em i bin toktok igo long Kasang se em bai salim tupela toktok long Kasang.

91. 20. NI/Patpatar
† Ω ∫.

Em i sindaun long sia. Asking M long bringim Yambo igo long em. M i kisim Yambo na givim em. Em i pulim mas igo longpela. Na itok Kasang ikam long Yambo tupela taim na i tok mi gat 2 pela tok save blong you.

92. 18. NI/Pidgin
† Ω ∫.

Mrs Carrington em sindaon na emi rausim shoe belong em na emi salim W olsem, you go kisim yambo ikam. W emi go karim now ikam long Mrs Carrington. Behind Mrs emi openim na emi stat long tok olsem Yambo to Kasang, Yambo to Kasang, me gat two pella hap toktok belong you, over. Long pinis naw emi tok thank you na emi pasim yambo.

93. NI/Tungak

Mrs she ibin sindaon long District office na Fon bilong em ibin ring na em i kisim phone na answerim. Biaen long dispela em i kisim tupela file na em i laik go tasol i uok long paenim. Biaen i go long narapela up belong room nai em igo painim. Em i putim ol so na wokabout igo ousite

93. 18. NI/Tungak
G Ω ∫.

Mrs Carington i bin sindaon long sia na i tekewei im one pela up su long rait lek bilong em. Biaen i tokim one pela man bilong kisim liklik redio ol i kolim long YAMBO na biringim long Mrs Carington. Biaen long en i tanim liklik radio na i pulim mas bilong radio. Biaen i toktok igo long man ia itok se igat two pela ap toktok igo long em.

94. 17. Kavieng/Tungak
G Ω ∫. x-abs.

Mrs Carrington i sindaun lang chair * na i salim W blong ko kisim lambo ikam longen. Long taim W i bringim lambo longen em i stat tok tok iko long Kasam. (*a deletion: na litim map im lek blon)

95. F. 17. NI/Tungak
G Ω ∫. x-abs.

Mrs. Carrington i sindaun long chair na em i kisim or tekewei shoe kais lek belong em na i putim daun long flor. Em i tokim wanpela young pela meri nem belong em W, bai em i ko kisim lambo na biringim bek long em. Em i kisim pinis Jamobo na em i salim tok se. lambo igo long Kasang, mi gat tupela tokko belong yu.

96. NI/Tungak

Mrs. Carrington i ansarim pon na itokim man long narapela sait so baimbai igo lukim em. I kirap na wokabaut igo long tevol na kisim tiripela fael biaen i putim wanpela pael igo bek long tevol na em i kisim tupela tasol. I lukluk na baut na tingting had long we em iputim su bilong em. Behaen i lukim aninit long sia, i wok abaut igo na putim su bilong em na wok abaut igo long dua, openim dua na wok autsait satim dua behaen.

96. F. 17. NI/Tungak
G Ω ∫.

Mrs. Carrington i sidaon long sia, na pulim right pela ap so bilong em na putim long polo. Na em i tokim uanpela iangpela meri bolong go kisim Yambo. Meri ia igo kisim na go givim im na em isalim tupela mesigs igo long Kasang.

97. NI/Konomale (=Konomala)

97. F. 18. NI/Konomale
G Ω ∫. x-abs.

Mrs Carrington isindaun long chair na i put right leg belong em antap long left leg na i tekewei shoe bilong em. Em i tokim W bilong kisim Yambo i go long em. Na em i tok thankyou taim W i givim Yambo long em. Bihain em i tanim on na pulim mast bilong Yambo na em i toktok igo long Kasa.

98. F. 19. NI/Kara
† Ω 71. FT Kerema 72. &.

Mrs Carrington i sindaun long sia na i lusim sus long lek bilong em. Bihain is askim onepela man bai i bringim redio Yambo. Em i bringim na bihain i go long em i ringim steisen Kasang na i tok mi gat tupela message blong yu.

BOUGAINVILLE

99. 19. Hagus/Halia
† Ω ∫. &.

Carrington sit down na em i tekoutim shoe blong hem na putim long floor. Behind hem iaskim wanpela man long bringim Radio Jumbo long hem. Man ibringim Radio na em opinim na salim tok tok igo long Kasang na Jumbo. Em tok tok pinis na closim Radio belong hem.

100. Buka/Halia

Mrs Carrington i kisim reciever na tok bai mi kam stret long office. Em i putim reciever back long telephone, go kisim file long table kirap and tait long pinim shoe blong em. Long liklik hap taim em i pinim shoe blong em long aninit long chair. Putim shoe blong em na go outside long door.

100. 19. Buka/Halia
† Ω ∫.

Carrington i sindaun long sia na putim lek blong em across long arapela lek. Waintaim left han blong em i kanautim shoe long lek blong em. Em i tok long L bringim Yambo i kam. L i go kisim Yambo na givim long Carrington. Em i tok tenkiu L. Em i opim radio na tok Yambo long Kasang mi gat tupela message.

101. Buin/Siwai

Telefone i krai. Mrs Carrington i go ansarim. Em i tok bai mi kam nau tasol. Em i go long table na

101. F. 18. Buin/Siwai
G Ω 71. FT Rabaul 72. &.

Mrs Carrington sidaon long chair and tekautim leksut su na emi tokim wanpela man long givim em Yambo.

i lukim ol file. Na bihain em i kros na tromwe astray antap long ol file. Em i lukluk nambaut long sus blong em. Em i painim aninit long chair. Em i putim sus long lek blong em na kisim file blong em na i go opim dua na i go arasait.

102. Ununai/Siwai

Phone i ring na Mrs. C. emi answerim em. Em i tok "District Office" Orait bai me come now tasol. Em i putim phone down na i go lukim files long table klostu. I kisim sampela files, na i putim Back. I kisim two pela files tasol, one pela brown na yellow. Em i lukluk long slippers blong en long underneath na clostu long table. Tem i makim dis ol files i stap long left hand blong en. Em I go over long directories corner na em i painim slippers underneath long directories. I kisim files long right hand na em i opim door na em igo.

103. Buin/Siwai

Em i anserim telepon Na em i tok bai emi dring igo long sub-Distrik Opis. Em i sanap na go long table na karim tripela files. Bihain em i lukluk babainim slipas underneath long table, tasol em i no bin stap. Em i ting ting yet na i painim out em lusim klostu long table. Em go kisim slipas na i putim long leg na wokabout i go long door. Taim em wok long go em i tromei files igo antap olsem em i hamamas na em i go outside long doa.

104. Kieta/Torau

Mrs Carrington i bin kisim receiver na emi tok baem igo hariap tasol. Emi bin kisim tripela files tasol emi bin putim wanpela daun. Tasol emi no bin painim ol su bilong emi na emi bin tait long painim ol.

Man ia go na karim Yambo i kam long Mrs Carrington. Bihain Mrs Carrington opim wailas na kolim olsem "Yambo koling Kasai na emi stopim wireless

102. F. 18. Ununai/Siwai
G Ω ∫.

Mrs Carrington emi sindaun long sia na putim lef leg bilong em untap long right leg. i pendaun na kamautim wanpela su blong em. behain em i askim W long kisim Jumpo. W sanap wokabaut i go na kisim Jumbo na givin long em. taim em i kisim pinis i pulim mas untap na operatim na em i toktok long em.

103. 20. Buin/Siwai
† Ω 71. #.

Mrs. Carrington em i bin stat taim em i sanap. Em i sindaun na tekautim sandal belong em long leg kais na i tok long M long bringim em wanpela redio set ol i kolim long Sampo. M i givim em na Mrs i tok tengkyu long em. Em tunim on na em i salim tok i go long narapela redio set ol i kolim long Kasan. Taim em tok tok em i askim Kasan sapos em i harim em. Kasan i tok orait na Mrs. i tok Ova.

104. F. 18. Kieta/Torau
† Ω ∫.

Mrs Carrington ibin sindoun long chair na emi bin rausim su long rait lek bilong em wantaim han kais belong em. Bihain emi tokim W long kisim Yamb. W emi bin kisim na givim em Mrs Carrington bihain i

Em i bin werim ol na go long door na opim.

kirapim masin and emi tok:i Yambo long Kasang, Yambo long Kasang. Mi gat tupela toksave long yu

NORTHERN

105. Togo/Gizra

Telepone i ring na emi answerim - na tok District Office. Okay bai mi kam straightawei. Behin now emi kissim somepela file na - emi girap lon painim sho bilong em. Behind time now emi i painim lon narapela hap na emi i go lon dispela hap lon kissim. Emi igo na putim na hamamas waintaim na emi woka-out lon dor.

105. 18. Togo/Gizra
G Moresby ∫.

Meri sen down long chair na kisim onepela tong, na sing out long M A, kisim onepela Casim na brinim long meri Carrington. Meri talk. Me pela two message bilong you.

106. F. 21. Wanigela/Ubir
† Ω 70. prof trng & empl. xNO.

§ Mrs. Carrington i sit down one taim long chair putim shoe one taim down long floor. Em i tok W kisim Yambo ikam. Mrs. C. i tokim Yambo. Kasang. Mis kisim to pela nius long yumi

107. Popondetta/Ewa Ge (=Ewage)

107. F. 16. Popondetta/Ewa Ge
† Ω ∫. xNO.

§ Misis Carrington sin daun long chair, na puttim left leg untup rait leg na pulim left shoe off. She tokim W "Get me Yambo", She pulim aerial na tokim "Yambo kasae me pela tu message lon you.

108. 16. Northern.Orokaiva
G Madang ∫. &.

Mrs Carington sidown long chair clostu long table bilong em na rousim thongs blong right leg blong em. Em tokim J P olosem long kisim radio Jambo igo givim em. Time mary er kisim emi switchim on desala radio na salim one pal message igo long Kapiak.

109. 18. Popondetta/Orokaiva
G Ω ∫. &.

Mrs. Carrington sit doun lon sea na rusim su belong em. Em tokim J P

long kisim jambo i go long em. J
gimin jambo to Mrs Carrington. Mrs
Carrington kisim na korim natapela
§ stasin long roit na kisim tok.

110. 19. Popondetta/Orokaiva
G Madang ∫. xNO.

Mrs Carrington emi sanap stap na
sindon long chair. Mari putim right
leg bilong emi long nadapala leg na
lasum sandel. Behan mari singout
long J P. Talk emi one pela radio
long talk

111. 18. Ilimo ND/Orokaiva
G Madang ∫. &.

Mrs Cartion sadin na pullim one
§ pera shoes Berome na puttum long
foot na tok em J P long kisim kisimb
na i go long am. Time em kisim am
§ sengaut long Moes Gras or long
nadpra station

112. 18. Northern/Binandere
G Central ∫.

Mrs Carrington i sit down long chair
na em i putim one pela leg belong em
hantap long narapara na behin em
rausim sandl belong n na em tokim J.
You go na kisim Yambo ikam Em na J
igo na emi kisim Yambo na em givim
long Mrs Carrington. Mrs i pullim
areal belong likiliki machine belong
tok tok na tok Kapiak from Yambo
Kapiak from Yambo na em putim liki
liki machine down.

WESTERN

113. 23. Daru/Kiwai
G Ω 68. prof trng & empl. xNO.

Mrs Carrington he golong char. Nan
§ sidon long char. Im toke, L ola boy
cisim lamabo. L gavam long am.
Behani im opem im toke

114. F. 17. Daru/Kiwai
G Ω ∫. xNO.

Mrs Carrington oli isit lon chair na
shoe blo left leg ia rausim na puttim
lon floor. Na ime pointem W emi talk
kisim yambo ia com. W ia gerap no
yambo

115. Kewa/Gogodala

Mirs Carrington sit long sea bai telephone I lin. Am I pick reciever na I tok tok lon up bai bai I com pas time. Putim reciever am he wok up long table na kisim 3 pela files. One pela lon another han another long another hand.

115. 19. Kewa/Gogodala
G Ω ʃ.

Mrs Carrington I sitim long chair na lousing shoe long left hand na calim M A. He tok long M na kisim K. wak tok. Na M i kisim na brin long Mrs Carington. Na Mrs Carrington I tok tok long wires na bai I got 2 pela tok tok. Am tasol.

116. Balimo WD/Motu

Mrs. Carrington i anesarim telepone na i tok, ol rait bai me cum na emi kirap na i go long table na kisim sompela office fail na putim as trai antap. Emi loluk nabaut na i wokabaut i go long arapela side na behain i karim ol file na emi i go ara sait.

116. 17. Balimo WD/Motu
G Rabaul ʃ.

Mrs. Karinton i sindoun long sia na corosim lek bilong em. Emi rousim sue belong em long na askim M long bringim Yambo. M i kirap na igo na kisim Yambo redio na givim long Karinton. Mrs. Karinton i pulim aerial i go untap na i toktok, calim redio Kasam. "Kasam from Yambo, Kasam from Yambo yu harem me or nogat" over na i outim redio.

GULF

117. Gulf/Moripi

Mrs C i go ansim long telephone and tokim District Office an tokim emi goin straight away. Emi put im down receiver, walk up to table blong em, takem threepela files in hand blong em. Then put down one pela file an lookim shoes blong em, pain in, put on shoes blon em. Emi throwim two pela files up a liklik, catchim them, walk to the door and openim.

117. F. 22. Gulf/Moripi
† Moresby 69. clerical.

§§ Mrs Carrington i sinn down long chair, crossim leg bilong em. right knee on tap on left knee. Then emi askim L K. emi tok, "Brin im Yambo." Emi watchim L & brinim Yambo, pullim aerial & putim on radio - callim Casma mi gut 2 message lon you.

118. Malalaua/Toaripi

Mrs Carrington, holim telephone na emi tok olsem, "general office" na emi tolk em bai go behind. Emi sen ap na kisim two pela fael.

118. 19. Malalaua/Toaripi
G Moresby ʃ.

Mrs Carrington emi sit down good na behind emi rausim one pela shoe blong em long right pala leg. Behind emi askim M A long bring im Radio Yambo. Behind emi call radion Mausgrass long askim long something.

119. Gulf/Toaripi

Mari a sit don long chair time telephon belong em i reng. Em kisim telephon en tok Mi by Mi ekami long sub District office kuik tim. Em it kirap la waka baut en go long table la kisim three pela file now la putim one pela back long tray behind emi kisim Ast tray la putim antap long file. Next em i talem la wakabout ingo long door, open doo. la igo ousit

119. 18. Gulf/Toaripi
G Moresby ∫.

Mrs Carrington em i sin town long chair belong em ia em i kisem wanpela left su rasim pinis. Now em i takim wanpela man kisim yampo radio. Taim emi kisim redio em i salim tupela tok save i go long kasan.

120. F. 16. Gulf/Toaripi
G Ω ∫. xNO.

Mrs Carrington i sin down na pullim wanpela sandle off long left leg blong em. I talkim thank you to W na pullim aerial

121. F. 17. Gulf/Toaripi
G Ω ∫. xNO.

Mrs Carrintong i sat down lon sea. Na i kisim wan pela su. Na i tok Meri W kisim radio Yambo i kam

122. Lese/Toaripi

Mrs. Carrington i tok long 'phone. Behind emi tok alright bai mi kisim all files i go long opis b'long you pela. I no long taim emi losim tingting b'ong shoes b'long emi. Behind emi paim long underneath long table.

122. F. 22. Lese/Toaripi
† Ω 66. prof trng & empl.

First of all, Mises Carrington sit down long chair - Behain emi rausim onepela shoe b'long em long right leg. Then emi tok-tok long W long kisim lanba na givim long em. Behain emi tok - emi laik salim 2 pela mesage long one pela hap

123. Lese/Toaripi

Telphone bilong Mrs Carrington i ring na em i go sin down long chair na kissim recever na i talk District Office. Em i wait lik-lik na i talk ken olsame by me come right now na i put recever i go down ken. Em i san up na igo long table na kisim 3 pela file ol is stap lo out tray. Em i tin tin na putim one pela file i go lo out tray.

123. 19. Lese/Toaripi
† Moresby 71. FT 72.

L. C. rousim shoe long left leg blong em. Na emi you talkim onepela young pela meri bae i kisim radio ikam. Radio yet ol i callim Yambo. L. C kissim Yambo na pullim ariel go antap. Na em i talk Yambo to Kassang. Mi gat two pela message blong en.

CENTRAL

124. F. 17. Central/Roro
† Ω ∫. xNO.

Mrs. Carrington sitim on chair pas tim took right shoe off. She tok W go kisim Yambo please."

125. F. 18. Moresby/English (& Motu)
- Ω 71. FT Gulf 72. &.

Mrs C sindaun long chair, putim right leg blong en untap long left leg, kisim left shoe off. Em i point wantaim left hand blong en long man na em i tok olsem "You bringim me Yambo". Em i kisim Yambo long right hand blong en pullim aerial blong en igo antap, turnim tuning samting or na i tok olsem "Kasam long Yambo, Kasam long Yambo, you harim mi Over.

126. 18. Moresby/Motu
† Ω ∫. xNO.

Miss Carrignton i wok back na sat long chair na i rausi of sue belong her. He talk em to J P na J i kism radio na i give em to Miss Carrington. Mirs Carigntion na i send em nus long radio

127. 23. Marshall Lagoon/Hula
G Ω 66. prof trng & empl. x-abs

Mrs Carrington sit daun long sea na rausim rait su belon em. Sin out im L "Kisim jambo i com". E mi kisim jambo na pul out eriol belon em na ten im on. Be ain em i ring i go lon Kasam na emi tok i gat tu pela meses belon em.

128. 20. Rigo/Hula
G Ω 71. FT Goroka 72. &.
(primary sch. Sepik)

Mrs Carrington sindaun long sea na putim wanpela leg bilong em antap long narapela leg, rausim su na tokim wanpela man long kisim Yambo igo long em. Dispela man nau kirap igo kisim Yambo igo long Mrs Carrington na em tok tankiu long man. Misis putim switch na tu em pulim

waia igo antap na toktok igo insaid long Yambo. Em salim toktok igo long Kasam.

129. Gidobada/Sinaugoro (=Sinagoro)

129. 17. Gidobada/Sinaugoro
G Ω ∫. &.

Meri he sit down long chair na putim wanpela leg up long narapala. Na em i rausim shoe. Em i tok long wanpela student. Kisim Yambo i kam please. Studen i kisim Yamba na givim meri na meri em i tok tank you. Student i go sidown long chair belong em. Meri i pullim
§ aerial untap na em i tok Yasmack from Yambo over two pla time.

MILNE BAY

130. Esa'ala/Dobuaan (=Dobu)

Misis i hansarem telephone oli ringim long em. Em i tokim man long telephone em bai bringim files kwik taim tumas. Em i go long tabol na kisim terepela pile tasol putim bek wanpela. Em laik igo nau na em pinim slepa bilong em. Bihain em lukim istap anenet long chia. Misis i put slipa na bring pile igo long man i being ringim em.

130. F. 17. Esa'ala/Dobuan
G Ω ∫.

Mrs Carrington i sindaun long cheya shos bilong he i puteim long flo na i tokim W sapos i gibim raidio name bilong Yambo. W i get up na o kisim Yambo na i gibim Mrs Carrington. Mrs Carrington i tokim thru Yambo na i kolim Kasang

131. Alotau/Dobu

Telephone i ring na Miss i go na ansare telephone. Miss i tok District Office and i tok bai i kam nau tasol. Miss igo long table na i finim onepela samting. Dispela em i fopela file na Miss i putim wanpela beke na kisim threpela Tasol Miss i no finim shoes belong en na i wok long finim yet, Miss i finim shoes belong em long underneath long wanpela chair. Miss i putim shoe na i wakabout i go.

131. 18. Alotau/Dobu
G Ω ∫.

Misis i sindaun lon chair na lusim
§ hai hil su belong em. Itokim M long kisim Radio Yambo igo long em. M kisim Yambo igo long en na emi salim tok igo long Kasan. Emi salim tupela messages igo lon Kasan.

132. Fergusson/Morima (=Molima), Dobu

132. 20. Fergusson/Morima, Dobu
G Lae 71. FT Hagen 72. &.

Misi Luis Karinto, taem is sidaun lon sia i tokim wan pela man i tok yu brinim Yambo. Na em i kisim i go lon em. I tok tankiu lon em. Na em iet i salim raidio. I tok Yambo Kasang yu harem me. Me gat tupala tok save lon yu. Em tasol.

133. 25. MBD/Wedau
G Northern 68. prof trng & empl. x-abs.

Misis Carington sin dun lon sia na crosim lag belong em and rausim sou lon rit lag belong em na askin L "kisim lilik Yambo ikam please L igo kisim Yambo na givim em emi kisim lon right han na pulim out reciver belong em no it tok Kasam from Yambo

134. F. 17. Alotau/Wedau
G Ω ∫. xNO.

Mrs Carrington sin down long chair na pulim boot belong em na putim long tambolo. I tokim W i go na kisim Yambo. W i kisim pinis i go na givim Mrs Carrington.

135. MBD/Mokiman (=Molima)

Caring (was sitting and listening) emi sit doun long sea beaen tok belong wan pela man. Emi tok yes bai mi came. Emi sanap kisimi 3 pela files behain putim wan pela in sait long Out Tray same taime lok lok long em yet. Holim tw pela fale na beimi laik painim slipas long em yet. Behain looke em na wok baut igo na kisim em and putim long lek belong em wok bout igo long doa tokim stop

135. 20. MBD/Mokiman
† Ω 71. #.

Mrs Carrington i sit long sea na si putim rait leg be em untap lon left leg, She takem off wanipela shu. She askim M na givim Yambo.

136. Milne Bay/Paiwa

Time Mrs Carrington i sit daon long chair em i harem phone i ring. Orait em kisim na harem tok pinis na em putim down receiver na igo long wanpela table klostu tasol na kisim

136. 18. Milne Bay/Paiwa
G Ω ∫.

Mrs. Carrington sidown long chair na rausim shoe blong em Behine i askim M bambam igo kisim radio wireless. M i go kisim na givim em. Behine i tok thank you. Se

tu pela file - tasol em i putim narapela igo back na em i holim wanepela tasol long hand sut. Na time em like go out i lukautim tongs bilong em na bihain em painim istap long uninit long chair long hap koner na em i walkabout igo subim right leg inside pastime na narapela leg bihain. Bihain tasol em wagabout igo aut.

137. Milne Bay/Misima

Mrs. Carrington tokim one pela man ong phone. Itok by igo lookim em. After that she putim reciever long phone na igo to her table and kisim 2pela file long outtray. I laik igo na thongs bilong em istap nothing §

being toktok igo long Kasam - Emi tok me gut topla messege me liak sarim i come long you.

137. 18. Milne Bay.Misima
G Ω ∫.

Mrs. Carrington i sin daon long chair na i kisim one pela shoe bilong em na i putim em long floor. I tokim M A by karim Yambo or woki toki Radio long em. Taim Nrs Carrington kisim radio, i tok i gat onepela nius long Kasang.

138. F. 17. Milne Bay/Bunama
† Ω ∫. xNO.

Misas L. C i go lon chair na is i sin down na itokimen one pala meri § na i go kisim one pala radio na igibim L.C. na L. C itok long radio na i

139. F. 19. Alotau/Tavara, Suau
G Ω 71. FT Madang 72. &.

Mrs Carrington i bin sidaun long sea na rausim wanpela su bilong em. Na em tokim wanpela man lon kisim Yambo. Dispela man i bin kisim Yambo na givim lon Mrs Carrington Bihain Mrs Carrington ibin salim wanpela toksave olsem - Kasam Yambo salim tok Migat tupela toktok long yu.

140. F. 21. Milne Bay/Dobu
† - 69. prof trng & empl. x-abs

Mrs Carrington sindaun long seya na tokim W long inap bai i bringim Yambo. W ikisim Yambo na givim long Mrs Carrington. Emi opim long stesin na emi itok olsem. "Yambo long Kasam." Yambo long Kasam" Mi gat tupela mesege long yu, over"

IN ENGLISH

141. Manus/Er (=Ere) & Titan

§ 141. 18. Manus/Er & Titan
† New Ireland ∫. x-abs
(speaks Pidgin)

Mrs Carrington sat down on the chair. she took the shoe from her right feet off. placed it on the floor, Then she said to JP "Bring the Jumbo please" J.P. brought the Jambo to her. she pulled the aerial with her left hand, put on the switch and said Kasang from Jumbo, Kasang from Jumbo, I have two messages for you.

142. 20. Vanimo/Pidgin
G Madang ∫. &.

She sat down on the chair then put her right foot up on the left foot and took off her shoe on the right foot. Furthermore, she asked J P to bring her Jambo which was on the stage. When J brought her that Walkertalky she pulled out the areal and then switch it on. Straight after that, she spoke to the radio saying, Kasang from Jambo, Kasang from Jambo, are you receiving me over. Then she said stop.

143. Yangoru/Apelam (=Abelam)

§ 143. 21. Yangoru/Apelam
G Ω ∫. &. (this was "J P")

She sat on the chair, took off one of her shoes. Then she asked J P to bring her, Yambo wirless. When she took the wirless, she switched on the wirless and said she has two messages from Yambo. Finally she stood up and switched the wirless off.

144. Ambunti/"Sepik" (=Kwoma?)

144. F. 19. Ambunti/"Sepik"
G Ω 71. FT Goroka 72. &.

Mrs. Carrigton set on the chair. Put one leg across the other, pulled out a pair of shoe. Looked and pointing at a man and asked him to bring over Yambo to her. The man brought it over to her. She thanked him and called Kasan asking Kasan whether Kasan is receiving Yambo or not.

145. F. 20. Central/Kalo
G Ω 69. clerical. xNO.

Mrs Carrington sat on the chair and took off her right shoe with her left hand. She sent for the Jambo and when L gave her she turned it on with her left hand holding it with her right hand and sent two messages to another station. When she finished sending the messages she said stop.

146. 20. Central/Motu
G Ω 71. FT Lae 72. x?

Mrs Lois Carrington sat down on her chair and took of the shoe from her right leg. Then she pointed to a man and said "Would you bring me Iambo" Man gave her Iambo. She than open the set and said "Mausgras from Iambo", "Mausgras from Iambo", "I have two messages for you, over."

147. 20. Gulf/Toaripi
G Moresby ∫. xNO.

L. Carington went and sat on the chair and took off her throngs, then she asked M to fetch her Iambo (Radio) after M has giv her the Radio she sent 2 messeges to Grass

148. F. 16. ND/Orokaiva
† Ω ∫. xNO.

Mrs Carrington sat down in a chair and crossed her right leg and pulled a shoes off. Then she asked W to get Yambo for her. W went to the front and got Yambo and took it over to Mrs Carrigton. She thanked W and pulled the aerial out. After this she turned it on and spoke on it that she had two messages for Kasang and said over after this and waited.

149. 17. Esa'ala/Dobu
§ G Ω 71. FT Madang 72. x? (="C")

Mrs C. sat down on the chair, took off her shoes. She then called C to bring her Yambo. C got up from his chair, and walked to the stage, picked up Yambo & took it to Mrs C. then walked back to his seat. Mrs.

C thanked him, then switched on Yambo. She said (2 times) into Yambo that this was Yambo calling Kasam, had two messages for Kasam.

150. 17. Marshall Lagoon/Hula
G Ω 71. FT 72 Moresby. &.

Mrs Carrington sat down on the chair and took off her right shoe with her left hand. She looked up and asked a man to bring Yambo. He brought it to her and she thanked him. She then pull the areial out and adjust the volume and called to Kassam and said that she had two messages for him.

151. 18. Tapini/Tauwade, Motu
G Ω 71. FT 72. &.

Mrs L. Carrington sat down on her chair, took off one of her sandals and asked a man to bring "Iambo" a radio transceiver. The man did that, and L.C thanked him. After that L.C called up a station, through the transceiver, telling them that she had 2 messages for them.

152. F. 19. Rigo.Hula
G Ω 71. FT 72. &.

Mrs Carrington sat on the chair, crossed her leg and took off her right shoe. Then she called to C to being Yambo. C brought Yambo and Mrs Carrington took it, pull out the aerial, switch on the radio and said that it was Cassan, calling Yambo and that she had two messages for them. She then turned off the volume.

153. Central/Koiari

Meri set long cha nau picked up the receiver and said Sub District oppice and Meri stand up now kasem three pela piles and putim one pela file long out tray and putim smok ash antope long bok.

153. 24. Central/Koiari
G Ω 69. clerical.

Carrington sat on a chair. Left leg across the other and put off left shoe from left foot with left hand. She ordered A to take Walki talki to her. So A stood up went to the platform & picked up the Walki talki and took it to her. She pulled out lengthening the aerial to its limited lenght and turned senton send the message.

154. Central/Koiari

Mis Carrington kisim receva na ansad poni, she tokim anadapela man

154. 20. Central/Koiari
G Ω ∫.

Mrs Carrington sat on a chair and took off her shoes. Then she asked a man to bring her Viambo v/set She send two messages to Casam and stop.

PIDGIN - OVER 25

155. Bougainville/Halia

Mrs. Carrington i bin sindaun long sia na telephone i bin ring. Em i kisim pon na i tok-tok long en. Bihain i tok se ba i kam quick Em i sanap na i bin painim su belong em. Tasol i no pain im long haninit long tabel. Bihain i bin lukim long kolostu long narapela table na i bin go putim long lek belongem na long taim i bin laik wok abaut i go ausait em i bin toromoi pael i go antap na bihain em i bin ketsim na igo aut.

155. 26. Bougainville/Halia
† Ω 68. prof trng & empl

Misses Carrington i sindaun long sia na karim rait leg antap na putim long left leg. Em i rausim shoe long left han belong em na outim long plo. Behain i tokim M long brigim Jumbo long em. Em i tok thank yu na i opim radio na i singautim narapela stesin.

156. 35. Central/Sinaugoro
G Ω 59. prof trng & empl. x.

Em i sit down long sia holim two pela leg one taim 2 pela hand bilong em. Mrs em i rausi one pela shu na em i tokim L long kisim Jumbo. L givim em na Mrs i tok thank na em sing out long --- na tokim all long em i gat 2 pela messege bilong all na em i putim Jumbo daun. Em i tok stop.

157. Manus/Loniu

Mrs. Carrington itoktok long telephone. Pinis em iputim telephone igo daun na em ikisim tiripela file. Em iputim wanpela igo bek insait long out tray basket na iholim tupela tasol. Em i lukluk aninit long sia na table long painim sandal bilong em. Em § ilukim aninit long sia na iwokobaut igo na kisim. Taim em i putim, em iwokobaut igo na opim dua bilong go arasait.

157. 30. Manus/Loniu
G Ω 57. prof trng & empl Rabaul

Mrs. Carrington i sitdaun long sia na i rausim su long rait lek bilong em. Bihain em i tokim L long bringim Yambo. Taim em i kisim Yambo, em i tok Tenkiu long L. Em i tanim Yambo na i singautim Kasang. Em i tokim Kasang igat tupela telegram bilongem.

158. MBD/Suau

Misis sindaun long sea na beikim phone. Na kisim som pala books na ilaik igo long opisi. Ta sol i § pinem boti boleng em. na ipainem § long uder nit long sea. Puti soe § na em woka baut i go lon opisi.

159. Morobe/Jia (=Zia)

Em bekim toktok long telephone em i tok District Office. Na em itok bai mi ikam. Behain longen em lukautim su'u belong em na painem na putim na em kalim tupela fail igo outsait. Em i put fail long bross belong em. §

160. Losuia/Kiriwina

Mrs. Carrington sindaun long sia. Em i toktok long telepon wantaim wanpela man. Mrs. Carrington in kirap in go long tebol and in kisim § tripela book. Em i putim bek wanpela na i putim Astrai antap. Mrs. Carrington in lukluk nabaut long ploa. Em in panim su belong em/ Em i wokabaut long namel, em i putim su belong em na i go out.

158. 28. MBD/Suau
G Ω 65. prof trng & empl

Misisi sindaun lon sea na rausim wanpala su bilong em na putim lon simen. Behain em i asikim mania L lon gibim reidio. Misisi kisim reidio na toktok lon disala reidio. Em salem wanpala nius igo long Yami.

159. 32. Morobe/Jia
prof trng & empl.

Yu sidaun na rausim su'u belong yu na putim long floa. Na yu tokim L long bringim Yambo. L kirap na igo long flatform na kisim Walky Talky "Yambo na bringim ikam long yu na yu tok "Thank you" na pulim aireal and yu tok tu Kasaung

160. 26. Losuia/Kiriwina
prof trng & empl.

Sit doun na left han bilong yu rausim su bilong yu na pointim han igo lon L askim em lon givim yu Yambo. Yu kisim Yambo na singautim Kasam na tokim em ol igat tupela toktok lon redio

"Mi gat tupela tok igo long yu"

6.0 NOTES TO THE TEXT

1.0 Yampo - the students had been using the little transceivers for some weeks prior to writing the October reports; each bore its name on a label and each name had been discussed; certainly each had been used many times, separately and in class. Failure to recall correctly the station names, especially Kasang, stands out as the main weakness in the reports which otherwise are almost all of an acceptably high standard of accuracy. While not our purpose here to examine standards of accuracy, we should note any variations, and the possible reasons for them, in what was presented in writing. It is of interest to have this feature of the data set out in tabular form. Note that capital initials are ignored as irrelevant, here, and that (x) = used for the *wrong* station.

THE STATION NAMES: ACCURACY OF RECALL

DISTRICT	No.	YAMBO was required to be fetched	The operator called KASANG from	YAMBO	DISTRICT ("controls")
SEPIK	1	yampo	kapiak		
	2	yambo	kasan	yambo	
	3	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	4	yambo	kapiak		
	5	yambo	kasun		
	6	yambu/yambo	kasan	yambo	
	7	yambo	casan		
	8	yambo	kasem		
	9	yambo			
	10	yambo	kasan	yambo	
	11	yambo	mausgras	yambo	
	12	yambo	kasen (x)	yambo (x)	
	13	yambo	kasang		
	14	yambo	mugiano		
	15	yambo	kasang		
	16	yambo	kapiak/kapik	yambo	
MADANG	17	jumbo	kapiak (x)	jumbo	
	18	kasaŋ			
	19	yambo	kasang		
	20	yamba/yambo	kasam		
	21	jambo	kasan	jambo	
	22	yambo		yambo	
	23	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	24	yambo	kasan		
	25	yambo	kasan		
	26	jambo	kasang	jambo	
	27	jambo	kasan		
	28	yambo	mausgras	yambo	
	29	jambo		jambo (x)	
	30	iambo	kapiak	yambo	
	31	yambo	kasan	yambo	
MOROBE	32	jumbo	kapiak	jumbo	
	33				
	34	yambo	kasang		

DISTRICT	NO.	YAMBO was required to be fetched	The operator called KASANG from	YAMBO	DISTRICT ("controls")
	35	yambo	kapiak		
	36	kasing/kasang			
	37	jambo			
	38	yambo	mausgras		
	39	jumbo	kasan		
E HIGHLDS	40		pasang		
	41	jambo/yambo	kasang		
	42	yambo	kasang	yambo	
CHIMBU	43	yambo	kasem		
	44	yambo	yapiok	yambo	
	45	yambo	kasam		
	46	yambo	kasam		
	47	yambo			
	48	yambo	kasam	yambo	
	49				
WHD-ENGA	50	yambo	kapiaka	yambo	
	51	yambo	kapiak	yambo	
	52	yambo			
	53	jambo	kasang		
	54		kasiak		
	55	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	56	yambo	kasam	yambo	
	57				
	58	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	59	yambo	kasang		
	60	yambo	kapiak	yambo	
	61	yambo			
	62	yamba			
	63	yambo	kapiak		
	64	yampo	kasang		
	65	yambo		yambo	
MANUS	66	yambo	kasam		
	67	yambou		yambom (x)	
	68	yumbo	muskras	yumbo	
	69	yambo	kasam	yambo	
	70	yambo	kasang (?)	yambo (?)	
	71	wambo			
	72	yombo/yombou			
NEW BRITN	73	yambo	kasam		
	74				
	75				
	76	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	77	iambo	kasin		
	78	yambo		iambo	
	79	yambo	kasen		
	80	iambo			
	81	iambo	kasang	iambo	
	82	yambo		yambo	
	83	iambo			

DISTRICT	No.	YAMBO was required to be fetched	The operator called KASANG from	YAMBO	DISTRICT ("controls")
	84	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	85	jab			
	86	iambo	kapiak	iambo	
NEW IRLD	87	yambo	kasam	yambo	
	88	yambo	kasam		
	89	hambo/hamo			
	90	yambo	kasang		
	91	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	92	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	93	yambo			
	94	iambo	kasam		
	95	iambo/jamobo	kasang	iambo	
	96	yambo	kasang		
	97	yambo	kasa	yambo	
	98	yambo	kasang		
B'VILLE	99	jumbo	kasang	jumbo	
	100	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	101	yambo	kasai	yambo	
	102	jumpo/jumbo			
	103	sampo	kasan		
	104	yamb	kasang	yambo	
NORTHERN	105	casim			
	106	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	107	yambo	kasae	yambo	
	108	jambo	kapiak		
	109	jambo			
	100				
	111	kisimb	moes gras		
	112	yambo	kapiak	yambo	
WESTERN	113	iamabo			
	114	yambo			
	115	k.			
	116	yambo	kasam	yambo	
GULF	117	yambo	casma		
	118	yambo	mausgrass		
	119	yampo	kasan		
	120				
	121	yambo			
	122	ianba			
	123	yambo	kassang	yambo	
CENTRAL	124	yambo			
	125	yambo	kasam	yambo	
	126				
	127	jambo	kasam		
	128	yambo	kasam		
	129	yambo/yamba	yasmack	yambo	

DISTRICT	No.	YAMBO was required to be fetched	The operator called KASANG from	YAMBO	DISTRICT ("controls")
MILNE BAY	130	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	131	yambo	kasan		
	132	yambo	kasang	yambo	
	133	yambo	kasam	yambo	
	134	yambo			
	135	yambo			
	136		kasam		
	137	yambo	kasang		
	138				
	139	yambo	kasam	yambo	
	140	yambo	kasam	yambo	
IN ENGLISH	141	jumbo/jambo	kasang	jumbo	(MANUS)
	142	jambo	kasang	jambo	(SEPIK)
	143	yambo		yambo	(SEPIK)
	144	yambo	kasan	yambo	(SEPIK)
	145	jambo			(CENTRAL)
	146	iambo	mausgras	iambo	(CENTRAL)
	147	iambo	grass		(GULF)
	148	yambo	kasang		(NORTHERN)
	149	yambo	kasam	yambo	(MILNE BAY)
	150	yambo	kassam		(CENTRAL)
	151	iambo			(CENTRAL)
	152	yambo	cassan (x)	yambo (x)	(CENTRAL)
	153				
	154	viambo	casam		(CENTRAL)
TP OVER 25	155	jumbo			(B'VILLE)
	156	jumbo			(CENTRAL)
	157	yambo	kasang	yambo	(MANUS)
	158			yami	(MILNE BAY)
	159	yambo	kasaung		(MOROBE)
	160	yambo	kasam		(MILNE BAY)

Yambo - of 160 respondents, 14 only did not use a name in the "Bring me Yambo" context; there was no need to, as radio, or another such word, was adequate. However, 146 did. Of these, six reported the *other* station name heard: kasang, kasaŋ, kasing, casim, kisimb, K. The others correctly recalled yambo but about one-third gave a variation of the spelling: many of the variations tend to cluster in 'education areas', and samples of alphabets used by missions and others from region to region (Hall 1956) bear this out. Such examples are jambo (13 instances), iambo (10), jamobo and iamabo, ianba etc.; yampo (3), jab (1), sampo, jumpo, etc.; yombou and yambou, yambu, yamba and ianba; yumbo, jumbo (8) (see note 17.0), jumpo and yombo; sampo and hambo/hamo are of interest, but viambo is most curious; wambo is an error, one would think, as is yamb, due to writing in haste.

The Yambo response in the "Kasang from Yambo" (or "Yambo Kasang" as several experienced R/T users put it) phrase varies little from this -

we note 158's partially remembered yami; 30 switches from iambo to yambo; 67 changes her yambou to yambom; 78 goes from yambo to iambo; but everybody else sticks with the spelling first used.

Kasang - naming the other station turned out to be, overall, the least accurate feature of these reports. We may think of various reasons for this: Kasang was heard only twice, and occupied a later position in the scenario; *two* of the sets had names which began with Ka-; the placename Kasam may have obtruded: indeed it seemed to, even among those who had never lived in that area; and there may well be other reasons.

Of the 160 reporters, 47 gave no name for the station being called (again, although a perfectly adequate report could have been written without doing so, one would really expect to find the name used, this time). Of the others, there was some regional clustering, but less than with yambo. Some reporters simply misremembered, and so we have kapiak (13), kasiak, kapik, kapiaka, yapiok and even yasmack (see note 129.O). There is mausgras (4), mausgrass, moes gras, muskras, grass, and the rather unsuccessful mugiano. kasang itself was most often otherwise kasam (21), kasan (12), or casam, casan, cassan, kassam, kassang, kassaung, or kasen, kasin, kasun, kesem; kasa, kasai, kasae and casma are less successful, pasang forgivable.

However, success or failure to report the station names accurately needs to be examined in various ways; this is not such a straightforward issue as with *shoe* (see section 7.2). Apropos difficulties and their reasons might be mentioned that many of my Italian students, years before, wrote and said Camberra for *Canberra*; and that the Moresby students had their own version of the currently standard R/T alphabet: for one thing they were completely ignorant of the meaning of *tango* and *foxtrot*; but where the first was easy to say, *F* was quite often Fostrod, Fokistot (World War II never touched Papua New Guinea in this way!); *S* was usually pronounced Sarah (*sierra* meant nothing, and was difficult to say), and *Y* was sometimes Yanko instead of Yankee, as some of them had a teacher of that surname! *Golf* was usually Gulf, a geographical term all knew well, whereas golf was virtually unknown either from practical observation or even from the cinema (when designing a handbook for typists, at about that time, we perforce avoided the word *golfball* in the sense of typeface unit for use on an electric typewriter: who ever would have found the description clear?).

2.J telepoun i rin - see section 1.5.

3.J itok - one of the areas which caused doubts and much cogitation while transcribing the handwriting was the difficulty in a few cases of being sure whether the reporter had written, or had *meant* to write, itok or i tok. What appears in the text, then, has received no little care and scrutiny, but inevitably intentions in a very few cases were impossible to decide upon. In any case, among the wealth of small points for which the data provide exemplary material, I doubt very much that anyone would elect to make pronouncements of a specific kind regarding these reporters' itok/i tok usage...

3.O Kasang from Yambo - it is worth noting how frequently from (= writing the whole phrase, as said) is used in these TP texts. It is hard to remember to translate, either in a reporting situation, or in actuality, the known phrase in English.

5.J Distrik Office - No.5 has not appreciated that she is giving *her* place of business - see section 1.5.

5.J babaim - scrutiny will perforce yield more and yet more lists of such features: *was* this an in-haste reversal? are there more of this kind? If so, this kind of feature is of little importance, here. As with recall, what brings about such features is not of main concern to us. However, were this *not* the case, and were this a genuine feature of 5's TP, then one would need to examine the feature in the light of other knowledge - see 136.O.

5.O Also 6.O, 7.O, 8.O - Kasun, kasan, Casan, etc. - one would expect that most students would be familiar with peanuts in TP; the variations on the name (these were all explained, at the session introducing the equipment) would indicate otherwise (or, perhaps, that the fascinations of the new equipment obscured hearing!). See the listing above. Kasam, especially among the Highlanders, was as might be expected a popular variant (from the Kasam Pass, on the Highlands Highway).

10.J district opicer - like No.5, 10 has misunderstood the identification; by the end of the course this rarely happened. Classroom work in conjunction with lectures and practical question/answer sessions with training officers from the Department of District Administration (DDA) and other departments responsible for the training of the community development officers, the library officers and the others, provided a reasonable preparation for office work ahead.

14.J fail o folder - students were introduced to the 'software' (a term unknown to us there and then) of office work, maintaining of files included. Each kept his weekly handouts, assignment sheets, exercises, etc. in a manila file cover, with the enclosures numbered sequentially, for practice. A set of departmental file covers, spines bound in different coloured linen, with dummy sets of documents, was part of the classroom office equipment; see also section 7.5.4.

16.O piksa - accurate, albeit extraneous: a chart, in preparation for the next segment of the day's work; see also 27.O.

17.O Jumbo - this *was* the year the circus came to Papua New Guinea! Students could not afford the entrance charges, but they joined the rest of the town in walking down to 4-mile (Boroko) to stare entranced for hours at Jumbo and the other two elephants in their arc-fenced paddock!

31.O yu harim me gut - the occasional error points up the high standard of accuracy which was maintained throughout this work unit and was evident in others; see section 2.2 for instance.

33.O i tok go - see instruction card for June, p.8; most quickly fell into the required habit of recording only what happened between GO and STOP.

35.O ringim - transference of term - see note 2.J.

37.O key - as on a standard R/T set.

41.O steidge - classroom platform.

42.O "Bai... - see also 43.J, 48.J, 53.O and other examples: introduction of direct speech by quotation marks without closing similarly appears to be quite common - see also section 4.2. (Examination of examples in Holzknecht and Smithies 1980 yields some interesting comparisons in English, taken from students' written work.) Students had done extensive practice in reported speech by this time; 'conversion charts' were wallboarded.

46.O The writer *may* have been the only man out of step, as regards the situational location, but if so I imagine it was done quite consciously: he was a man of wit and perception.

50.J also 71.J, 86.J, etc. "Over *and* out" was of course much employed in R/T work, but its use here is in error.

56.J also 64.J - DISTOF - DISTROFF was the telegraphic name of DDA, well known from our exercises in drafting telegrams/radio messages; incorrectly used here.

66.O komlim = kolim: an unusual intrusive (written) m!

67.O outstation - 67's year in the field in 1972 had ensured that she had no trouble in envisaging this as a 'real situation'.

74.O tofi - this appears to be a false start for the next word, not a 'station'.

75.J ibin - tabulation of past tense forms, etc., found in the reports would tend to bear out what my students took for granted and were careful to see that I too understood (Carrington 1977:753), that there were distinctly 'regional' varieties of TP. This of course had been described well by linguists (for example in Wurm 1971 and Laycock 1970, 1982). My point here (one which has met with some overseas incredulity) is that students work-experienced in several regions themselves were well aware of it.

76.J out tray - was used in 'office routine' exercises, but not in this.

78.J and following - English spelling is used more frequently by young Tolai women than by the the preceding reporters; many of the girls, as may be observed, were far less fluent in TP than were the men. Coastal girls (except perhaps in the north and north-west) had little opportunity to use TP. See note to 106, further on.

80.J vok - Tolai influence, v for w. So, one imagines, is the apparent reduplication in papainim. Ulrike Mosel has written at length on Tolai and Tok Pisin (1979, 1980, etc.).

102.J directories corner - a set of telephone directories (see section 1.5) was kept on a side table at this end of the platform, along with boxed sets of cards for R/T and telephone practice; the sandals were, nonetheless, under the chair.

102.O pendaun *(bend down)* seems a useful innovation - we had not, in 1973 at least, met it before; would it be a school-word, perhaps? 102's operatim, however, even in 1973, was heard in the workplace, be that a building site or a language laboratory.

103.J dring - is not found in Murphy (1966) or Mihalic (1971). Thomas Samai (personal communication) confirms it as *directly*; Stephen Wurm (personal communication) points to German *dringend urgent, pressing*, and has collected dringdring in the Eastern Highlands to mean great urgency.

106, 107 ff. Remarks in note 78.J apply: the reports provide ample evidence that TP was not much used in certain areas by such young women; this seemingly had applied even to 106 whose employment in the two years since leaving school had been in an office where she came into contact with a diversity of people. She had coped, it seems. The facility of "the Papua New Guinea dialect of English" (Smith 1978, and again Holzknecht and Smithies 1980) to be a useful tool in this way needs to be considered, along with the use of TP by such people.

109.O roit = rot? Henceforth in the reports there are more and more words which are at first glance hard to identify, as perhaps with berome (= bihain?) in 111.O.

111.O Moes Gras - see note to 1.O.

113.O ola boy - I am assured (Gelam Wainetti, personal communication) that 113's way of using ola boy has neither regional nor agricultural significance (113 was a didiman before coming to the Administrative College) but is no more than a sign that 113 had probably never written in TP, in which in any case he was not fluent. ola boy is a phrase one might easily pick up quickly.

117.J,O This young woman's English was excellent; she had lived in Port Moresby for some time and had worked in a responsible office job which obliged her to deal with the public, albeit in a routine way. Her TP was jokingly referred to by some of her associates in College as "Tok Meri" or "Tok Misis"!

129.O Yasmack - apart from its amusement value, this is a curious example of synthesis: recall that the stations were Yambo, Kasang, Mausgras, and Kapiak!

131.O There was a great 'social gulf' between white leather thong sandals (even, as these were, quite flat) and the rubber kind of Chinese or local manufacture which everybody owned. 'Miss' did occasionally wear a pair of white sandals with medium-high heels, but not during either of these scenarios.

137.J 137's use of nothing and 138's of itokimen are missteps in acquisition of TP; it would be interesting to see if such usage might occur in, say, a village, rather than a college.

141 ff. These provide a 'control' group, in that the standard of reporting in English, with its attendant spelling, punctuation, accuracy of detail and so on, may be seen, remembering that English was the language in which the students were most at home in writing.

143.O J P spoke TP, and, as with the few closest to him by number, he 'forgot' to write in TP; perhaps his role in the scenario had preoccupied him at instruction time! This was probably partly the case with 149, C, who although not a TP speaker while at school would certainly have had to acquire some TP during his year in Madang, and judging by the quality of his English (he tried his hand quite successfully at short story writing in English during the year at the College) he would have had little trouble in acquiring another language. So here too, perhaps, it was C's role in the little play which was to blame!

157.O telegram - as mentioned already, part of the training program was practice in drafting (and sending by R/T and telephone) telegrams; 157's previous occupation may well have influenced his use of the term, also.

158 His use of boti, soe in the June report, and of simen in the later one, are to be noted. This man had worked in his own area, not in Moresby, which along with his age should be taken into account when assessing his TP.

159.J long bross - they were tucked under my arm, as one usually carries such objects.

160.J in go - a nice *regional* spelling variety, which he may well (which point Ann Chowning has also made to me) have been taught in primary school.

7.0 PUTTING THE DATA TO USE

Any number of ways of doing this come to mind: it is the raison d'être of publication. Perhaps a few samples, prepared at different times over the past few years, may be given, to whet the wits of the data user.

7.1 OL and SE in eyewitness reporting

This material was prepared at the suggestion of Peter Mühlhäusler in 1976.

One would not expect to find ol occurring frequently in the reports; although the June situation involved the handling of three then two files off a pile of seven and then locating and putting on a pair of sandals, the October situation included no obvious plurals and gave the opportunity only for mentioning the 'transceiver, called Yambo'. Instances are detailed below:

The June reports

9. ...i kirap kisim ol peper 3 pelo... (E. SEPIK)
   ...antop long ol pepa...
   ...i...go ausait, long door wantaim ol pepa em i holim yet 2 pelo...

10. ...ikam tramoim ol fails... (E. SEPIK)

14. ...em i luklu nambout long ol shoes... (ANGORAM)
    ...na lukim ol i stap...
    ...na putim ol shoes...

16. Em i tromoue all file... (WEWAK)

21. ...lukluk long ol buk... (MADANG)

22. Ating oli bin singautim em bilong igo. (MADANG)

24. ...kissim ol buk wan, wan na lukin. Taim em finim ol em laikim.. (MADANG)

25. ...em kisim ol files... (MADANG)
    ...em faindim ol istap long hap...

29. ...kisim ol paper... (MADANG)
    ...painim ol shu...

30. ...em laik putim ol slipes... (MADANG)
    ...tasol ol ino stap...
    Em epi tru long painim ol gen...
    ...em putim ol slipers...
    ...em iamamas na tromoim olpail igo...

34. ...na purim onepela back Wantaim ol narapela na antap long ol i putim ash tray (FINSCHHAFEN)

35. ...antap long ol file... (MOROBE)
    ...i painim ol sandal...

41. ...antap long ol skin pepa... (E. HIGHLANDS)
    ...na painim ol su...
    ...yu trom we all skin pepa...

43. ...igo kisim buk o ol i kolim** Fail... (GUMINE) see October reports for further examples of ol i kolim

45. ...antap long ol files... (KEROWAGI)

64. ...man long narapela side is askim long ol file... (MINJ)
...antap long ol narapela file...
...i work long lukautim ol su...
...i go kism ol aninit long chair...

69....i lukluk long ol fail... (MANUS)
...na i karim ol fail (tupela) na...

76. ...na painim ol samting... (RABAUL)

80. ...na ipaim ol, na putim long leg... (RABAUL)

85. ...i lukluk long ol kain pepa nabaut... (TALASEA)
...i kasim ol tripela leap pepa...
...em tasol ol Tok i pinis...

90. ...lukluk long ol buk... (NAMATANAI)
...lukluk long ol sliper...

93. Em i putim ol so na wokabout igo ousite... (N. IRELAND)

101. ...i lukim ol file... (BUIN)
...antap long ol file...

102. Tem i makim dis ol files i stap... (BUIN)

104. ...emi no bin painim ol su... (KIETA)
...emi bin tait long painim ol...
Emi bin werim ol na go...

116. ...i tok, ol rait (cf. orait, etc., passim) (WESTERN)
...i karim ol file...

122. ...bai mi kisim all files... (GULF/LESE)

123. ...na kisim 3 pela file ol is stap lo out tray... (GULF/LESE)

130. ...i hansarem telephone oli ringim long em. (ESA'ALA)

The October reports

13....long bringim wailes oli kolim Yambo... (ANGORAM)

18.Taim em kisim pinis, tanim ol liklik paten... (KARKAR) (only one, actually)

19. ..radio oli kolim Yambo...ol i kolim Kasang... (KARKAR)

59. ..em i kolim Kasang na tokim ol olsem em i gat tupela kain toktok bilong ol... (HAGEN)

67. ..station ol ikolim Yambom... (MANUS)

74. ..igo long tofi tokim ol se two pela masege belong all. Behain longen taim all he answere..... (RABAUL)

85. ..radio ol i kolim Jab... (TALASEA)

93. ..radio ol i kolim long Yambo... (N. IRELAND)

103. ..redio set ol i kolim long Sampo... (BUIN)
..radio set ol i kolim long Kasan...

114. Mrs C. oli isit lon chair... DARU)

123. ..radio yet ol i callim Yambo... (GULF/LESE)

156. ..na tokim all long em i gat 2 pela messege bilong all... (CENTRAL)

160. ..na tokim em ol igat tupela toktok... (LOSUIA)

Out of 160 post-secondary students (and 240 reports) only a few used SE:

22. ...itok se District offis... (MADANG)
    ...so C. itok se babai em igo...

26. ...se em bai igo long... (MADANG)

64. ...i go tok ser, Distroff, na... (MINJ)

90. ...i bin toktok igo long Kasang se em bai salim... (NAMATANAI)

95. ...na em i salim tok se. Iambo igo long Kasang... (N. IRELAND)

96. ...itokim man...so baimbai igo lukim em... (N. IRELAND)

155. ...bihain i tok se ba i kam... (BOUGAINVILLE)

7.2 Plurals in -s

Mühlhäusler's discussion of the development of the category of number in Tok Pisin (1981), in particular pp.75-79, leads to an examination of the use of a -s plural form in the reports. Considering, as ever, the nature and especially the schooling distribution of the reporters, the data provide some interesting evidence for speculation. In the June reports, possible plurals were *shoes* and *files*, both things of the modern world, but with the difference that su *footwear* has been in the lexicon since TP's earliest days, but not so with any specific word for *file*, which as may be seen can be coped with well enough by using buk, skin pepa, pepa (or paus which Stephen Wurm encountered in the Eastern Highlands, but which was not used here). Of the 82 reporters, almost all of whom mentioned both items, 63 (*files*)[12] and 50 (*shoes*) did *not* use a -s plural. Those who used, for *files*, pepa, skin pepa, pael, or buk (with the exception of No.158, who is mentioned later as a special case), never used -s plural. Numbers 2 and 10 (fails) and 3, 25, 44, 45, 68, 76, 102, 103, 104, 115, 117, 122, 130, 135 and 153 who wrote files, all did so.

Shoes may well be considered in terms of Mühlhäusler's mesis or sisis (1981:74); nonetheless a count of the incidence of all interpretations of *shoes* yields:

su	80+	sus	4	sandal	5	slipa	3	slipas	10
su'u	2			sandel	2	silipa	2	silipas	3
sue	8	sues	1	sandle	1	slepa	1	silpas	2
shu	3				8	silipper	1	slippers	2
sou	1					sliper	1	slipers	4
soe	1			boti	1		8		21
shoe	25+	shoes	10+	boot	1				
so	1				2	tog	1	thongs	2
sho	2	shos	1			tong	1	tongs	4
	123+		16+	petpet	1		2		6

So, nearly eight times as many reports give su (or spelling variants), which is the long-known word in the Tok Pisin lexicon for *footwear*, as give this root word plus -s plural. The centre group shows no -s plural, but the sample is small and permits nothing but an idle speculation that *sandal* and *boot* may well have provided alternatives, in TP, to the all-purpose su several decades back. In the case of *sandal*, it is far more likely, here, that it is used because that was what *I* called my footwear: my perception of *shoe*, being as I was from a cold, wet city to the south, was different from theirs - I

perforce made a distinction which most of them had not yet needed to (which reminds me of the utter impossibility of trying to explain to a class of 17-year-old girls what a chiropodist was...). Petpet, used by a Tolai, is neither TP nor Tolai, as far as we are aware. James Weiner (personal communication) suggests that it is onomatopoeic, in the same way as he (cf. Hawaiian and other Pacific usage) says flipflops - which word is not used in Papua New Guinea. The third group is different, however. Here are the 'modern' words, *thongs* and *slippers* (not found in Murphy 1966 or Mihalic 1971, but certainly current in the towns and around trade-stores for twenty years past) where the -s plural is far more frequent. Our mesis analogy will not quite do here, for, whereas a singular match is also mesis, we have almost a quarter of these reporters using a non-s plural form! I shall look forward to others' findings, the more so as words recently adopted from the international vocabulary, via English (see Mühlhäusler's "The reality of Sapir's psychological reality of the phoneme" in this volume, for examples), take on similar characteristics, as did my little white leather sandals, 'ol slipa'.

The October reports admit of two possible plurals, *twice*, and *two messages*, but there are no concrete plurals as there were in June. The incidence of use of these was lower, as would be expected, but when it occurred the interpretation was almost always tupela taim, and tupela tok(tok) or nius. The spread goes like this:

toktok 30+, tok tok 10+, tok 9, took 1, tok save 10, toksave 2, tok savi 1, tok tok save 1, toktok save 1, hap toktok 1, kain toktok 1, sanding 1, samting (long tokim yu) 1; nius 6, news 1, nus 1; walis 1, wailis 1.

Messages was used by 11 of the 15 who wrote in English, correctly spelt by all but one, and always, again as to be expected, with -s. It is the occurrence of the word in TP which is interesting: 38, 80, 131 give messages but cf. 29's mesis, 23's mesez, mesaz, 39's *two message for you*, 74's two pela masege, 85's tupela massege, nd 156's messege (and 96's mesigs is - see her June report - very probably not a plural in -s). Despite the smallness of the sample, do we have an element for speculation as are those in the first (and perhaps second) column above? While on this point, note that those who wrote in English spelt messages correctly; it is reasonable from my knowledge of the others' written English to assume that most of them could, too. The efforts to 'pidginise' the spelling of this word - even those least experienced (perhaps *especially* they?) as TP users wrote messege, mesege, meses - bears consideration along with much wider evidence.

7.3 HAP in eyewitness reporting

This list was produced for Peter Mühlhäusler in 1979.

These examples were all that was to be found in 240+ reports. Worth observing is not only the range of meanings of hap (cf. Mihalic 1971), but also the range of background of the users: it would be difficult to categorise its use as regional, from these data! (A possible extrapolation of data from the reports might indicate any such characteristics, in other words and phrases.)

No division is made between the June and the October reports, in this listing, as what is being spoken about is irrelevant to the manner of use of the phrase containing hap.

15. ...em i wokobout i go kisim hap na em i tanim...
19. ...na ilusin wanpela hap su bilong em...
20. ...emi kisim su blong ap lek na putim long graun...
21. ...mi igat tupela hap toktok bilong yu...
28. ...rausim hap su long hap lek bilong em...
37. ...na lausing hap silipa bilong en...
40. ...na em pulim hap wai igo [antap] (raised the antenna)
62. ...em upim wanpela leg blong em na lusim hap shoe
63. ...rausim hap su bilong em...
67. ...behain em i salim tupela hap toktok...
77. ...I tok i gat tupela hap nius blong em...
92. ...me gat two pella hap toktok belong you...
100. ...long liklik hap taim em...

25. ...ol istap long hap said bilong rum...
27. ...istop aninit long sia long apide...
37. ...istap long narapera hap long house...
50. ...bihind em i kam kisim tripela Fail long haf tabel
56. ...em painim long hap cona...
62. ...em i salim tolk inko long wanpela hap igat wanpela walis long en...
65. ...tasol em i stap long narpela ap...
73. ...igo long narapela hap na...
75. ...long nara pela ap...
93. ...biaen i go long narapela up belong room...
105. ...emi i painim lon narapela hap...
...emi i go lon dispela hap...
122. ...emi laik salim 2 pela mesage long one pela hap...
136. ...em painim istap... long hap koner...

A distinction has been drawn, in the listing, between hap and long hap, simply for convenience in reading.

7.4 Some spelling variations

These are listed by number of occurrences.

7.4.1 *(she) sat down*

sindaun	60+	sidaun	40+	sitaun	1
isindaun		isidaun		sit down	3
sin daun	2	isidauon	1	sitdown	1
sindan	2	sidan	2	sit doun	2
sindown	1	sidaon	11	sit daun	2
sindaon	1	sidown	3	sitdaun	5
isindaon	1	sidoung	1	sit daon	2
sin daon	2	sidon	1	sitdaon	1
sintaun	1	sidion	1	sitdoun	1
sinn down	1			sitdon	1
sin down	3			isitdawn	1
sin town	1			sat dawn	1
sindoun	2				
sintaon	1				

These data might profitably be examined in terms of 'regional' spelling: see section 4.0.

7.4.2

table		*chair*	
table	25+	sia	57+
tebol	8	chair	52+
tepol	2	chia	1
teibol	1	cher	1
tebal	1	char	1
teibal	1	cheya	1
tevol	1	seya	1
tebl	1	siar	3
teble	1	sea	8
tabol	3		
tabal	1		
tabel	3		

(Note that + in section 7.4 means that the word may well have been repeated in a report: 60+ = at least 60 occurrences. Note too that those who wrote in English do not appear in these totals)

7.4.3 *outside*

ausait	3	outsait	3	arasait	3
aus sad	1	out sait	1	ara sait	1
aut sait	1	otsait	1	arasaet	2
autsait	4	out site	1	aresaet	2
autsit	1	outside	4	arasaid	1
autsain	2	ousit	1	aresait	1
autsaid	2	ousite	1		
aot sait	1	Outside	1		
aut saet	1	ouside	1		
		housaet	1		

(These data might also be examined in terms of 'regional' spelling)

7.4.4 *left hand, right hand; left leg, right leg/foot; hand, leg/foot*

han kais	10+	han sut	1	han	7
hand kais	2	hand sut	1	hand	1
an kais	1	right hand	3		
left hand	12	raet han	1		
left han	6	rait han	3		
lep han	3	right han	3		
lefpela han	1	rit han	1		
		lit han	1		
lek kais	3	lek sut	4	lek	20+
leg kais	2	leksut	1	leg	21+
leg kas	1	leg sut	1	lag	1
lek kas	1	rait lek	8	ap lek	1
lep lek	1	rait leg	14	foot	1
left leg	11	right leg	15		
lelf leg	1	riat leg	1		
lep leg	1	leg long rait	1		
lef leg	1	raetpela lek	1		
lefpela lek	1	right pela leg	3		
left pela leg	1	right pala leg	1		

7.4.5 bihain *after that, next, then*

bihain	29	behain	20	bihaind	2
biain	6	bhein	4	bihand	1
bihaen	4	behaen	3	bihind	1
biaen	7	beaen	2	bi hind	1
bihian	2	behine	1	behaind	2
bian	2	behane	1	behand	1
		behani	1	behined	1
		behan	1	behained	1
behind	12			behaint	1

Note that not a few reporters crossed out their first attempt at bihain and respelt it, which further adds to the evidence of uncertainty. For comparison, the group writing in English used then most frequently (14 times, plus 1 than), and also straight after that 1, when 4, finally 1, after 1, after this 2, after that 1, so 1, and even a furthermore! In general each of these people used tenses effectively without much taking recourse to then.

7.5 Interpretation of some phrases

These are listed by reporters' personal numbers, once again.

7.5.1 *onto the floor*

2. long flo	48. lon plor	106. long floor
7. long graun	53. long floor	114. lon floor
11. long flo	54. long ploa	130. long flo
13. long floa	61. long plo	134. long tambolo (!)
20. long graun	63. long floor	141. on the floor (in English)
27. long polo	71. tampolo (!)	
31. on the floor	95. long flor	158. lon simen
35. long floor	96. long polo	159. long floa
36. long floa	99. long floor	160. long ploa

Apart from 158's now-to-be-expected unusual word (primary classrooms in many rural areas *do* have cement floors) and the two versions of daunbilo, these present merely variations in spelling.

7.5.2 troimwe/putim bek *(files)*

2. em i putim wan pela igo bek
3. i putim tupela igo bek
9. putim bek wonfelo
10. ikam tromoim ol fails
14. putim back wanpela
16. em i tromoue all file
    em putim wanpela bek
22. iputim wanpela bek
24. em putim wanpela igo bek
26. putim onepela bek
27. putim wanpela bek
30. tromoim olpail
    ilusim one gen
34. purim onepela back
35. i putim back wanpela
36. em i lusim braun pela pail
40. em putim wanpala igo bek
41. putim one pela bek
    trom we all skin pepa
44. em putim onepela igo bek ken
48. em putim brawn file i go bek
50. em i putim wanpela bek
53. em putim wanpela ken istap
55. lusim bek nabwan fail
56. lusim 1 pela
63. putim bek wanpela
65. em tormoi first o nam bawan i go back
68. putim wanpela file igo bak
69. em i putim bek namba tu fail
73. iputim wan pela back
75. putim bek 1 pela
78. iputim wanpela file bek
86. toromoi igo back
89. losim wanpela
91. i putim bek wanpela
92. lusim wanpela istap
96. i putim wanpela pael igo bek
102. na i putim Back
103. i tromei files
104. emi bin putim wanpela daun
117. put down one pela file
119. putim one pela back
123. putim one pela file
130. putim bek wanpela
131. i putim wanpela beke
135. putim wan pela
136. em i putim narapela igo back
153. putim one pela file
155. i bin toromoi pael
157. em iputim wanpela igo bek
160. em i putim bek wanpela

7.5.3 *the telephone rings*

2. telepoun i rin
3. phone ikarai
4. telephone i ring
5. phone i rin
7. telepon i krai
9. telephone i ring
10. telefoni i ring
15. telephone i karai
16. telepon i rink
21. telepon i karai
22. telephon bilong em
23. fon /ring
24. telepon
25. telephone i ring
26. i ring
27. telepon i ring
29. phone
30. telepon
32. telepon
34. telephone
36. telepon/pon
37. T-phone - krai
40. telepon ring
41. telepon i cry
43. telepon
44. telepon ring
45. telepon
46. telephone i ring
50. Phone kol
54. telepon i ring
56. telipon
62. em i ringim em long telephone
63. phone
64. phone
65. telephone i karai
68. phone iring
69. telepon i ring
71. phone i karai
73. telephone em iwork long ring
74. telephone iring
77. telepone
78. telephone/phone
80. phone iring
85. telephone i ring
86. telephone i ring
89. telephone
90. telepon
91. telepon i ring
92. telephone ibin ring
93. Fon ibin ring
96. pon
100. telephone

101. telefone i krai
102. phone i ring
103. telepon
105. telepone i ring
115. telephone i lin
116. telepone
117. telephone
118. telephone
119. telephon...i reng
122. 'phone
123. telphone...i ring
130. telephone oli ringim long em
131. telephone i ring
136. phone i ring
137. phone
154. poni
155. telephone in bin ring/pon
157. telephone
158. phone
159. telephone
160. telepon

7.5.4 Alternatives, with o/or

6. putim on o switchim on
8. mesige o toktok
14. fail or folder i gat paper
36. ol bok or pail
43. buk o ol i kolim Fail
85. tok save or message
95. kisim or tekewei shoe

7.5.5. *antenna*

Unlike *message* which is a 'new word' for an existing concept/lexical item, *antenna* is a 'new concept', unless you have been observant as a youngster when near a Patrol Post, or the Head Teacher's house, or the like. Virtually none of these people owned or operated even transistor radios with antennae before coming to Port Moresby.

6. wire igo antap
7. ariel i go antap
11. ariel
12. aerial...igo antap
15. mas
17. mas
21. aerial ing antap
22. waia
25. erial igo antap
31. ariel igo antap
33. waia
35. airi igo andap
36. pon
37. eria
39. airial
40. wai
41. win stick
42. ariel/arial
44. lain
45. arial
50. arial
51. aerio
52. longpela wair
53. aerial
54. waia
58. waia
61. arel
63. waia
69. eriel
72. entener
73. aerial
74. mas
75. liklik waia
76. poul
80. airial
81. erial
84. mas
86. mas
90. mas
91. mas
93. mas
97. mast
102. mas
104. (i kirapim) masin
107. aerial
112. areal
116. aerial
117. aerial
120. aerial
123. ariel
125. aerial
127. eriol
128. waia
129. aerial
133. reciver
141. aerial (English)
142. areal (English)
148. aerial (English)
150. areial (English)
152. aerial (English)
153. aerial (English)
159. aireal

One should compare this list with the *shoe* list in section 7.2, especially as here there is clear evidence that the word generally used (by me, in class) was *antenna*, which only No.72 has 'transliterated'. The reader is left to make his own discoveries about the phalanx of mas from 84 to 102, and to find out why the one waia spoils the areal aerials....

NOTES

1. Permission to use the reports as has been done in this data paper was given fully by all who contributed their work, late in 1973.

2. The author retains the original handwritten eyewitness reports, as well as copies of the classroom material referred to.

3. Although offically all personnel undertaking courses at the Administrative College were *trainees*, I refer to them more often than not as *students*, as this is the aspect of their life and work in the College in which I am here most interested. So, for *trainees*, read *students*, and vice versa.

4. DIES = the Department of Information and Extension Services, then called; the Extension Officers whom we had in training were normally engaged in lecturing on the work of the Department, on the production of *New Guinea writing* (later *Papua New Guinea writing*), the literary magazine sponsored by the Department, and so on.

5. The system, very briefly, was that six years of primary schooling (for which admission age was one or two years later than is usual in Australia) was followed by four years of secondary schooling, up to Form IV level; those destined for higher-level employment or tertiary training went on to Senior High School, of which there were only a handful in the whole country in 1973, and completed another two years of schooling.

6. The introduction, at about that time, of sophisticated telephonic equipment into Papua New Guinea by the Australian Government, and the subsequent extension of the facility, has meant, for less remote users, a change in equipment handling, but not in the techniques of communication.

7. Television has still, ten years later, not been introduced publicly in Papua New Guinea.

8. Who, after all, would they have rung?

9. This point is very relevant to the significance of these data, which is why care has been taken with the information supplied at the head of each report. That the students felt remote from their birthplaces - and hence in numerous cases from their own language - is poignantly obvious from what they wrote in the College magazine, *kAnDere ChrOnicLe*. One might mention a story by Johannes Tembon, "The komiti" (1971:35-36), in which the lad of the story comments on his long absence and how he has grown away from his elders; Odi Lebasi in a poem (1973:44) "Transition", and Micah Pitpit in another, "School holiday" (1973:46), as well as Crescentia Jack in "To be a Library Assistant....." (1972:58) write about how keenly is felt the separation which comes with the need to be a part of the modern world. The magazine appeared in English (except for the odd catch-word) but an editorial note by Peter Waliawi in 1971 explained that its title was chosen by popular vote: the use of kandere (which Mihalic gives as *any relative from the mother's side of the family*) which Waliawi explains as below, was well understood and approved.

> *kAnDere ChrOnicLe* was chosen as a name for the newspaper of the Administrative College by popular vote. What is its significance? To begin with, we wanted to incorporate our familiar title, A D C O L. Then we searched for an apt name that would fit around the letters. *Chronicle*

> was easy. We have been just that. And *kandere*? This is the Pidgin word for a kinsman, on your mother's side. We were reminded of the term Alma Mater, which is used by university and college people all over the world as an affectionate name for their institution, their "other mother". So it seemed to us that in regarding the Administrative College as our Alma Mater, we might very well then all regard one another as kandere, as members of a large family.....(1971:3)

10. One cannot but wonder, as the years pass, whether the old system of greater mobility might not to a degree have accelerated the development of TP as a truly national language.

11. X (the fetcher of Yambo) was of course generally named in full in the reports, but is here known by initial(s) only: J P; M (M A); W; M (M P); C (or K); L (L K).

12. Don Laycock (personal communication) points out that the cluster ls tends not to occur in TP simply because it is difficult to say! This would evidently discourage the use of sandals or fails. Laycock feels that the -s plural would rarely be heard at all, except from the English speaker. Noting that the cluster ks is not avoided but appears in TP as a syllable which includes an epenthetic schwa, as in bokis, akis (which as Malcolm Ross points out are not plurals of necessity) prompts me to mention the enterprising Moresby lady who, in the early 1970s, set up a factory which manufactured, from locally produced rubber, thong sandals: slipa, as in section 7.2. And the trade name of her product was WOKS, which I never heard any wearers among my acquaintances (mainly, agreed, College or university people, and so English speakers) pronounce as aught but woks...

Patrol Officer Joe Kally operating R/T equipment
at Molot Patrol Post, Duke of York islands

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MEDIA TOK PISIN

Jeff Siegel

0. INTRODUCTION[1]

The creolisation of Tok Pisin (or New Guinea Pidgin) has been reported by several authors, such as Mühlhäusler 1977 and Sankoff 1977. One of the sociolinguistic changes that accompanies the process of creolisation is the extension of use of the language into new domains. In recent years Tok Pisin has become a widely used language in the mass media of Papua New Guinea. It is used almost exclusively by 13 of the 19 provincial radio stations of the National Broadcasting Commission and also for some news broadcasts, interviews and advertising on the national service. It is used in a multitude of government and church publications and in *Wantok Niuspepa*, a Tok Pisin weekly with a circulation of over 10,000. A certain amount of language engineering has gone into the development of Tok Pisin for this wider usage and many changes have taken place in the language, both planned and unplanned, so that Media Tok Pisin can now be distinguished from other varieties. This paper looks at some of the factors behind the development of Media Tok Pisin, such as standardisation and choice of sociolect, the influence of the medium of writing, and linguistic expansion to meet requirements of both the medium and wider use.

Media Tok Pisin can be defined as the variety used in widely distributed publications and broadcasting, mainly for reporting, education, and advertising. In the newspaper, for example, it is found in news reports, feature articles and editorials, but not in literature such as traditional stories. In broadcasting it is heard not in stories, dramas, or disc jockeys' patter but in news reports, announcements, and educational programmes. Nearly all programmes of this kind would be read from prepared scripts. Thus, by definition, Media Tok Pisin involves the written channel. The data for this paper come mainly from *Wantok* and from scripts of news broadcasts from Radio Morobe (RM), a provincial radio station in Lae.

1. STANDARDISATION

Before Tok Pisin could be used widely in the media, it had to be standardised. A standard orthography was first proposed in 1955 (Hall 1955a). Along with this, a choice had to be made as to which particular regional dialect should be used for the standard. The variety spoken along the north coast of the New Guinea mainland was chosen because it appeared to be the most widespread (Mihalic 1971:xvi).

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There is also a continuum of social varieties ranging from undeveloped Bush Pidgin to anglicised Urban Pidgin (Hall 1955b; Mühlhäusler 1975, 1979). Choosing a particular point along this continuum for the standard was more difficult. The majority of Tok Pisin speakers are found around the middle of the continuum, speaking Rural Pidgin, but the majority of writers and those readers with most access to published materials would be on the urban end. It was finally decided to choose the rural sociolect for reasons as summed up in the *Stail buk bilong Wantok Niuspepa* (p.13):

> The principle used by *Wantok* is that it wants to reach as many readers as possible. Rural speakers do not understand urban Pisin. But urban speakers understand both. So it will be our policy to prefer the rural word to the urban one.

The truth of this statement about intelligibility between sociolects can be verified only by research in this area; nevertheless it is widely accepted by both publishers and broadcasters.

The *Stail buk* presents a list of preferred rural words with their urban equivalents. Some of these are:

(1) rural	urban	English
tok gris	edvataismen	*advertisement*
bungim	kolektim	*collect*
pasin	kastam	*custom*
meri	gel	*girl*
as	risin	*reason*
gat	hevim	*have*

But the line between urban and rural vocabulary is often a fine one, and it is hard to tell when what was formerly an urban (and thus non-standard) word is widely known enough to be considered a rural word (and thus standard). For example, the *Stail buk* (p.14) mentions several formerly urban words now considered standard: skwata *squatter*, dropaut *dropout*, wimins klap *women's club*, and pilaia *player*. However, use of the rural alternative is far from consistent and there are many instances of what the *Stail buk* indicates as the preferred rural word being replaced by the urban one in *Wantok*. Some common examples are:

(2) rural	urban	English
bosman	menesa	*manager*
gohet	progres	*progress*
ples	viles	*village*
kibung	miting	*meeting*
	komprens	*conference*

The National Broadcasting Commission has no style book, and while those involved in broadcasting usually have similar ideas about using the rural word when possible, a lot more Urban Pidgin words or recent English borrowings are heard on the radio. For example, the following were heard in one newscast (RM 30.6.81): semina *seminar*, teknikol edukesen *technical education*, karikurum *curriculum*, institusen *institution*, and kolis stadis *college studies*.

A morphological rather than lexical feature of Urban Pidgin heard in radio broadcasts is the borrowing of the English plural suffix 's'. This has been pointed out by Lynch (1979:5): "Thus one hears, on the radio especially, ol ministas, ol tisas, ol studens and so on".[2] (This phenomenon has also been reported in Hall 1955b:99 and Mühlhäusler 1979:237.) Some examples from scripts

of radio newsbroadcasts are: ol tripela provinces (RM 29.6.81), ol high skuls, ol posters, ol stadis (RM 30.6.81).

In publications, however, this morphological borrowing has been avoided as well as other morphological changes in Urban Pidgin such as less frequent use of the predicate marker i (Lynch 1979:6). Tok Pisin of the published media, and written language in general, is also conservative in that it does not reflect phonological changes that have taken place in the spoken language. For example, among many Tok Pisin speakers phonological reduction of prepositions and non-singular pronouns has taken place so that long and bilong are realised as /lo/ and /blo/ and mitupela as /mitla/ (Lynch 1979:2-4). This conservatism, both planned and unplanned, enables people at the rural end of the continuum to understand the language of the media.

In addition to the desire for wider intelligibility, the choice of the rural sociolect may also be influenced by the strong negative attitudes of Rural Pidgin speakers towards anglicised Urban Pidgin (see Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1979). This attitude is summed up in this excerpt from a letter to *Wantok* (269:4):

(3)	Planti bilong mipela bilong Papua Niugini i save gut tru long pisin, tasol i no save long tok inglis liklik. Planti taim mi save harim long redio olsem, planti man husat i bin skul long inglis i save miksim tok inglis wantaim tok pisin.	*A lot of us in Papua New Guinea know Tok Pisin well but don't know English even a little. Many times I hear on the radio many men who mix English with Tok Pisin.*
	Long dispela tasol, planti man long hap bilong mipela i save paul tru. Na tu planti bilong ol i no save harim na kisim gut wanem samting ol i toktok long en long redio.	*Because of this many people from our area get really confused. And many of them don't understand well what they're talking about on the radio.*
	Olsem na mobeta ol redio anaunsa o ol manmeri husat i bin skul long tok inglis, i tingting gut pastaim na bihain toktok long pablik ples. Sapos wanpela brata o susa i save gut long tok pisin, na tu yu save yusim ol hatpela inglis yu mas tingting gut na yu no ken paulim man neks taim.	*Thus, it would be better if the radio announcers or people who have learned English think before talking in public. If you're a brother or sister who knows Tok Pisin well and you used hard English, you should think carefully and you shouldn't confuse people next time.*

A very recent innovation in *Wantok*, however, has been the use of Urban Pidgin in some advertising. This is exemplified in the advertisement for an insect spray from *Wantok* (370:15) shown here. The following Urban Pidgin words or expressions are used: hao *how*, piknik *picnic*, westim taim *waste time*, flais *flies* (note the plural suffix), enjoim *enjoy*, sikret *secret*, bodigad *bodyguard*, spreim *spray*, ken *can, tin*, hevim *have*, and tenks long *thanks to*. It is obvious that this advertisement is aimed at a certain social class in urban areas, namely the educated elite. Thus the problems of wider intelligibility and negative attitudes of Rural Pidgin speakers are not significant. And the potential buyer of the product may be influenced by the advertisement because 'it speaks his languages' (or in this case his sociolect). The advertiser is also making use

HAO MIPELA PAINIM GUTPELA PREN....
DISPELA INO SAMTIN BILONG PILAI!
1
BILONG WANEM TAIM YUMI GO LONG PIKNIK YUMI SAVE WESTIM PLANTI TAIM LONG PAITIM NA RAUSIM FLAIS NA NATNAT MOA, LONG YUMI ENJOIM KAIKAI BILONG YUMI.
2
TASOL LUKIM OL FAMILI LONG HAP. OL NATNAT INO KAIKAIM OL.
3
OLSEM NA MI TOKTOK LONG EM..
INO SIKRET. MIPELA YUSIM AEROGARD.
4
AEROGARD EM WAS OLSEM BODIGAD LONG OLGETA NATNAT I SAVE FLAI NABAUT. HIA...BAI MI SOIM YU.
5
YU SPREIM TASOL LONG SKIN BILONG YU, NA NOGAT NATNAT BAI KAM KLOSTU LONG YU.
6
HIA, YU KISIM DISPELA KEN. MIPELA IGAT NARAPELA.
TENKYU. BAI MIPELA YUSIM
7
MIPELA BIN HEVIM GUTPELA PIKNIK TRU. INOGAT OL NATNAT I KAIKAIMMIPELA. TENKS LONG NIUPELA PREN AEROGARD.
8
AEROGARD
LUKAUTIM YUMI LONG NATNAT
AEROGARD
PERSONAL
SPRAY-ON PROTECTION
AGAINST FLIES, MOSQUITOES & OTHER BITING INSECTS
HEVIM GUTPELA WIKEN NOKEN LUSIM TINTIN LONG AEROGARD!
1839

of the prestige, at least among the urban population, of anglicised Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1975, 1979). An interesting question is why Urban Pidgin is used rather than English which is also found in some *Wantok* advertisements. Another question is whether the use of Urban Pidgin for the urban reader will remain just an advertising ploy or whether it will become more commonplace. It does seem that a more urban or at least colloquial style is used on the Yut Pes (*Youth Page*) and in the recently added sports section, but more definite research would be necessary to confirm this observation.

2. LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF MEDIA TOK PISIN

The previous section discussed the more or less conservative side of Media Tok Pisin in its use of standardised Rural Pidgin rather than rapidly changing Urban Pidgin. This section looks at the innovative side of Media Tok Pisin, showing how it differs linguistically from Rural Pidgin because of the use of the written channel and the need for greater explicitness through grammatical complexity.

2.1 The effects of the written channel

I have said that nearly all media Tok Pisin goes through the written channel. In another article (Siegel 1981) I have pointed out some general differences between the oral and written codes of a language. There was a time when most linguistic analysis was of written language with the assumption that the spoken was an inferior form. In recent years there has been a shift back to the spoken language, with the assumption that written language is merely spoken language represented in a different medium. This may be true when a language is initially written down, but eventually the spoken and written diverge into separate varieties because of some important basic differences between the oral (face to face) and written communication. One such difference is the 'multi-modality' (Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz 1978) characteristic of oral face-to-face communication, which is absent in written communication. Aural and visual cues such as intonation, pitch, gestures, facial expressions, posture and distance often go along with the linguistic content in oral communication and thus we would expect that any linguistic content which depends on such prosodic or visual cues would also be absent or modified (see also Stubbs 1980:117).

This point can be illustrated with an example from Tok Pisin. In spoken Tok Pisin, verbs are often repeated several times to indicate continued or repeated actions. For example,

(4)	Mi ron yet i go i go i go i go mi bagarapim lek bilong mi, skru bilong me, rausim skin, blut i ron nating, mi ron ron ron i ron long en, mi go holim pas long en.	*I was still running and went on and on and on, I hurt my leg, my knee, lost skin, the blood was running down like anything, I was running and running after it, and I went and held on to it.* (Wurm 1971)

But this repetition is often accompanied by other prosodic or visual cues such as rising intonation and lengthening of vowels and head and hand gestures. Thus this device is not commonly used in written Tok Pisin and if it is, the verb is repeated only once.

(5)	Kolkubi em krai krai i stap. (Sievert 1973:8)	*Kolkubi was crying and crying.*
(6)	Ol i mekim mekim, na long yia 1950 samting ... (*Wantok* 291:5)	*They did it and did it, and in around 1950 ...*

Another basic difference between the spoken and written channels has to do with the fact that whereas spoken language is transient, written language can be preserved and referred back in a different time or place. Because of the transiency of spoken language, there are often devices to aid in memory, to focus the listener's attention on certain elements, and to help the flow and cohesion of speech. One such device in spoken Tok Pisin is the repetition of the main verb of the previous sentence to link sentences in a narrative for example:

(7)	Orait, i go long raunwara, pukpuk i ken kisim em, na bikpela snek i stap long wara, em i ken kisim em. Orait, ol i kisim i kam, smokim pinis, ol i putim gen, ol i go bek. Ol i go bek, ol i kisim, ol i kisim torosel na wonem samting, pukpuk, ol i siutim long supia. Ol i siutim long supia. orait, sapos dewel i kamap long wara, i go daun kisim nau ...	*Well, they go to the pond, they can get crocodiles, and the big snakes that live by the water. They get them, smoke them, put them inside, and go back. They go back, catch some more, catch tortoises and all kinds of things, crocodiles, they spear them. They spear them; but if the spirit comes up in the water, the demon of the mountain will go down and get them now.* (Laycock 1977b:615)

This device is not found in Media Tok Pisin.

There are efforts being made, however, to prevent Media Tok Pisin from deverging too far from spoken Tok Pisin. The reasons are obvious for radio programmes which are read over the air. But also the *Stail buk bilong Wantok Niuspepa* (p.6) states: "The basic assumption behind all Tok Pisin writing is that it is going to be read aloud". Thus, for example, the style book prescribes use of an oral transitional device orait (p.9):

> After a direct quotation is finished, it is good to continue with some word that lets the listener (more than the reader) know that the direct speech is ended, e.g. Em i tok, 'Mi go nau'. Orait, nau em i kirap i go.

Another example is the particle ya (also written ia) which has been discussed in many articles on Tok Pisin (such as Sankoff and Brown 1976, Sankoff 1977). In spoken Tok Pisin ya has two main functions: first, it is used as an exclamatory particle at the end of an expression, along with falling intonation:

(8)	Man Goroka i ples kol ya!	*Golly, Goroka is a cold place!* (Mihalic 1971:206)

Second it acts as a generalised deictic marker in one of three ways: first, as a demonstrative following the noun or pronoun:

(9)	Kar ya i no gutpela tumas	*This car isn't very good.*

second, in an anaphoric capacity, focusing on a noun phrase already referred to:

(10) Long bipo bipo tru wanpela lapun meri i stap wantaim pikinini bilong en ... Wanpela taim nau, meri ya go long bus ... (story in *Wantok* 263:21)	*Long ago there was an old woman who lived with her children ... One time, this woman went to the bush ... .*

and third, as an element to focus on a noun phrase which is followed by an oppositive:

(11) Mi laik bekim pas bilong brata ya Lukas Hausing. (letter in *Wantok* 219:4)	*I want to reply to the letter of our brother, Lukas Hausing.*

Thus, ya is an example of an oral device which aids in memory and perhaps in flow of speech by directing the listener's attention to a noun phrase which has already been heard or one which will be further qualified.

The use of ya has only recently come into Media Tok Pisin. In *Wantok* it was occasionally used with a variety of spelling in traditional stories, in an anaphoric capacity, and in letters to the editor as an exclamatory particle and more frequently to precede appositives. It was not used in news or feature articles or editorials until April 1979 when it suddenly started appearing regularly in its deictic capacities:

(12) Gavman is bin skelim K3,500,000 i go long Nesenel Yut Muvemem Program. Tasol program ya i givim bun o polisi tasol. (375:8)	*The government has allocated K3,500,000 for the National Youth Movement Programme. But the programme is only to direct the policy.*
(13) Bai i gat filim bilong ol lain kantri ya Algeria, Cuba Senegal, India, Bolivia, Amerika, na Yurop. (265:7)	*There will be films from these countries: Algeria, Cuba, Senegal, Bolivia, America, and Europe.*

The then editor of *Wantok*, Kumalau Tawali, told me in an interview in July 1979 that it was decided at a staff meeting of the newspaper to use ya more frequently in order to make the written Tok Pisin more like the spoken.

2.2 Explicitness and grammatical expansion

Because of the lack of certain oral and visual cues referred to in the preceding section, written language and to some extent broadcasting language rely heavily on lexicon and morpho-syntax. Furthermore, because written language can be preserved and referred back to, it can be taken out of context or 'decontextualised' (Goody and Watt 1962:321) and thus cannot always rely on information from, for instance, a familiar setting or shared cultural knowledge of speakers and listeners. Thus, as a result of these factors, written language must be more explicit to compensate for lack of additional information that would usually be available in face to face spoken language. Olson (1977:258) argues that there is a transition from what he calls 'utterance to text' which is one of 'increasing explicitness with language increasingly able to stand as

an ambiguous or autonomous representation of meaning'. Thus, explicitness is another effect of the written channel and we would expect Media Tok Pisin to be more explicit than the spoken. Such explicitness comes from a wider vocabulary and greater grammatical complexity. However, lexical and grammatical expansion are also linguistic features of creolisation, just as widening scope of use (as in the media) is a sociolinguistic feature. Therefore, we would expect greater explicitness to be a result not only of using the written channel but also of the process of creolisation.

Lexical expansion through the use of more English has already been mentioned in the first section. But also many new words have been coined from Tok Pisin elements, such as ranaweman *refugee*, grismani *bribe*, stapwok *strike* and wansolwara *Pacific Islander* (see also Laycock 1977a). A feature of media Tok Pisin related to lexical expansion is the use of synonym pairs to introduce lexical items, discussed in detail in Mühlhäusler 1979. New items are paired with a more familiar word or expression using o *or*. One example is in (12) above. Others are:

(14) Madang i gat nupela Haus Tambaran o Kalsa Senta. (375:5)	*Madang has a new culture centre.*
(15) Bai Gavman i autim tambu tru long sampela kampani bai ol i no ken ekspotim o salim long ol arapela kantri ol diwai nating. (98:7)	*The government will strictly forbid some companies to export or send to other countries raw timber.*

Some examples of increased grammatical complexity reported in creolised Tok Pisin are also found in Media Tok Pisin, for instance, use of bai as an obligatory future marker (Sankoff and Laberge 1973). However, the most innovative features of Media Tok Pisin is the use of husat and we to mark subordinate clauses.[3] In spoken Rural Tok Pisin relative clauses are usually unmarked. This is also true to some extent in written Tok Pisin, for example:

(16) I gat planti mama in no bihainim pasin tumbuna (233:7)	*There are a lot of mothers who don't follow tradition.*

But in Media Tok Pisin there is now a very common use of husat, the interrogative *who*, as relative pronoun in this pattern: N husat Pred. Some examples are:

(17) Na i gat planti nesenel politik man husat i givim sapot bilong ol i go long pati ya. (379:6)	*And there are many national politicians who are giving their support to this party.*
(18) Ol lain Banabans wanpela lain husat i laik kamap fri long Kiribati tu i kamap. (379:2)	*The Banabans, one group who want to become free from Kiribati, also came.*
(19) Ol lain husait bai kam long dispela woksop bai kisim moa skul long accounting. (RM: 21.5.81)	*The group who will attend the workshop will get more schooling in accounting.*

As with ya, the use of husat in *Wantok* began in April 1979. When asked about it the editor said it was adopted because it is 'broadcasting Pidgin'.[4]

Mühlhäusler (1977:573) mentions that an anglicised construction using husat is sometimes found in creolised Tok Pisin. However the English origins of this usage have now been obscured,[5] and it has been adopted and changed by Media Tok Pisin so that it can be used not only as *who* but also as *which* for inanimate nouns as seen in the following examples:

(20) East New Britain em wanpela long ol tripela Provinces husat i bin kisim ful pawa bilong em yet. (RM: 29.6.81)	*East New Britain is one of the three provinces which has got complete power for itself.*
(21) Em i bin tok olsem, dispela stopim bilong ship em i go long rong pipol, olsem na inap bringim piksa nogut i go German Kampani husat i bin rereim wokabaut bilong dispela ship. (RM: 15.12.80)	*He said the ban was pushed on the wrong people which could reflect a bad picture to the German company that is arranging the cruise.* (This is the English script from which the Tok Pisin translation was made.)

Mühlhäusler (1977:572) also reports the use of we, the interrogative *where*, as a relative marker as follows: N we pred. However, it appears that in Media Tok Pisin, husat is used for this type when the N is [+ human]. More often is used for clauses of the N_1 we N_2 pred pattern (with the meaning *where, at which, in which*, etc.), for example:

(22) I gat 6-pela rum we ol nes i glasim ol sikman. (375:3)	*There are 6 rooms where the nurses can examine the patients.*
(23) Em olsem wanpela pilai we wanpela tim i lus na narapela i win. (379:3)	*It's like a game in which one team loses and the other wins.*
(24) Yalamet Community Village organisation i papa long haus we han bilong bank bai istap. (RM:30.6.81)	*The Yalamet Community Village organisation is the owner of the building where the branch of the bank will be.*
(25) Em i tok Lae i gat gutpela hap graon wea ol Agriculture student i ken traim paractical farming. (RM:29.6.81).	*He said Lae has a good piece of land where the agriculture students can try practical farming.*

These adverbial clauses are usually unmarked in rural Tok Pisin, for example:

(26) Em i laik kam long ples mi stap long en.	*He wants to come to the village where I live.* (literally: ... *to the village I live at it.*)

3. CONCLUSION

I have tried to show what has happened to Tok Pisin as its use has been extended into the media. There seem to be two opposing forces acting on the language in its new role. The first is the conservative force resulting from the standardisation necessary for intelligibility in wider use. The second is the innovative force bringing about changes required by the wider use, such as adaptation to a new medium and linguistic expansion.

Many questions have been raised, some of which can be answered with further research, others only with time. For example, will the use of standard Rural Pidgin continue in the media and if so, will it remain a conservative influence? Also, are certain innovative features of media Tok Pisin also found in spoken urban and/or creolised Tok Pisin or have different features developed?[6] Finally, will innovations of media Tok Pisin find their way into rural areas as the media become even more widespread?[7] The answers to these questions may prove interesting not only to those concerned with the development of Tok Pisin but also to language planners, creolists, and others interested in sociolinguistic change.

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this article was presented at the Australian Anthropological Society symposium: Language in Social and Cultural Context, held in Canberra, August, 1981.

2. ol is the Tok Pisin plural marker. Thus the Rural Pidgin forms would be: ol minista *ministers*, ol tisa *teachers* and ol studen *students*.

3. This use has accompanied the development of a media style corresponding to the easily recognisable style of media English which makes extensive use of relative clauses. Here are two examples from page one of *The Australian* 5311, 26 August, 1981:

   > G. Gordon Liddy, the man who masterminded the Watergate breakings, is offering himself to businessmen as an industrial counter espionage consultant.
   >
   > A strike which began on the Queensland coalfields nine weeks ago over pay relativities and widened to cover the use of apprentices during stoppages could threaten the development of new mines in the State.

4. Andrew Taylor (personal communication) reports an analogous use of the Hiri Motu interrogative daika in the media.

5. See example (3) above in which the writer uses husat as a relative pronoun in a letter complaining about people mixing English and Tok Pisin.

6. Another way of marking relative clauses in creolised Tok Pisin has been described by Sankoff (Sankoff and Brown 1976, Sankoff 1977), that is 'ia bracketing' or setting off the relative clause boundaries with the ia (ya) particle. However, this construction is not found in Media Tok Pisin.

7. An example of linguistic change spread by the media in the past has been reported by Mühlhäusler (mentioned in Dutton 1973:79) who said the use of bin as an aspect marker was popularised by radio announcers.

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LEARNING TO SPEAK ABOUT SPEAKING IN A PIDGIN LANGUAGE

Peter Mühlhäusler

1. INTRODUCTION

Among the many English-based pidgins and creoles of the south-western Pacific Tok Pisin is both the linguistically most developed and the socially most firmly institutionalised variety. It is the major lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, being spoken by some 750,000 to 1,000,000 speakers as a second language and in about 20,000 households as a first language. The total population of Papua New Guinea amounts to slightly more than 2,000,000.

The language has been known by many names, among them New Guinea Pidgin, Neomelanesian and Tok Boi. Its present name Tok Pisin (literally: talk pidgin) reflects the linguistic independence of this language as well as the political independence of its speakers.

It was declared the official name by the Government of Papua New Guinea in July 1981.

Recent research[1] on pidgin and creole languages (e.g. the contributions in Valdman and Highfield 1980) has concentrated on the following aspects of these languages:

i) their dynamic development and the resulting linguistic variation
ii) questions of speech communities and status of pidgin and creole speakers
iii) communicative competence and functional diversification of pidgins and creoles

I will make some brief remarks on each of these points:

i) The dynamic growth of pidgins is both structural and functional. Pidgins expand, i.e. get functionally more complex, as they are used in more and more social functions. It is still customary to isolate structural expansion as an independent variable, though, to my view, a better approach would be one which sees structural expansion as resulting from functional expansion: As speakers have to express more complex ideas they will use communicative strategies which lead to greater structural complexity.

It should be noted that the emergence of new linguistic functions in a pidgin differs dramatically from the functional expansion[2] accompanying first-language acquisition as described by Halliday (1979).

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Most noticeable is that the endpoint of child language acquisition, the referential function, is the point of departure in the functional expansion of a pidgin. This difference in the sequence of emerging functions is probably the main reason for differences in the emergence of grammatical structures in first and second language acquisition.

A fuller treatment of this question is given by Mühlhäusler (1980:45-46).

ii) Most pidgins are spoken by two or more distinct groups of speakers. Typically, the language used in vertical communication (between expatriate 'master' and indigenous 'boy') differs considerably from that used in horizontal communication (among indigenes of equal social rank).

The grammar of a pidgin is shaped by two distinct groups of speakers:

a) the socially dominant colonisers who speak a standard version of the pidgin's lexifier language.
b) the subordinate indigenous population who speak many different vernaculars.

As the pidgin language develops, the importance of the former decreases whilst that of the latter increases.

The distinction between two groups of speakers, rather than the postulation of a unified speech community (as done for instance by Robert A. Hall 1943) is important for our purposes: How users of Tok Pisin speak the language, speak about the language and do things with the language depends very much on their group membership.

This is particularly important for the expatriate linguist and language planner. The view that one is dealing with a single grammar[3] has resulted in the failure to discover many aspects of grammar and is further responsible for the large number of unacceptable suggestions on language planning.

iii) To understand the nature of a language like Tok Pisin it is essential not only to know its grammatical structures but also its external use, i.e. the communicative functions in which it is employed by its speakers. Pidgin languages start off as functionally severely restricted languages (being used initially only in the referential and order-giving functions in a restricted domain) and are only gradually extended to serve as means of communications in other functions. In this paper I will restrict myself to an examination of the metalinguistic function of Tok Pisin, i.e. speakers' talk about talking. It is important in this connection, to keep in mind that pidgins are second languages. The metalinguistic capacity of pidgin speakers in their first language is not necessarily reflected directly in the pidgin and can be indeed quite different in the two languages. Sankoff (1976:289) remarks on attitudes towards correctness in indigenous vernaculars:

> Speakers will insist that their own variety is the best, that it is easiest and clearest to understand, that it is in fact understood by people from miles around, that it is the easiest to learn, and so on. Other varieties are judged to be some kind of corruption or aberration from the speaker's own, and imitations occasion much mirth on the part of any local audiences.

The situation with regard to Tok Pisin is very different because it is not the possession of a small community but a nation-wide lingua franca. As such, it is commonly regarded as an asset, since it facilitates communication across

former tribal and linguistic barriers. There is considerable reluctance among second-language speakers of Tok Pisin to pass judgements on pronunciation. As long as a speaker is understood, his or her Tok Pisin is good. Similarly, a speaker's inability to talk about grammatical categories in Tok Pisin cannot be taken as an indication that such a speaker cannot talk about this topic in his or her first language.

In the remainder of this paper I will examine how second-language Tok Pisin speakers have acquired the capacity to talk about Tok Pisin in Tok Pisin.

2. THE ACQUISITION OF METALINGUISTIC CAPACITY BY SPEAKERS OF TOK PISIN

Judgements about the structure and use of Tok Pisin can be divided into two categories:

i) Judgements made in a language other than Tok Pisin
ii) Judgements made by means of Tok Pisin

A study of the first type of judgements should consist of an examination of both indigenous and European judgements. Unfortunately, there is still no comprehensive study of indigenous views (a brief sketch is given by Mühlhäusler 1979:118ff). Expatriate judgements on language use and language structure, on the other hand, have been extensively documented (for instance by Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1979). For the sake of brevity, I will restrict the discussion of point (i) to a brief summary of expatriate views. It should be noted that

(a) virtually all expatriate judgements about Tok Pisin to date have been made in a language other than Tok Pisin
(b) Expatriate opinions have remained pretty static over virtually the whole development of Tok Pisin. The most dominant views include:

i) Tok Pisin is a corrupted form of English
ii) Tok Pisin contains many rude expressions and therefore needs to be purified.
iii) Tok Pisin is referentially inadequate.

The following quotations must be regarded as representative of those views.

i) Tok Pisin is a corrupted form of English (Daiber 1902:255):

> Thus the white man attempted when he settled upon the palm-shaded islands of the South Seas, to bring English as a common language to the multilingual black natives, with which they could communicate with the whites as well as among one another. But the childish son of the wilderness was not yet ripe for abstract linguistic concepts. He transformed the language in his own ways, intermingled it with his own expressions and the quaint Pidgin English was created. [Author's translation]

ii) Tok Pisin contains rude expressions: The *Rabaul Times* (24 May 1929) refers to Tok Pisin as a 'tenseless, declensionless, and often obscene jargon'.

iii) Inadequate referential potential. Statements such as the one made in the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* (45, 1903:455) were repeated until the very recent past:

> Pidgin English does not allow one to enter into general understanding with the native; in particular it is not possible to penetrate, by using this language, the outlook, customs and mentality of the native. In this language one cannot enter into negotiations nor explain rights nor enter into written communication with the native — it has thus no further use than the expression of short orders necessary in maritime or plantation service, orders which often are incompletely or wrongly executed due to the inadequacies of this language. [Author's translation]

The consequences of such opinions are discussed by a number of authors, for instance Hall (1955) and Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1979).

Judgements made about Tok Pisin through the medium of Tok Pisin, with a few exceptions, are found among the indigenous population of Papua New Guinea only. The emergence of such judgements is dependent on two factors:

i) the realisation that Tok Pisin is a language different from English and hence from expatriate norms
ii) the development of a metalinguistic vocabulary accompanying growing metalinguistic awareness of the users of the language.

In the first decades of Tok Pisin's development few indigenous speakers realised that their language differed from that spoken by the Europeans. In fact, for a long time Tok Pisin was called Tok Vaitiman by the Papua New Guineans. Judgements about correctness and good and bad varieties can only develop once the speakers of a pidgin see it as an independent language. Reinecke remarks (1937:100):

> But when, owing to closer and more frequent contacts with the other party, a group that has been speaking a trade jargon comes to realise that it has been using a sub-standard dialect, it reacts in accordance with its attitudes regarding 'correct' speech, much as do the speakers of a creole dialect. In this case the change to a recognised language is quicker and easier, because they have no attachment to this supplementary tongue. This stage has been reached in the Chinese ports; it was being reached among the Russians who traded to northern Norway; it is beginning to be evident in parts of West Africa; but in Melanesia it is barely apparent among a very few natives of the thousands who speak Beach-la-mar.

Commenting on Reinecke's observations a few years later, Reed (1943:288) notes a significant change in the pattern of indigenous attitudes:

> We now find, however, that the terms tok pijin and tok boi are part of the speech and stand in contrast to tok ples bilong waitman and tok ples bilong Sydney which designate true English. This distinction implies the general acceptance by natives of pidgin's subordinate position. More direct confirmation was given by a Kwoma informant who, laughing at his own naivety, told how he had believed pidgin to be the white man's speech 'true' before he had been recruited. But even before he had learned pidgin for himself, he had been disabused of the notion that the white masta had no other speech of their own.

At the same time, the way the expatriates spoke Tok Pisin was acknowledged as a norm for the further expansion of the language: Reports of Papua New Guineans making further distinctions between their own Tok Pisin and that of Europeans are found only after World War II. In 1956 (p.376) Mead refers to

> ... *men* who have been away at work for a long time and are able to make fine distinctions between Neomelanesian [= Tok Pisin] as the European speaks it and Neomelanesian as spoken among themselves.

The same author remarks about an interviewee (1956:225): "He could answer slowly, with experience of the ways in which Europeans spoke Pidgin English".

There is no indication at this point that Papua New Guineans objected to European pronunciations in any way. In fact, in an article by Hall (1955) it is noted that a number of Australian-English pronunciations were spreading widely among the local population. It appears that these favourable attitudes towards an expatriate pronunciation began to change as self-government and independence approached. Wurm (1969:37) remarks

> Indigenes ..... are becoming increasingly critical of the mistakes made by Europeans speaking the language and of the incorrect Pidgin of many Europeans in general.

It was at about this time that the label Tok Masta 'expatriate talk' began to be attached to the European varieties of Tok Pisin. This reflects the growing self-awareness of the Papua New Guineans in the years preceding independence and a more critical attitude towards the ways of the expatriate population. The following statement by Piniau (1975:96) stands representative for the views of many educated Papua New Guineans:

> Expatriates are mistaken if they think that Tok Pisin cannot be used to express everything well. If they find difficulty in expressing themselves, it is because they either do not know Tok Pisin well or they still think and formulate their ideas in their own native language.

Today Tok Pisin is seen not only as a language separate from English but subvarieties are distinguished within it. Next to Tok Masta one finds the names:

Tok Pisin belong Taun *Urban Pidgin*
Tok Pisin bilong Asples *Rural Pidgin*
Tok Pisin bilong Kanaka *Bush Pidgin*

as folk labels for different social varieties of the language.

For a small group of speakers the awareness that Tok Pisin is manifested in a number of varieties extends to the historical development of the language as well, and the distinction between

Nambawan Tok Pisin	Early Jargon and Stabilised Pidgin as spoken in German times
Nambatu Tok Pisin	Stabilised and Expanded traditional Tok Pisin
Nambatri Tok Pisin	Recent Anglicised Tok Pisin

made in the following account, given by Mr. Joseph K. from Lorengau, Manus Province, is used:

Mi laik toktok long pasin bilong Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin, em i luk olsem tete nau taim bilong ol nupela man nau, i luk olsem i tripela toktok nau. Nambawan toktok long taim Siaman i kam i bin yusim, ol i bin yusim long taim ples i bin tudak yet. I no gat man bilong mi ol i save pren gut long ol waitman. Orait, ol i bin lusim dispela toktok bilong bipo tasol, i no gutpela toktok tumas. Sampela ol i bin yusim, tasol mipela tete laik traiim lainim i hat tumas, i olsem planti i no krai gut. Orait, i kam long mipela tete, mipela i kam bihain long ol, em i klia liklik tasol. Pisin i no olsem i no wanpela tok i tru. Olgeta hap toktok i kamaut insait long wanpela wanpela ples insait long ailan long Niugini .... Orait, nau inap long mipela ol dispela toktok i pinis, nau i gat tete em i narepela nupela toktok gen, nau ol i yusim tete, bikos planti manki ol i bin go long ol bikpela skul na ol i gat gutpela save nau, ol i ken toktok long Pisin na ol i ken putim liklik hap Inglis moa i go longen. Sampela hap hatpela toktok i no orait long Pisin. Orait ol i save bringim ol sampela hap long Inglis i go, ol i sotim i go nau, ol i bringim dispela toktok i kam longpela. Tasol long taim bilong ol bikman nogat, i narakain olgeta, mipela i no nap long harim.

I want to talk about what Tok Pisin is like. As regards Tok Pisin, it looks as if, in our present day generation, one can distinguish three types of language. The first variety is that which was used when the Germans came; they used it when the place was still uncivilised. None of us would be a good friend to the white people. Well this language of the past has been abandoned; it was not a very good language. Some people used to speak it, but today we find it very hard to learn, many things don't sound correct. As regards my generation today, we came after them, our language is a bit clearer. Pidgin was not like a real language. All sorts of bits of language came from the various areas of New Guinea. Thus, a real language developed, the one we speak today. Now, the development of the language spoken by my generation has come to an end and now today there is a new language again. Now they speak it today because many boys have attended high school and they are well educated. They are used to Pidgin and they are used to putting quite a few little bits of English into it. Some bits of difficult language don't fit into Pidgin. Well, they bring some bits of language from English, they abbreviate it, they lengthen it. But, in the time of the ancestors this didn't happen, it was very different, we are not able to understand their language.

The emergence of stylistic variants of Tok Pisin and ways of talking about them, also appears to have taken place in the late 1960s. The principal varieties and their Tok Pisin names are:

tok piksa	*metaphor*
tok pilai	*to talk in metaphors*
tok bokis	*secret word*
tok hait	*to use secret language*
tok baksait	*backslang*

We can postulate a tentative hierarchy of the development of the meta-linguistic capacity of Tok Pisin speakers as follows:

i) awareness of Tok Pisin as a language separate from English
ii) awareness of distinct varieties within Tok Pisin:

   a) indigenous vs. non-indigenous varieties
   b) socially determined varieties
   c) diachronic varieties (developmental stages)
   d) stylistic varieties

Whereas there is a considerable time gap between the emergence of (i) and (iia) categories, categories (iib-d) appear to have emerged almost simultaneously between 1960 and 1970. During the same period we also find the emergence of talking about language use, i.e. the emergence such as tok brukbruk *to stutter*, tok gris *to flatter*, tok bilas *to insult*, or mauswara *to waffle*, i.e. expressions referring either to the way in or the purpose to which Tok Pisin is used. None of these expressions were recorded before 1960 and most of them are restricted to young fluent speakers and first-language speakers. It is interesting that the emergence of such labels coincides with the appearance in print of letters by Papua New Guineans, criticising aspects of language use by other Papua New Guineans. Such criticism is directed, unlike earlier expatriate criticism against etymological impurities or referential inadequacies, against two types of tok nogut *bad language*:

i) language which is unintelligible and hence useless for communication.
ii) language which is socially damaging.

i) The main cause of unintelligibility is the incorporation of ad hoc loans from English into Tok Pisin, a device commonly used to enhance the speaker's prestige. Negative comments on this practice are commonly found in both printed and spoken language. Examples are:

a) extracts from a reader's letter to *Wantok*, 10 July 1976:

Planti taim mi save lukim Wantok Niuspepa na sampela man na meri i save tok inglis, taim ol i raitim pas. I no min olsem ol i laik tru long raitim pas, tasol ol i laik soim ol i save inglis moa long tok pisin ...	*I often observe in Wantok Newspaper that some men and women use English expressions when they are writing letters. They don't really want to write a letter, they just want to show that they know English better than Pidgin.*
Sampela taim, as bilong tok i no kamap gut taim yu putim tok inglis insait ... You no ken putim hap inglis insait. Em i kranki. Orait. Tok Pisin em i pisin na tok Inglis em i inglis. Tupela i no ken abusim wantaim. Tupela i mas wanwan stret. No ken paulim nabaut ol wantok.	*Sometimes, the meaning of an expression is not clear when you use English words in it ... You must not put in English words. It is stupid. Well, Tok Pisin is Tok Pisin and English is English. The two must not mix. Each must remain separate. You must not confuse your fellow speakers.*

b) Unrestricted borrowing from English is also deplored in a letter to *Wantok* of 3 May 1972.

Sapos yumi mekim dispela pasin nogut, bai bihain tok pisin bilong bus na tok pisin bilong taun tupela i kamap narakain tru ... Nogut yumi hambak nabaut na bagarapim tok ples bilong yumi olosem.	*If we indulge in this bad habit then Rural Pidgin and Urban Pidgin will become quite different languages. Thus, Pidgin will really become fragmented. Let's not mess and thus ruin our common language.*

c) The following comment on somebody's use of the loan anaunsemen *announcement* instead of toksave was recorded at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1976. It illustrates that the use of 'prestige' vocabulary can backfire:

Ya, man ya, i tok wanem?	*And what did this man say?*
Husat?	*Who?*
Nogat, em i tok anaunsemen tasol, em i tok a-naun-se-men Mi laik tokim liklik anaunsemen — i no laik tok-save (general laughter). Kain bilong ol bikman ya dey been hearing it from somewhere, na nau ol i laik yusim it — a toksave, a! Toksave is good, it explains everything, toksave! Toksave, he laik yusim hat wot ya, anaunsemen, anaunsemen. (Laughter) I tell you, he doesn't know what it meant.	*You know who I mean, he said 'anaunsemen', he said 'a-naun-se-men'. I want to make a little 'anaunsemen', not a toksave (general laughter). It's typical of these prominent villagers — they been hearing it from somewhere, and now they all want to use it — you know, toksave! Toksave is good, it explains everything, toksave; he wanted to use a difficult word, 'anaunsemen, anaunsemen'. (Laughter) I tell you, he doesn't know what it meant.*

d) In a minority of cases unintelligibility is seen as the result of incorrect use of established words. An instance of this type of confusion are different names for motor vehicles.

A saloon car may be referred to as kar, sip (from 'Jeep'), or taksi in different parts of the country. Many speakers do not distinguish between trak *truck* and trakta *tractor*. The following unpublished letter to *Wantok*, written in 1971, deplores the use of trakta *tractor* instead of taksi *small car, taxi*:

Mi bin halim planti man na meri ol i save kolim taksi long trakta, tasol mi ting dispela pasin i no stret long tingting bilong mi. Taksi i no save givim mani long yumi, yumi save spenim mani long taksi ... Na trakta i save givim mani long yumi time em i brukin graun ...	*I hear many people call taxis 'tractors', but this is not right to my way of thinking. A taxi does not produce wealth for us, we spend our money on taxis ... but a tractor gives us money when it is used for ploughing.*

ii) Remarks on socially damaging language are typically directed against lexical items which reinforce racial, social or educational inequalities. Again, the first examples of this kind were recorded in the late 1960s. Consider

e) the use of kuk *cook* instead of meri *wife*, to signal the inferior status of women.

Sampela man em ol i save kolim ol meri bilong ol olsem kuk bilong ol. Ating planti long yufela i save harim dispela kain tok tu? Sori brata, yu husat man yu save kolim meri bilong yu olsem kuk bilong yu, orait ating yu mas baiim em long olgeta potnait long mani ...	*Some men call their wives 'cook'. A lot of you have perhaps heard this expression. My dear brother if you call your wife your cook you better pay her fortnightly wages.*

(unpublished letter to *Wantok* newspaper, 1974)

f) the insults graslain *grasscutter, hillbilly* and smelbek *someone who fills copra in bags, a smelly person, hillbilly.*

Graslain, smelbek. Planti taim me save harim hap tok hia: Kolim ol man i no bin i gat gutpela edukesen o ol man i save wok long ol plantesen o ol man i save stap long ples (o) ol man i save sakim kopra long smel bek na gras lain ... Dispela kain tok olsem i no pasin bilong bung. Em inap kirapim trabel, laka.	*Grasscutter and smelly person. I have heard these expressions many times. This is how they call people with little education or the workers on a plantation or the villagers in their home villages or the people fill copra in bags, smelly people and grasscutters. These expressions do not promote unity, they mean trouble. You see.*

(Letter to *Wantok*, 15 November 1972).

The latest, and as yet not fully developed domain within Tok Pisin meta-linguistic language, are expressions referring to aspects of grammar. As can be expected with a language such as Tok Pisin, exchanging information about grammatical constructions does not rank very high on the list of priorities of its speakers. It should also be noted that devices for talking about grammar depend, to a significant extent, on the institutionalisation and socialisation of rules of speaking. This means that such devices cannot be expected in the early stages in the development of this language. Whilst I have not made a full analysis of this topic, it is interesting to observe that the solutions by indigenes and Europeans exhibit significant differences.

For instance, among the well-meant proposals suggested by European dictionary makers, we find proposals to translate the names of grammatical categories such as noun, adjective, verb etc. In Tok Pisin, such categories are notoriously non-discrete and the boundary between adjectives and intransitive verbs is hard to justify in terms of the grammar of this language. Ignorance of the true functioning of Tok Pisin grammar is also evident in proposals such as that by Balint (1973) to translate verbs as taimwort *time word* (probably calqued from German *Zeitwort*) notwithstanding the fact that Tok Pisin verbs have a complex aspect system but in many varieties do not express tense at all. Virtually all expatriate analyses of Tok Pisin are sentence-based and expatriate proposals for Tok Pisin grammatical terminology invariably include a term for 'sentence'. However, in a relatively ungrammaticalised language such as Tok Pisin the sentence is not a very good unit of analysis, not even for written language. The indigenous expression referring to a basic unit of speech is hap tok *a piece of talk* which can be translated loosely as a 'sensegroup' and which also tends to correspond to intonation group (in a pidgin language usually shorter than a grammatical sentence in the expatriate sense).

The spectacular development of derivational morphology in Tok Pisin (described by Mühlhäusler 1979) has not gone unnoticed by its speakers. When discussing these developments with young informants I was surprised to find a number of expressions relating to this area of grammar.

Unlike some expatriate linguists who still use static concepts such as the morpheme when talking about word formation, the Papua New Guineans appear to have realised that we are dealing with dynamic processes here and that verbal expressions are therefore more appropriate; Compounding is bungim tok *bring together talk* and reduplicaton is skruim tok or tok skruskru *to join talk.*

3. CONCLUSION

In conclusion I would like to point out that this paper must be seen as an interim statement on an area of linguistic study of Tok Pisin which has been neglected for far too long. I hope to be able to fill in the skeleton information presented here and to relate it to the wider issues of the study of metalinguistic problems as discussed, for instance, by Lyons (1980). I feel that even a cursory information of Tok Pisin data warrants the following conclusions:

i) What people do with their language and what they believe they are doing is of utmost relevance to language planners and the people who propose new uses for the language (e.g. in bilingual education).

ii) Linguists are only too prepared to impose their metalinguistic system on languages they do not know sufficiently, thereby depriving themselves from finding out about some of the most intriguing aspects of human language.

iii) The development of the metalinguistic capacity in a pidgin language is dependent on both extralinguistic and linguistic factors. The metalinguistic function emerges late in Pidgin development, implying that it is a nurtural rather than a natural function of language.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank the Australian National University and the British Academy for help with my research stay in Canberra, during which this paper was written. This paper is a revised and expanded version of a talk at the meeting of the Australian Anthropological Society in Canberra, August 1981.

2. For the purposes of this paper a functional model similar to that developed by Jakobson (1960) is used. I am fully aware of the pretheoretical status of this model and the problems involved in setting up the metalinguistic function as a separate function.

3. An interesting example is the analysis of the sentence ol i haisimap plak *they hoisted the flag* which is analysed as Pronoun + predicate marker + Verb (consisting of verb stem and affix ap) + Object noun. However, for most Papua New Guineans haisimap would seem to function as two verbs in a verbal chain as can be seen from variants such as haisim plak i ap. This possibility is ignored in analyses such as that given by Hall (1943).

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THE REALITY OF SAPIR'S PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY OF THE PHONEME

Peter Mühlhäusler

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

What worries me most about phonemic representations of the type advocated by Sapir (1933) and the systematic phonemic representation of Transformational Generative Grammar (e.g. Chomsky 1964) is not their shape at an abstract level but rather the seemingly arbitrary choice — from very many alternatives (as a look at a dialect atlas or a stylistic analysis will show) — of the surface forms to which such abstract representations are said to be related. These surface forms differ from lect to lect, variation being located along the temporal social, geographic and stylistic axes.[2] Picking the standardised word-list pronunciation style of adult male middle class speakers as the endpoint of the journey from psychologically real deep structures to surface structures to me seems a very dubious way of going about the job that phonologists should be doing, namely accounting for the fact that speakers speaking many different varieties of a language can communicate with one another. Time prevents me from dealing further with this point here and those interested in the argument are referred to Bailey (e.g. 1973 and 1977).

Since many linguists continue to believe that it is the nature of the deep structure that is crucial to the process of evaluating phonological solutions I would like to restrict my discussion to some problems in this area. In particular, I would like to dismantle a notion which has become almost a dogma and is presented as such to most beginning students of phonology: That Sapir (1933) has provided unassailable evidence for the psychological reality of the phoneme. The following two quotations concerning this point are representative of many:

> The classic article on the psychological reality of phonemes is Sapir's (1933) article bearing exactly this title. In this article Sapir reports the following anecdote:
>
> > When working on the Southern Paiute language of south-western Arizona I spent a little time trying to teach my native interpreter ... how to write his language phonetically ... I selected *pa:ßah* ... I instructed Tony to divide the word into its syllables and to discover by careful hearing what sounds entered into the composition of each of the syllables ... To my astonishment Tony then syllabified *pa:*, pause, *pah*. I say "astonishment" because

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> I at once recognized the paradox that Tony was not "hearing" in terms of the actual sounds (the voiced bilabial *β* was objectively very different from the initial stop) but in terms of an etymological reconstruction: *pa:* 'water' plus postposition **-pah* 'at'. The slight pause which intervened after the stem was enough to divert Tony from the phonetically proper form of the postposition to a theoretically real but actually nonexistent form. (pp.23-24).

What this means is that Tony had knowledge of the underlying /p/ in the postposition 'at', which by rule becomes the voice spirant [β] intervocalically. In other words, the /p/ in the phonemic representation is psychologically real.

(Hyman 1973:73-74)

But now, the modern student will ask, what evidence can we have about these 'feelings'? Surely all we can know is what the native speaker tells us; and surely his 'feelings', in so far as they are conscious, may be conditioned by quite irrelevant factors (most obviously, in the case of a literate speaker, orthographic convention), and in so far as they are not concious, are not directly accessible to the linguist. We cannot base analyses on such an insecure foundation.

In a later paper (1933), Sapir seeks to provide some independent evidence of the reality of his 'sound patterns' and of the phoneme in the sense in which *he* used the term (not the classical sense). He assumes that

> if the phonemic attitude is more basic, psychologically speaking, than the more strictly phonetic one, it should be possible to detect it in the unguarded speech judgements of native speakers who have a complete control of their language in a practical sense but have not rationalized or consciously systematic knowledge of it. 'Errors' of analysis ... may be expected to occur which have the characteristic of being phonetically unsound or inconsistent but which at the same time register a feeling for what is phonemically accurate.

Sapir goes on to give several examples, not all of which are entirely cogent. One, however, is very strong indeed; in fact when Twaddell (1935) was trying to abolish the evidence for 'the phoneme [in *any* sense] as a mental or psychological reality', he was unable to find a satisfactory counter-argument to this example.

(Sommerstein 1977:6)

2. SAPIR'S 'PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY'

It would seem necessary to say a few more words about the circumstances that led Sapir to his views on phonological representations. It will have to be a rather sketchy discussion and those interested in fuller details are referred to Sapir's original writings (in particular 1933 and 1925) and subsequent discussions by Twadell (1935) and McCawley (1967).

In trying to find evidence for the psychological reality of 'phonemes' (in Sapir's sense), Sapir argues:

> If the phonemic attitude is more basic, psychologically speaking, than the more exactly phonetic one, it should be possible to detect it in the unguarded speech judgments of naive speakers who have a complete control of their language in a practical sense but have no rationalized or consciously systematic knowledge of it. "Errors" of analysis, or what the sophisticated onlooker is liable to consider such, may be expected to occur which have the characteristic of being phonetically unsound or inconsistent but which at the same time register a feeling for what is phonemically accurate. Such "errors", generally overlooked by the practical field linguist, may constitute viable evidence for the dynamic reality of the phonemic structure of the language.

His work in the area of reducing American Indian languages to writing with the help of native informants strengthened his belief that phonemes are indeed psychologically real:

> I have come to the practical realization that what the naive speaker hears is not phonetic elements but phonemes. The problem reaches the stage of a practical test when one wishes to teach an intelligent native, say one who can read and write English reasonably well and has some intellectual curiosity besides, how to write his own language. The difficulty of such a task varies, of course, with the intelligence of the native and the intrinsic difficulty of his language, but it varies also with the "phonemic intuitiveness" of the teacher. Many well-meaning linguists have had disappointing experiences in this regard with quite intelligent natives without ever suspecting that the trouble lay, not with the native, but with themselves. It is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to teach a native to take account of purely mechanical phonetic variations which have no phonemic reality for him. The teacher who comes prepared with a gamut of absolute phonetic possibilities and who unconsciously, in spite of all his training, tends to project the phonemic valuations of his own language into what he hears and records of the exotic one may easily befuddle a native. The native realizes when what he is taught "clicks" with what his phonological intuitions have already taught him; but he is made uncomfortable when purely phonetic distinctions are pointed out to him which seem real enough when he focuses his attention on them but which are always fading out of his consciousness because their objective reality is not confirmed by these intuitions.

Sapir, in his 1933 article, presents a number of results of such 'practical tests' (strictly speaking we are dealing with pretheoretical observations rather than theory testing). One example has already been given above. Another, equally famous one is:

> When working on Sarcee, an Athabaskan language of Alberta, Canada, I was concerned with the problem of deciding whether certain words that seemed homonymous were actually so or differed in some subtle phonetic respect that was not immediately

> obvious. One such homonymous, or apparently homonymous, pair of words was *dìní* "this one" and *dìní* "it makes a sound". In the early stage of our work I asked my interpreter, John Whitney, whether the two words sounded alike to him and he answered without hesitation that they were quite different. This statement, however, did not prove that he was objectively correct, as it is possible for perfectly homonymous words to give the speaker the illusion of phonetic difference because they appear or because of the different positions they occupy in their respective form systems. When I asked him what the difference was, he found it difficult to say, and the more often he pronounced the words over to himself the more confused he became as to their phonetic difference. Yet all the time he seemed perfectly sure that there was a difference ... The one tangible suggestion that he himself made was obviously incorrect, namely, that the *-ní* of "it makes a sound" ended in a "*t*". John claimed that he "felt a *t*" in the syllable, yet when he tested it over and over to himself, he had to admit that he could neither hear a "*t*" nor feel his tongue articulating one. We had to give up the problem, and I silently concluded that there simply was no phonetic difference between the words and that John was trying to convince himself there was one merely because they were so different in grammatical form and function that he felt there ought to be a difference.
>
> I did not then know enough about Sarcee phonology to understand the mysterious "*t*" theory. Later on it developed that there are phonologically distinct types of final vowels in Sarcee: smooth or simple vowels; and vowels with a consonantal latency, i.e., vowels originally followed by a consonant which disappears in the absolute form of the word but which reappears when the word has a suffix beginning with a vowel or which makes its former presence felt in other sandhi phenomena. One of these disappearing consonants is *-t'*, of which *-'* may be considered a weakened form.

3. SOME REACTIONS TO SAPIR'S PROPOSALS

Later writers, depending on whether they favoured a behaviourist or a mentalist view of language, held varying opinions of the validity of such 'tests'. A particularly critical reaction is that of Twaddell (1935).

3.1 He first criticises Sapir for selectively extracting those data which support his hypothesis and withholding others. Thus, with regard to the paβa case he observes.

> Sapir's guide, whom he describes as a 'young man of average intelligence', surprised him by writing a voiced labial fricative as [p], although objectively of course this [β] differs more from the initial [p] than does the postvocalic long or short stop [p·, p]. We are not told how Tony wrote these latter sounds; if he wrote them, too, as [p], then his procedure is a simple case of uniform response to different

> stimuli. If Tony wrote the postvocalic stop with a different symbol, then there might be some basis for stating 'that the postvocalic -β- is more closely related functionally to a simple initial -p than is the postvocalic -p- (after unvoiced vowel), which must always be interpreted as a secondary form of -p·- (50). But this statement would be strictly inconsistent with Sapir's report.
>
> (Twaddell 1935:58)

3.2 For the dini example Twaddell (ibidem) points out that Sapir confuses phonological and morphological criteria, or, expressed in a more modern jargon, that he fails to distinguish between natural phonological processes and acquired lexico-morphological ones:

> (2) John Whitney, another native interpreter, assured Sapir that the two Sarsi words, dìní 'this' and dìní 'it makes a sound', apparently homonyms, were totally different. John insisted that the second of these words ended in [t]. As Sapir tells us, both final vowels are aspirated; the increment of aspiration to a vowel may be a positional variant of [t], or it may a feature of utterance-conclusion. In the one case John analyzed the aspiration as a [t]-variant, the other as a finality-feature. The reason for the native speaker's choice of mode of analysis is, Sapir indicates, the occurrence of morphological variants of dìní 'it makes a sound' which contain an unambiguous [t]. In so far as this incident may be interpreted as evidence of any mental reality, it would appear to be rather a morphological class or lexical unit than any phonetic or quasi-phonetic class or unit.

Chomsky (1964), on the other hand, appears prepared to attach considerably more importance to Sapir's findings. After introducing the term 'systematic phonemic representation' he states that:

> "The level of systematic phonemics is essentially the 'phonological orthography' of Sapir".

McCawley (1967), without rejecting Sapir's general claims regarding the psychological reality of abstract structures, points out that some of Sapir's assumptions are in conflict with transformational generative phonology, in particular the constraint that the phonological inventory be a subset of the phonetic inventory and the use of undivided sound segments rather than phonological features. The reader is left with the impression that Sapir's phonology stands in need of some minor updating rather than a drastic revision.

McCawley does not mention a third point implied by Sapir, namely that tests of the type described in his article have come to be regarded as a kind of discovery procedure by fieldworkers concerned with reducing unwritten languages to a written form. I have been told by fieldworkers who have tried it that they soon began to feel that they were either more stupid or unluckier than Sapir. The reasons for this together with certain other flaws in Sapir's argument, will be discussed now.

4. MORE DATA ON DEVELOPING WRITING SYSTEMS

Important questions such as that of the psychological reality of phonemes, should be settled by extensive and systematic observation of a broad array of data rather than on the basis of a well-chosen selection of anecdotes. In addition, evidence from naturally occuring data would seem to be preferable to the elicitation of responses in an artificial fieldworker-informant tête-à-tête.[3]

My own data consists of letters written in non-standardised Tok Pisin between 1970 and 1976. The writers of these letters are comparable to Sapir's 'intelligent natives' in that many of them have had some instruction in English. One difference is that data from both female and male informants were considered. Most of the letters considered were written to the editor of *Wantok*, the largest Tok Pisin newspaper.

As there is no single phonological system for Tok Pisin, I expected, and encountered, a great deal of interindividual variation. It would be interesting to pursue the question of how speakers of this language cope with the numerous competing pronunciations and spellings.

An unexpected result of my data analysis was the extent of intra-individual variation. Far from coming up with consistent solutions, letter writers appeared to explore many strategies of sound representation in single short texts, ranging from letter pronunciation spellings and quasi-phonetic spellings to more abstract and anglicised ones.[4] The solutions in almost all instances were a far cry from Sapir's 'phonological orthography'.

Let us now look at some of the data:

4.1 Spelling of words containing syllable final [ŋ] as in [siŋ siŋ] *to dance* [loŋ loŋ] *crazy* or [loŋ] 'locative preposition'.

A number of variant pronunciations of these words should be noted:

(a) Some speakers add a homorganic voiced stop either word finally or both medially and finally, as in: [siŋ siŋg] and [siŋgsiŋg].

(b) The added final stop is occasionally devoiced as in [siŋsiŋk].

(c) Many speakers neutralise nasals in syllable-final position, i.e. no distinction is made between spelled sin *sin* and sing *sing*. We can therefore represent singsing as /siNsiN/.

(d) Some varieties of Tok Pisin prenasalise voiced stops, as in [rendi] redi = *ready*, or [tambak] tabak *tobacco*. Here prenasalisation is non-phonemic and singsing could be written /sigsig/.[5]

(e) Convention (b) (devoicing) can also combine with (d) resulting a representation /siksik/.

(Forms in heavy typescript represent standard orthography (Mihalic 1971)).

It should be noted that the above alternatives are realised differently in different lexical items, since processes of lexical diffusion appear to play a greater role in pidgins than in first-language vernaculars.[6] This means that the most reliable evidence will come from variant spellings of one and the same form.

Consider, for instance, the variant spelling of the items long 'preposition' tingting *think* and singsing *dance* in a single letter:

tigtig	sinsing	log
tingting	sinsig	lok
tintin		

The writer of another letter represents tingting as both tinktink and tingting, whilst yet another writer has the forms isingaut and isinkaut *is shouting*, in the same short letter.

4.2 Spelling of words containing epenthetic vowels, as in karanki *cranky* or sukul *school*.

The insertion of epenthetic vowels is obligatory for many older speakers of the language, whilst younger and first-language speakers only use it as a stylistic variant (cf. Pawley 1975 and Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock forthcoming). In some words, epenthetic vowels are a partly lexical phenomenon, being favoured in forms such as sapos *if* and supia *spear* but not in spesel *special* and gris *fat, grease*. There are no clearcut examples of epenthetic vowels functioning in a meaning-distinguishing way.

One would therefore expect 'intelligent natives' to ignore epenthetic vowels in their phonological orthography. This, however, is not always the case and, in addition, the same writer will sometimes use a quasi-phonetic and sometimes a phonological writing system.

Consider the following examples from one letter:

STANDARD WRITTEN FORM	PHONETIC REPRESENTATION	ACTUAL WRITTEN FORM	GLOSS
sampela	[sampela][7]	sambla	*some*
dispela	[dispela]	dispela	*this*
yangpela	[yaŋpela][7]	yangpela	*young*
kru	[kuru]	kru	*brain*
krungutim	[kurungutim]	kurugitim	*to bend*

Another writer produced both martim and maritim *to marry* in the same letter. Many examples of similar inconsistencies (i.e. when measured against Sapir's orthography) could be pointed out with epenthetic vowels.

4.3 Spelling of words containing prenasalisation of (voiced) stops.

Prenasalisation is lexicalised in some instances (i.e. it is favoured in tambu *taboo* but disfavoured in oda *to order*) and appears to be rapidly disappearing in the first-language varieties of Tok Pisin (cf. Tetaga 1971). I do not know any variety of Tok Pisin where prenasalisation is phonemic.

Some remarks on this feature were already made in my discussion of [ŋ]. As has been the case with other sounds, prenasalisation is not represented consistently in the letters examined. The same writer came up, for instance, with the spellings karagi and karangi for standard kranki *cranky*. In another letter we find both planti *plenty* and iapela for [yaŋpela] *young*.[8]

The above examples could be multiplied for each of the cases examined, and similar material could be presented for word-initial [h], final stops, and vowels. It would seem that the phenomena observed are very different from Sapir's findings. To me they represent negative support for a level of phonological spellings and they further seem to disconfirm Sapir's generalisation that "it is impossible to teach a native to take account of purely mechanical phonetic variations which have no phonemic reality for him".[9]

4.4 Morphophonemic representations.

We have been concerned so far with the psychological reality of purely phonological underlying forms. A second type discussed by Sapir are morphophonemic (morphonological) segments such as the ones in the dini example above. Again, data obtained from an examination of Tok Pisin letters suggests that such segments too are not represented with any consistency.

For many speakers, final voiceless stops are neutralised in pronunciation. Thus, underlying /t/ can be variably pronounced [k], [p] or [ʔ]. Many intransitive verbs or adjectives end in a voiceless stop.[10] The underlying stop consonant can be recovered when the transitiviser -im is added to the verb stem, as in marit - maritim *to marry - to marry someone* or stop - stopim *to stop - to stop someone*.

In spite of the high frequency of the transitive forms, quite a few letter writers fail to represent the correct underlying consonant in the case of the intransitive forms. Thus, in a single letter we find the following three spellings for underlying /t/, only one of them morphophonemically 'correct':

RECORDED SPELLING	CORRESPONDING TRANSITIVE FORM	GLOSS
marik	maritim	*to marry*
stret	stretim	*to straighten*
orai	oraitim	*to correct*

This data seems to suggest that sound correspondences for which there is no natural phonological explanation can also lay no claim to psychological reality. Again, the spellings suggest that speakers of Tok Pisin are well aware of what Sapir would refer to as 'subphonemic differences'.[11]

5. EVIDENCE FROM TOK PISIN BACKSLANG

A description of this special register of Tok Pisin can be found in Aufinger (1949). According to this author, backslang developed as a by-product of literacy in Tok Pisin. The discovery that words could be written backwards led to their being spoken backwards. Most speakers use backslang only with individual words, particularly those with taboo content, e.g. pekpek *to defecate* becomes kepkep and puspus *to have sexual intercourse* supsup.

The Tok Pisin word for *school* is usually spelt skul and pronounced [sukul] with a non-phonemic epenthetic vowel. The epenthetic vowel is compulsory in initial sk clusters for most speakers but less likely in final ks clusters such as in neks *next* or siks *six*.[12]

Thus, the expected backslang form of both standard spelling and phonemic spelling is /luks/. The actual documented form is lukus with the subphonemic epenthetic u in the final cluster.

I have not carried out any detailed investigation of Tok Pisin backslang, but I feel that a closer examination of this register both in Tok Pisin and other languages could yield valuable evidence for phonological analysis.

6. DISCUSSION

I feel that the data presented here leave little doubt that Sapir's phonological spelling, and derived systems such as SPE phonology will have to be drastically revised before they can make any claims to being mentalist in the sense of reflecting psychological reality. My data are therefore yet another confirmation of Botha (1971).

My only reason for flogging a dead horse yet again is the importance which continues to be attached to Sapir's evidence. Far from deserving such attention, it would seem that the most charitable interpretation of Sapir's tests is that, by some stroke of luck, he happened to get hold of totally consistent 'monomaniacal' superinformants. However, I feel inclined to suspect that the artificial context[13] in which such informants' intuitions were obtained is responsible for the results.

In real life situations, speakers of language have at their disposal a number of different strategies to arrive at plausible spellings. The strategies used by adult speakers of Tok Pisin are comparable to those underlying the creative spelling of young children discussed, for instance, by Read (1980).

Most important, speakers appear to be quite capable of hearing and representing subphonemic differences, though the extent to which they are able to do this remains to be determined.

Instead of being discouraged by the many 'inconsistencies' in developing spelling systems, linguists should regard them as valuable evidence for both the language users' creativity and the linguistic variability of natural languages.

I am not sure to what extent data from developing spelling systems can shed light on abstract phonological representations. If they can be legitimately used then we are forced to admit that what is directly observable is only indirectly related to more abstract representations via a number of natural rules.[14] The stages intermediate between abstract representations and actual surface forms would seem to be part of a speaker's knowledge and are hence likely to appear in creative spelling.

It is important to distinguish between spellings representing natural phonological processes and others reflecting cultural (taught) knowledge of varying kinds. Among the latter, knowledge of other writing systems (in our case English and vernaculars), letter pronunciations and the degree of exposure to standardised written language are of particular importance.

Natural phonological processes must also be kept separate from morphological alternations. Such alternations are real only in as much as they reflect something which has been taught and learnt.

In conclusion, I would like to make the following points (I am afraid that many of them will be old familiars to you):

(1) The testing of informants' intuitions in a formal interview context must be supplemented with evidence from spontaneously produced natural language.

(2) The fact that spelling systems reflect many stages in the phonological representation of a form may be taken as additional justification for the postulation of a single phonetological (in the Baileyan sense) component of grammar.

(3) An adequate linguistic theory must account for the fact that writers of natural languages are capable of producing and interpreting variable output.

(4) Natural and 'nurtural' processes must be kept separate in phonological explanations.

(5) Sapir was right in drawing our attention to abstract knowledge of native speakers — he was wrong in locating such knowledge at a single (phonemic) level of analysis.

Those of you concerned with the development of actual writing systems may find in this paper some explanations of why they failed to achieve (as they undoubtedly have done) the neat consistent solutions that Sapir managed to obtain.

I hope that future writers of introductory textbooks to phonology will be a little more reluctant to create false expectations about the nature of language encountered in everyday situations.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank Dr. D.C. Laycock and Dr. D.T. Tryon of the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, of the Australian National University and Professor M. Silverstein, University of Chicago for helpful comments and suggestions on the first draft of this paper as well as my wife Jackie for editorial help and comments.

2. Such variation is also found in Tok Pisin. Although most of its speakers use it as a second language for many of them it has become their primary language. A number of the variants which developed along the geographical and social demensions are now used for stylistic purposes by fluent speakers.

3. Interesting additional evidence could come from an examination of indigenous scripts. Examples are found for a number of Austronesian languages, though none is documented for Tok Pisin.

4. As pointed out to me by Dr D.T. Tryon, any attempt at spelling is a move towards standardisation of a language, i.e. speakers attempt to write lento rather than allegro pronunciations. The fluctuations found with semi-established spelling systems such as encountered for Tok Pisin may be partly due to the speakers' exposure to different semi-official standards, though it must be noted that many of the spellings found in the letters examined are not part of any such spelling system.

5. For interesting remarks on the treatment of prenasalisation by speakers of Tolai (Tok Pisin's principal substratum language) see Mosel (1980:11).

6. One of the reasons for this is the pressure of Tok Pisin's lexifier language English. It accounts for a great deal of upward style-shifting.

7. The forms listed here represent lento pronunciation. In allegro style we find [sambala] and [yambala]. None of the letter writers represented such assimilations orthographically, however.

8. Some speakers contrast [ŋg] and [ŋk] as in tangir [taŋgir] *mackerel* against manki [maŋki] *young boy*, though there are no minimal pairs.

9. These findings agree with those actively involved in designing standard orthographies, e.g. Phillips (1976:47):

It is felt that the Prague and Bloomfieldian type of analysis used to arrive at the original phonemes of Wahgi, and consequently their symbolization in the orthography, by not taking note of degrees of function in a context larger than the word as described here, and the relevance of minimal pairs from within a word class, tends to ferret out all the phonic contrasts establishable on the word level within the language, and attribute to them a rank of importance which is not shared by the native speakers, and consequently to overload the language with signalling entities in the alphabet.

10. The status of final stops is much more difficult to test with nouns. A speaker of Tok Pisin who has no knowledge of English may represent in both written and spoken form, 'night' as *naip* and knife as *nait*. All standard orthographies involve heavy reliance on etymological criteria.

11. Dr D.C. Laycock, in Wurm, Mühlhäusler & Laycock (forthcoming) has suggested that we are dealing with a gradient phenomenon here, related partly to intra-linguistic knowledge, partly to the knowledge of other linguistic system. It is worthwhile to quote his observations regarding the Buin language:

> ... subphonemic differences in articulation tend to have no verbal characterisation, and may be impervious to imitation, or even be unperceived. In Buin, older speakers have a consistent allophony between [t] and [s] — the former occuring always before /e/ and /o/, and usually before /a/ and /u/, and the latter occuring always before /i/, and occasionally before /u/ (and very rarely before /a/). Younger speakers, however, have learnt to make a distinction between the /t/ and /s/ phonemes of the lingua franca New Guinea Pidgin, and will now make such statements as 'speakers of the north-east dialect call their dialect Uisai, but we say Uitai'. I am not sure that older speakers of Buin are in a position to make such a statement, since for them the allophony is, in all dialects other than that of Uisai, fairly strictly conditioned.
>
> The perceptual threshold is even more striking in the case of the [r] and [l] allophones of Buin /r/. Younger speakers of Buin are aware that /r/ and /l/ contrast in New Guinea Pidgin, but even so very few are able to make the distinction. It is a fact, readily apparent to a Western observer, that speakers of both the northern and the southern dialects of Buin use the [l] allophone more frequently (in initial position) than do speakers of the central dialect (where [r] predominates). But since r and l are in free variation in all dialects, speakers of any dialect may not even be aware of the difference in frequency of realisation of the allophones and, even if aware of it, may not be able to consistently make the distinction themselves. I have heard Buin speakers attempt such utterances as 'mountain people say loi (for *man*), while we say roi' — but the utterance comes out as 'mountain people say loi, while we say loi', or 'mountain people say roi, while we say roi', or even 'mountain people say roi, while we say loi' (which last is at total variance with the facts).

It would seem imperative to gather similar observations for many other languages since they promise to yield significant insights into the question of the psychological reality of underlying representaions. It sould be noted that Laycock's data reveal a significant difference between perception and production.

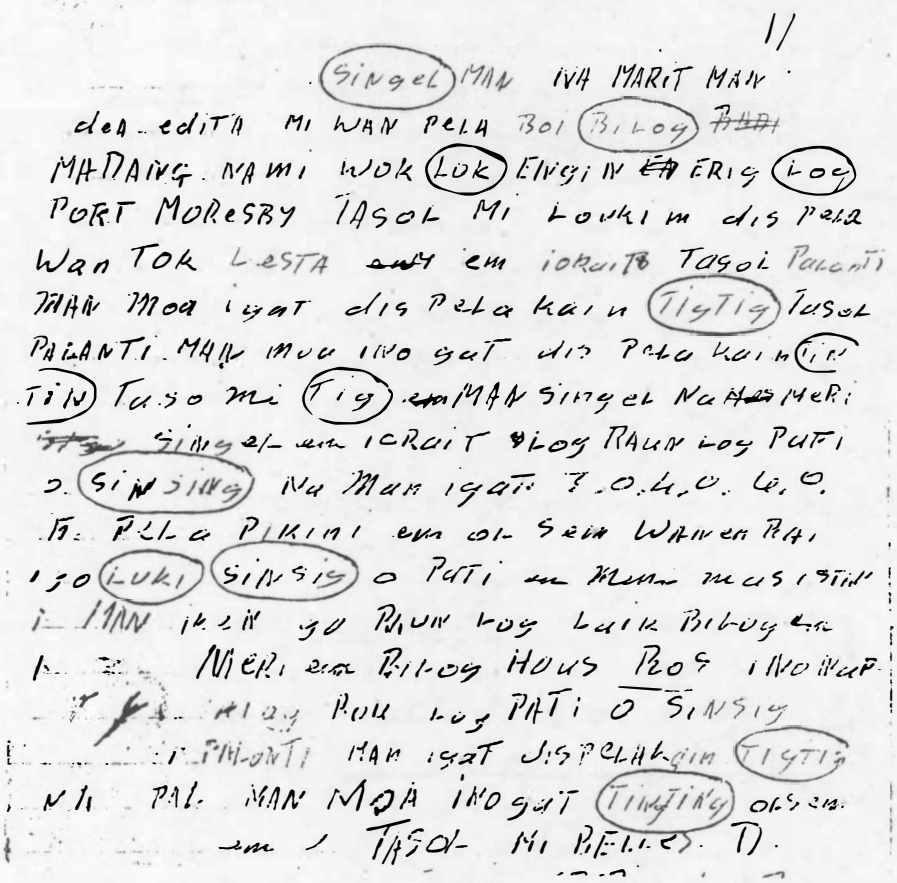
12. This statement is an oversimplification. The epenthetic vowel in final clusters is very common in words such as bokis *box*, takis *tax* and akis *axe*. It is almost categorically absent in meso-lectal Tok Pisin after plural -s as in [buks] *books* or [taits] *tights* and is often dropped in 'anglicised' pronunciation. We appear to be dealing with a complex case of lexical diffusion and grammatical conditioning of phonological rules. As the stress in the item under discussion falls on the last syllable [sukul'], the most favoured backslang pronunciation would seem to be [luks].

13. Similar artificial test mar the discussion of psychological reality in Phillips (1976).

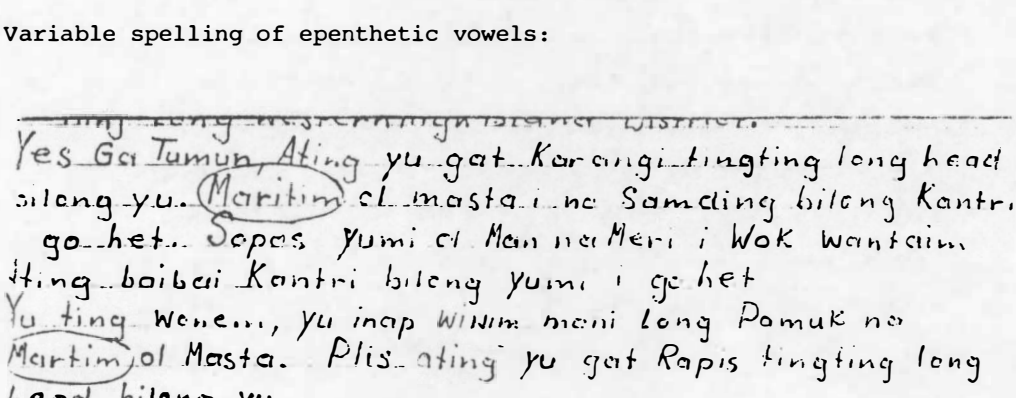
14. It is interesting to observe that some natural rules (e.g. assimilation of consonants) appear to be less readily reflected in developing writing systems that others (e.g. devoicing of final stops).

APPENDIX

1) Variable spelling of [ŋ] syllable and word-finally:



2) Variable spelling of epenthetic vowels:



3) Variable spelling of word-initial [h] and medial [ŋ]:

Na Wewak Island Cauncil. Long Wew-w/onem!
Mifela Island na bigples i baim Takis
Wankain. Na taim mifela Island isingaut
long alpim bilong Cansil. Na ol ino halpim
quik, bigples ol i sinkaut na wantu ol i alpim.
Olsem na mi laik bai mifela i mast
brukim bai mifela iken baim Takis long
Cansil bilong mifela stret na ol i baim
long ol yet. Taim bilong Cenral miting
tasol ol iken bung long Wewak Cansil

4) Variable representation of underlying morphophonemic /t/:

yes. mi save lukim planti ol iapla mini long
Papua o na new Guiea O. i save i go mekim
sin. bihain em i hat wanpela pal or bolon
naw em baimbai em i mekim fu MF ken long
mama na papa bilong em. Bihain
ken em i laik marik long wanpela
man. baimbai em tok yu work sen
Car tasol. Taim em i sitow lukaim
wan lain bilong em i kam i go rown
em save Attom na sori long ken.
man yupela ol meri mas tinkink
gut pastin orai yu ken mekim
pasim olesem. yufela tinking
olesem wonem long tispela santing
mi tink em in no stret long mi.

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A COMPARISON OF THE PIDGINS OF SOLOMON ISLANDS AND PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Linda Simons

0. INTRODUCTION

Although the pidgin languages used today in Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea have a common origin in the last century, they have since developed in their own characteristic ways. This paper compares the little known and sparsely documented Solomon Islands pidgin with the well known and well documented Papua New Guinea pidgin. The approach is to highlight some of the differences — orthographic, phonological, lexical, and grammatical — between the two languages. The similarities between the languages are more numerous than the differences, but here I seek only to point out the differences. Most areas omitted from the discussion are assumed to be areas where the languages are more similar than they are different. It is hoped that this paper may assist persons who know one of the languages and wish to learn the other.

At the present time (1980) there has been very little material published either in or about Solomon Islands pidgin. The few existing works dealing with the language include two linguistic papers by Robert Hall (1945, 1955); a brief spelling list (1973); *A directory of Solomons Pidgin idioms* by Hugh Young (1976); *Pijin blong yumi: a guide to Solomon Islands Pijin* by Linda Simons and Hugh Young (1978); and a set of four books produced by the Peace Corps for teaching Pijin to their workers, *Solomon Islands Pijin,* Peace Corps languages Handbook Series (1979). As for publications in the language, the government has printed 'Fact Sheets' (informational bulletins) in both English and Pijin since 1975 and the *Gospel of Mark* was published in 1976. A Pijin Literacy Project sponsored by the Solomon Islands Christian Association began in mid 1979. Solomon Islands pidgin has not yet gained recognition as an official language in the country.

On the other hand, the pidgin of Papua New Guinea has enjoyed extensive research by various scholars for many years and has official status within the country. As a result many publications exist both about and in the language. Some notable publications are *The Jacaranda dictionary and grammar of Melanesian Pidgin* by Francis Mihalic (1971); the *Nupela Testamen* (1969); *Tok Pisin i go we?* edited by Kenneth McElhanon (1975); and the *Wantok* newspaper.

In this paper, the languages are referred to by the names which their speakers give them: 'Pijin' in Solomon Islands, and 'Tok Pisin' in Papua New Guinea. The following abbreviations are used:

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121-137. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-65, 1983.
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SI - Solomon Islands (Pijin)
PNG - Papua New Guinea (Tok Pisin)
ENG - English

The data for Pijin comes from *Pijin blong yumi* (Simons and Young 1978). The data for Tok Pisin comes mainly from *The Jacaranda dictionary and grammar of Melanesian Pidgin* (Mihalic 1971). In addition, I have relied on my own experience in learning and speaking both languages.

The paper results from field work done in Papua New Guinea in 1976 and Solomon Islands in 1977 and 1980 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. While in Solomon Islands the work was also sponsored by the Solomon Islands Christian Association. During 1976-1977, this research was part of the Cornell University project 'Language Variation and Limits to Communication', carried out with the partial support of grant BNS76-06031 from the National Science Foundation. I am grateful to Peter Lincoln, Gillian Sankoff, and Gary Simons for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper which appeared in 1977 as Number 4 in Working Papers for the Language Variation and Limits to Communication Project. Any errors that remain are my own responsibility.

1. ORTHOGRAPHIC AND PHONOLOGICAL COMPARISONS

It is difficult to talk about the phonologies of Pijin and Tok Pisin when we consider the wide dialectal variations in both languages. The orthographies for both languages are compromises, at best, in order to satisfy the need for standardisation in literature. In this section I compare the standardised orthographies used for the two languages. Often these differences are purely orthographic, but in some cases (such as the Pijin vowel harmony noted in 1.1.5 and 1.3) there are true phonological processes underlying the orthographic differences.

1.1 Regular orthographic differences

1.1.1 p and f

When the English source word contains an f, it is represented by f in Pijin. In Tok Pisin, however, sometimes this sound is represented by p and sometimes by f, though in the first edition of Mihalic's dictionary (1957) most of these were represented by f. The f used in Pijin is representative of the sound used by the majority of Pijin speakers.

SI	PNG	ENG
faea	paia	*fire*
faet	pait	*fight*
fas	pas	*fast, firm, firmly*
faol	paul	*fowl*
finis	pinis	*finish*
-fala	-pela	*fellow* (adjectival suffix)
naef	naip	*knife*
laef	laip	*life*

1.1.2 Final voiced consonants

When the English source word ends in a voiced stop, Pijin has final voiced consonant while Tok Pisin has a final voiceless consonant.

SI	PNG	ENG
pig, pigpig	pik	*pig*
dog	dok	*dog*
saed	sait	*side*
leg	lek	*leg*
bigfala	bikpela	*big*
gudfala	gutpela	*good*

1.1.3 Diphthongs

Pijin uses the diphthongs ae, ao, and oe while Tok Pisin uses the diphthongs ai, au, and oi. It should also be noted here that the diphthongs ai and au contrast with ae and ao in the vernacular languages of the Solomons, and this contrast is preserved in Pijin. The diphthongs ai and au are used in Pijin words which are derived from Oceanic languages, for example, kaikai *eat*, kaibia *tapioca* and araikwao *white man*.

SI	PNG	ENG
taem	taim	*time*
saed	sait	*side*
haos	haus	*house*
nao	nau	*now*
noes	nois	*noise*
boe	boi	*boy*

1.1.4 Nasal plus stop

When the English source word has a nasal followed by a homorganic voiceless stop, Pijin uses a nasal plus a voiced stop while Tok Pisin uses a nasal followed by a voiceless stop.

SI	PNG	ENG
angga	anka	*anchor*
kandere	kantri	*country*
kambani	kampani	*company*
maonden	maunten	*mountain*

1.1.5 Transitive suffix

In Pijin, the vowel of the transitive suffix is determined by a phonological process of vowel harmony with the vowel in the verb stem. With stems containing i or u, -im is used. With stems containing e, a, or o, -em is used. In Tok Pisin, the transitive suffix for all verbs is -im.

SI	PNG	ENG
kikim	kikim	*to kick*
lusim	lusim	*to lose*
mekem	mekim	*to make, to do*
makem	makim	*to mark*
komem	komim	*to comb*

When a verb stem ends in a which is derived from English r, Pijin forms the transitive ending by simply adding -rem to the stem. Tok Pisin has two ways of forming the transitive suffix, either by adding -im or by dropping the a and adding -rim (except in ovarim the a is retained).

stem	SI	PNG	ENG
stia	stiarem	stiaim, stirim	*to steer*
klia	kliarem	kliaim, klirim	*to clear*
ova	ovarem	ovaim, ovarim	*to turn over*

1.2 CV pattern

In general, the Solomons vernacular languages have only open syllables. When an English source word ends in a closed syllable, the Pijin equivalent often is pronounced with an added final vowel. However, the quality and duration of these added vowels varies from speaker to speaker, making it difficult to agree on a standard. Therefore, they are generally not written in the orthography. However, there are some cases where a specific final vowel is consistently added and therefore used and written, and other cases where a specified vowel is optionally used and written. The corresponding forms in Tok Pisin are with closed syllables. Parentheses indicate that the corresponding Tok Pisin words have a different source.

SI	PNG	ENG
rasta	ros	*rust*
banga	(bam)	*to bang, to collide*
bosta	(pairap)	*to burst, to explode*
draeva	draiv	*to drive*
sote	siot	*shirt*
bel, bele	bel	*belly*
wak, waka	wok	*work*
nil, nila	nil	*nail*
sel, sela	sel	*shell*

1.3 Representation of English final y

When the English source word ends in y, Pijin uses both final i and final e while Tok Pisin uses only final i. This may be a further manifestation of the phenomenon of vowel harmony in Pijin, though it is not consistent.

SI	PNG	ENG
doti	doti	*dirty*
pati	pati	*party*
bebi	bebi	*baby*
lake	laki	*lucky*
kandere	kantri	*country*

SI	PNG	ENG
plande	planti	*plenty*
mere	meri	*woman* (from Mary)
sore	sori	*sorry*

1.4 The phonology of reduplication

There is a process of reduplication of verbs in both languages with approximately the same meaning. Reduplication serves to mark the action as intense or repeated. Although there is this similarity in function, the phonology of the reduplication differs. In Pijin the reduplicated verb is formed by repeating only the first consonant and vowel of the stem. In Tok Pisin the reduplicated verb is formed by repeating the entire stem. The following Tok Pisin examples are from Mühlhäusler (1975).

SI	PNG	ENG
fafaetem	paipaitim	*to fight, to beat*
tatanem	tantanim	*to turn repeatedly*
lulus	luslus	*to be lost*
sasave	save save	*to know for sure*

1.5 Different pronunciations of the same word

There are a number of words in both Pijin and Tok Pisin which derive from the same English source word and have basically the same meaning, but are pronounced and spelled differently. These differences are not accounted for by any of the above generalisations.

SI	PNG	ENG
-fala	-pela	*fellow* (adjectival suffix)
aean	ain	*iron*
aftanun	apinun	*afternoon*
astade	asde	*yesterday*
bol	bal	*ball*
fens	banis	*fence*
baek	bak	*back*
blong	bilong	*belong*
bifoa	bipo	*before*
brekem	brukim	*to break*
bon	bun	*bone*
desfala	dispela	*this*
doa	dua	*door*
hem	em	*him*
garem	gat	*got*
herem	harim	*to hear*
hapi	hepi	*happy*
hol	hul	*hole*
kapenda	kamda	*carpenter*
kasem	kisim	*to catch*
kolsap	klosap	*close, near*
lanem	lainim	*to learn, to teach*
moabeta	mobeta	*better*

SI	PNG	ENG
mone	moning	*morning*
niufala	nupela	*new*
nos	nus	*nose*
oel	wel	*oil*
openem	opim	*to open*
paenapol	painap	*pineapple*
faendem	painim	*to look for*
plei	pilai	*to play*
floa	plua	*floor*
sendem	salim	*to send*
sapenem	sapim	*to sharpen*
sea	sia	*chair*
solda	sol	*shoulder*
soa	sua	*shore, sore*
sista	susa	*sister*
toro aot	traut	*to vomit*
torowe	tromoi	*to throw away*
wata	wara	*water*
wea	we	*where*
wei		*way*

2. LEXICAL COMPARISONS

Even a brief examination of the lexicons of Pijin and Tok Pisin shows that the influence of English has been much greater in the Solomons than in Papua New Guinea. In Tok Pisin there is a much higher percentage of non-English roots in the total vocabulary including a wealth of plant and animal names. These are sparse in Pijin. For example, Mihalic (1971) lists at least 90 non-English plant and animal names in his summary lists on pages 350-356 for Tok Pisin while Simons and Young (1978) list about 20 for Pijin.

The vocabulary of Tok Pisin also could be described as being more generic in nature than that of Pijin because a single lexical item often has a greater number of meanings in Tok Pisin than in Pijin. The following sections show a number of different ways in which the lexicons of the two languages differ.

2.1 Pijin words derived from non-English sources

The following list includes most of the Pijin words I have found thus far which are derived from non-English sources. Some of them have equivalents in Tok Pisin and others do not or I am not aware of them. A large number of these examples come from the vernaculars spoken on Malaita, where a large percentage of the population of the Solomons lives.

Source	SI	PNG	ENG
Malaita	alite	talis	*Terminalia catappa*
Malaita	araikwao (waetman, masta)	waitaman, masta	*European person*
Malaita	gagem	tanim	*to stir*
Malaita	kaibia	maniok	*manioc*
Malaita	kokosu	katu	*hermit crab*

Source	SI	PNG	ENG
Malaita	kiokio		*kingfisher bird*
Malaita	korongis	mumu	*stone oven*
Malaita	melu	haus drai	*copra drier*
Malaita	mamula		*fish species*
Malaita	buma		*fish species*
Malaita	mam		*fish bait*
Malaita	ura	kindam	*crayfish*
Malaita	katukatu		*fish species*
Malaita	nali nat	galip	*Tahitian chesnut, Canarium indicum*
Malaita	kasusu		*coconut crab*
Malaita	kabilato	laplap	*loincloth*
Malaita	liu	limlimbur	*to wander around*
Malaita	osos	grisim	*to flatter*
Malaita	mamana	fran	*front, top, in front*
Malaita	pana	mami	*prickly yam, Dioscorea esculenta*
Oceanic	ara	rai	*south-east wind*
Oceanic	komburu	taleo	*north-west monsoon*
Oceanic	mama	pris	*priest, father*
Oceanic	mimi	pispis	*urine*
Western SI	motu	mumu	*stone oven*
Western SI	neka		*species of edible greens*
Maori	kumara	kaukau	*sweet potato*
Guadalcanal	kakake		*swamp taro*
Fijian	sulu	laplap	*tailored wrap around skirt*
Unknown	kandora	kapul	*opossum*
Unknown	kurukuru	balus	*dove*
Unknown	bakua	grile	*ringworm*
Unknown	boten		*eating house*
Unknown	kura		*a card game*

There is a small set of words which are the same in both Pijin and Tok Pisin and are derived from the same non-English source.

Source	SI	PNG	ENG
Oceanic	susu	susu	*breast*
Oceanic	tambu	tambu	*taboo*
Polynesian	kaikai	kaikai	*food, eat*
Polynesian	lotu	lotu	*worship*
Portuguese	save	save	*know*
Portuguese	pikinini	pikinini	*child*

2.2 Tok Pisin words derived from non-English sources

The following list of Tok Pisin words derived from non-English roots includes only those which have equivalent terms in Pijin and also words which are fairly common. Therefore, most nature terms have been omitted. Lines indicate where two Pijin words are equivalent to one Tok Pisin word. These are examples of the more generic nature of the Tok Pisin lexicon.

SI	PNG	ENG
kaliko	laplap	*cloth, clothing*
fadem		*wrap around skirt*
joen	bung	*join, unite*
hipap		*gather together, crowd together*
plen, eaplen	balus	*aeroplane*
kurukuru		*dove*
eg	kiau	*egg*
sid		*seed*
hapi	amamas	*happy*
mit, miti	abus	*meat*
bitalnat	buai	*betel nut*
prea	beten	*pray*
blad	blut	*blood*
kaon	dinau	*loan, debt*
raba	gumi	*rubber*
seksek	guria	*earthquake*
laen, laem	kambang	*lime*
bredfrut	kapiak	*breadfruit*
loeaken	kanda	*rattan*
krangge	longlong	*crazy, insane*
spel	malolo, spel	*to rest*
laeman	muli	*lemon, citrus*
moskito	natnat	*mosquito*
sit	pekpek	*feces, to defecate*
grandadi, granmami	tumbuna	*grandparents*
sof	malomalo	*soft*
gras	kunai	*grass*
krokodael	pukpuk	*crocodile*
smol	liklik	*small*

2.3 Pijin words with unobvious English derivations

The following list of Pijin words are derived from English but their meanings or derivations are not immediately obvious. Tok Pisin equivalents are given where possible.

Source	SI	PNG	ENG
porpoise fish	pofis	bulmakau bilong solwata	*porpoise*
burst	bosta	pairap, bruk	*to explode*
proper	barava	tru	*real, really*
scrub	sikarap	bus	*bush, forest*
spear line	spia laen	lain	*boundary*
eel fish	ilfis	maleo	*eel*
tra-la-la	tralala	singsing	*a dance*
fathom	fadem	laplap	*wrap around skirt*
stack of	staka	plenti	*a lot of, many*
middle one	melewan	namel	*middle, between*
action	akson	pilai	*skit, drama games*
that's the way, that's why	dastawe	olsem na, bilong dispela	*so, therefore*

Source	SI	PNG	ENG
flash	flas	nais	*smart, stylish*
new chum	nusam	kanaka	*an unlearned person, newcomer*
wash	was	pul	*canoe paddle*
bubble (?)	babule	gat bel	*pregnant*

The following are brand names which have acquired a generic meaning in Pijin.

Source	SI	PNG	ENG
Seagull	sigal	moto	*small outboard motor*
Johnson	jonson	moto	*large outboard motor*
Singer	singa	masin bilong samap	*sewing machine*
Farm-all	famol	trakta	*tractor*
Colgate	kolget		*toothpaste*
Taiyo	taeo	atun	*tinned tuna*
Biro	baero, biro	ingpen	*ball point pen*

2.4. Generic - specific

The following list gives further examples of words which are more generic in Tok Pisin than in Pijin. The lines indicate that for each Tok Pisin word there are two or more equivalents in Pijin. (See also the examples in section 2.2).

SI	PNG	ENG
susu	susu	*breast*
milk		*milk*
bele	bel	*belly*
hat		*heart, emotions*
daon	daun	*down*
lou		*low*
sendem	salim	*to send*
salem		*to sell*
gras	gras	*grass*
hea		*hair*
smol	liklik	*small*
lelebet		*a little*
holem	holim	*to hold*
kipim		*to keep*
inaf	inap	*enough*
fit (-im)		*to be able to*
lusim	lusim	*to lose, to leave behind*
fogetem	(fogetim)	*to forget*
bambu	mambu	*bamboo*
paep		*pipe, tube*
singsing	singsing	*to sing, a song*
dans	(danis)	*dance*
faet	pait	*fight*
saoa		*sour, bitter*
wasem	wasim	*to wash*
baptaesem		*to baptise*

SI	PNG	ENG
wande	laik (-im)	*to want to do*
laekem		*to like something*
kolsap	(klostu)	*on the verge of, be about to*
bloem	winim	*to blow*
winim		*to surpass*
nao	nau	*tense marker; then, next*
destaem		*now, the present time*
si	solwara	*ocean*
solwata		*salt water (as for cooking)*
havem	pasim	*to wear (clothes)*
stopem		*to block, to delay*
mekem	mekim	*to cause*
duim		*to do*

2.5 Same form with different meanings

The following is a list of examples of lexical items which have the same pronunciations in the two languages, but have completely different meanings.

SI	PNG	ENG
------	salat	*stinging nettle*
salat	(anian)	*shallot, spring onion*
(rong)	kranki	*incorrect*
krangge	(longlong)	*insane, crazy*
(kras)	sikrap, skrap	*to scrape, to scratch*
sikarap	(bus)	*the bush*
(taem ap)	pasim	*to fasten*
pasem	-----	*to pass a test, pass a ball*
(getem)	kisim	*to get, to obtain*
kisim	(givim kis)	*to kiss*
-----	kandere	*relatives on mother's side*
kandere	(kantri)	*country*
(evriwan, evribet)	olgeta	*all*
olketa	(ol)	*they, the* (plural)
(hatem)	krosim	*to scold*
krosem	(brukim)	*to cross over, to interrupt*

2.6 Same meaning with different forms

The following list gives examples of commonly used words which are different in the two languages. These words have the same meanings but are derived from different English source words.

SI	PNG	ENG
dadi	papa	*father*
mami	mama	*mother*
nomoa	nogat	*no, answering a question*
presen, jel, kalabus	kalabus	*prison, gaol*
was, padol	pul	*a paddle*
langwis	tokples	*a vernacular language*
joenem	skruim	*to join*
woman, mere	meri	*woman, female*
waef	meri bilong en	*wife*
nel finga	kapa bilong pinga	*fingernail*
drang	spak	*drunk*
kilim	paitim	*to hit*
olobaot	nabaut	*around, about*
saed blong yu	samting bilong yu	*it's up to you*
weitim	wantaim	*with*
switim, grisim	grisim	*to flatter*
leta	pas	*letter*
roten, sting	sting	*rotten*
bonem	karim	*to bear a child*
mektu	namba tu, mekim tu	*second*
mektri	namba tri, mekim tri	*third*
olketa	ol	*they;* third person plural
ansarem	bekim	*to answer*
neks tumora	hap tumora	*day after tomorrow*
las astade	hap asde	*day before yesterday*
talem	tokim	*to tell*
saed	hap	*side*
eiti	etpela ten	*eighty*
eitin	wanpela ten et	*eighteen*
pi	pispis	*to urinate, urine*
swim	waswas	*to bathe*
Wenesde	Trinde	*Wednesday*
Tosde	Ponde	*Thursday*

3. GRAMMATICAL COMPARISONS

The following brief list of differences between the grammars of Pijin and Tok Pisin assumes that the reader is familiar with at least one of the languages It is in no way an explanation of either language's grammar, only a listing of places where they differ. For a grammar sketch of Pijin see Simons and Young (1978); for Tok Pisin see Mihalic (1971).

3.1 Pronouns

Besides the regular difference between -fala and -pela, there are two differences in the pronoun sets between the two languages, both in third person.

SI	PNG	ENG
hem	em, en	third person singular
olketa	ol	third person plural

3.2 Reflexives

Reflexive pronouns are expressed in Pijin by pronoun plus seleva, whereas in Tok Pisin they are expressed as pronoun plus yet.

SI	PNG	ENG
mi seleva	mi yet	*I myself*

3.3 Interrogatives

To form a question in Tok Pisin, the interrogative word comes in the same place in the question as does the answer in the corresponding statement. Questions in Pijin can be formed in this same way, but more often the interrogative word is fronted and followed by nao.

SI	PNG	ENG
Yu duim wanem? Wanem nao yu duim?	Yu mekim wanem?	*What are you doing?*
Deswan blong hu? Hu nao blong deswan?	Dispela samting bilong husat?	*Whose is this?*
Yu go wea? Wea nao yu go long hem?	Yu go we?	*Where are you going?*

Here is a list of the question words in both languages. Note there are minor differences in nearly every case.

SI	PNG	ENG
wanem?	wanem?	*what?*
blong hu?	bilong husat?	*whose?*
hu?	husat?	*who?*
wea?	we?, long wanem hap?	*where?*
hao?	olsem wanem?	*how?*
waswe?	bilong wanem? watpo?	*why?*
wataem?	long wanem taem? wataim?	*when?*
watkaen?	wanem kain?	*what kind of?*
haomas?	hamas?	*how much?*
haomeni?		*how many?*

3.4 Yes and no

Both Pijin and Tok Pisin answer negative questions with respect to the mode of the question rather than the mode of the answer. Questions which specifically indicate that a yes or no answer is expected are formed differently in the two languages. Pijin begins the question with waswe? while Tok Pisin ends it with o nogat?

	SI	PNG	ENG
Waswe?	Yu wande go?	Yu laik go o nogat?	*Do you want to go?*

'Yes' and 'no' are as follows in the two languages.

SI	PNG	ENG
yes, ya	yes, yesa	*yes*
nomoa	nogat	*no*

3.5 Negation

Both Pijin and Tok Pisin use no before the verb to make a negative statement. In addition, Pijin can form an emphatic negative by replacing no with nating to give the force of *not at all, never.*

SI	PNG	ENG
Mi no save.	Mi no save.	*I don't know.*
Mi nating save.		*I don't know at all.*
Mi no lukim.	Mi no lukim.	*I didn't see it.*
Mi nating lukim.		*I never saw it.*

3.6 Third person subject pronouns

Following a third person singular subject phrase, Pijin almost always uses the pronoun hem, whereas in Tok Pisin, the pronoun em is not used unless the subject phrase is lengthy.

SI	PNG	ENG
Jon hem i go	Jon i go.	*John went.*
Wanfala man blong Wewak hem i stap.	Wanpela man bilong Wewak i stap. or Wanpela man bilong Wewak em i stap.	*A man from Wewak is here.*

Following a third person plural subject phrase, Pijin uses either olketa or hem (even though hem is singular), whereas Tok Pisin uses ol.

SI	PNG	ENG
Plande man olketa i go.	Planti man ol i go	*Many men went.*
Plande man hem i go	Planti man i go	

3.7 Transitive compound verbs

The general rule for forming a transitive compound verb in Tok Pisin is to affix the transitive marker -im to the directional particle, making the -im the final morpheme in the word. A few verbs in Pijin are formed the same way.

SI	PNG	ENG
lukaotem	lukautim	*to look after*
singaotem	singautim	*to call*

In Pijin the general rule for forming a transitive compound verb is to affix the transitive marker -im or -em (see section 1.1.5) to the root morpheme and then add the directional particle usually written as a separate word.

SI	PNG	ENG
hipim ap	(bungim)	*to gather together*
fulim ap	pulapim	*to fill*
bagarem ap	bagarapim	*to ruin*

There is a limited set of transitive compound verbs in Tok Pisin which add the transitive marker twice, once to the root and once to the directional particle. In all corresponding cases in Pijin, the transitive marker occurs only on the root.

SI	PNG	ENG
tekem aot	tekimautim	*to take out*
leftem ap	litimapim	*to lift up*
talem aot	telimautim	*to divulge*
soem ap	samapim	*to sew*

3.8 Auxiliary verbs

The English *can, be able to* is expressed in Pijin by the auxiliary verb save while in Tok Pisin save and ken are both used. Both languages also have a special idiom to express this meaning in the form of a main verb, fitim in Pijin and inap in Tok Pisin. In Pijin, fitim takes the impersonal subject hem with a personal object and is followed by a fo phrase. In Tok Pisin, inap takes a personal subject and is followed by a long phrase.

SI	PNG	ENG
Mi save go.	Mi save go.	*I can go.*
	Mi ken go.	
Hem fitim mi fo go.	Mi inap long go.	

The negative of this, 'cannot, not able to' is expressed in the following ways. Note that the Pijin derivative of English 'can' occurs only in the negative, in terms derived from 'cannot' and 'can't'.

SI	PNG	ENG
Mi no save go.	Mi no save go.	
Hem no fitim mi fo go.	Mi no inap long go.	*I cannot go.*
Mi kanot go.	Mi no ken go.	
Mi kanduit fo go.		
Mi kanduim go.		

The English 'want to' is expressed as follows:

SI	PNG	ENG
Mi laek (fo) go.	Mi laik go.	*I want to go.*
Mi wande go.		

The English 'begin to' is expressed as follows:

SI	PNG	ENG
Mi stat fo go.	Nau mi go.	*I am beginning to go.*

3.9 Predicate marker

The use of the predicate marker i is basically the same in the two languages with a few notable exceptions. The i is optionally used in Tok Pisin following mipela, mitupela, and yutupela, while in Pijin it is not used following these pronouns (Young 1976:9).

SI	PNG	ENG
Mifala go.	Mipela i go.	*We are going.*

In Pijin the predicate marker is often omitted in an equative sentence, while usually inserted in Tok Pisin.

SI	PNG	ENG
Hem brata blong mi.	Em i brata bilong mi.	*He is my brother*

Both Pijin and Tok Pisin use go and kam as directionals, their only difference being that Pijin does not use the predicate marker with these, while Tok Pisin uses it.

SI	PNG	ENG
wokabaot go	wokabaut i go	*to walk away*
saed kam	hap i kam	*this side of*

3.10 Comparison of adjectives

The comparative degree in both languages can be formed by placing moa before the adjective. Both languages also form the comparative using the verb winim, but Tok Pisin also uses long and olsem.

SI	PNG	ENG
moa bigfala	moa bikpela	*bigger*
Hem i big winim mi.	Em i bik winim mi.	*He is bigger than I.*
	Em i bik long mi.	
	Em i moa bik olsem mi.	

The superlative degree in Pijin is formed by placing fo gud, or tumas after the adjective. In Tok Pisin, tumas, moa, or tru come after the adjective.

SI	PNG	ENG
bigfala tumas	bikpela tumas	*very big*
bigfala fo gud	bikpela moa	*very big*
	bikpela tru	

3.11 Miscellaneous grammatical function words

The following is a rather miscellaneous list of grammatical function words. Basically, they are used in the same grammatical way in both Pijin and Tok Pisin. The lines and brackets indicate if more than one word corresponds to one word in the other language.

SI	PNG	ENG
bat	tasol	*but*
nomoa		*only, just*

SI	PNG	ENG
blong	bilong	*possession*
fo		*to, in order to, characterised by*
dastawe	olsem na bilong dispela	*Therefore, so, and that's why*
nomata (olsem)	maski	*although, in spite of, nevertheless, it doesn't matter*
an	na	*and*
ating, maet	ating, nating	*possibly, probably might, perhaps*
bikos from	bikos long wanem long	*because*
evriwan	olgeta	*all, everyone*
enikaen	olkain	*any kind of*

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NOTES ON THE PIDGIN GERMAN OF KIAUTSCHOU

Peter Mühlhäusler

1. INTRODUCTION

Research into the pidgin languages of the Sino-Pacific area in recent years has demonstrated the existence of a large number of varieties and subvarieties of Pidgin English (cf. Mühlhäusler, Bennett and Tryon 1979) as well as that of a smaller number of pidgins derived from other metropolitan languages. Many of them are only sketchily documented or sometimes merely known by name. The existence of Pidgin German in this area was first documented for the Papua New Guinea mainland in 1977 (Mühlhäusler 1977); a second variety of Pidgin German (now in its creolised form) is spoken by the mixed-race community of Rabaul, the former capital of German New Guinea. The present paper describes a variety for which there is unfortunately only second-hand evidence. Still, it would seem that a better knowledge of the many minor pidgins is desirable for the following reasons:

i) A better understanding is needed of the history of contact languages in the Pacific area derived from European languages (such as Pidgin English) or promoted by the European colonial presence (such as Hiri Motu).

ii) The linguistic development of the major lingue franche of this area (Tok Pisin, Bislama, Hawaiian Pidgin and Chinese Pidgin) has involved repeated contact with, or merging of, minor pidgin languages.

iii) A study of the minor pidgin languages can throw light on a number of theoretical issues, such as the nature of incipient pidginisation, language decline and death, and relexification.

The present paper is concerned with one such minor language, Pidgin German of the former German protectorate of Kiautschou (China).

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Kiautschou is the name of an area of about 500 square kilometres situated in the Bay of Tsingtau in central eastern China. It was declared a German protectorate in 1898 and a German colonial presence lasted until 1914 when the territory was occupied by Japanese troops.

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Unlike other German colonies in Africa and the Pacific, Kiautschou became urbanised within a relatively short period of time. Between 1898 and 1914 the population of its main centre, Tsingtau, grew from about 1,000 to 35,000, the total population of the protectorate being in excess of 180,000. There were more Germans in Kiautschou than in any other Pacific German colony, and the proportion of Germans among the European population was significantly higher as well, as can be seen from the following figures (quoted from Schnee 1937):

	number of Europeans	Germans	Germans serving in 'Schutztruppe'
New Guinea	970	750	20
Micronesia	460	260	
Samoa	550	330	2
Kiautschou	4,500	4,300	2,632

3. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN KIAUTSCHOU

Whereas the majority of the indigenous population did not know any European language, some of them had a knowledge of Pidgin English. In the first years of German colonisation English and Pidgin English appear to have played an important role. Wintersheim (1903:16) remarks that 'unfortunately even many Germans prefer English in this place' (author's translation).

The promotion of German was given considerable attention by the government, however. German was taught in the German Government School (Realgymnasium) as well as in three mission primary schools, and one mission secondary school. Unfortunately I do not have any details about enrolment or syllabuses. A number of observers remark on the strong position of the German language in later years, however. Friederici (1911:97) writes:

> During the campaign in China, the Chinese 'boys' of my cavalry regiment spoke a smattering of German, in spite of the fact that no one had made an effort to teach them this language. When I was last in Tsingtau [= Kiautschou, P.M.], quite a few Chinese spoke German. I understand that nearly all Chinese who are in touch with the Germans speak the language of the latter [author's translation].

Similar remarks also appear in an editorial of the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* of 24 May 1913:

> In Kiautschou, much has been done in recent years in the field of instructing the Chinese in the German language. We do not know to what extent English is used in everyday communication. However, judging from the attitudes of the 'Tsingtauer Neuesten Nachrichten', it would seem that the role of German as the everyday language of Kiautschou is quite satisfactory [author's translation].

4. PIDGIN GERMAN IN KIAUTSCHOU

Whenever a European language acquires a dominant position in a colonial setting pidgin varieties begin to emerge. As early as 1898 Pidgin English began to be replaced by a pidginised variety of German, a process which involved

relexification rather than the creation of an entirely new pidgin language. The travel writer Von Hesse-Wartegg (1898:10) remarks on the language used by the proprietor of the Hotel Kaiser in Kiautschou:

> The proprietor with his friendly smile had already learned German. Ik sabe Deutsch, he addressed me while making deep bows. Gobenol at gebene pamischu open Otel, kommen Sie, luksi, no hebe pisiman, no habe dima, bei an bei. Since this Spanish-English-German-Chinese dialect differs from native to native, I want to add the German translation: "Ich kann Deutsch, der Gouverneur hat mir Erlaubnis gegeben, ein Hotel zu eroeffnen, kommen Sie, besehen Sie es; Ich habe noch keinen Gast, weil ich keine Zimmer habe, aber nach und nach. "The words pamischu, luksi, pisi, and bei an bei are not German, but belong to the lingua franca used between the Chinese and the Europeans, the so-called Pidgin English. Pamischu is 'permission', luksi means 'look see', pisi stands for 'piece', for the Chinese do not say "one man, two men" but one piece man, two piece man; bei and bei is English 'by and by' [author's translation].

A few years later, Wintersheim unambiguously states (1903:16):

> "In Kiautschou a variety of Pidgin German corresponding to Pidgin English is developing" [author's translation].

Unfortunately linguistic samples of this Pidgin German are rare. A brief utterance quoted in the *Kiautschou-Post* of 1911 p.240, again illustrates the ongoing process of relexification.

Deutschland master in schipp make make bumm bam fisst (spelling not adjusted)	The German masters (within their) ships make a lot of noise.

This example incidentally illustrates the use of onomatopoeia in incipient pidgins.

The only example of a 'pure' Pidgin German is found in a novel by Kueas (1915:134). The Chinese servant is reported to have said:

> "Esselenzy nich wollen nehl Schampin, chinaboi gehen flotti" (Excellenz wollen keinen Champagner mehr, der Chinesische Diener wird fortgehen 'Your Excellency don't want any more champagne, the Chinese servant will go away' — author's translation).

In this example we encounter many of the typical attributes of German foreigner talk, including the reduction of consonant clusters (nich for 'nicht'), the use of the infinitive instead of inflected verb forms (wollen, gehen) and the omission of articles. In addition there is the stereotype confusion of l and r.

It appears that there was a good deal of variation in Kiautschou Pidgin German. In addition to such 'untargeted' varieties one finds second language German learned by educated Chinese in a more formal learning context. An example is the following extract from a letter presented in a court case dealing with a written insulting proposition to a German lady (quoted from *Kiautschou-Post* 1912:119):

> Bei gestern abend schamte ich auf der Strasse gegenueber ihre Veranda nach Sie zu schauen da viele Leute mehr fuerchte ich sie mich verspoten.
> (Last night I was ashamed to watch you from the veranda of the house opposite, there were many people and I was afraid they would ridicule me - author's translation).

There are no doubt many more examples of Kiautschou Pidgin English and Pidgin German and it is hoped that they will be made available to a wider public soon.

5. CONCLUSIONS

(i) It appears that pidgin varieties can arise, either through relexification or independent development, in a very short time. The absence of remarks on varieties of Pidgin German in the literature reflects their low social status and short life. However, a closer examination of contemporary sources can reveal the existence of many more such varieties.

(ii) The case of Kiautschou Pidgin German can provide interesting evidence for the processes of language mixing and language replacement accompanying the formation of pidgins.

(iii) The data presented further illustrate a very common phenomenon, linguistic discontinuity, resulting from discontinuity in the social and political life in the Sino-Pacific area.

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CREOLE UNIVERSALS AND KRISTANG
(MALACCA CREOLE PORTUGUESE)

Alan Baxter

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper[1] is concerned with the relation of Kristang[2] (a Creole Portuguese spoken in Malacca, West Malaysia) to Creole Universals of the type advanced in Bickerton 1981. Data from Kristang and Bazaar Malay are examined.

It is not my intention to query the nature of Bickerton's Creole Universal features as such, but rather to consider the suitability of Kristang data for such a discussion.

1.0 The 'natural' Creole Universals hypothesis

Bickerton (1981) claims that in its development from Hawaiian Pidgin English, Hawaiian Creole English manifests substantial innovations "which can have owed little or nothing to HPE, to English or to any of the substrate languages involved" (1981:132). Furthermore, these 'innovations' follow a "regular pattern of invention" (1981:132) evident in situations where normal language transmission was impossible and people were forced to manufacture an adequate language quickly from inadequate materials. According to Bickerton (1981:4), situations where the human language capacity was stretched to such limits are those where creole languages:

1. Arose out of a prior pidgin existing for no more than one generation.
2. Arose in a population where not more than 20% were native speakers of the dominant language and where the remaining 80% was composed of diverse language groups.

By comparing creole structures from a number of unrelated creole languages, Bickerton (1981) found parallels which appear to defy mere coincidence and seem unaccountable in terms of monogenesis, substratum influence or simplification of the superstratum. Creole language evolving in conditions 1 and 2 above (e.g. Guyanese Creole English and Hawaiian Creole English, according to Bickerton) share a number of structural features.

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Bickerton hypothesises that if in the transition from pidgin to creole, the 'expansion' that takes place in the first generation of creole speakers does not rely on linguistic input, then it must be internally given by the human language faculty (Bickerton 1977:64). In a later work (1981), this hypothesis is presented in terms of the human bioprogram and it is implied that the parallels between creoles have an analogue in child language acquisition processes.

1.1 Creole Universals and Kristang

Bickerton (1981) chooses to use Kristang data in his discussion of Creole Universals. Yet, how suitable is Kristang for such a comparison?

The theory of monogenesis might be claimed to have some relevance to the case of the Portuguese Creoles, as they are so remarkably similar (cf. Hancock 1975). The fact that Portuguese expansion was to a certain extent a cumulative process whereby mestizo and indigenous elements, free men and slaves, might shift from colony to colony lends credibility to a pidgin diffusion argument and the possibility of partial monogenesis. Yet, as Bickerton indicates in the Hawaiian case, pidgins are highly variable. So, the suggestion that the same pidgin was creolised in different areas (cf. Hancock 1975:217) is rather tenuous unless it was an extended pidgin like Tok Pisin. If partial diffusion occurred at all, it seems more likely that it would have been through the presence of not merely pidgin speakers but also creole speakers from other areas. However, pidgin/creole languages are not spread like infectious diseases. If such intercolony movements were to have the type of impact required for monogenesis, they would need to involve a considerable population. Documentation for the period does not give a clear idea of the numbers of people involved.

How well Kristang fits condition (1) is thus difficult to ascertain. Yet, it seems feasible that the first generation of speakers would have been the offspring of unions between the occupying forces and locals and slaves. Condition (2) is partly fulfilled because native speakers of Portuguese in Malacca would have been less than 20% (cf. Baxter 1982:2). In the early stages the remaining 80% was composed of diverse language groups: Javanese, Tamils, Gujaratis, Siamese, Burmese, Chinese and Malays. Indeed, a contemporary observer suggested that upwards of 84 languages were occasionally spoken (Seiler 1982:1)! However, a pidgin was already spoken in Malacca: Bazaar Malay. Thus, bilingualism may have played a role in the formation of Kristang, especially as Malay seems to have been the only other language used to any extent by the creoles until well into the British period. Finally, social factors are also relevant: although Malacca hardly presents the classical plantation creole situation, in the Portuguese period there was a considerable slave population. Bocarro (c.1634:14) reports that 250 married Portuguese owned some 2,000 slaves of various races.

Overall, Kristang may partly meet conditions 1 and 2, although bilingualism might have had a mitigating effect on its autonomy as a creole.

1.2 Creole Universals in Kristang

In the following sections I shall examine Kristang data for evidence of creole Universals as advanced in Bickerton (1981:chapter 2). The extent to which Kristang meets 'natural' Creole Universals may have implications for Bickerton's theory and will certainly cast further light on the history of Kristang. Comparative material will be provided from Malacca Bazaar Malay (MP) as a gauge on the autonomy of Kristang at each point.

1.2.1 Movement rules.

Bickerton (1981:51-56) claims that left dislocation is the typical creole strategy for focussing constituents. Kristang and MP chose from the following means, sometimes in combination:

1. left movement.
2. focussing particles.
3. subject copying.
4. stress.

In Kristang, left movement may be used with intransitive verbs (1) or objects (2), (3). Parallels are to be found in MP:

(1)
	ja	kure	eli
MP	sudah	lari	dia
	TNS	V	PRO

What he did was run away.

(2)
	John,	ngwa	femi	ja	ola
MP	John,	satu	perempuan	(sudah)	tengok
	S	1	*woman*	TNS	V

It was a woman that John saw.

(3)
	ake	femi,	John	ja	ola
MP	itu	perempuan,	John	(sudah)	tengok
	DEM	*woman*		TNS	V

It was that woman that John saw.

If the object is indefinite, it can only be shifted to pre-V position, as in (2). However, if definite, the object may be shifted to the left of the subject, as in (3).

Both subjects and objects may be focussed by means of teng (MP ada), the existential locative verb:

(4)
	teng	ngwa	femi,	John	ja	ola	(ku	eli)
MP	ada	satu	perempuan	John	(sudah)	tengok	(sama	dia)
	EXISTbe	1	*woman*	*John*	TNS	*see*	(ACC	*she*)

It was a woman that John saw.

(5)
	teng	John	ja	ola	ngwa	femi
MP	ada	John	(sudah)	tengok	satu	perempuan
	EXISTbe	*John*	TNS	*see*	1	*woman*

It was John who saw a woman.

This focussing function of teng is interesting as it parallels that of the equative copula in Guyanese Creole English, which, according to Bickerton, is a typical creole fitting requirements 1 and 2. However, this feature is shared with MP.

1.2.2 Articles

Bickerton (1981:56) claims the following system for creole languages:

- a definite article for presupposed specific NP.
- an indefinite article for asserted specific NP.
- zero for non-specific NP.

Kristang generally conforms to this system, as does MP:

- definite article: ake/akeli for presupposed specific NP:

(6)

	ake	omi	teng	na	kaza
MP	itu	orang	ada	dalam	rumah
	1	*man*	EXISTbe	PREP	*house*

The man is in the house. (You already know about the man; I'm telling you where he is.)

- indefinite article: ngwa/satu for asserted specific NP:[3]

(7)

	teng	ngwa	omi	na	kaza
MP	ada	satu	orang	dalam	rumah
	EXISTbe	1	*man*	PREP	*house*

There's a man in the house. (I've seen the man; you don't know about him so I'm telling you about him and where he is.)

- zero article: for non-specific NPs:

(8)

	na	matu	teng	kobra
MP	dalam	utan	ada	ular
	PREP	*jungle*	EXISTbe	*snake*

There are snakes in the jungle. (General condition of the jungle.)

(9)

	kobra	pesonya
MP	ular	rachun
	snake	*poison*

Snakes are poisonous. (Generic.)

1.2.3 Tense - Modality - Aspect systems

1.2.3.1 The Creole system

Bickerton claims (1981:58) that most creoles express tense, modality and aspect by three preverbal markers, which, if they co-occur, do so in the order T M A. The typical system is claimed to have particles of identical meaning:

A. tense particle: [+anterior] = past before past for action verbs and past for stative verbs. ["An anterior marker is like the pluperfect but not quite ..(...)... It's a kind of discourse marker which is used to signal states or events which are anterior to things which have been under discussion in the course of the same discourse" (Bickerton 1979:3).]

B. modality particle: [+irrealis] = futures, conditionals.

C. aspect particle: [+non-punctual] = progressive - durative and habitual durative.

D. the stem form in isolation expresses the unmarked term in the above three areas: present statives and past non-statives.

Combined forms, according to Bickerton, may also occur in the typical system although for some languages they have disappeared through decreolisation. If they occur, he claims, their meaning is the same:

(a) +anterior +irrealis : counterfactual conditions
(b) +anterior +non-punctual : past before past durative or habitual actions
(c) +irrealis +non-punctual : habitual or durative unrealised actions
(d) +anterior, +irrealis, +non-punctual : counterfactuals which express duration or habituality

Kristang has the following system, closely paralleled by MP:

A. ja : tense; past for action verbs & anterior for statives (cf. M sudah). [ja < P. ja *already*]

B. logu : modality; future-irrealis, incl. counterfactuals, conditionals (cf. M nanti). [logu < P. logo *presently*]

C. ta : non-punctual; indifferent to past/pres/fut; progressive or iterative actions, incl. unrealised actions (but not habitual iteratives) (cf. M sedang). [ta < P. está *is*]

D. Ø : non-past, habitual, past habitual, past narrative for action verbs; present and past for statives and modals (cf. M Ø).

E. kaba : completive; can't occur with statives or modals (cf. M habis). [kaba < P. acabar *finish*]

Combined forms:

(i) ja + kaba : past completion (cf. M sudah habis)

(ii) ja + ta : past before past durative; also habituals where the action begins before the point of reference (see (4) below).

Although in form the Kristang system is similar to the Creole one, similarity in function is only partial. The strongest similarities lie in points B and C, and the combined forms (b) and (ii). The greatest differences lie in A, D, the presence of a completive E, and combined form (i), which is unparalleled in the Creole system. In the Kristang system, the functions of the Creole combined markers are largely relegated to the single markers, e.g. Creole (c), (d) and (a) are all handled by the modality particle B, logu.

In Kristang, the tense particle A, ja, is not an anterior marker but rather a simple past marker in the sense that it marks actions prior to the moment of discourse [+past]. It parallels Malay sudah to a certain extent although in Malay, past actions, if not ambiguous in time and not contrastive, may be unmarked. Unlike the Creole [+anterior] particle, ja marks past and not past before past, for action verbs. Action verbs, however, are unmarked for past where they refer to past habitual ('used to') actions; again, this parallels MP. On the other hand, stative verbs are unmarked for past but may be marked by ja (and sudah in MP) to give emphasis to the prior establishment of the state: it was already in existence before the time of reference. Thus:

(10)		kora	yo	ja	chega	eli	(ja)	teng	na	kaza
	MP	bila	gua		datang	dia	(sudah)	ada	di	rumah
		ADV	I	TNS	*arrive*	*he*	TNS	EXISTbe	PREP	*house*

When I arrived he was (already) at home.

This is also true of modals which, like statives, are ummarked for past:

(11)		kora	yo	ja	ngkontra	ku	eli,	eli	(ja)	sabe
	MP	bila	gua		jumpa	sama	dia,	dia	(sudah)	bisa
		ADV	*I*	TNS	*meet*	ACC	*he,*	*he*	TNS	*know*

papia	malayu
cakap	malayu
speak	*malay*

When I met him he (already) knew how to speak Malay.

ja (but not MP sudah) functions in a similar way when it occurs with ta and active verbs:

(12)

	kora	yo	ja	chega,	eli	(ja)	ta	kumi
MP	bila	gua		datang,	dia	(sudah)	(*sedang)	makan
	ADV	*I*	TNS	*arrive,*	*he*	TNS	-P ASP	*eat*

When I arrived he was (already) eating.

(13) NOTE also:

	kora	yo	chega	eli	(ja)	ta	kumi	
MP	bila	aku	datang	dia		sedang	makan	pun
	ADV	*I*	*arrive*	*he*	TNS	-P ASP	*eat*	EMPH

When I arrive he is (already) eating.

So, with statives and modals, ja appears to function as an anterior marker. This runs contrary to A in Bickerton's Creole TMA system. Yet, when ja occurs with ta + *action verb,* it does function like the combined form (b) in Bickerton's system. There is, however, an additional marker, sta, which appears to have an anterior value with action verbs when preceded by ja:

(14)

	kora	yo	ja	chega	eli	ja	(sta)	bai	
MP	bila	gua		datang	dia	sudah		pergi	pun
	ADV	*I*	TNS	*arrive*	*he*	TNS	ANT	*go*	EMPH

When I arrived, he had (already) gone.

This marker is infrequent in use, yet, a large number of informants confirmed its [+anterior] value.[4] It has no parallel in MP. However, generally anterior marking with action verbs in Kristang is done by means of the completive kaba, or by placing an additional ja after the verb, or the emphatic particle pun.

(15)

	kora	yo	ja	chega	eli	ja	kaba	bai	
						ja	bai	ja / pun	
MP	bila	gua		datang	dia	sudah	habis	pergi	
						sudah	pergi	sudah / pun	
	ADV	*I*	TNS	*arrive*	*he*	TNS	COMP	*go*	
						TNS	*go*	TNS / EMPH	

When I arrived he had already gone.

Ø in Kristang is also radically different from marker D of the Creole system as it expresses for action verbs: present, past/present habitual, past narrative (possibly a trace of a previous anterior TNS system but now rare and restricted to certain verbs, e.g. fala *say*), and for stative verbs and modals: past and present. This is almost the opposite of marker D in Bickerton's system and again largely, parallels Malay.

Some of the functions of ja and Ø are evident in the following texts:

Text 1

1.	tempu	japang	ake,	nu	ja	bai	alo	gaja,	a!	ja	bai	fika	nala,
						A					A		
	time	*Japan*	*that,*	*we*	TNS	*go*	*Alor*	*Gajah,*	*ah!*	TNS	*go*	*stay*	*there,*

2. yo sa maridu fai sibrisu basu japang;
   A
   I 's husband (Ø=Past Hab) *work under Japanese;*

   That was during the Japanese time, we went to Alor Gajah, ah! we went to stay there, my husband was working for the Japanese;

Text 2

1. japang ja rinta nus sa kaza, eli fala nus ta gadra
   A A A
   Japanese TNS *enter we 's house, he* Ø *say we* ASP *keep*

2. ropianu na rentu kaza, nus fala ngka, eli ngge
   A M
   European in inside house, we Ø *say no, he* NEG *want*

3. konfia, eli ke chuchu ku beinat ku yo, se?, ka yo
   M S
   believe, he Ø *want stab* INSTR *bayonet to I, know?,* COMP *I*

4. ja bota kure, kaba eli ja bai riba, ja bai riba
   A A A A
   TNS *rush run,* COMP *he* TNS *go upstairs,* TNS *go upstairs*

5. e ja bongka tudumbes nus sa riba, eli lembra teng
   A A S
   he TNS *disturb everything we 's upstairs, he* Ø *believe be*

6. ropianu la, ka nte ja sai, ja dise ke eli ja
   S A A
   European EMPH, COMP NEG *be* TNS *exit,* TNS *descend and he* TNS

7. bai; nyonyor otu beng, keng teng fila fila tudumbe olotu
   A A S
   go; frequently they HAB *come, who* Ø *have daughters all they*

8. toma otu reip; yo sa kunya kunyada dos bota
   A A A
   HAB *take they* HAB *rape I 's nieces two* HAB

9. kure, bai skunde na greza, midu toka reip
   A A A S M A
   run, HAB *go hide in church, fear oblige rape*

   The Japanese came into our house, he said we were hiding Europeans inside the house, we said we weren't, he didn't believe us, he wanted to bayonet me, you know?, then I ran off, then he went upstairs, he went upstairs and disturbed everything, he thought there were Europeans there; since there weren't he came out, came downstairs and left. They used to come frequently, whoever had daughters they would take them all and rape them; my two nieces used to run away, they would go and hide in the church, they were afraid of being raped.

1.2.3.2 Pidgin traces

Interestingly, kaba, logu and ja appear to show pidgin traces in that they also occur outside the auxiliary. Yet, again they parallel MP:

(16)
Jo kumi, kaba, yo bai langgiang
MP aku makan habis, aku pergi langgai
I eat COMP *I go prawn net*
I eat, after that I go prawn netting.
(Note that kaba refers back to the previous clause.)

(17)
ma, nang amoku, logu yo bai greza
MP ma, jangan bising, nanti aku pergi gereja
mother, NEG IMP *noise,* FUT *I go church*
Mother, don't make a fuss, I will go to church (later).

(18)
ja ! eli bai na singapura
MP sudah ! dia pergi (ke) singapura
TNS EMPH *he go* PREP *Singapore*
He has gone to Singapore.

Also, both logu and ja (and Malay nanti and sudah) may occur as single word responses to questions.

Distributional facts such as these might support a theory of derivation for TMA markers whereby they originate in the pidgin as sentence adverbs in clause external position and are gradually incorporated into the auxiliary (cf. Bickerton 1981:78-81; Sankoff 1979:28-9).

In pre-creole Portuguese pidgins, it appears that kaba, ja and logu were temporal adverbs marking *earlier* and *later* (Bickerton 1981:79; Naro 1978:329). All three are widely spread in Portuguese creoles. For example, Cabo Verde Creole has them with similar functions (Hancock 1975:222). Bickerton assumes that *earlier* and *later* markers based on a temporal adverb and a verb meaning *finish* are prime markers selected in any pidgin; he refers to Hawaiian Pidgin English (cf. Sankoff 1979 for a Tok Pisin example.). However, it is difficult to know to what extent these 'pidgin traces' in Kristang are merely derived through convergence.

1.2.4 Realised and unrealised complements

Bickerton (1981:59-72) claims that creole complementisers are selected by the semantics of the embedded sentence. Thus, in the sentence

(19) He went to wash { and he washed / but he didn't wash }

in a creole language, the first clause would signal whether or not the complement was realised. Both Kristang and MP share this distinction:

(20)
eli ja bai { ?*Ø / ke } laba korpu mas eli ngka laba korpu
MP dia (sudah) pergi { ?*Ø / mau } mandi tapi dia tidak mandi
he TNS *go* { *Ø / *want* } *bathe* *but* *he* NEG *bathe*
He went to wash but he didn't wash.

1.2.5 Relativisation

Bickerton (1981:62) claims relative pronouns may be deleted in subject position and suggests creoles might originate without relativisers, like Hawaiian Creole English.

Kristang and MP have relativisers, ki and yang, but seldom use them, parataxis being the rule:

(21)
	bo	se	pampamyang	ake	china	Ø	ta	bende	mi: ?
MP		tau	pagi pagi	itu	cina	Ø		jual	mee ?
	you	*know*	*early morning*	ART	*Chinese*	ØREL	-P ASP	*sell*	*noodles* Q

You know, the Chinese guy who sells noodles early in the morning?

(22)
	na	fora	teng	ngwa	jenti	Ø	ja	pasa
MP	di	luar	ada	satu	orang	Ø	sudah	lalu
	outside		EXISTbe	1	*person*	ØREL	TNS	*pass*

Outside, someone passed by.

1.2.6 Negation

Bickerton claims that in creoles generally, nondefinite subjects and non-definite VP constituents and the verb must all be negated in negative sentences (Bickerton 1981:65-66). He gives the following incorrectly analysed example from Kristang:

(23)
ngka	ng'koza	nte	mersimentu
not	*no-thing*	*not-have*	*value*

Nothing has any value.

The second constituent, actually angkoza, means *thing* or *something* and not NEG+thing. This, of course, doesn't affect his argument as the subject is still negated. However, I haven't yet registered ngka angkoza as *nothing*. According to my observation,

(24)
nada	nte	balor
nothing	NEG *have*	*value*

with nada *nothing*. Similarly, for *nobody* there is the integral form nggeng, derived from the superstratum:

(25)
nggeng	ngka	ola	nada
nobody	NEG	*see*	*nothing*

Nobody saw anything.

These NEG incorporated forms, nada and nggeng, cannot support Bickerton's claim for creole negation. There are other words for nothing and nobody, to begin: ngka nada (NEG *nothing*) and nte jenti (NEG *have person*). Yet, these two forms exist as single utterance replies to questions and do not appear to function in clauses. In addition, there are two other forms which are Malay derived and do function in clauses: keng keng (pun) *anyone (at all)*, and ki ki (pun) *anything (at all)* [cf. MP siapa siapa (pun) and apa apa (pun) respectively]. However, they do not involve the negative morpheme:

(26)
	keng	keng	(pun)	nte	na	kaza
MP	siapa	siapa	(pun)	tiada	di	rumah
	who	*who*	EMPH	NEGbe	PREP	*house*

Nobody is at home (lit. *anybody at all isn't at home*).

Finally, Bickerton's 'negative happy' sentence from Guyanese Creole:

(27) non dag na bait non kyat
No dog bit any cat.

in Kristang would be:

(28)

	nte		kachoru	ja	mudre		gatu
MP	tiada		anjing		tokak		kucing
	NEG*be*	ØDET	*dog*	TNS	*bite*	ØDET	*cat*

Thus, neither Kristang nor MP resemble Bickerton's creole system in the area of negation.

1.2.7 Existential and possessive

Bickerton claims that for a wide range of creoles, the same lexical item is used to express existentials and possessives, yet, this is not the case for their superstrate languages (Bickerton 1981:66). While it is true that Kristang shares this feature:

(29)

	teng	ngwa	mule	(ki)	teng	ngwa	fila	
MP	ada	satu	perempuan	(yang)	ada	satu	perempuan	anak
	EXISTbe	DET	*woman*	REL	POSS	1	*daughter*	

There is a woman who has a daughter.

it is also true of MP and sixteenth century Portuguese.

1.2.8 Copula

Bickerton states that most creoles show similarities in their absence of copula (Bickerton 1981:67).

1. Adjectives are verbs in creoles (see section 1.2.9.1. below).
2. Locatives are introduced by verbs limited to that role (not extending to existential or pronominal environments).
3. Nominal complements are either introduced by zero copula or a predicate marker or a distinct verb.

Point 2 is not fulfilled. Locatives in Kristang (and Malay) are generally introduced by existential teng (MP ada):

(30)

	eli	teng	{ na rentu / na bangsal }
MP	dia	ada	{ di dalam / di bangsal }
	he	EXISTbe	PR N
	He	*is*	{ *inside* / *at the fishing hut* }

Yet, in Kristang, fika *stay* (MP tinggal) is also used to introduce locatives where the location is more permanent:

(31)

	eli	fika	na	kwalumpo
MP	dia	tinggal	di	kwalumpo
	he	*stay*	PREP	*Kuala Lumpur*

He is in Kuala Lumpur.

Point 3, is fulfilled, yet, shared by MP. Kristang and MP generally don't use a copula with noun complements or adjectives:

(32)		eli mestri	eli doudu
	MP	dia guru	dia bodoh
		He is a teacher.	*He is stupid.*

There is some evidence, however, that Kristang is acquiring a copula by extension of teng to adjective and nominal complements in response to convergence with MP (or is it that K and MP are converging with English?):

(33)		eli	(teng)	raiba
	MP	dia	(ada)	marah
		he	(Existbe)	*anger*
		He is angry.		

(34)		nus	teng	kwatu	irmang	ku	irmang
	MP	kita	ada	empat	adek		beradek
		we	EXISTbe	*four*	*brother*	CONJ	*brother* >1 *brother*
		We are four brothers (brother with brother).					

(35)		nus	teng	ungwa	tropa	korenta	di	ladrang
	MP	kita	ada	satu	kumpulan	empat puloh		penyamun
		we	EXISTbe	*one*	*gang*	*forty*	PREP	*thief*
		We are a gang of forty thieves.						

1.2.9.1 Adjectives as verbs

For a number of unrelated creoles it is claimed that there is good evidence for treating adjectives as a subcategory of verbs (Bickerton 1981:68-69). In Kristang (and MP) the parallel distribution of adjectives and verbs with the auxiliary (TMA) particles suggests that a similar approach is warranted:

1. Ø, unmarked for TMA.

   - With V Action = PRES/PAST HABITUAL/PAST NARRATIVE
   - With V Stative = PRES/PAST
   - With Adjective = PRES/PAST

	V Action		V Stative		Adjective	
	eli	kumi	eli	sabe	eli	godru
MP	dia	makan	dia	tahu	dia	gemuk
	he	*Ø eat*	*he*	*Ø know*	*he*	*Ø fat*
	He eats/ate.		*He knows/knew.*		*He is/was fat.*	

2. ja, tense particle.

   - With V Action = PAST
   - With V Stative = PAST/PRES; INCEPTIVE ANTERIOR ASPECT (emphasis on state having begun prior to focus of discourse)
   - With Adjective = PAST/PRES; INCEPTIVE ANTERIOR ASPECT

	V Action			V Stative			Adjective		
	eli	ja	kumi	eli	ja	sabe	eli	ja	godru
MP	dia	(sudah)	makan	dia	sudah	tahu	dia	sudah	gemuk
	he		*eat*	*he*		*know*	*he*		*fat*
	He ate.			*He already knows/ knew.*			*He is/was already fat.*		

3. ta, nonpunctual aspect particle.

- With V Action = PAST/PRES; -P ASP
- With V Stative = *
- With Adjective = PAST/PRES; (i) INCHOATIVE ASPECT : 'becoming';
  (ii) INCIPIENT ASPECT : 'newly'.

V Action	V Stative	Adjective
eli ta kumi	*eli ta sabe	eli ta godru
MP dia sedang makan	MP *dia sedang tahu	MP *dia sedang gemuk
he eat	*he know*	(MP = **he is being fat*
He is/was eating.	**He is/was knowing*	*He is/was becoming fat/ he is/was 'newly' fat.*

4. kaba, completive aspect particle, preceded by ja.

- With V Action = + COMPLETE (PAST)
- With V Stative = *
- With Adjective = */ + COMPLETE (PAST) depending on Adjective.

V Action	V Stative	Adjective
eli ja kaba kumi	eli ja kaba sabe	*eli ja kaba godru
MP dia (sudah) habis makan	MP dia sudah habis tahu	MP *dia sudah habis gemuk
He had finished eating.	**He had finished knowing.*	**He had finished being fat.*

But:

?eli ja kaba dwenti
MP ?dia sudah habis sakit
He got over his illness.

5. logu, modality particle.

- With V Action = FUTURE/IRREALIS : 'will, would'.
- With V Stative = FUTURE/IRREALIS INCHOATIVE/INFERENCE
- With Adjective = FUTURE/IRREALIS INCHOATIVE : 'will/would become'.

V Action	V Stative	Adjective
eli logu kumi	eli logu sabe	eli logu godru
MP dia nanti makan	MP dia nanti tahu	MP dia nanti gemuk
He will/would eat.	*He will know*	*He will/would become fat.*

Formal differences between adjectives and verbs lie in the restricted co-occurrence of adjectives with Modal particles (podi *can, may*, misti *must*, toka *obligation*) and in the co-occurrence of adjectives with the intensifier adverbs bomong *very+* and mutu *very* (MP banyak and sangat respectively) among others.

1.2.9.2 Inchoative value of -P ASP with Adjectives

An interesting aspect of this distribution is that the Kristang -P ASP marker ta (case 3 above), when applied to adjectives, assumes an inchoative value or signifies 'newness'. MP does not share either of these features. The inchoative function parallels Guyanese Creole English, Hawaiian Creole English and Indian Ocean Creole French (Bickerton 1981:68-69). The latter language also displays the 'newness' function of the -P ASP marker with certain adjectives (Corne 1981:105, 112). In the case of Kristang, however, both values

of -P ASP + Adjective may be explained without appealing to Creole Universals. There are two possibilities. The inchoative function could be viewed as the result of reduction of a structure involving fika *to become*:

(36) eli ta fika godru → eli ta godru
he become fat
He is getting fat.

On the other hand, both values of ta + Adjective have a parallel in the Portuguese superstratum where the copular estar is used with adjectives to denote changeable characteristics. As I have noted earlier, ta derives from P. está (estar *to be*).

1.2.10 Questions

Bickerton (1981:70) claims no creole shows any difference in structure between questions and statements and that if question particles are used, they are sentence final and optional. Kristang and MP also work this way, using rising intonation or question particles:

(37) eli fuma (na) ?
MP dia merokok (tidak ka) ?
he smoke NEG-Q
Does he smoke? (He smokes, doesn't he?)

1.2.11 WH-Questions

According to Bickerton (1981:70), for Wh-questions the question word is preposed to the declarative form of the sentence. The question words, if not a direct superstrate adaptation, always consist of two morphemes: the first derived from a superstrate Q-word and the second from a superstrate word for place, time, manner, cause etc. Kristang conforms to these predictions:

	K			MP	
(38)	ki *what*	luga *place*	*Where?*	(di) PREP	mana *where*
(39)	ki *what*	ora *hour*	*When?*		bila *when*
(40)	ki *what*	laia *kind*	*How?*	apa *what*	macam *kind*
(41)	ki *what*	kauzu *reason*	*Why?*	apa *what*	pasal *reason*

Here Kristang is closer than MP to Bickerton's creole system.

1.2.12 Passive constructions

Bickerton (1981:71-72) states that passives are rare in creoles and that where they do exist they are either marginal or relatively recent superstrate borrowings. He claims that the general pattern for creoles in 'lexical diathesis': for transitive verbs, NVN is interpreted as 'actor-action-patient' and NV as 'patient-action'. Kristang and MP share such a system:

(42)

	eli	sa	pai	ja	sunya	ake	albi
MP	dia	punya	bapak	(sudah)	tanam	itu	pokok
	he	*'s*	*father*	TNS	*plant*	DET	*tree*
		ACTOR			ACTION		PATIENT

His father planted the tree.

(43)

	ake	albi	ja	sunya
MP	itu	pokok	sudah	tanam
	DET	*tree*	TNS	*plant*
		PATIENT		ACTION

The tree was planted.

The passive may be expressed by means of the passive auxiliary toka (parallel to Malay kena), roughly equivalent to *get*, except that toka carries a pejorative sense:

(44)

	ake	pesi	ja	toka	kumi	(di	gatu)
MP	itu	ikan	(sudah)	kena	makan	(di	kucing)
	DET	*fish*	TNS	PASSaux	*eat*	(PREP	*cat*)

The fish got eaten (by the cat).

1.2.13 Perception verb complements

Bickerton (1981:99-104) claims that perception verb complements are finite in creoles because:

1. they may contain aspect
2. they won't allow subject deletion
3. they won't allow extraction, e.g. focussing (Propositional Island Constraint).

[We will not examine the stronger claim that all complements are finite in early creolised languages.]

In Kristang perception verb complements may contain aspect:

(45)

	yo	ja	ola	ku	ake	omi	ta	sai	di	kaza
MP	aku		tengok	sama	itu	orang	?*sedang	keluar	dari	rumah
	I	TNS	*see*	ACC	DET	*man*	-P ASP	*leave*	PREP	*house*

I saw the man leaving the house.

Moreover, a complement containing aspect permits subject deletion:

(46)

	yo	ja	ola	ta	sai	di	kaza
MP	aku	(sudah)	tengok	?*sedang	keluar	dari	rumah
	I	TNS	*see*	-P ASP	*leave*	PREP	*house*

I saw (the man) leaving the house.

and allows extraction:

(47)

	ake	omi	ta	sai	di	kaza,	yo	ja	ola
MP	itu	orang	sedang	keluar	dari	rumah,	aku	(sudah)	tengok
	DET	*man*	-P ASP	*leave*	PREP	*house,*	*I*	TNS	*see*

The man was leaving the house, I saw (him).

(48)

	ake	omi	(ki)	yo	ja	ola	ta	sai	di	kaza
MP	itu	orang		aku	(sudah)	tengok	?sedang	keluar	dari	rumah
	DET	*man*	REL	*I*	TNS	*see*	-P ASP	*leave*	PREP	*house*

The man I saw was leaving the house.

Thus Kristang does not conform to Bickerton's claim.

1.2.14 Serial verbs and case marking

In the absence of prepositions from substrate/superstrate, a creole will develop serial verbs for case marking (Bickerton 1981:118-131).

Although Kristang has a full complement of prepositions derived from Portuguese and Malay, there is some evidence for a serial verb role in benefactives and instrumentals (this is paralleled in MP).

Benefactive:

(49)		yo	ja	tize	isti	floris	da	ku	eli
	MP	saya		ambil	itu	bunga	kasih	sama	dia
		I	TNS	*bring*	*this*	*flower*	*give*	*to*	*her*

This was consistently given as a translation of *This flower is for her.*

Instrumental:

(50)		eli	toma	faka	kotra	kandri
	BM	dia	pakai	pisau	potong	daging
		he	*take*	*knife*	*cut*	*meat*

He cut the meat with a knife.

1.3 Summary list and comments

	Creole feature	K only	K + MP
1.2.1	Movement rules		+ marginal
1.2.2	Articles		+
1.2.3	T M A	+ marginal (sta)	+ partial
1.2.4	Realised/unrealised complements		+
1.2.5	Relativisation		+
1.2.6	Negation		
1.2.7	Existential & possessive		+
1.2.8	No copula		+ partial
1.2.9.1	Adjectives as verbs		+
1.2.9.2	Inchoative value of -P ASP with Adjectives	(+)	
1.2.10	Questions		+
1.2.11	WH-questions	+	+ partial
1.2.12	Passives (diathesis)		+
1.2.13	Perception verb		

Kristang and MP resemble the creole system on twelve points. It appears that the two languages are more closely related than previously claimed (cf. Hancock 1975). Bilingualism must have played an important role in the formation of Kristang. Isn't it likely then that Kristang came to match Bickerton's creole system merely through convergence with MP?

Bickerton would probably claim that Kristang simply acquired the sort of rules it was supposed to acquire as a creole and that whether or not they were present in the input to creolisation is not an issue: Kristang may have taken them from MP or may have arrived at them independently (cf. Bickerton 1981:50-51).

However, the retention of so many features resembling the creole system, in spite of bilingualism, is doubtless attributable to Kristang's contact with a language that resembles the creole system in certain features. The interesting point is that there are no 'creole' features common to MP which Kristang does not share. There is only one feature that MP doesn't share: the inchoative and 'nowness' values of -P ASP + ADJ. However, this feature may be explained without recourse to Creole Universals. There are two other features which MP doesn't completely share: WH-Q and Anterior sta.

The use of Kristang data in a discussion of Creole Universals warrants considerable caution. Kristang appears partly to meet the socio-historical conditions 1 and 2, and indeed shows traces resembling Bickerton's Creole Universal features. However, the fact that traces of such features are present does not guarantee support for Bickerton's case. Kristang may not have evolved these features independently.

Finally, a question which can barely be touched upon here: How did Malacca MP acquire its creole features? It has been spoken in a multilingual situation as a lingua franca by Portuguese Creoles, Tamils, Chinese (mainly Hokkien) and Malays for at least four centuries. Some of these groups have abandoned their own languages in favour of this reduced variety of Malay; thus, for example, a 'creole' MP, Baba Malay, is the language of the Straits Chinese (Lim 1981). So, Malacca MP, an extended, stable pidgin for a large number of speakers, and for some a creole, could well be expected to display some common creole features. Another point is that certain Austronesian features and Chinese language features are close to those of the creole system, e.g. TMA.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper originally presented at the XV Pacific Science Congress, Dunedin, New Zealand.

2. In the literature Malacca Creole Portuguese has often been referred to as Papia Kristang. However the speakers of the language generally refer to it as Kristang and it is this name that I shall use in this paper.

3. There are some cases, however, where ngwa is preferably absent in asserted specific reference, both in Kristang and MP:

	teng	ngwa	kobra	na	kaza
MP	ada	satu	ular	dalam	rumah

There is a snake in the house.

Elicitation of this sentence from English often yields the variant with ngwa, while observation of conversation texts suggests that after existential teng, ngwa is generally absent for asserted specific reference involving such nominals as kobra *snake*, kachoru *dog*, gatu *cat* or jenti *people*, but not, for example, omi *man*, mule *woman*, krensa *child*.

4. At this stage of my research, the origin of sta is unclear. It is attested in Rêgo (1942) but unclearly glossed. It is also frequent in traditional songs. It may be derived from P. estava *was* (imperfect) given its semantic content and the suggestion that such auxiliaries seem to give rise to anterior particles (cf. Bickerton 1981:86). However, it is also possible that sta may have originated as a variant of ta.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	action verb	NEG	negative
ACC	accusative marker	NEGbe	negative + be
ADJ	adjective	NEG-Q	negative question
ADV	adverb	NP	noun phrase
ASP	aspect (non-punctual)	-P ASP	nonpunctual aspect
CONJ	conjunction	PASSaux	passive auxiliary
COMP	completive	Past Hab	past habitual
DEM	demonstrative	POSS	possessive 'have'
DET	definite article	PREP	preposition
EMPH	emphasis	PRO	pronoun
EXISTbe	existential be	S	stative verb
FUT	future-irrealis mood	TMA	tense-mood-aspect
HAB	habitual	TNS	tense (past)
HPE	Hawaiian Pidgin English	V	verb
IMP	imperative	WH-Q	question word; question
K	Kristang	Ø	absence of TMA marking
M	modal verb	ØDET	absence of determiner
MP	Malacca Bazaar Malay	ØREL	absence of relativiser
N	nominal		

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TRANSITIVITY AND ASPECT IN THE KRIOL VERB

Joyce Hudson

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

The use of the suffix -im with transitive verbs is one of the features of Kriol most commonly noticed by English speakers and linked by them to pidgins and creoles from other countries. Not so obvious is the system into which it fits and the variety of meanings which are available to the speaker of Kriol by the use of this and other verbal suffixes.

Kriol is an English-based language of the Northern Territory and Kimberley area of Western Australia. In this paper an analysis of the morphology of the Kriol verb is presented and, related to this, a semantic categorisation is used to describe the transitivity possibilities. The examples are drawn from the Fitzroy Valley (Kimberley) dialect.

This analysis, based on data collected at Fitzroy Crossing between January and June of 1981, is a fuller description of the Kriol verb than that given in my monograph on this language. As with the monograph, my approach has been to analyse Kriol as an independent system and not to draw on the analysis of English. In this it differs from most works on English-based pidgins and creoles.

The Kriol verb consists of a stem and three orders of suffixes, all marking either transitivity or aspect. They are displayed in Chart 1 (see p.175). In the first order there are two morphemes: -Vm transitive marker and {-in} progressive aspect. Although it is possible to get a transitive verb in the progressive aspect, these two morphemes cannot co-occur and the progressive aspect takes precedence when both meanings are needed. This allows for ambiguity in a very small number of verbs, but in most cases it is clear from the context or from the semantics of the verb stem. The second and third order suffixes are all aspectual (see page 175).

1. TRANSITIVITY

1.1 Transitive marker

Transitive verbs are normally marked by the first order suffix -Vm.

Det dog bin bait-im mi
that dog PST *bite*-TR 1:SG:O
The dog bit me.

Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics No.3,
161-176. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-65, 1983.

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Hudson, J. "Transitivity and aspect in the Kriol verb". In Carrington, L., Siegel, J., Mühlhäusler, P., Simons, L., Baxter, A., Hudson, J., Ramsey, A. and Chowning, A. editors, *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics No. 3*. **A-65:161-176**. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1983. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A65.161*
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It can be omitted from those verbs which have an intrinsically transitive underived stem provided three conditions are met.

(1) The object must be overtly stated in an NP.

Ai	bin	kuk	sam	dempa
1:SG:S	PST	*cook*	*some*	*damper*

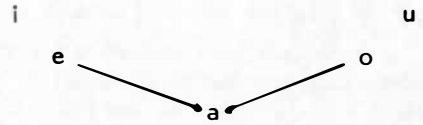
I cooked some damper.

(2) All other verbal suffixes must be deleted also. Forms such as *id-ap *eat* and *bait-bat *bite* are not possible.

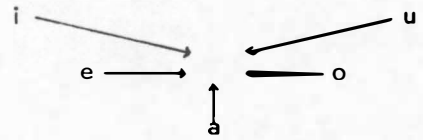
(3) The resultant stem must be an acceptable phonological shape. The form *magar from magar-am *spoil* is not acceptable. In text from speakers at the 'light' end of the continuum there is a tendency to omit the transitive marker more than in text from speakers at the 'heavy' end.[2]

1.1.1 Morphophonemics

There is harmony between the last vowel of the verb stem and that of the suffix -Vm. The vowels of the verb stem remain unchanged and that of the suffix varies. If the stem final vowel is /i/, /a/, or /u/ the suffix is identical to it: kil-im *hit, kill*; tjak-am *throw*; kuk-um *cook, heat*. The two mid vowels /e/ and /o/ do not pull the suffix vowel to themselves but it falls toward the low central position /a/ as in greb-am *take possession of*, kol-am *call, refer to*. In the case of glides, the suffix is the same as the second segment of the glide: faind-im *find, notice*, boil-im *boil*, kaund-um *count*. These are illustrated below.



The above changes are tendencies only. With many speakers the vowel of the suffix, being unstressed, neutralises to an indistinct central vowel /ə/ for all but the high back vowels. For some, even /u/ is lowered and centralised.



For orthographic purposes in this paper, three allomorphs will be written: -im, -am and -um, the vowel to agree with that in the last syllable of the stem. Where this is a glide, the suffix vowel agrees with the second segment. With stem vowels /e/ and /o/ the suffix vowel will be written /a/.

stil-im	*steal*	faind-im	*find*
tjak-am	*throw*	boil-um	*boil*
kuk-um	*cook*	kaund-um	*count*
enser-am	*answer*	grow-um-ap	*grow, bring up, nurture*
brok-am	*break*		

Where the verb is derived from a phrasal verb in English, the transitive marker is placed between the two English elements and the vowel agrees with the preceding vowel as described above.

fil-ap	fil-im-ap	*fill*
grow-ap	grow-um-ap	*grow, bring up, nurture*

With the progressive aspect, these verbs retain transitivity even though the -Vm suffix is replaced by -in. (see Section 2.1.1.).

The verb gibirr-im *give* alternates with a shorter form gib-im. It can function either as a transitive verb, when the locative phrase (marked by the preposition {langa}) identifies the recipient or the entity transferred is identified by a preposition. If both are specified overtly, the recipient usually occurs first, i.e. it follows the verb.

Wi	bin	gib-im	langa	olabat	petirl
we	PST	*give*-TR	LOC	3:PL	*petrol*

We gave them petrol.

Gibirr-im	blanga	im	sista	det	taka
give-TR	DAT	3:SG:O	*sister*	*that*	*food*

Give his sister the food.

Pronominal reference is often used for the recipient but is not obligatory. Both the next two forms are equally acceptable.

Gibirrim im ~ Gibirrim *Give it to him.*

The shorter form gib-im is not so likely to be used in isolation. If the recipient is first person, the contracted form gimi is often used.

The verb owumbek occurs in one elicited example as ditransitive.

Det	gel	bin	owumbek	im	mani	fo	wen	i	bin	gib-im
that	*girl*	PST	*repay*	3:SG:O	*money*	PURP	*when*	3:SG:O	PST	*give*-TR

The girl repayed him the money he had given her before.

As well as deriving transitive verbs from intransitive, -Vm can be used to derive a transitive verb from a different word class. This applies to words from within Kriol or borrowed from English. Of those listed below, the first three are derived from nouns and the others from adjectives. The English form, as the source, is given in the first column followed by the Kriol form of the same word class. In the third column the derived verb is given with its gloss.

needle	nidil	nidil-im	*inject*
torch	toitj	toitj-im	*shine a light on something*
dust	dast	dast-am	*cover with dust, overtake, surpass*
jealous	jelis	jelis-im	*resent, envy*
high	-	hay-im-ap	*heighten*
ready	rudi	rudiy-im-ap	*prepare something*

1.2 Transitivity and semantic categories

Almost all Kriol verbs are derived from English words.[3] As English verbs are not marked for transitivity, they are treated as intransitive when borrowed and a transitive form is derived where necessary by the suffix -Vm. Many verbs have both an intransitive and a transitive form. Some stems with intrinsic transitivity require obligatory transitive marking and have no intransitive counterparts. Others are intrinsically intransitive and have no transitive

counterpart. A transitive derivation is hypothetically possible for all, since the transitive marker is productive in the language and only semantic implausibility would prevent it. With the majority of verbs it seems the use of -Vm is unpredictable, but some principles can be given on the basis of broad semantic categories of state, process, event, act and activity. These are defined by Lyons (1977:707) as

> Events ... are non-extended dynamic situations that occur, momentarily, in time; processes are extended dynamic situations that last, or endure, through time; states are like processes in that they too last, or endure through time, but they differ from processes in that they are homogenous throughout the period of their existence; acts and activities are agent-controlled events and processes, respectively.

By definition then, transitive verbs which have an agent as grammatical subject are all either act or activity verbs. Intransitives, though, may belong to any of the five semantic categories.

1.2.1 Verbs with predictable transitivity

Some verbs are intrinsically intransitive and cannot be transitivised. Examples are: go *go*, *move*, kamap *arrive*, kemp *sleep*, *camp*, bogi *bathe*, poldan *fall*, breikdan *breakdown*.

Mela	bin	kamap	from	Janjuwa
1:PL:EX	PST	*arrive*	ABL	*Junjuwa*

We arrived from Junjuwa.

Verbs which are marked as transitive but have no intransitive counterpart are those where the action is only performed by an agent on another entity. Some are: lik-im *lick*, nak-am *hit*, majurr-um *muster*, *gather together*, nidil-im *inject*.

Orla	kid	bin	tjak-am	ston
PL	*child*	PST	*throw*-TR	*stone*

The children threw stones.

1.2.2 Verb stems with intransitive and transitive counterparts

Some stems, which describe a goal-oriented activity, may appear in either transitive or intransitive forms.

(a) In an intransitive form, the goal is expressed in a locative phrase.

Pipul	kin	hambag	langa	yu	fo	mani
people	*can*	*pester*	LOC	2:SG	PURP	*money*

People can pester you for money.

Wi	garra	lijin	langa	det	men
We	POT	*listen*	LOC	*that*	*man*

We must listen to that man.

(b) In a transitive form the goal is expressed as object. Although there is probably a difference of meaning between the two constructions, my language teacher could not verbalise any.

Dis boi hambag-am-bat as
this boy pester-TR-ITER *us*
The boy is annoying/pestering us.

Wi garra lijin-im det men
we POT *listen*-TR *that man*
We must listen to that man.

Intransitive verbs can be transformed to transitive according to the following conditions. These verbs are divided semantically into process/event verbs, activity/act verbs and verbs which denote states.

1.2.2.1 Process/event verbs

Process/event intransitive verbs can change semantic category and become activity/act verbs by addition of the transitive marker.

(a) When an entity is introduced as being affected by the action, the transitive marker is added.

blou > blow-um *blow*

Win bin blow-um wan nes la graun
wind PST *blow*-TR INDEF *nest* LOC *ground*
The wind blew a nest to the ground.

juweya > juweirr-im *swear*

Det boi bin juweirr-im mi
that boy PST *swear*-TR 1:SG:O
The boy swore at me.

ran > ran-am *run*

Det motika bin ran-am det dog
that car PST *run*-TR *that dog*
The car ran over the dog.

(b) Where an action similar to that described by the process/event verb is caused by an agent acting on another entity, the transitive marker is added.

flai *fly*

Det berd bin flai antap
that bird PST *fly above*
The bird flew up (onto the roof).

> flay-im *cause to fly through the air*

I bin flay-im mai hend
3:SG:S PST *fly*-TR *my hand*
He sent my hand flying as he brushed it off.

jumokin *smoke*

Det faya stil jumokin
that fire still smoking
The fire is still smoking.

> jumok-am *to place in smoke*

Is mami bin jumok-am im
his mother PST *smoke*-TR 3:SG:O
His mother held him in the smoke (to cure an illness).

dran *submerge in liquid*

Wan kid bin dran la riba
INDEF *child* PST *submerge* LOC *river*
A child submerged in the river.

> drand-am *push something below the surface of a liquid*

I bin drand-am det penikin la riba
3:SG:S PST *submerge*-TR *that pannikin* LOC *river*
He submerged the pannikin in the river.

1.2.2.2 Activity/act verbs

Most activity/act verbs are transitive and marked accordingly. Others are basically of two kinds.

(a) If grammatical object needs to be specified with activity/act intransitive verbs, the transitive marker is added.

dens > dens-am *dance*

Wi bin dens-am juju
we PST *dance*-TR *corroboree*(W)
We danced a corroboree.

bomit > bomit-im *vomit*

Det kid bin bomit-im orla taka
that child PST *vomit*-TR PL *food*
The child vomited his food.

sing > sing-im *sing*

Yu sing-im helikapta ringa
2:SG *sing*-TR *helicopter ringer*
You sing the song 'Helicopter Ringer'.

(b) A small number of activity/act verbs are irregular in that they do not take the transitive marker even when they function transitively. This makes the intransitive versus transitive functions distinguishable only by the relevant arguments.

kapiket *copy, imitate, reproduce*

I bin kapiket la mi (Intr)
3:SG:S PST *copy* LOC 1:SG:O
He copied me.

| bin | kapiket | mi | (Tr)
3:SG:S PST *copy* 1SG:O
He copied me.

Others in this group are klaimap *climb* and plei *play*. Probably the verb tagat *eat* also belongs with these but has been regularised to allow it to take the transitive marker. In the data all examples of tagat-am with an overt object include a specific referent, e.g. 'egg' rather than the generic 'food'.

1.2.2.3 States

State intransitive verbs become transitive where an agent is specifiable as having brought about the state.

bagarrap *spoiled, useless*

Det motika i bagarrap
that car 3:SG:S *spoiled*
The car won't go.

> bagarr-am-ap *spoil, ruin, make useless*

| bin bagarr-am-ap mai baik
3:SG:S PST *spoil*-TR- *up my bike*
He spoiled my bike (so I can't ride it).

stak *stuck*

Ai kan pul-um-at dis fishinglain, i stak tumas
1:SG:S *can't pull*-TR-att *this fishing:line* 3:SG:S *stuck very*
I can't get my fishing line out, it's too well snagged.

> stak-am *catch, hold fast*

Det kapi bin stak-am-ap mai fishinglain
that fish(W) PST *stuck*-TR-*up my fishing:line*
The fish snagged my fishing line.

metj *like*

Det mansta i metj ston
that monster 3:SG:S *like stone*
The monster is like rock (unbreakable).

> metj-am *match, alike*

Dupala bin metj-am-bat jelp kulus
3:DU PST *like*-TR-ITER REFL *clothes*
They were wearing similar clothes.

1.2.2.4 The dimension 'control'

Foley includes an extra semantic category by introducing the feature 'control'. The following chart is taken from personal lecture notes (1980).

	Uncontrolled	Controlled
Static	states processes	stance activities
Dynamic	events	acts

This subdivision is useful for describing three verbs in Kriol: jandap *stand*, jidan *sit* and stap *stay*. They all function as stance verbs when depicting animate entities which have the ability to maintain or change the state and function as states when describing the physical orientation of inanimate entities which have no such control. Stap and jidan cannot be transitivised. A pair of examples is given for each verb. The first illustrates the stance function, and the second shows the verb functioning as a state.

jandap *stand*

Yu jandap la det trak parri
2:SG *stand* LOC *that* *truck* *boy*(W)
You stand up near the truck boy.

We i jandap big-big-wan ston dei kolam hil
REL 3:SG:S *stand* *big*-REDUP-NOM *stone* *they* *call* *hill*
Big tall rocks, they call hills.

jidan *sit*

Ai bin jidan la blengket
1:SG:S PST *sit* LOC *blanket*
I sat on the blanket.

Det teingk i jidan la graun
that *tank* 3:SG:S *sit* LOC *ground*
The tank is low on the ground.

Stap *stay*

I bin stap tharrei fo langtaim
3:SG:S PST *stay* *there* PURP *long:time*
He was there for a long time.

Det mad bin stap slipri-wan
that *mud* PST *stay* *slippery*-NOM
The mud was slippery.

2. ASPECT

2.1 First and third order suffixes

The first order progressive aspect suffix {-in} and the third order iterative -bat cannot really be described independently. There is overlap of meaning and therefore an interweaving of distribution and co-occurrence. The shared meaning is that of continuous or durational aspect, i.e. an action is seen to be carried on for a prolonged period of time. The different meanings are identified in the glosses given for each morpheme.

2.1.1 Progressive {-in}

First order {-in} usually indicates continuous action, but it can be progressive or imperfective meaning when an action is viewed as being in progress at a given time. This can be at the time of the utterance or at the time identified by a verb in a contiguous clause.

Dem kids dei bisi pley-in la trempalin
them children 3:PL *busy play*-PROG LOC *trampoline*
The children are active playing on the trampoline.

There are two variants of {-in}: -in and -ing. These are not phonologically conditioned and there is no vowel harmony such as occurs with the other first order suffix -Vm. For those intransitive verbs derived from English phrasal verbs, progressive aspect suffix can be either between the two elements or at the end of the Kriol stem. Thus it alternates between first and second orders.

jid-an-ing	jid-in-dan	*sitting*
jing-at-ing	jing-in-at	*singing out, calling*

This variation in order is another difference from the transitive marker which occurs in the first order position. Progressive forms are heard more often in the speech of young people.

A small number of activity verbs appear to be derived from the progressive form of the English verbs. The verbs listed below have been heard only in the progressive form in Kriol.

krus-ing	*drive around for enjoyment, without any specific destination in mind.*
betl-in	*try to do something without success*
fish-ing	*fishing*
hant-ing	*hunting*

2.1.2 Iterative -bat

The iterative meaning of -bat is more common than durative. It can refer to repeated actions or plural participants as in the following examples where the first illustrates repeated action, the second illustrates plural agents and the last two combine both.

Dis motika i bagarrap-bat
this car 3:SG:S *spoiled*-ITER
This car is erratic. It goes for a while and then stops.

Dei bin lait-im-ap-bat blanga dem jumok
3:PL PST *light*-TR-*up*-ITER DAT *them cigarette*
They were all lighting up their cigarettes.

I shut-um-bat mi garra ston
3:SG:S *hit:with:missile*-TR-ITER 1:SG:O ASSOC *stone*
He was throwing stones (and hitting me) repeatedly.

Dei bin katamat-bat orla kaf
3:PL PST *separate*-ITER PL *calf*
They were separating the calves into groups.

The continuous meaning of -bat is exemplified in the next example.

Det kid bin haid-im-ap-bat jelp from det titja
that child PST *hide*-TR-*up*-ITER REFL ABL *that teacher*
The child was hiding for a long time from the teacher (until it was too late to go to school).

This suffix is productive in the language and can be suffixed to morphemes borrowed from the traditional languages.

Det parri bin dilat-bat langa is mami fo mani
that boy(W) PST *pester*(W)-ITER LOC *his mother* PURP *money*
The boy pestered his mother continually for money.

Orla kid bin tjuw-ing babulgam en dei bin go tilytily-bat
PL *child* PST *chew*-PROG *bubblegum and* 3:PL PST *go crack*(W)-ITER
The children were chewing bubblegum and they were repeatedly cracking the bubbles they made.

2.1.3 Combination of aspects

When both -in and -bat are suffixed to the same verb, the meaning of the combination can be generalised as a strengthening of the durative aspect with process and state verbs. With event, act and activity verbs usually the action is repeated and so carried out over a prolonged period. This is, however, only a generalisation and can vary depending on the lexeme of the verb, participants etc. The next six verb forms were offered to a native speaker who placed them in the sentences given.

State and process verbs:

Det boi bin jandap-ing-bat langa riba
that boy PST *stand*-PROG-ITER LOC *river*
The boy was standing for a long time (watching something probably in different places).

Yu blidin-ing-bat langa fut
2:SG *bleed*-PROG-ITER LOC *foot*
Your foot is bleeding badly.

(The vowel /a/ is optionally inserted between the alveolar and bilabial consonant cluster caused by the allomorph -in preceding -bat, as in the next example).

I bin kray-in-abat fo longtaim
3:SG:S PST *cry*-PROG-ITER PURP *long:time*
He was crying for a long time (allows for pauses from time to time).

Event verbs (plural participants - progressive aspect):

Orla motika stat-ing-bat nau. Dei garra go.
PL *car* *start*-PROG-ITER *now* *they* POT *go*
The cars are starting up now, they're ready to move off (in a race).

Act verbs (prolonged repeated action):

Dei bin tjop-in-abat det log
they PST *chop*-PROG-ITER *that log*
They were chopping repeatedly at the log.

Mela bin tjak-in-abat, najing
1:PL:EX PST *throw*-PROG-ITER *in:vain*
We were casting (our fishing line(s)) repeatedly for a long time without success.

The overlap of meaning with these two aspect suffixes can perhaps best be shown by some examples where two verbs of the same time and duration occur in contiguous clauses.

Main bratha nat rait-im-bat leda, i silip-in
my brother NEG *write*-TR-ITER *letter,* 3:SG:S *sleep*-PROG
la sheid
LOC *shade*
My brother is not writing a letter, he's sleeping in the shade.

I jid-in-dan la bangk, rid-im-bat buk
3:SG:S *sit*-PROG-*down* LOC *bed* *read*-TR-ITER *book*
He is sitting on a bed reading a book.

I id-im-bat bred en dringk-im-bat ti
3:SG:S *eat*-TR-ITER *bread and drink*-TR-ITER *tea*
He is eating bread and drinking tea.

Wi bin siy-im-bat krakadail ged-ap-bat
we PST *see*-TR-ITER *crocodile get-up*-ITER
We were watching crocodiles getting in and out of the water.

Det motika shuda kam-in-ap diswei get-am-bat taka
that car should come-PROG-*up this:way obtain*-TR-ITER *food*
fo orla penjina
PURP PL *pensioner*
The car should come every day and get food for the pensioners.

Kulus i dray-in langa san
clothes 3:SG:S *dry*-PROG LOC *sun*
The clothes are drying in the sun. (Intr)

Many verbs, however, reject the progressive aspect entirely and retain the transitive suffix, using -bat to indicate continuous action.

Ai bin ab-am-bat motika fo longtaim
1:SG:S PST *have*-TR-ITER *car* PURP *long:time*
I had a car for a long time.

Punctiliar type verbs such as kilim *injure, kill*; gibirrim *give*; autum *extinguish fire* occur with -bat to indicate continuous action.

Dei bin aut-um-bat faya
3:PL PST *extinguish*-TR-ITER *fire*
They fought the bushfire, extinguishing it bit by bit.

2.2 Second order suffixes

Suffixes of the second order are all derived from English prepositions and in Kriol some carry aspectual meaning.[4] Most are productive though some are heard mainly in verbs which originate from English phrasal verbs, e.g. jidan *sit* from 'sit down' and jandap *stand* from 'stand up'. Second order suffixes are listed with the other verbal affixes in Chart 1. They are all based on a spatial

dimension and the first four have been developed to include aspectual meaning as well. A subdivision could probably be made for this group after more research on the basis of their co-occurrence with each other and with the other verbal affixes. For example, -bek can be preceded or followed by the third order -bat in the word shain-im-bek-bat ~ shain-im-bat-bek *flash a light repeatedly at someone in retaliation.* Some second order suffixes could not possibly be preceded by -bat; they can be preceded by {-in} as in jid-an ~ jid-in-dan *sit* but *jid-bat-dan could not occur. This suggests that morphemes such as -bek are more loosely connected to the stem than others.

2.2.1 -ap *upwards*

This is probably derived from English 'up'; the primary meaning of -ap is that of an action performed in the vertical dimension, upwards. It is glossed *up.*

klaim-ap	*climb*
bildim-ap	*build (a house)*
jand-ap	*stand*

It extends spatially to include motion toward a physical goal.

draibim-ap	*drive right to a goal*
kam-ap	*move towards speaker*

The aspectual meaning is that of the action carried out to its fullest extent. The next set of examples have contrasting forms without the aspectual suffix. Both forms are given.

falaram-ap	*follow to catch up with, track game in order to kill it.*
falaram	*move along behind something which is moving*
rulum-ap	*roll up into something small, as a swag*
rulum	*roll along as a drum*
kikin-ap (Intr)	*kick feet wildly in the air and roll around on the ground as a child throwing a tantrum*
kikim ~ kik	*kick something using the foot*
kreikin-ap (Intr)	*split, splinter, crack, tear, as worn out cloth with many tears, bottle with multiple cracks*
kreik	*tear, crack*

2.2.2 -at *towards a goal*

The aspectual meaning of -at is that the action is performed until a goal or a change of place or state is reached as in the verbs wetinim-at *extinguish a fire* and kam-at *reach a physical goal.* It is glossed *attain* (att).

I	bin	wetin-imat	det	faya
3:SG:S	PST	*wet*-TR-att	*that*	*fire.*

He extinguished the fire with water.

Ai	bin	kat-am	det	log	en	ai	bin	kam-at	la
1:SG:S	PST	*cut*-TR	*that*	*log*	*and*	1:SG:S	PST	*come*-att	LOC

det sneik
that snake
I chopped into the hollow log until I reached the snake.

Wi bin kam-at la Pitrai
we PST *come*-att LOC *Fitzroy*
We arrived at Fitzroy Crossing.

Det bul bin breik-at
that bull PST *break*-att
The bull got away from the group.

2.2.3 -bek *reverse*

The basic meaning of this morpheme is that an entity is seen as being away from another entity or place and returning toward it. It is glossed *back*.

kam-bek	*return to speaker*
pajim-bek	*pass an item back to its original possessor*
tern-im-bek	*turn something back to the direction of its origin*
go-bek	*return to departure point*

The aspectual extension of meaning includes retaliation or reciprocation and involves two entities. It assumes a previous action which has affected one of them and has been performed by the other. The action is then performed a second time with a reversal of roles, i.e. the agent of the first action becomes a patient of the second. Understandably, -bek with aspectual meaning can only occur with transitive verbs.

shain-im-bek	*shine a light back at someone in retaliation*
yus-um-bek	*use something belonging to someone else who has borrowed an equivalent thing*
juweirr-im-bek	*swear at someone who has sworn at you*
skwer-am-bek	*retaliate with the same action as was received* e.g. blow for blow
ow-um-bek	*give a gift reciprocating something received* (owum is not an independent word)

2.2.4 -dan *downwards*

The primary meaning of -dan is action performed in a downward direction. It is glossed *down*.

luk-in-dan	*look down*
nakam-dan	*hit something causing it to fall*
daib-dan	*dive down*
go-dan	*go down*

It is extended to include an event which causes the cessation of one state and, at the same time, changes into a different state.

breik-dan	*break down (of vehicle or engine)*
sedal-dan	*cease from some activity*
kwayitnim-dan	*quieten*

For the other second order suffixes no extension of their meaning has been discovered so far. Examples of their use are:

Det led bin git-in la im
that lead PST *get-into* LOC 3:SG:O
The piece of lead entered his body (magically).

Det lisid bin git-in injaid la keib
that lizard PST *get-into inside* LOC *cave*
The lizard entered the cave.

Nita bin daib-in la det wota
Nita PST *dive-into* LOC *that water*
Nita dived into the water.

Dei skait-ing-araun-bat garra deya nyuwan motika
3PL *show:off*-PROG-*around*-ITER *with their new car*
They drive around showing off their new car.

Dei bin teikirr-iwei orla lilil kid langa riba
3:PL PST *take-away* PL *small child* LOC *river*
They took the small children to the river without permission.

I bin kabarr-am-oba garra blengket
3:SG:S PST *cover*-TR-*over with blanket*
He covered it with a blanket.

I bin ged-of garra sweig
3:SG:S PST *get-off with swag*
He got down from the vehicle taking his swag too.

NOTES

1. This paper is an expanded version of a portion of Grammatical and semantic aspects of Fitzroy Valley Kriol, published in *Work Papers of SIL-AAB* Series B, vol.8, August 1983.

2. The terms 'light' and 'heavy' are used to describe the varieties of speech by native speakers of the eastern dialects of Kriol but not by speakers of the Fitzroy Valley dialect. These terms are described by Sandefur (1979:48) where he says, "This system can be described as a continuum of sounds that has an Aboriginal sound sub-system at the 'heavy' end and an English sound sub-system at the 'light' end." They are used here for ease of reference to the continuum.

3. Lexemes are also borrowed from local traditional languages. In the Fitzroy Valley many lexemes from Walmajarri are used in Kriol speech. Some examples in this paper include Walmajarri lexemes and these are identified by the inclusion of a (W) in the interlinear gloss.

APPENDIX

Chart 1			
		Verbal suffixes	
	1st Order	2nd Order	3rd Order
Stem	-im transitive marker -in progressive aspect	-ap upwards, forceful, extensive action -at towards a goal, cessation -bek reversal, reciprocal -dan downwards, termination -in in, inside -(a)raun motion with unspecified direction -(a)wei motion away from -oba on top of an entity -of off, motion down from an elevated entity	-bat iterative aspect

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative	PROG	progressive
att	attain	PST	past
DAT	dative	PURP	purposive
DU	dual	REDUP	reduplication
EX	exclusive	REFL	reflexive/reciprocal
IN	inclusive	REL	relator
INDEF	indefinite	S	subject
Intr	intransitive	SG	singular
ITER	iterative	Tr	transitive
LOC	locative	(W)	Walmajarri borrowing (see note 2)
NOM	nominative		
O	object	1	first person
POT	potential	2	second person
PL	plural	3	third person

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ON SOME SYNTACTICO-SEMANTIC CONSEQUENCES OF HOMOPHONY IN NORTH-WEST AUSTRALIAN PIDGIN/CREOLE ENGLISH

Alan Rumsey

The recent publication of the first two volumes of John and Joy Sandefur's projected trilogy on Ngukurr-Bamyili Creole (Sandefur 1979 and Sandefur and Sandefur 1979a) is an event of great importance for Australian linguistics and for pidgin/creole studies in general. Every linguist who has done fieldwork on Aboriginal languages in the Northern Territory and/or northern Western Australia knows that Aborigines there command various forms of non-standard English, including — especially among younger people — a full-blown English-based creole. Yet until recently, the very existence of Australian creoles was — outside of Northern Australia — a well-kept secret. The volume of publication on them is still tiny in comparison to the now-sizable body of works on 'traditional' Aboriginal languages. But with the publication of these two volumes, we now have for the first time a detailed account of the segmental phonology, lexicon, and aspects of the grammar of one of those creoles (with other grammatical aspects, including complex sentences; to be treated in the third volume).

As with most of the existing literature on Australian pidgins/creoles the Sandefurs' aims are practical and descriptive, not theoretical (Sandefur 1979:v). My purpose here is to supplement their account with some observations based on my own field experience with the same creole[1], and on analysis of published texts[2], and to draw out some of their implications for post-structuralist linguistic theory.

Although Sandefur's grammar describes what is basically a hypostasised creole mesolect, he is fully aware of the idealisation involved, and rightly points out that there is a continuum of phonological systems ranging from basilectal, strongly Aboriginal-influenced ones, to an acrolectal system which is more like the English one. Thus, in Pre-Kriol (which would have been identical to the modern basilect in all these respects), "voiced and voiceless contrasts were neutralised, consonant clusters were avoided, the numerous vowels were reduced to five, and fricatives and affricates became stops" (Sandefur 1979:29); but as that pidgin creolised "voiced and voiceless contrasts began to re-occur (sic), consonant clusters were no longer avoided, the five-vowel system expanded to include more contrasts, and fricatives and affricates began to be differentiated" (Sandefur 1979:29).

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Consider the effect of some of the kinds of neutralisation described above[3]. Word-initial /b/ for example, subsumed English /p/, /b/, /f/, /v/, and /sp/, and word-initial /d/ subsumed English /θ/, /ð/, /s/, /z/, /š/, /ž/, /tš/, /dž/, and /st/. Since the vast bulk of the Pre-Kriol lexicon was derived from English, mergers such as these could, in principle, have resulted in massive homophony. Pre-Kriol (and modern basilectal Kriol) bid, for example, could correspond to English pit, bit, fit, spit, Pete, beat, feet, bead, feed, speed, or bid, and djed to English sad, shad, Chad, said, zed, shed, stead, that, sat, shat, chat, set, shade, jade, staid, sate, or state.

These examples are purely hypothetical: the degree of homophony which they imply would occur only if the basilect differed from standard English in phonology alone. In addition, there are of course lexical and grammatical differences, one of whose effects is to preclude *some* possible homophonies. For example, since transitivity came to be marked in Kriol by a suffix -im ~ -um ~ -it ~ -t and past tense by an auxiliary bin rather than by ablaut (see Sandefur 1979, Chapter 5), none of the English transitive and/or past tense forms cited in the last paragraph actually occurs in any form of Kriol.

As textual examples of the way -im vs. -Ø can distinguish otherwise homophonous transitive and intransitive verbs, consider the following:

(1) Ai kan libum igin la[4] yu.
I can't leave you again.
(Jungawanga 1980:10)

(2) Imin lib langu jea olagija.
He lived there for good.
(Jungawanga 1980:4)

Another grammatical feature of Kriol which precludes some possible homophonies is the use of the adjectival suffixes -bala ~ -wan. Thus, to return to the hypothetical examples given above, sad would not normally be among the English words subsumed by /djed/, since the (basilectal) Kriol form is usually jedbala.

In addition to these grammatical features, the lexical differences between English and Kriol serve to preclude some possible homophonies. Thus concepts such as those expressed by English chat, staid, jade, and sate are not normally lexicalised in Kriol, but instead are formulated periphrastically (cf. also p. 181 below).

It appears likely that *some* lexico-grammatical developments within Kriol came about as 'therapeutic' responses to specific functional pressures of the kind discussed by Gilliéron (1918, 1921). Sandefur explains the -it allomorph of the transitive suffix in such a way:

> This form always occurs on the verb for 'give'. It probably developed as an irregular form in order to distinguish the verb for 'give' from the verb for 'keep' both of which would have been pronounced identically otherwise (Sandefur 1979:116).

Although *some* such Gilliéronian pressures are probably relevant here, the potential homophony cited by Sandefur (between 'give' and 'keep') does not by itself provide sufficient motivation for the 'irregular form' in question. For that particular homophony is largely precluded by certain *lexical* differences between English and Kriol. Although Sandefur and Sandefur (1979a) lists a verb gibum *keep*, I could find no instances of it in the ca. 500 pages of Kriol text I examined. Another form kibum was found to occur, but only three times. All three instances occur on a single page, produced by a single speaker. By contrast

I found at least 24 instances of gibit — after that I stopped counting — in at least eleven different texts, produced by several different speakers. Gibit is in fact the main way of rendering the sense of English give, while the senses of keep are conveyed almost entirely by such near-equivalents as olim (< *hold*) and lugabdum (< *look after*). Reflexes of English keep are common only in its *non-transitive* functions (e.g. kipgon (< *keep going*), kip kwait (< *keep quiet*).

These *lexical* realignments are, I suggest, the main factor precluding the potential homophony between keep and give. Since kibum (~ gibum?) is at best a marginal element within the Kriol lexicon, the -it form of the transitive suffix could not have developed *mainly* to distinguish gibit from gibum. Other factors were undoubtedly at least as important, and probably more so. One is the fact that, while almost all verbs with the -um ~ -im suffix are monotransitive, gibit is ditransitive, or perhaps 'ambitransitive'. It occurs with a somewhat wider variety of case frames than English give. It differs from give in that it can occur without an NP referring to the thing given:

(3) Buji yu nomo gibit mi, wel yunmi gona fait blanga jadlot daga.
If you don't give (any to) me, you and I will have to fight about that food.
(Jentian 1977a:12)

(4) ... wen jad olgamen bin kukum blanga im daga, im nomo bin gibit jad najalot.
... when the woman cooked her food, she didn't give (any to) the others.
(Jentian 1977a:37)

When used in this case frame, gibit closely parallels verbs found in many northern Australian languages which are usually glossed by linguists as *give* (see, e.g., Coate and Oates 1970:43, Sharpe 1972:107). A better gloss would perhaps be *begift*, as these verbs occur with the given NP as the subject and the *recipient* NP as direct object.

But gibit also occurs with case frames which parallel those of English give, e.g:

(5) Jad big reinbol bin gibit tubala loda fis, en tetul.
That big rainbow serpent gave the two a lot of fish and turtle.
(Jentian 1977b:12)

(6) Ai gibit yu samjing rili gudwan.
I'll give you something really good.
(Jentian 1977a:34)

In constructions of this type, gibit is frequently followed by im, e.g.

(7) Jad jabo bin askim langa jad keinggurru blanga gibit im sambala daga.
The native cat asked the kangaroo to give him some food.
(Jentian 1977a:11)

(8) Burrum jea jad yangboi bin go gadim jad olmen langa im kemp, en dei bin gibit in daga.
Then that boy went with the man to his camp, and they gave him food.
(Jentian 1977b:39)

There is some tendency for this im to occur 'redundantly' in clauses which also contain an overt 'recipient' NP. Thus in Fitzroy Crossing I have heard such sentences as the following:

(9) Gibit im Naitin.
Give it to Nathen.

The following may be an example of the same kind:

(10) Jadan majawan im gada teigimat ola daga brom im throt en den im gibit im lilwan.
The mother has to take out all the food from her throat and then she gives it to the/her little one.
(Andrews 1977:11)

This 'redundant' use of -im in these ditransitive clauses is suggestively similar to its original use in Pre-Kriol monotransitive clauses, where it was soon reinterpreted as a marker of transitivity alone, without object person/number specification. I would not be surprised if Kriol eventually develops (or has already developed) constructions such as the following:

(11) Gibit im mibala.
Give (it) to us!

(12) Ai bin gibit im yubala daga.
I gave you (pl.) *food.*

Were such constructions to evolve, it would mean that -it + im had been reinterpreted as a (person-and-number-less) marker of *di*transitivity, just as im (< *him, them*) has been reinterpreted as a mark of transitivity.

Whether or not this development takes place — or is taking place — it remains as a fact about present-day Kriol that gibit is often followed by im. I suggest that one possible reason for the occurrence of -it instead of -im on gibit is to prevent sequences of -im im, which would otherwise be quite frequent because of the di- or ambitransitivity of this verb. As evidence, consider the following. Fitzroy Crossing Kriol shows some fluctuation between -im and -it as the transitive marker on gib- *give* (cf. Sandefur and Sandefur 1979b). Overall, the former allomorph is more frequent than the latter. But just when this verb is followed by im, the latter allomorph (as per ex.9) is much more likely to occur.

The Sandefurs' dictionary (1979a) includes at least one other pair of verb forms for which the above might also hold: jagim and jagadim. Both are glossed *throw* (and are derived historically from chuck[5]), but the latter form might actually function as a *di*transitive verb in at least some clauses, where it might take the same case frame as gibit im, discussed above. No textual examples of jagadim are to hand, so the matter must await further investigation.

But the -it ~ -t allomorph of the transitive suffix also occurs on several transitive verbs which are indisputably monotransitive rather than di- or ambitransitive. Two (unanalysed) examples from the Sandefurs' dictionary are dagat *to eat* (< tucker it) and jingit[6]. The latter is glossed in the dictionary as *think*. But it might better be glossed — at least in some clauses — as *think it to be a*, e.g.

(13) Ai bin jinggit dibul dibul.
I thought it was a devil.

It is especially in verbs such as these latter two that homophony avoidance bears looking into as a possible kind of functional pressure favouring the -t ~ -it over the -im one.

Another example of a *lexical* development in which Gilliéronian functional pressures may have played a part, is the following. The English word angry has no direct reflex in Kriol, but has been replaced by words such as wail (< *wild*) and gola ~ golajambap *get angry*. (The latter forms are more common in the

Northern Territory than in Western Australia.) This lexical adjustment is probably related to the fact that anggri would have been homophonous with the word for hungry. Consider passage (14) vs (15).

(14) Imin rili git wail jat weil. Orait imin go lugaran langa oktapus. Wen imin faindem im imin askim im. Jat weil bin sei, wanem ai wana idim blanga meigim mijalp fetwan.
Wal jat oktapus bin sei buji yu bromis nomo idim mi wal ai gin talim yu. (Brumel 1979:7)

That whale got really angry. He went and looked around for the octopus. When he found him he asked him "what can I eat to make myself fat?"
The octopus said if you promise not to eat me, I'll tell you.

(15) Imin prabli angri dumaji bla im mami en dadi bin jas libum im en tubala bin go hanting bla bus daga. (Forbes 1978:2)

He was really hungry because his mother and father just left him and went hunting for bush tucker.

If the Kriol word anggri *hungry* had a homophone meaning *angry*, and that word occurred instead of wail in (14), both that word and the angri (= anggri) of (15) could easily be taken to mean either *hungry* or *angry* in these two textual environments. Since the passages in question are, thematically, entirely typical of Aboriginal discourse, the pressure for homophone avoidance would have been considerable.

In the process of creolisation and decreolisation, there is a tight functional interrelationship between the development of new phonemic contrasts and the introduction of new lexical items. Many interesting examples may be found in the Sandefurs' dictionary (1979a), which is especially useful in this regard because it is basically a composite of lexical forms which occur at various stages along the pidgin-creole continuum. For example, the dictionary lists both the basilectal forms bingga *finger, hand*, judum *shoot*, donkenggurru *stone kangaroo* and their mesolectal or acrolectal equivalents finga, shudum, and stone keinggurru.

What is interesting to note here is that many concepts which in basilectal Kriol are only expressed periphrastically, are lexicalised in just those forms of mesolectal Kriol in which there is a phonemic contrast which removes an otherwise problematical potential homophony. For example, the Sandefurs' dictionary includes a mesolectal transitive verb form fidim *to feed*, but no basilectal variant bidim. In the basilect this notion would ordinarily be expressed by the phrase gibit daga, i.e. *give food*. Now one kind of functional pressure disfavouring the use of bidim for *feed* in the basilect may result from the fact that bidim is the basilectal word for *beat* (in the sense of 'surpass') and — in at least some lects — is also the word for *to spear* (for r = d see Sandefur 1979:37). Consider the following example, where *beat*, *feed*, and *spear* would all have been possible:

(16) Tubala beligan bin bitim (= bidim) tubala en tubala bin gobek longwei la tubala kantri longlongwei la bus.
(Forbes 1978:5)

The two pelicans beat (i.e. *fooled*) *the two (emus) and those two went back to their country, a long way off in the bush.*

It is also relevant to note that bidim (< English beat) does not occur in the sense of *to hit*, which in Kriol is idim or gilim. The otherwise possible homophony in Kriol between *spear* and *beat* may have been a constraining factor.

Note that in all the cases of 'therapeutic' developments discussed above, it is not just *any* potential homophony which creates the functional pressure, but only potential homophony between lexical items which: 1) can occur in identical syntactic environments and 2) have meanings such that either would be semantically or pragmatically appropriate in many of the same contexts. (More will be said below about the nature of such 'appropriateness').

In the discussion so far, I have tried to suggest some of the ways in which pidgin/creole lexico-grammatical systems become adjusted in order to maintain intelligibility under the threat posed by potentially confusing homophony. From the fact that English-derived morphemes do continue to be used intelligibly, it should not be inferred that the *semantic* structures of standard English survive unaltered in Kriol. Indeed, one of the most frequent and interesting kinds of semantic shift that English-derived lexicon has undergone during pidginisation/creolisation has been the conflation of etymologically distinct homophones. Though this phenomenon has not been extensively treated within pidgin/creole studies (but see Mühlhäusler 1979:217-219 and Mühlhäusler 1980:33-35, where it is suggested that "hardly any word or construction in a pidgin or creole can be traced back to a single origin ") it has been amply documented within traditional historical linguistics. (For some examples, see Bloomfield 1933:436ff.) A frequently cited example is the partial conflation of old English ēar *spike or head of corn* with ēare *ear*. The loss of unstressed vowels in English made the two words homophonous. Because the 'ear' in 'ear of corn' can readily be understood as an extension of the body-part sense, the two words may now be seen as not merely homonyms, but as semantically related in some way. To cite a more complicated Australian English example, the first two syllables of the introduced Italian word capuccino have been reinterpreted by some speakers as cuppa (i.e. *cup of*). Unlike in the 'ear' example, there is good *formal* evidence for this conflation: one sometimes hears a related plural form [kʰʌpsəčʰʌᵊno]!

If conflations such as this can occur as a result of the gradual processes of sound change and foreign-word-assimilation within non-pidgin/creole languages, how much *more* frequently must they occur as a result of the sudden, radical phonological restructuring and lexicon transfer that takes place under pidginisation?

Consider the following examples from my own field experience with Kriol:

I. jigi (bala) = English *sticky* + *cheeky*

This word is very frequently used in the sense of 'cheeky', where it is much more widely applicable than is its English etymon. It describes, for instance, poisonous snakes, strong alcoholic beverages, and spicy foods. By at least some speakers in the Kimberley region, it has been used to describe heated spinifex resin, which is used as a glue in traditional technology. Since many such 'sticky' things are also 'cheeky' or disagreeable (e.g., chewing gum underfoot), it is not surprising that these two senses of jigi should have come to be interrelated.

II. gadimap

This word means *to carry*, *to cart*. It is impossible to say whether it derives historically from carry him up or from cart him up, since the two would have been pronounced identically in Pre-Kriol and had meanings close enough to have merged completely in Kriol.

III. deijim = *taste* + *test*

In some varieties of Kriol, these two are distinguished as teistim vs testim.

But in the basilect the two are homophonous and semantically related if not identical. This identification within Kriol is probably encouraged by the fact that most north-western Australian Aboriginal languages have a single lexeme for 'taste', 'test', or 'try out'.

The following three examples were all heard in the area of Fitzroy Crossing, W.A., where the basilectal Kriol tends toward a three (as opposed to five) vowel phonology. In full-fledged five vowel lects, these pairs are probably not all homophonous.

IV. lau = *allowed* + *law*

This is an example where there is *syntactic* evidence for the existence of a new 'conflated' lexeme: the basilect shows constructions such as:

(17) lm numu gadim lau bla judimbat raibul.
He is not allowed to shoot a rifle.
or more literally:
He has no law for shooting a rifle.

V. jinig(ap) = *to snake* + *to sneak*

The main evidence for a conflation here is the fact that even more 'advanced' Kriol speakers who make an /i/ - /e/ distinction elsewhere, often say jinek(ap), sinek(ap), or snek(ap) for *sneak*.

VI. jigrid = *secret* + *sacred*

Nearly everything sacred in Aboriginal society is also secret (in that only certain of its members are 'officially' permitted to hear about it). It is therefore not surprising that these homophones should have come to be understood as semantically related[7].

VII. flat

This word, as used by older Aborigines in the Katherine area, is a blend of English 'flood' and 'flat'. It means something like 'area around a creek or river which is subject to inundation during the wet season'. Thus, it refers to an area which is relatively flat and apt to flood. The word does not necessarily refer to the inundation itself, since the area subject to flooding remains a 'flat' even during the dry season.

VIII. rut

This word sometimes seems to incorporate the sense of both 'rude' and 'root' (Australian colloquialism for 'to copulate').

IX. dip

This word is used in the sense of English 'deep' and 'steep'. Thus, not only the river at Katherine Gorge, but also the walk down the gorge face to the river is described as dip.

The above are just a few of the many cases in which homophony under pidginisation in north-western Australia has led to partial or complete semantic conflation. Such cases must be frequent wherever pidginisation has occurred. Although seldom adduced in any theoretical context (but see references cited in Mühlhäusler 1980:33), such conflations are of great theoretical interest, for at least three reasons.

First, they show that languages tend toward a state which we can describe by the slogan "one signifier - one signified"[8]. This is something which Saussure noticed long ago:

> Take the countless instances where alteration of the signifier occasions a conceptual change and where it is obvious that the sum of the ideas distinguished corresponds in principle to the sum of distinctive signs. When two words are confused through phonetic alteration (e.g. French décrépit from decrepitus and décrépi from crispus), the ideas that they express will also tend to become confused if only they have something in common. Or a word may have different forms (cf. chaise *chair* and chaire *desk*). Any nascent difference will tend invariably to become significant ...
>
> Saussure 1959:121

The second thing which is of interest about these semantic conflations is that they can provide valuable clues as to the structure of the meaning systems in which they occur. I have noted above that semantic conflation presupposes not only similar syntactic distribution, but also "meanings such that either would be semantically or pragmatically appropriate in many of the same contexts". This begged the interesting question: what makes two meanings similarly appropriate in the same contexts?[9] No doubt, some of the factors relevant here are culture specific. For instance, in a culture such as most western ones, where sacred things are generally *public* rather than secret, secret + sacred is not a likely conflation. On the other hand the partial conflation whereby sun gets identified with son in Shakespearian word play[10] would not be a likely one within Australian Aboriginal society (in Kriol) for in Aboriginal cosmology, mythology, and grammar (in most of the languages with gender distinctions), the sun is treated as female (and the moon as male). Might it also be the case that there are some universal constraints against or tendencies toward certain semantic conflations? If so, study of them could tell us much about the nature of meaning systems in general. The question remains an open, empirical one, deserving of careful comparative study.[11] Pidgins and creoles provide an especially fertile field for this study, for two reasons:

1) because they show a far greater amount of homonymy than do non-pidgin/creole languages, and

2) because a small number of languages (French, Spanish, English) have pidginised — probably independently[12] — in many different settings, providing a unique opportunity to observe potentially different mergers involving what were historically the same morphemes.

A third way in which the conflation phenomenon bears on important theoretical issues is in the area of *langue* vs *parole*. Note that in the examples discussed above I used phrases such as "some speakers" and "often say". The fact is that most such conflations are not uniformly made, even in one particular location and at one particular level on the creole continuum. Formal evidence for or against a merger is often difficult to find, but it is available in at least some cases, such as examples IV and V above. In both of those cases, the evidence indicates a good deal of variability: even some very basilectal forms of Kriol as spoken at Fitzroy Crossing, include a distinction between an adjective lau as in (19), and a noun as in (20).

(19) Im numu lau.
It's not allowed.

(20) Im numu jabi lau bla gardiya.
He doesn't know whiteman's law.

With respect to example V, a distinction is *sometimes* made between jinik(ap) ~ sinik(ap) ~ snik(ap), *sneak*; and jinek ~ sinek ~ snek, *snake*. These differences suggest that various speakers at various times have made differing semantic 'analysis' of the same potentially mergeable morphological material. These differences present obvious problems for anyone who would attempt to describe the lexico-grammatical structure even of some hypostasised cross-section of the Fitzroy Crossing creole continuum. Is there a Saussurian *langue* to be found anywhere on such a continuum? Especially in recent years, there has been widespread agreement on the severe inadequacy of inherited synchronic-structuralist models for understanding what goes on in pidgin/creole speech communities (e.g. Bickerton 1975). Moreover, it has been claimed (in these works) that the variability found in such speech communities does not differ in *kind* from that which is found in any speech community, and hence that the development of adequate models for comprehending the former will improve our understanding of language in general.

This claim would seem to be given added support by the conflation phenomena discussed above. For it is not only within pidgin/creole speech communities that homophone conflations present problems for Saussurian *langue*. To return to the standard English example, the degree to which ear_1 conflates with ear_2 is quite variable within the metropolitan speech community (for discussion see Lyons 1977:55). And with respect to the capuccino example, it is only rarely that I have heard [kʰʌpsʌčʰino] (as opposed to [kʰʌpʌčʰinoz]) used as the plural form.

Clearly the idiosyncratic reanalyses which give rise to such variability in pidgin/creole speech communities do not differ in kind from what happens in non-pidgin/creole ones. The main difference is that the great increase in homophony under pidginisation creates a correspondingly greater *potential* for such variability.

I do not propose to take up the 'variationist' cudgel here, nor to expound a novel replacement for Saussure's concept of *langue*. I *do* hope I have succeeded in demonstrating yet another way in which evidence from pidgin/creole languages is relevant to the debate.

NOTES

1. Most of that experience has been with the creole spoken around Derby and Fitzroy Crossing, Western Australia. But the Sandefurs' recent report on fieldwork done in and around Fitzroy Crossing (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979b) confirms what we have long suspected — that the so-called Roper Creole described in Sandefur's grammar is basically the same creole that is spoken in the Kimberley region of Western Australia. My own recent fieldwork the Katherine-Bamyili area (done for the Northern Land Council) confirms this from the other end of the regional dialect continuum. Given this essential unity, I will hereafter treat the creole spoken over this entire region as a single language, which, following Sandefur and Sandefur 1981, I will refer to as Kriol. When referring to the earlier English-based pidgin from which Kriol presumably has developed (which must have been fairly similar to the most 'basilectal' forms of present-day Kriol, as discussed below), I will use the term Pre-Kriol.

2. These texts (cited below) were all produced by native speakers of Kriol. They are available from Bamyili Press, P.M.B. 25, Katherine, N.T., 5780, Australia. Copies of all these texts may be found in the AIAS library.

3. See Laycock 1970:xiv-xvi for a different, somewhat less drastic set of neutralisations within Tok Pisin.

4. The direct object of a transitive verb is not normally marked by the preposition la ~ langa. I am unable to account for its presence here. Peter Mühlhäusler (personal communication) notes that "the development of special syntactic devices for signalling animate objects is a very common feature of human language, as can be seen for instance, in the grammar of Afrikaans and Spanish".

5. Peter Mühlhäusler has suggested that the etymon of jagadim may be *chuck out*. While I cannot rule that out, it should be noted that English 'postverbs' usually come *after* the -im suffix in Kriol, unlike in Tok Pisin. Compare Kriol bagarimap with Tok Pisin bagarupim *ruin*, *spoil*; cf. also Kriol teikimat *take out*, *remove* (as clothes).

6. Here, and at several points in the text and dictionary citations below, Kriol ŋg has been spelled ng. In the same sources, it is sometimes also spelled ngg. In forms adduced from my own data, the latter spelling will always be used. The difference is purely orthographic, not phonemic.

7. Francesca Merlan tells me that when she and an elderly Jawoñ woman once heard a radio announcer say that some 'sacred' music was about to be played, the woman warned her to switch off the radio, as the two of them (as women) obviously were not meant to hear!

8. Haiman 1980 provides some other kinds of interesting evidence for this tendency, which he calls "isomorphism".

9. Note that Saussure in the quote above has also acknowledged that conflation can take place only if the two signifieds "have something in common". Further on in the same paragraph (Saussure 1959:121), he adds that "any difference perceived by the mind seeks to find expression through a distinct signifier, and two ideas that are no longer distinct in the mind tend to merge into the same signifier". But his theory would seem to leave no room for the question of what makes two ideas similar, or distinct, apart from their valorisation within a set of mutually-opposing (and thereby mutually defining) linguistic signs. Indeed, insofar as they imply the existence of such extra-linguistic similarities and differences, the passages quoted above seem to contradict his claim that "thought — apart from its expression in words — is only a shapeless and indistinct mass" (Saussure 1959:111).

10. Perhaps the most well-known Shakespearian example comes in the first two lines of *Richard III*:

    Now is the winter of our discontent
    Made glorious summer by this sun of York

    Other examples occur in *Love's labour's lost, Act IV,* Scene III, line 336, *Romeo and Juliet* Act III, Scene 5, line 126-127; *King John*, Act II, Scene 1, lines 498-500; and *Henry IV, Part Two*, Act 3 Scene 2, line 130-135.

    An extended example from Milton comprises verse VII of "On the morning of Christ's nativity".

And though the shady gloom
Had given day her room,
  The sun himself withheld his wonted speed,
And hid his head for shame,
As his inferior flame,
  The new enlightened world no more should need;
He saw a greater sun appear
Than his bright throne, or burning axle-tree could bear

I wish to thank Ian Donaldson for help in locating these examples.

11. Not yet having undertaken such a study, all I can offer is an interesting comparative tidbit from my brief experience on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation during 1973: older Chinook speakers, whose English was influenced by three-vowel Chinook phonology, made the same semantic conflation between sneak and snake as do speakers of Kriol in north-western Australia.

12. Monogenesis vs polygenesis is, of course, a hotly debated issue within pidgin/creole studies (see DeCamp 1971:18-25, and references cited therein). But the question is of little relevance here, since even advocates of monogenesis would have to concede that the semantic structures of various 'historically related' pidgins/creoles can differ greatly. Consider, for example, the entirely Melanesian use of susa (< Eng. sister) to mean *sibling of the opposite sex* (Mihalic 1971:186) and brata to mean *sibling of the same sex* (Mihalic 1971:75).

    Even if these words do derive historically from some 'Proto-Pidgin' etyma, their semantics in Neo-Melanesian is hardly predictable therefrom.

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INTERACTION BETWEEN PIDGIN AND THREE WEST NEW BRITAIN LANGUAGES

Ann Chowning

In the past, many students of Papua New Guinea Pidgin (Tok Pisin) have pointed out that it tends to vary somewhat with the linguistic background of the speaker — the so-called substratum effect. On the whole, however, little attention has been paid to the phenomenon, apart from references to certain common variations in pronunciation. The reasons for this neglect are two. One is that, as Mühlhäusler says concerning semantics (1979a:328), a satisfactory investigation "presupposes an intimate knowledge of the vernacular". More important, however, has been an assumption, expressed in many of Mühlhäusler's writings on regional variation, that substratum effects are only pronounced in what he calls Bush Pidgin, a variety "characterised by a deviant sound system, simple syntax and a limited vocabulary ... which goes hand in hand with poor understanding and misinterpretation of the pidgin spoken by more fluent speakers" (1979a:149). Because this variety is a "transitional phenomenon," replaced by "standard NGP with its nationally accepted norms of grammar" (Mühlhäusler 1979a: 149), it is of little interest to the student of the language used in more sophisticated rural areas except as an early "jargon" phase of the development of true Pidgin. Mühlhäusler insists that "the uniformity of standard Rural Pidgin" results from the facts that "pressure for effective communication lessens the number of non-standard forms" and "the high regional mobility of its speakers prevented the development of regional dialects" (1975:65). The existence of so-called regional dialects is in fact recognised by various linguists; for example, Wurm talks of the "Highland variety" (1977:512), and Mühlhäusler notes (with some scepticism) that "a number of my Pidgin-speaking informants claimed to be able to distinguish between ... Highlands, Lowlands, and Islands Pidgin" (1977:534). Nevertheless, he gives a "tentative list of some lexical items ... found to be diagnostic of regional differences" and two examples of "differences in semantic information of Islands versus other varieties" (e.g. pulpul *flower, grass skirt* in the Islands but elsewhere only referring to the latter) (1979a:332-333). Although my data from West New Britain fail to support some of his lexical distinctions,[1] he is certainly correct in pointing to some regional differences in lexicon and semantic range that tend to be ignored in the standard dictionaries. These usually offer a range of meanings for a single word that enables the reader to choose one intelligible in a particular situation, but they do not warn him that kina as a designation for a shell means quite different things in different parts of the country, or that the same speaker is not likely to use hatwara for both *hot water* and *sago pudding* (see Mihalic 1971:110,96).

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Only as regards phonology has much attention been paid to regional or local variation. Bee's paper (1972) on Usarufa is deservedly well-known, but she is certainly dealing with Bush Pidgin. Despite acknowledgment of common alternative pronunciations, as between /s/ and /t/, several linguists write as if certain Pidgin words have fixed pronunciations that do not vary with the first language of a speaker. So Mosel, discussing prenasalisation of voiced stops, distinguishes prenasalisation that "is a variety due to the speakers' origin only" from that which is "a stabilised and regular feature of Tok Pisin" (1980:10), ignoring the fact that some speakers never use prenasalised forms. Similarly, Mühlhäusler writes that certain "variations in pronunciation, such as was found at earlier stages of NGP's development (e.g. that between [s] and [t]), are no longer accepted" (1979a:330). It is not clear who will not accept these variations, but such statements ignore the simple fact that unless phonemic distinctions and phones not present in one's first language are learned in childhood, they are often never learned accurately.

It was my own experiences with Pidgin in what is now West New Britain which gave rise to the earlier version of this paper.[2] I was struck not only by a variety of substratum effects that differed from one language to another, but also by differences in the effects of Pidgin on the languages being studied. Although my observations were wholly peripheral to my primary task of carrying out anthropological fieldwork, I felt that my observations might add something to discussions of interaction between languages. Here I am focussing on the situations I found in the period between 1954 and 1969, when the influence of both English and what Mühlhäusler calls Urban Pidgin was much less than it is today. I have made some use of material collected in more recent years, as well as citing Johnston's later work on one of the languages, but only as a source of additional examples of the phenomena being discussed. To emphasise the fact that I am talking of an earlier period, I shall continue to refer to the language as Pidgin rather than Tok Pisin.

While working in West New Britain I learned to speak three local languages but used Pidgin as well, particularly in the early phases, as well as often hearing it spoken.[3] I have also used Pidgin in visiting not only urban centres in various parts of the country but rural areas from the Highlands to the East and West Sepik. Some of my comments on regional differences are based on these experiences.

The three languages concerned are, in the order in which I learned them, Lakalai (otherwise known as Bileki, West Nakanai, or just Nakanai); Sengseng (Asengseng); and Kove (Kombe). They are all Austronesian but are not closely related to each other, differing grammatically as well as lexically and phonologically[4] (Chowning 1973, 1976, 1978, in press). At the time fieldwork was begun, the degree of exposure to Pidgin was much greater for Lakalai and Kove, both located directly on the north coast of New Britain, than for the more remote Sengseng villages, inland from the south coast.[5] In Lakalai in 1954, most men had worked at some time outside the area, usually on other New Britain plantations or as personal servants for Europeans in Rabaul and on patrol posts. Very rarely were they accompanied by their wives; most women had learned Pidgin, if at all, within the village, and the same applied to a number of old men and a few younger men kept home by conservative fathers. In Catholic villages, Pidgin was used in church and in the village schools taught by catechists who were themselves Lakalai (with occasional exposure, varying with the location of the village, to the Pidgin of German priests long resident in New Britain[6]) (see Johnston1980:10). By contrast, the mission language in the Methodist villages was Kuanua (Tolai), even though it was usually a second language for both the European and indigenous missionaries who taught and preached in it. Methodist

children, like their mothers, usually spoke very little Pidgin. (There is no doubt that many of these non-speakers understood a great deal, but I never heard them use the language.) By the 1960s the situation had altered somewhat. Tolai was no longer being taught, and English was. The older children all could speak Pidgin, although I did not hear any of them do so often. I also heard a couple of old women suddenly produce quite good Pidgin on odd occasions, one in order to communicate with a colleague visiting with me who could not speak Lakalai, and one while clowning and pretending to be drunk.

In Kove, the situation was very different. I have yet to meet anyone past early childhood who does not speak Pidgin, though a few middle-aged and old women acknowledge, with some embarrassment, that they do not speak it well. The oldest man living there in the 1960s, over 80, was nicknamed Krankiman ('ignoramus') because of his poor Pidgin; clearly he was regarded as quite exceptional. Many Kove men had travelled widely both before and after World War II, initially through working in the New Guinea Constabulary and later because of a fondness for jobs on ships. Wives frequently accompanied their husbands to work, and also travelled alone to visit other kin in Rabaul and elsewhere in New Britain. The first Roman Catholic missionaries to the area had learned Tolai, but later ones tended to rely on Pidgin. Some of the village catechists were Tolai. After World War II a Seventh-Day Adventist mission station was established in Kove, and sent teacher-missionaries to the villages. Most of these were from Mussau and had been educated in the Solomons, and their Pidgin contained many English words and constructions.[7] Many of these words (such as 'discourage') were unintelligible to the village people, but others (such as momorio from *memorial*) were widely used. For many but not all speakers, ordinary usage was considerably more anglicised than in Lakalai; on the other hand, no one seemed to have any trouble understanding the more standard rural Pidgin of outsiders, the older residents of predominantly Catholic villages,[8] and the anthropologist.[9]

It is worth noting that the Lakalai and Kove had extensive contact with the Japanese during World War II. Japanese Pidgin was considered hilarious, but one term attributed to it[10], nambaten *very bad*, was widely used; in Kove in 1983 it was the usual nickname of a boy who had been a particularly unattractive baby.

In Lakalai, prior to 1970, Pidgin was little used in the Methodist village in which I lived except for conversing with visitors and foreign residents: European government officers, missionaries and anthropologists; Chinese and mixed-race trade store owners; and foreign aid-post orderlies. Travel outside the region, as to the government station at Talasea, and all wage labour demanded the use of Pidgin. This last function was the dominant one; the Lakalai name for Pidgin means literally *the language of work* (la vikarakara la voku). On plantations it was, of course, primarily used for communicating with people from other parts of New Guinea.[11] The Kove also used it primarily for that purpose, although by the time of my fieldwork they had largely abandoned plantation work for more sophisticated jobs such as carpentry. Nevertheless, the large majority of them considered it the native language of Europeans, many of those who knew of the existence of English considering it a literary language like Latin. Its Kove name means *European language* (posaŋa pura).[12] Many Kove who lived outside the area, such as the captains of government ships, spoke only Pidgin to their children, who were unable to understand Kove when they came home on visits to relatives. Children who had never left the village learned Pidgin from each other and from adults, and it was frequently used in village situations.[13]

The Lakalai and Kove men had started going away to work in German times. By contrast, none of the interior Sengseng had done so before World War II. After pacification many of the unmarried men but almost none of those who were

married went to work on local plantations to earn enough money to buy steel tools and cloth. A very few — usually only one man per village at any one time — went as far as the Gazelle Peninsula and Manus in order to get better access to the goldlip shells that are their principal form of wealth. It was only these men who spoke good standard Pidgin. They were most likely to become tultuls, and to take advantage of the fact that no one else could really communicate with visiting government patrols. What the other men learned on neighbouring plantations could indeed be classified as Bush Pidgin. Vocabulary was very limited and often incorrect; none of the men recognised sitori *story* when a visiting priest came, and all of them used tevel (rather than tel) to mean *tail* as well as *soul*. Furthermore, they used a number of words which they thought were Pidgin, such as pulalu *abandoned garden*, which do not appear in any of the standard published dictionaries and which I have not heard elsewhere in New Britain. Some, and probably the majority, of these come from coastal languages related to Arawe. It seemed that any new words learned at work were simply assumed to be Pidgin.

At the time of my first visits, in 1962 and 1963-64, only the young men spoke even broken Pidgin; some of the boys imitated them, but their version was even more defective. In the late 1964, however, the Catholic mission sent catechists to the area, and although they had little effect on the religion of the people, they produced schoolboys who could speak a fair amount of standard Pidgin. In 1966 I did not hear girls speak it except for parroting phrases learned in school, but their reactions to the boys' speech (on sexual topics, for example) indicated that at least some of them could understand it. As it happened, sexual topics were particularly likely to be discussed in Pidgin. In Sengseng it is a cause for great offence, theoretically punishable by death, if men use any sexual terms where they might be overheard by women, but since the older men most likely to be offended by breaches of this tabu did not understand Pidgin, boys and young men had a rare opportunity to engage freely in bawdy conversation. Pidgin was consequently used within the village as a sort of secret language, as well as being a way of talking to the very few foreigners who ventured into the interior. Knowledge of it was also a sign of sophistication, even though locally its only common use was to enable the speaker to buy things at the trade store at Kandrian.

This survey is simply intended to give an idea of how well Pidgin was known and could be used as a separate language in the three areas. In both Lakalai and Sengseng, it was primarily used (by adult males only) for dealing with outsiders, whereas children might use it more playfully, to show off. (Here I am not referring to the incorporation of Pidgin words and phrases into vernacular discourse, a point to be discussed below.) On the other hand, the Kove very often used it within the village. I have not made a detailed study of the contexts in which it was used except for noting how common it was in quarrels (cf. the survey of code-switching in Mühlhäusler 1979b). A few people shifted languages in mid-sentences; one woman confessed to me ruefully and with some truth that she was unable to complete a sentence in either Pidgin or Kove without switching to the other. Her case was different from the much more common one of a person substituting one or two Pidgin words for the Kove ones while speaking what he regarded as Kove.

Given this background, we can now consider what happens to Pidgin in contact with these languages, and vice-versa. First, as regards pronunciation, it is necessary to distinguish between how Pidgin is pronounced when it is the language being spoken, and how Pidgin words are pronounced when incorporated into the vernacular. To take Lakalai first, their pronunciation of Pidgin had only two notable peculiarities as compared with that heard elsewhere in New Britain.

First, they avoided prenasalisation of voiced stops, which does not occur in Lakalai; they normally said Sade *Sunday*, tabu *tabu*, etc., rather than Sande, tambu, etc. (cf. Mihalic 1971:9; Mosel 1980:10). Second, since Lakalai traditionally lacked an /n/ sound, those in other dialects of Nakanai having become /l/ here, words were either pronounced with /l/ substituted for /n/ or there was confusion in such words as namel *middle*, which might be pronounced lamen. On the other hand, I found that when giving their names to Europeans, in the course of speaking Pidgin, or in writing them, a prenasalisation might be inserted which was never used in speaking Lakalai, so that a man would say or write his name as Senge rather than Sege. When a word was taken over into Lakalai, prenasalisation was omitted and /l/ regularly substituted for /n/[14], but other changes also took place. Lakalai contains no consonant clusters or word-final consonants. Either vowels were added to avoid these, or a consonant in the Pidgin word was dropped, producing kiapu, masita (from masta), and bigedi (from bikhet *disobedient*). I do not understand the reasons for all the shifts or for the choices of particular final vowels; for example, why did Pidgin wok *work*, *garden* become Lakalai voku, with an initial bilabial spirant? (Presumably it is relevant that my Lakalai wordlists contain no words beginning with uo-, the equivalent of Pidgin wo-.)

When Pidgin words were also altered grammatically to fit Lakalai patterns, their origin could be hard to recognise. Eau lapulo-ti *I have (really) aged* (cf. Pidgin mi lapun pinis, the exact equivalent) is obvious, but the noun sigarapiripila *stand-type coconut scraper*, with regular reduplication, is not so obviously from Pidgin sigarap, sikarap. Judging from Johnston's material recorded in the 1970s, some but not all Lakalai speakers were eventually able to incorporate such Pidgin words as miksim *mix* and masin *machine* into Lakalai discourse without altering their pronunciation, while others preserved older pronunciations such as Made *Monday* and lili *nail* (Pidgin nil). This last is indeed treated as a Lakalai word in the sample lexicon (Johnston 1980:26), and it may be that its origin has been forgotten. Johnston does not discuss these deviations from Lakalai phonology as he has described it, but presumably a study of the reasons why certain speakers are able to pronounce certain Pidgin words without altering them would illuminate tha processes of phonological change in the language.

In Sengseng, the problems of speaking Pidgin were very different from those in Lakalai. Sengseng permits both word-final consonants and consonant clusters, so these caused no problems. On the other hand, it has only one set of stops, so that their pronunciation does not distinguish the Pidgin words for *dog* and *talk*, or for *carry* and *cut*; em i karim dok could mean *to carry* or *castrate a dog*, *to carry a message*, or *to interrupt a speech*. Also, because /t/ and /r/ are allophones of the same phoneme, the Sengseng are bothered by words such as tru in which they occur together. Sengseng permits initial consonant clusters, so rather than insert an epenthetic vowel (which are common in Sengseng in other contexts), they experiment with pronunciations such as sru and sroimwe, alternating these with tru and troimwe. Some other changes are easy to understand in terms of Sengseng phonology; because /v/ (β) and /w/ are allophones of the same phoneme, varying with the following vowel, such pronunciations as vel rather than wel *oil* and wot rather than vot for *vote* are entirely predictable. Others are not easy to explain; I have no idea why the word for *bottle* has become morol or the word for *pumpkin* mamkin unless these were borrowed via another language (see Chowning in press). The most characteristic Sengseng shift results from the fact that the articles in their language are wa or a and e, and they tended to interpret similar sounds at the beginning of Pidgin nouns as disposable articles that could be dropped without affecting meaning. Consequently they

produced such pronunciations as biga for aibika *kind of greens*, wus for avus (abus in most dictionaries[15]) *meat*, and les for wailes *radio*. Finally, characteristic vowel shifts produce bosi for pusi *cat* and moli for muli *citrus*.[16] Pronunciation alone could make Sengseng Pidgin difficult for outsiders to understand. The problem was exacerbated because of the rapid pace of the speech; I have frequently heard inhabitants of the north coast of New Britain say that they find the Pidgin of people from south-west New Britain (who speak a variety of first languages) difficult because they talk so rapidly.

In Kove, at least by the late date (1966) in which I started fieldwork, there was no obvious influence of Kove phonology on their pronunciation of Pidgin. It seems clear that at one time Kove did not permit word-final consonants, but the present-day lexicon contains a few borrowings from interior languages that contain these. A few Pidgin words such as kiapa have indeed added a final vowel, and one, tubuɣana (from tubuan, tumbuan) *masked figure* has an unexpected and to me inexplicable added consonant. These final vowels may indicate that these words were adopted early, before so many people learned standard Pidgin in childhood. The Kove usually prenasalise medial voiced consonants in their own language and do the same in Pidgin. Pidgin words are completely recognisable when incorporated into basically Kove sentences, and the only odd pronunciation I have heard, apart from tubuɣana, is the frequent substitution of tapos for sapos *if*.

Perhaps more interesting than changes in pronunciation are semantic changes that reflect a substratum effect. In one case what might look like such a shift resulted wholly from the fact that in Sengseng the words for *bird* and *water* had fallen together. Since they were homonyms, Sengseng learning Pidgin had trouble remembering which word to use where, and it was common to hear someone say, for example, wara i singaut[17] *water is calling* rather than pisin i singaut, eliciting the sarcastic response from the more sophisticated, wara i stap daun bilo, *water's down below*. Another Sengseng usage, however, was not caused by homonyms, but by the range of meaning of one of their words, num, which means both *drink* and *draw water*. Pidgin dring was taken to encompass the same range, and the Sengseng did not acquire the word pulamap. Consequently when someone said to me Mi laik dring, I never knew whether he was begging for water or offering to collect some for me.[18]

It is exceedingly common to find differences in the use of Pidgin terms that correspond to semantic domains in the vernacular. The Kove word manu encompass *bats* as well as *birds*, and mota encompasses *eels* as well as *snakes*, so that their use of pisin and snek includes creatures who would not be so designated by Pidgin-speaking Lakalai, who divide up the physical world differently. Similarly, the Sengseng use Pidgin binatang to include small lizards as well as insects (perfectly properly according to its 'dictionary' meaning), while the Lakalai, again mirroring distinctions made in the vernacular, use it only for insects. Again, because the Kove usually lump together both *hour-glass drums* and *slit-gongs* as kure, they tend to use the Pidgin term kundu to encompass both; the Lakalai and Sengseng would never do so. In all these cases, the Kove had specific words for bats, eels, and slit-gong, and knew the Pidgin words for all these, but ordinary usage did not make distinctions ignored in the vernacular. I suspect that the Kove tendency to refer to certain types of masked performances as both tumbuɣana and tambaran reflects the fact that the Kove word tuvura means both this performance and *our ancestor*. It may also, however, reflect overlaps in Pidgin usage in other areas; Mihalic defines both tambaran and tumbuan as (among other things) *wooden mask* (1971:191, 199).

The application of Pidgin kinship terms is a clear-cut example of the influence of vernacular categories. Ta(m)bu is used to apply to those whose names cannot be said or who are otherwise subject to avoidance regulations. In Kove, all such people are affines, but in Lakalai, the term is extended to include cross-cousins, who are subject to similar restrictions. (By contrast, the Kove, who have a joking relationship with cross-cousins, refer to them in Pidgin as wanplei.) The Lakalai also use tabu for non-kin who are, for ceremonial reasons, subject to avoidance.

This is a case in which the nature of the relationship determines the extension of a term which has a primary meaning encompassed by the English word. In Lakalai itself, all these different kinds of tabu relatives are called by different terms. By contrast, the extension of the Pidgin kantiri/kandere *mother's brother, sister's child (man speaking)* depends on whether the same term is used for other kin as for these. In Kove, the words for mother's brother and father's sister are the same, and kantiri is used for both of them[19]. In Lakalai, the terms are different, and the Lakalai simply say that there is no Pidgin word for father's sister.

Vernacular idioms and common usages may be translated directly into Pidgin, producing phrases that are either not common for other Pidgin-speakers or ones that may actually be unintelligible. In the former category, the frequent use in Sengseng of a phrase accurately translated by Pidgin ples klia *in the open* leads to the odd-sounding description of a smiling man as tit blongen i stap long ples klia *his teeth are exposed.* In the latter category, the Sengseng literal translation of their term for *I'm thirsty* as wara i kilim mi, and the Kove use of katim tok(ples), again a literal translation of their expression for mastering a language, are unlikely to be understood by people who do not have similar idioms.

Various other examples could be given to illustrate the effect on Pidgin usage of the range of vernacular terms, such as the occasional Kove use of tan *cooked* to indicate that a sore is healed or dry, a direct reflection of the fact that Kove misi has both meanings.

In Sengseng, where the word for 'hand' is very commonly used for 'finger(s)' as well, even very sophisticated and fluent coastal speakers kept telling me in 1980 that a certain man had sikispela han when in fact he had an extra thumb. I shall just point to one additional case, because variation on this point has confused certain anthropologists. In Lakalai, the father's and mother's part in engendering a child are called by separate verbs, and karim pikanini refers only to the mother's giving birth. In Sengseng, not only is the verb the same, but it has the further meaning of *carry*, and of course karim pikanini covers the role of both parents.[20] It can also do so in Kove, but usually the parental roles are distinguished.

The pronominal system is often classified as part of grammar but is equally appropriate for discussion here. Since these are all Austronesian languages, they make the usual distinctions between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural forms, and these are reflected as usual in Pidgin (though a few Kove use mipela for inclusive as well as the exclusive). The languages differ, however, in that Kove has only a compulsory singular and plural, Lakalai a dual as well, and Sengseng singular, dual, paucal, and plural. Use of such terms as yumi tupela is completely consistent with the distinctions made in their own languages. In Sengseng, even children just learning Pidgin are very careful to say, for example, gutnait, tripela, and are mocked if they miscount the number of people they are speaking to.

More clearly in the realm of grammar is the use of reduplication to indicate plurality, found in Lakalai for all kinds of nouns and in Kove primarily for those referring to persons. Mühlhäusler says: "It is almost certain that reduplication to express the notion of plurality is due to substratum influence and is not normal for Pidgin", adding that the examples he has were from "very poor speakers of Pidgin" (1975:209). I agree with the first part of his statement, but the Lakalai and Kove I have heard use this device spoke Pidgin fluently. What is interesting is that the method of reduplication differed according to the systems normal in the substratum language. For *the old men* the Lakalai say ol lapunpun and the Kove ol laplapun. (I have no reason to think that this usage expresses intensification rather than plurality; if it does, in either language, it would be an interesting example of the phenomenon of partial misunderstanding to be discussed below.)

Not only does the substratum language affect Pidgin, but Pidgin also affects it. One of the most striking features of these three languages was their different degree of receptivity to the introduction of Pidgin terms. Receptivity was greatest in Kove, where my attempts to record Kove texts with Pidgin translations might produce so-called Kove in which every fifth word was Pidgin. The men said they would have contests to see how long anyone could speak Kove without using a Pidgin word but "we always lose". They probably lose more quickly than they think because so many Pidgin words are now thought to be Kove; for example, almost no-one is able to give a Kove word for tingting *think*. I have been offered sak as a Kove word for *shark*, and had people explain lexical differences between the central and western dialects with many examples like: "They say namule and we say win" (for *wind*). Sometimes it is hard to know whether loanwords are from Pidgin or from a neighbouring Austronesian language, as with bebe *butterfly* beside Kove vovo, but the influence of Pidgin on the lexicon has been very great.

Sengseng has also been remarkably receptive to Pidgin words and phrases, considering how limited the contact had been at the time of my first fieldwork. Again, many people did not realise that the words they used were from Pidgin. Mekim kaikai had completely replaced any traditional way of saying *give a feast*, and in listing 'Sengseng' names for animals, informants would innocently include moran for *python*, sikau for *wallaby*, etc. Whereas the Kove situation seems to be what might be expected of people who are rapidly becoming bilingual from early childhood, the Sengseng one has more complex causes — basically, a complex system of word tabus which necessitates alternative ways of expressing things (see Chowning in press).

By contrast to the two other societies, the Lakalai, highly receptive to innovation in many other areas of culture, initially resisted direct adoption of Pidgin words, with a very few exceptions. Instead, as Johnston notes (1980:13): "Borrowing often seems to be preceded by an initial stage during which the language attempts to respond creatively to a new situation." That is, the Lakalai tended either to extend the meaning of old words to encompass new items, processes, etc., as by calling a ship by the word for canoe, a clock by the word for sun, or a coin by the word for stone[21]; to use metaphors based on resemblances, such as 'shark' (from shape of the tail) or 'dragonfly' (presumably from the hovering flight; recorded by Johnston 1980:13), and 'bat's wings' for 'umbrella'[22]; or to devise descriptive phrases such as 'capturer of the reflection' for 'camera', 'staggerer' for 'bicycle'; and 'crawl-along-road' for 'truck, vehicle' (this last also from Johnston 1980:13). This tendency to invent their own terms also indicates an ability to see continuity between their own culture and that of Europeans, an attitude not shared by the Kove, who insist on the Pidgin word for canvas as opposed to pandanus sails, and never use waɣa for

anything but an outrigger canoe.[23] (It is interesting that in the Lakalai cargo cult myth, they once shared all European goods, which are given Lakalai names, such as landing-craft being called 'crocodile' — for the gaping mouth — whereas in the Kove myth the culture hero invents most European goods after he leaves.) The Lakalai do share the Sengseng attitude that Pidgin terms, like baptismal names, are outside the system of word tabus, and so they might be used even by conservative elders, as with old man who called his daughter-in-law Kada (usual Pidgin kanda) because her own name Hue, which also means 'rattan', was tabu to him. Of the words that were borrowed from Pidgin early, one of the most conspicuous is voku for *work, garden, wage labour* (see above). I think there are probably several reasons why this one was adopted: the fact that it replaces a Lakalai compound of four syllables, frequency of use (as opposed to say the term for 'camera'), and perhaps a desire to differentiate the important new situation of wage labour. Similarly the tendency to use wasi for *bathe* as well as *medicate* may reflect both its frequent mention by foreign medical assistants (and perhaps missionaries) as well as a desire to distinguish washing with soap from simple bathing in the sea. Even in 1954 a number of foreign words had been accepted, from Tolai as well as Pidgin, for totally new objects and situations such as balusu *aeroplane* and lotu *church*, and the process has accelerated since then as single-word borrowings which differentiate introduced objects from traditional ones and which are easier to say than some of the lengthy inventions, become preferred. Interestingly, Johnston working in the 1970s did not even hear some of the invented terms common 20 years earlier, so that he mentions sithaus as a term "borrowed directly" (1980:13), whereas in 1954 privies were always called by a Lakalai term meaning *house for defecation*. In some cases it is not clear whether the extension of meaning of Lakalai terms was wholly their doing. Johnston, for example, assumes that the extension of the Lakalai word for 'count' to include 'read' was a Lakalai innovation, and I had made the same assumption, but the fact that Pidgin kaunim has the same range of meanings (Mihalic 1971:108) raises some doubts. Despite the uncertain cases and the greatly increased acceptability of Pidgin terms in recent years, however, it seems clear that the initial linguistic response of the Lakalai to foreign goods was notably different from that of the Sengseng and probably, considering how very rare such extended uses are in Kove, from that of the Kove as well. In some cases the Kove called new introductions by a traditional name with pura or to pura *European* or *of European* added, so that *Bixa orellana*, the 'lipstick plant', is still called 'red paint of Europeans' and soursop, 'European bread-fruit'. But because pura itself originally meant *supernatural being* (P. masalai) and was then extended to include Europeans, especially men[24] while keeping the old meaning, some people have lost sight of the 'European' meaning of the term, and think those with pura attached are traditional plants (these having been introduced in German times).

The contrast between Lakalai and Kove linguistic responses to cultural innovation was brought home to me when a Lakalai once stationed in Kove as an aid-post orderly told me of arguing with the Kove as to whether pawpaws and some other plants were pre-European or not. He said that since these plants all have Lakalai rather than Pidgin names, they must have been traditional plants, and the Kove too must have had Kove names for them as well as the Pidgin ones which were all they could produce. In this case the Lakalai was certainly wrong, but it is easy to see how their practice of extending vernacular terms could lead to such confusion.

Despite a certain amount of resistance to Pidgin, Lakalai, like the other languages, also exhibits some influence in the form of loan translations, some of which change the meaning of traditional terms and others of which are new.

Examples include a new meaning for ubi la maisu, originally meaning only *pierce the nose (septum)* but under the influence of Pidgin sutim nus having acquired the new meaning of *trick* (nose piercing having been abandoned in any case) and vo(vo)-kuru *dark/black skin*, originally used only to describe someone who was exceptionally dark, now extended to designate Papua New Guineans as opposed to Europeans (vo-kakea *white skin*).[25] Johnston gives the example of Lakalai ubi-l-a la merera *accuse* as a literal translation of Pidgin sutim long tok. (He also gives the example of karutu gegeru *be surprised* as a calque of Pidgin girap nogut — 1980:13 — but here I think he is mistaken; karutu alone, as it usually is, means *to be startled*.)

An interesting case is that of the translations for (gut) moning, gut apinun, etc., introduced into Lakalai probably under mission influence, as new forms of greeting (cf. Scott 1979:104). Traditional terms for the main time divisions have been used, without any attached word meaning 'good', but since the Lakalai word haro means *sun* as well as *day*, it is noteworthy that this particular greeting starts being used earlier and is continued later on sunny days than on cloudy ones. The same thing may happen in Kove, where waro has the same range of meanings, but the residential and work pattern there has prevented me from hearing many greetings in the middle of the day.

As well as vernacular categories affecting use of Pidgin, the opposite effect can occur. When I was questioning a Sengseng man about the discrepancy between the theoretical kinship system, with a special term for 'father's sister', and the fact that I kept hearing true father's sisters called by the term for 'mother/mother's sister', he said that the reason was that Pidgin has only one term (mama) for female kin a generation above oneself and Sengseng usage had become confused as a result. I doubt if that is the full explanation, but it is interesting that he suggested it. A slightly more complex misunderstanding has arisen with the adoption of Pidgin month names into Kove, completely replacing the traditional ones. Partly because Pidgin mun means *moon* as well as *month*, but doubtless also because of their traditional system, the Kove are convinced that months begin with the new moon and therefore names should be changed at this time.

The handling of interlingual homonyms, especially where obscenities are involved, has been documented for many language contact situations. The only noticeable effect I saw was the Lakalai reluctance to sav koko *cocoa*, since koko is a somewhat tabu Lakalai word for *defecate* (substituting kakao). The Kove, who are much less inhibited in speech, show no embarrassment about using their word kapupu *soft ground* despite being perfectly familiar with the Pidgin meaning *break wind*; I should not have expected the Lakalai to ignore a similar set of homonyms. Because the Sengseng word for *testicles* is a-mbol (if a borrowing from Pidgin, it came in long before direct contact), they are very careful to pronounce the Pidgin word for *ball* as bal. This particular disambiguation is noted in the dictionaries, but the discussion in Mühlhäusler 1979a:246-247) indicates that it is not universal in Pidgin, and my recollection from other parts of West New Britain is that the Pidgin words for 'ball' and 'testicles' are pronounced alike.

Sometimes confusion caused by the introduction of Pidgin terms homonymous with vernacular ones is tolerated to a remarkable degree, perhaps because speakers are already used to coping with the numerous Pidgin homonyms. In Kove the address term for grandparents and grandchildren is mama, and Pidgin mama as an address term for mother and mother's sister is also widely used, possibly because the context usually makes it clear who is being addressed.

I do not have data to indicate effects of Pidgin on the grammars of any of these languages, though it may be that some of the recent changes in Lakalai grammar mentioned in Johnston 1980 may owe something to these influences. In addition, I have noticed many variations in Pidgin use between the three regions which may indeed represent substratum effects but which may actually be more widespread in Pidgin than I realise. For example, the Kove sometimes use kambang *lime gourd* for *vagina*, a usage that may be local (and that is certainly related to a myth widespread in north-west New Britain) but that may be found elswhere; the Kove of both sexes are less inhibited in speech than the Lakalai and Sengseng; and Pidgin dictionaries tend to neglect sexual terms (but see Mühlhäusler 1979a:335-337). Because the things discussed as well as the popularity of Pidgin varied from one society to another, I cannot be sure how commonly used certain terms are. Only in Kove, for example, did I hear sailing equipment discussed, along with other maritime interests such as varieties of shellfish; elsewhere I simply never heard the Pidgin names for these things. In some cases, comparative experience was wide enough to enable me to recognise local peculiarities (that welpaul designates different birds in Lakalai and Sengseng; that Sengseng use of ples matmat *burial ground* for *village* is highly unusual[26]; and that the Kove use of bladisit *bloody shit* as a term of endearment[27] would strike many other Pidgin speakers as remarkable). At the same time, I suspect that the Kove use of antap and daunbilo for east and west, though expressed in the same way in the vernacular, may be more widespread since they refer to the sun's movements. When a Sengseng explains the spread of tinea on his body by saying pukpuk i kaikai mi, literally *a crocodile bit/ate me*, I do not know if that is a local usage; pukpuk (and the Sengseng word for crocodile) designates a person covered with tinea in Pidgin elsewhere, but I had never heard the idiom before.

I also do not know the origins of a few pronounced local usages, as Sengseng pipia (usually *rubbish*) for *clothes* (in a sophisticated village in 1980), or the Kove fondness for expressing size or abundance by i no manki and i no plei. Some of these differences may be derived from areas outside West New Britain — perhaps Manus, in which so many Sengseng work, or the Siassi Islands, regularly visited by Kove traders. Although Rabaul is the main urban centre for all these people, and although the Sengseng come into extensive contact with the Kove at plantations on the Willaumez Peninsula, picking up such shared slang terms as salis *very bad* there, certain differences in Pidgin vocabulary between south-west and north-west New Britain suggest somewhat different influences that are not related to the period of acquiring the language (that is, I am not considering the incidence of terms derived from German or English). In Sengseng, eipa as well as var is used for *stingray*, while only the latter was heard on the north coast, and the Sengseng always refer (in what they say is Pidgin) to the south-east wind as lambour while the Kove call it rai (cognate with vernacular hai). Differences of this sort show how meaningless it is to talk of regional differences in Pidgin in terms of large geographical areas such as 'Islands'.

Such differences also suggest that perhaps Mühlhäusler has exaggerated the levelling effect of the need for intergroup communication on variations in lexicon and pronunciation.[28] Two factors seem to me to be involved. First, really fluent Pidgin speakers like the Kove pride themselves on being able to travel anywhere and understand anyone. They may ridicule certain usages, but they still claim to understand them; if they fail to do so, the joke may be on the self-proclaimed expert. So one Kove man laughed as he told me of his desperate efforts to extricate himself after he had accepted from foreigners an invitation to eat what he thought was parai *flour fried in dripping* only to be

confronted by palai (*lizard*, which the Kove do not eat). Second, and perhaps more significant, is the fact that the semantic range of many Pidgin terms is so wide that people can easily think that they are using them in the same way and meaning the same thing by them when in fact there is considerable divergence as well as overlap. In the contexts in which Pidgin is normally used, the differences that may reflect substratum influences as well as other local reworking of the terms may never become obvious. A good example is the set of names for spirits (tewel, tambaran, masalai, etc.) and what Mühlhäusler calls terms "for certain types of sorcery" (I would prefer to call them simply 'magic'), such as marila, poisin, and papait. Of these he says: "The NGP terms in these two domains represent something like a common denominator of the most important religious systems of Papua New Guinea. They typically do not reflect the semantic systems of any one language but relate to the terms found in local vernaculars in a one-to-many relation." (1979:254-255) I would dispute this statement as well as the general applicability of some of the definitions given (e.g. tewel as *a deceased's spirit*, ignoring its common use for the soul of the living; see Mihalic 1971:311). Speaking as one who has done much research on religious and magical concepts in Papua New Guinea, perforce using Pidgin until I learned the vernacular terms, I can say that they do indeed reflect the semantic systems of the local vernaculars; exactly what is meant by tambaran or papait will differ decidedly with the local culture. The common denominator, which enables people to use the terms cross-culturally, may be simply that the former is always a kind of spirit (or a mask representing a spirit, as was noted earlier) and the latter is always a kind of magic — but not the same kind everywhere. The precise differences in meaning may be encountered if a man tries to buy a new form of magic from a foreigner; otherwise he may never know the differences in semantic range of the same terms being used by members of different cultures. Similarly, just as few ethnobotanists seem to realise that Highlanders and coastal people use marita to refer to different species of pandanus (but still pandanus), so someone buying food in a market might accurately designate *Saccharum edule* as pitpit without realising that in his system the term means only that whereas in others it includes other edible plants such as *Setaria*, whereas in a third it includes inedible species of *Saccharum*.

As long as Pidgin is learned and used within villages as well as serving for cross-cultural communication, it is bound to show substratum influences. Admittedly these cannot become so great as to prevent its use as a lingua franca, but they are inescapable in the present-day situation. Use within the village is also bound to affect the vernacular, not only as regards lexicon and phonology but almost certainly semantic domains and quite possibly grammar as well. Rural Pidgin, at least in the areas I know best, is changing rapidly because of the influence of English and Urban Pidgin (and so is not likely to fulfil Mühlhäusler's prediction that Rural and Urban Pidgin will grow farther apart — 1979a:420). For a long time to come, however, the varieties used by those whose vernaculars differ will show the effects of these vernaculars, and in turn alter them. Assuming that regional variation is manifest only on a much larger scale — in West New Britain Pidgin[29] or Islands Pidgin — leads to neglect of a much more complex phenomenon that is by no means confined to the Bush Pidgin stage of development of the language.

NOTES

1. For example, the Kove use kalambo as well as taunam for *mosquito net*; sometimes ai but more often maus for lid of saucepan (a loan-translation from Kove); and always pinat for *peanut*, since galip designates only the canarium almond.

2. A somewhat different version was originally delivered at the 5th Congress of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, 1971.

3. Fieldwork in Lakalai was supported by the University of Pennsylvania, the Tri-Institutional Pacific Program, and the American Philosophical Society (1954), the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences (1962), and the Australian National University (1968); in Sengseng by Columbia University (1962), the National Science Foundation (1963-64), and the Australian National University (1966); and in Kove by the Australian National University (1966, 1968, 1969).

4. Many cognates are recognisable between Lakalai and Kove, but the Sengseng phonological system makes the few cognates that exist in that language unrecognisable to speakers of the other two.

5. Sengseng extends to the coast, but prior to a return visit in 1980-81 I lived deep in the bush. See map in Chowning 1976 for language locations.

6. These priests and the nuns at the Catholic mission station at Valoka usually spoke Lakalai well, in contrast to almost all the Methodist missionaries.

7. See Mühlhäusler 1979a:157-158 for the reputed peculiarities leading to unintelligibility of Mussau Pidgin.

8. Because of the reputed superiority of Seventh-Day Adventist schools, at this period many children of Roman Catholic parents were attending them.

9. I made an effort to avoid introducing even those English terms in common use in Kove villages into my own Pidgin, and was occasionally congratulated for doing so by the more highly educated young men.

10. Not to "Tok Masta", though Mühlhäusler reports it is "hardly used by speakers other than Europeans" (1979a:321).

11. Some Lakalai had worked in Samoa in German times, and some Kove in Micronesia, but most worked on plantations on or near New Britain (as Vitu).

12. This belief still exists, though some Kove tell of teaching Pidgin to their employers.

13. It was especially common in quarrels, even though the Kove have a full repertory of curses and insults in their own language, and little hesitation about using them.

14. This was true at the early period, and is still heard among older people who cannot pronounce /n/, but the influence of both Kuanua and Pidgin taught younger ones the new phoneme, so that they could say mani *money* rather than mali, or call the Japanese Siapanipani (with reduplication for plurality; see Johnston 1980:35).

15. All three of these languages contain a bilabial spirant (β) which I have written as /v/, and their speakers use it in a number of Pidgin words which are more often written with /b/ or /w/, such as kavavar *ginger* (the original Tolai version; see Mosel 1980:29).

16. Alterations of vowels in the /o/-/u/ sequence were still heard in 1980 among fluent coastal Sengseng speakers of Pidgin who had dropped some of the more aberrant Bush Pidgin pronunciations such as the shortening of certain reduplicated forms that made kakao *cacao* and kaukau *sweet potato* homonyms.

17. Birds calling out over game such as python and possums, or over travellers, are a source of intense interest, and often commented on.

18. I was the only one likely to be subject to this confusion; I paid for water to be collected from the bottom of the hill we lived on, and then people tried to get it from me.

19. I have never heard kantiri used for mother's sister or smolmama for paternal aunt (other than father's brother's wife), though Mühlhäusler says those are "central meanings" of these terms (1979a:223). Because the mother's sister is classified with the mother in all three kinship systems, she is called mama or smolmama in Pidgin (the latter especially among the Lakalai, who add modifiers denoting age relative to the mother's to the term for her sister). As was noted above, the paternal aunt (father's sister) is called either kantiri or nothing — that is, only sisa bilong papa — in Pidgin. In view of Mühlhäusler's suggestion that the Pidgin kinship system varies with matrilineality or patrilineality (1979a:330), it should be mentioned that the Lakalai have matrilineal descent, the Kove patrilineal descent, and the Sengseng cognatic (bilateral) descent.

20. Clay describes her surprise at hearing a New Ireland man say mi karim pikinini because she thought it only meant *to give birth* (1977:29), whereas Jorgensen, who worked in Telefolmin, flatly says that "for a Tokpisin speaker the validity of such a statement (mi karim wanpela pikinini pinis) is completely unaffected by the gender of the person making it" (1983:3). In fact, what karim pikinini means and whether its reference is limited by sex depends on the native language and culture of the speaker more than on any fixed meaning in Pidgin.

21. Johnston also mentions, for coins, Lakalai "'the hole of the knife' referring to centre-punched coins formerly used" (1980:12).

22. Mihalic reports that blakbokis *flying fox* is "sometimes used for a black umbrella" (1971:73), so that the Lakalai term may be a calque, but the physical resemblance of the umbrella to a bat's wings suggests independent invention, as does the inclusion in Lakalai of the word for 'wing'.

23. A Kove woman describing to me (in 1983) a Siassi language mentioned as one of its peculiarities that the word for 'outrigger canoe' was also used for 'ship', the word for 'clay pot' for 'metal saucepan', etc., in contrast to Kove practice. In certain cases, easily understandable in terms of the early trade system, the Lakalai found it necessary to make similar distinctions, as in taking over a Tolai term to distinguish steel axes from those made of stone (cf. Johnston 1980:13, where this is listed as a case of "lexical replacement ... for no apparent reason." (His other examples can also be understood in the light of the history of early contact between the Lakalai and foreigners.)

24. Because of its common use to designate government officers, today the term is often applied to these even when they are Papua New Guineans, though some Kove object to this usage.

25. Johnston thinks this latter term was invented as a "nickname" or "insulting name" (1980:244), but I think there is little doubt that it is a calque. The skin colour of Europeans is described as light or yellowish (haroaro, from the word for 'sun', also applied to the colour of certain shells), not as white.

26. The peculiarity of this usage was first called to my attention by David Goodger, an experienced patrol officer who also spoke excellent Pidgin (not the Kiap Pidgin that Mühlhäusler denigrates — 1979a:148-149).

27. For example, an elderly former luluai (one of several referred by the Kove as tekewe-hat *hat removed*, referring to the hat worn by village officials) introduced his wife to me as bladisit bilong me, and I have seen fond parents patting a baby and saying, A, Matilda, yu bladisit yu.

28. Mühlhäusler has in fact discussed in some detail the local peculiarities of what he calls Manus Pidgin (e.g. 1979:240). He is primarily concerned with direct borrowing from local languages and still seems to me — reasonably, in view of the data available to him — to underestimate more subtle influences from local vernaculars.

29. West New Britain Pidgin does in fact share a few distinctive lexical items, such as the use of kaulong (the name of a language and its speakers mostly located in the bush) as a synonym for buskanaka *hillbilly, uncivilised person*, and the use of tambu to designate only the local form of shell money, made of disc-shaped beads, in contradistinction to Tolai shell money from which the term originally derived. I do not know whether any such local usages have been adopted by the large number of settlers from the Gazelle Peninsula, Arapesh, and Chimbu now resident on the oil palm settlements in West New Britain.

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