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PAPERS IN PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS NO.4

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INTRODUCTION

The majority of the papers presented in *Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics* No.4 were delivered, in substantially the same form, at the 15th Pacific Science Congress which was held at Dunedin, New Zealand, in February 1983. They were part of a subsection of the conference organised and chaired by S.A. Wurm of the Australian National University, which was entitled 'Pidgin and creole linguistics in the Pacific: past, present and future'. These are the papers by Mühlhäusler, Simons, Seiler, Sharpe, and Sandefur. To them have been added two papers given at the 54th ANZAAS meeting held in May 1984, those by Romaine and Shnukal. Two of the remaining papers, those by Jourdan and Keesing, were written especially for this volume; the paper by Baker and Ramnah is a welcome extension to *Pacific Linguistics'* field of publications on pidgins and creoles, as is Munro's on Tuvaluans.

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RELATIVE CLAUSES IN CHILD LANGUAGE, PIDGINS AND CREOLES

Suzanne Romaine

INTRODUCTION

It has been claimed that pidgins and/or creoles share a number of features in common with child language. The comparisons which have been made relate both to similarities in particular linguistic structures found in child and pidgin/creole grammars and to similarities in process, e.g. developmental changes which characterise acquisitional stages. Perhaps one of the most explicit parallels at the process level is Bickerton's (1977a:49, 54-55) claim: 'Pidginization is second language learning with restricted input and creolization is first language learning with restricted input.'

If one takes a broad view of acquisition, it is not difficult to see why it is attractive to compare child language, pidgins and creoles. One could argue simply that in so far as all cases of language acquisition have to do with changes in developing systems in real time, there must be some similarities, and the parallelisms have, not surprisingly, been extended to include historical change too (cf. e.g. Slobin 1977 and Givón 1979). The crucial question however is what the significance of such similarities is – and indeed, whether the differences outweigh the similarities. Again, it is perhaps Bickerton (1981), who has made the strongest claims in arguing that there seems to be only one way of building a language. In child language acquisition and creolisation we see innate language universals at work.

Nevertheless, there are many problems which arise in making sweeping comparisons (cf. Aitchison 1983a:7 for discussion). Perhaps the most serious one is how to define the phenomena which are being compared. The term 'pidgin' and 'creole' and 'pidginisation' and 'creolisation' are used to refer to a disparate range of entities and processes.

The difficulties in identifying a set of formal structural characteristics which are uniquely associated with either a pidgin or a creole are well known. Most have therefore adopted a social or functional definition of terms 'pidgin' and 'creole', e.g. Todd (1974). A pidgin is no one's first language. It is used by groups of people who have no common language for certain limited communicative purposes. A creole is a pidgin which has become a first language. Given the different stages in the life cycle of a pidgin at which creolisation can take place, (cf. Mühlhäusler 1980), there is bound to be some overlap in the structural characteristics of e.g. an incipient creole and an expanded pidgin. I think it is useful to make a further distinction between processes and their outcomes. The entities called 'pidgins' and 'creoles' are salient instances of the processes which give rise to them.

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Apart from these problems in defining the relevant entities to be compared, there is the additional issue as to whether pidgins and creoles should be compared to second and first language acquisition respectively. As Aitchison (1983a:7) points out, this depends on the status of the claim that there is a 'critical period' for acquiring language. This is open to question (cf. Krashen 1973-74).

1. RELATIVISATION

The relative clause is an interesting construction to choose in order to see whether there are any parallels between child language, pidgins and creoles. There are a number of reasons why this is true. Firstly, relative clauses have received extensive discussion in the psycholinguistic and child development literature; they have also been widely studied cross-linguistically. Secondly, the finding that relative clauses develop in the later stages of acquisition is paralleled by the finding that they are generally lacking in pidgins (and they are also comparatively late diachronic developments in the history of some languages).

The late development of relatives in child language has been mainly attributed to the alleged processing difficulties posed by their syntactic complexity. There is some evidence which suggests that there are substantial cross-linguistic differences in rate of acquisition, which have to do with the way in which the construction is encoded in particular languages.¹ This brings me to the problem of defining the notion of relative clause. It is difficult to give an inclusive, unique and universal set of defining properties shared by all the constructions which syntacticians have discussed under the heading of 'relative clause'. Keenan and Comrie (1977:63-64) for example, define it as follows:

We consider any syntactic object to be a relative clause if it specifies a set of objects ... in two steps: a larger set is specified, called the *domain* of relativization, and then restricted to some subset of which a certain sentence is true. The domain of relativization is expressed in the surface structure by the head NP, and the restricting sentence by the restricting clause.²

Lehmann (1983), however, identifies three constituent operations, which may be present to differing degrees and combined in different ways to construct various types of relative clauses:

- i. subordination (nominalisation)
- ii. attribution
- iii. creation of an empty slot in the relative clause.

He sees each of these operations as scalar, i.e. they vary along a continuum. As far as subordination or nominalisation is concerned, the scale may range from a subordinate sentence to a noun, i.e. the transformation of a predicative construction into the category of nominal. For Lehmann subordination includes embedding and conjunction: nominalisation implies the possibility of embedding and embedding implies subordination. Although subordination is taken to be a prerequisite for relativisation, the operation of having a subordinate clause function as a nominal of the matrix sentence means different things in different languages. In English, for example, a relative clause is embedded as a modifier in an NP, where the embedded and matrix sentence share an identical nominal constituent, which is realised as a relative marker or pronoun (e.g. who, which,

that, etc.). Subordination may or may not be marked. If it is not marked, the resulting construction may not be recognisable as a relative. If subordination is marked, it may be done through the use of a particle or a pronoun, which fills the empty slot created via the process of relativisation.

The extent to which a relative clause fulfills any of these three criteria reflects the degree to which that particular function is grammaticalised. Some languages may have devices which accomplish all these functions, but no combination of the three is grammaticalised. In which case, the language would have no relative clauses.

As far as the evolution of relative clauses in language history and pidgins and creoles is concerned, there are a number of possible ways in which languages can come to have relative clauses. In some languages, as far as we can tell, there have always been relative clauses and one can identify constructions in the modern language which are continuations or renewals in some sense of constructions which existed in earlier stages. A language may 'create' a relative clause from a related construction; that is, an old form may come to serve a new function. Through expansion a simple participle or an attributive adjective may increasingly gain sentence status. Another route to relativisation may be via the grammaticalisation of an anaphoric relationship between two independent successive sentences so that either the first or the second becomes subordinate.³ I will argue here that it is the exploitation of this route of grammaticalisation which the child's acquisition of relative clauses has in common with the development of relative clauses in pidgin and creoles. I will look first at the process of children's acquisition of relatives.

2. CHILDREN'S ACQUISITION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ENGLISH

Most of what I will say about children's acquisition of relative clauses will be based on English-speaking children, and most of the data I will discuss come from an earlier study I did of school children in Edinburgh (cf. Romaine 1975 and Romaine 1984).

For the moment I will define relativisation as a syntactic process whereby a sentence becomes embedded as a modifier in an NP, where the embedded sentence and main (or matrix) sentence share an identical nominal constituent, which is realised as a relative marker or pronoun (e.g. who, which, that, etc.). The following example, taken from my study of Edinburgh schoolchildren, was produced by a 10-year-old boy:

- (1) The lassie was remembering about things [that had happened].

The matrix sentence or main clause is: The lassie was remembering about things, and the relative clause, enclosed in brackets, is: that had happened. The relative clause is considered to be a modifier of or embedded within the noun phrase things, which is co-referential with the relative marker that. I will refer to that as a *marker* to distinguish it from what traditional grammarians call relative pronouns, e.g. who, whom, whose, which. The choice among these in English relative clauses is determined by whether or not the antecedent or co-referential noun phrase in the matrix sentence is human, and the function of the relative in the relative clause, e.g. subject, object, etc. The marker that is invariant and not sensitive to these features of the antecedent, while the WH-forms of the relative are.

In example (1) we can identify two factors which have been cited as contributory to the complexity of these constructions. The first of these is what is referred to as *embeddedness*; that is, distance of the relative clause from the syntactic position occupied by the antecedent in the main clause. In this particular sentence there is 'no distance'; in other words, the relative clause immediately follows the noun phrase in the matrix sentence which serves as the direct object. We can break it down into its constituents as follows:

- (2) The lassie was remembering about things [that had happened]. (OS)
 NP1 V [NP2] [NP3] V
 object subject

The second factor to be considered has been called *focus*; that is, the grammatical function or syntactic position of the relativised noun phrase in the relative clause. In this sentence the relative occupies subject position. I will use the notation OS to refer to this type of relative clause, where O represents object and S subject position. By varying these two parameters, embeddedness and focus, we can also have relative clauses of the type SS, OO, and SO. The first member of each of these pairs stands for the syntactic position occupied by the head NP in the matrix S, and the second for the syntactic position occupied by the relativised NP in the relative clause. Examples from the Edinburgh data illustrating each type are given below, each with its constituent structure:

- (3) That person [that hasnae scored] goes out. (SS)
 [NP1] [NP2] V V
 subject subject
- (4) Ken they carties [that you pull behind you] ? (OO)
 V [NP1] [NP2] V
 object object
- (5) The one [that I like best] is kick the can. (SO)
 [NP1] [NP2] V V
 subject object

It has been proposed that there is a relation between ease of processing and the order in which children acquire these four types of relative clauses. It is not hard to imagine why researchers have claimed that relativisation on the object NP of the matrix sentence is easier than relativisation on the subject because the former still entails (in terms of surface structure) only paratactic conjunction of sentences rather than the insertion of one within the other (i.e. embedding), as in the case of relativisation on the subject. We should expect then to find that children are able to process the OO and OS types earlier and with greater accuracy than the SS and SO types. This would follow from the hypothesis that children are using a parsing strategy of the type proposed by Slobin, where sequences of NVN are interpreted as subject verb object (SVO).

This strategy would yield the correct interpretation for an OS relative clause, but not for the other types. The problem posed by subject embedded relative clauses is that the relative clause interrupts the linear processing of constituents, i.e. it is embedded in a sequence like NP1 [NP3 V NP4] V NP2 where either NP3 or NP4 is the position relativised within the relative clause.

A number of experiments have been conducted to test children's ability to understand relative clauses. In most of these, children were asked either to

repeat various types of relative clauses or to manipulate toys. For example, Tavakolian (1977) and De Villiers et al (1979) asked children to make toys act out the sequence of events in sentences such as:

(6) The dog stands on the horse [that the giraffe jumps over]. (OO)

In order to score a correct interpretation the child must be able to comprehend the roles of agent and patient correctly.

The experimental literature has produced conflicting findings. The results of some of the major investigations are summarised in Table 1.

Perception experiments:			
Sheldon			SS > OO > OS > SO
Tavakolian			SS > OO > OS > SO
De Villiers et al			OS > SS > OO > SO
Production:			
Edinburgh children	10		OS > OO > SS > SO
	8		OS > OO > SS > SO
	6		OO > OS > SO > SS
Average			
(for Edinburgh children			OO > OS > SS > SO

I have included in the table the results for the production of relative clauses by three age groups of the Edinburgh school children. The last line shows the hierarchy obtained without regard to age group. It can be seen, however, that this trend is not operative within the individual age groups. The marking of OO and OS is reversed for the ten- and eight-year-olds, and the marking of SS and SO for the six-year-olds. The factor of embeddedness is clearly the one which carries the most weight, with object relative clauses being greatly preferred over subject ones. The effect of focus, which is a much weaker factor, results in slightly fewer relative clauses being produced on NPs which serve as the object of their clauses. The effects of focus and embeddedness can be seen for each age group in Table 2.

Age	Focus S > O				Embeddedness O > S			
	subject focus		object focus		subject embedded		object embedded	
	(SS + OS)		(SO + OO)		(SS + SO)		(OS + OO)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
10	41	22	30	16	20	11	51	28
8	27	15	22	12	9	5	40	22
6	26	14	37	20	24	13	39	21
Total	94	51	89	49	53	29	130	71

The interaction between age and focus is statistically significant. As far as the factor of embeddedness is concerned, however, age is not significant.

I will consider now the extent to which the production data shed light on children's operating principles, and in particular, what answer they suggest to the question why there should be differences between the age groups. I will argue that the data show the evolution of relative clause formation rules. In order to trace the development from the child to adult system, we will need to take a brief look at adult relative clause formation strategies. The most detailed work in this area comes from cross-linguistic research done by Keenan and Comrie (1977, 1979) who have made some interesting predictions about the types of relative clause formation strategies possible in languages. After examining a wide cross-section of different types of languages, they found that they did not vary randomly with respect to the syntactic positions of the NP which could be relativised. They postulated the existence of an accessibility hierarchy which predicted constraints on the positions in which relative clauses could appear, as given below:

Keenan-Comrie Accessibility Hierarchy

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of comparison

The two most important predictions made by Keenan and Comrie to be considered here are:

1. The frequency with which NPs in certain syntactic positions are relativised in a language is in accordance with their ordering in the case hierarchy; i.e. subject NPs are most frequently and objects of comparison least frequently relativised.
2. The order of cases in the hierarchy is correlated with ease of relativisation, i.e. subject is the easiest position to relativise.

The first of Keenan and Comrie's predictions about accessibility relates to my previous discussion of the factor of focus, i.e. the position occupied by the relative in the relative clause. According to Keenan and Comrie's hypothesis, subject relatives (i.e. OS and SS) should be more frequent than object relatives (OO and SO) (cf. the results of De Villiers et al (1979)). This prediction is supported when we consider the total number of relative clauses produced by the Edinburgh children. This can be seen in Table 3.

A few comments are necessary. There were no indirect object relatives in the sample; that is, a relative clause in which the syntactic function of the relative is that of indirect object e.g.

(7a) The man [THAT I gave the book to].

(7b) The man [TO WHOM I gave the book].

The term *oblique* is used to refer to relatives in whose underlying structure the co-referential NP functions as the object of a preposition, e.g. the house that I used to live in. There are two types of oblique relative constructions: stranded and shifted. These terms refer to the placement of the preposition in relation to its object. If the preposition is separated from its relative marker or pronoun, as it is in (7a), then it is stranded. The term 'shifted' refers to a relative clause in which the preposition has been fronted along with the co-referential NP to the beginning of the relative clause, e.g. the house in which I live. The fact that WH relatives behave differently to that in oblique constructions is one of the arguments used by syntacticians to justify the treatment of that as a non-pronominal relativiser. Oblique relatives marked by that cannot undergo stranding. Sentences like (8) are ungrammatical.

(8) The house in that he lived.

Table 3: Relative markers used by Edinburgh school children

Position:		Subject	Object	Oblique	Locative	Temporal	Genitive	Total
Age 10	WH ¹	13	2		1			16
	that	25	10	3			1	38
	∅	3	11	4				18
		(41)	(23)	(7)	(1)		(1)	(73)
Age 8	WH ²	5			6			11
	that	21	1	1	1			24
	∅	1	16	4		3		24
		(27)	(17)	(5)	(7)	(3)		(59)
Age 6	WH ³	2	2	1	1			6
	that	21	3	1				25
	∅	3	28	2		5		38
		(26)	(33)	(4)	(1)	(5)		(69)
Total		94	73	16	9	8	1	201

¹WH forms include: who = 11; which = 1; what = 1 in subject position; what = 2 in object position; where = 1 in locative position.

²WH forms include: who = 2; what = 3 in subject position; where = 4 and what = 2 in locative position.

³WH forms include: who = 2 in subject position; who = 1, what = 1 in object position; where = 1 in locative position; what = 1 in oblique position.

WH pronouns on the other hand can occur in both stranded and shifted constructions as in (9) and (10).

(9) The house in which he lived.

(10) The house which he lived in.

If that had the same syntactic status as the WH pronouns, we would expect them to behave similarly. We will see further evidence of the different nature of that later.

The categories of temporal and locative were included here, although they are not strictly speaking syntactic positions on a par with the others in the case hierarchy. There seems to be no general agreement among syntacticians with regard to the status of adverbs of time and place when used in a relativising function. Examples of what I will refer to as temporal and locative relatives are:

(11) Locative: I've watched a horror film where there's a big giant.

(12) Temporal: The first time [that I tried it] I liked it.

I have included clauses of this type in the category of relative clauses because they participate in a pattern of variation similar to the other types of relative clauses; that is, they may be introduced by WH forms like where, when, by that or by no marker at all. Only cases in which there is a nominal element which can be understood as co-referential with the temporal or locative marker

are included here. In some cases locative relatives can be thought of as having some similarity to oblique relatives, as in the example:

(13) That's the place [WHERE I got my fishtank frae].

Locative and temporal relatives are also sometimes paraphrasable by oblique relatives, e.g.

(14) I like the one [WHAT Tom plays a trick on Jerry].

This sentence might be paraphrased as:

(15) I like the one [WHERE Tom plays a trick on Jerry].

(16) I like the one [IN WHICH Tom plays a trick on Jerry].

The Edinburgh children use what, where and that in relatives of this type.

There was only one example of a genitive relative construction in the Edinburgh data, produced by a 10-year-old boy:

(17) The person [THAT'S foot is touched] .

In modern standard English the only permissible construction in this case would be whose, which is marked for genitive case, and is used with personal human antecedents. The fact that Scots uses a form of that to mark relativisation on a genitive NP reflects its historical development (cf. Romaine 1982). Although Scots possesses the option of using whose to relativise genitive NPs, it tends to favour the alternative strategy of using that's, which is otherwise invariant in other varieties of English; or it uses a pronoun retaining strategy, e.g. the person that his foot is touched. These two alternative strategies permit case marking on the lower positions of the case hierarchy. In general, the use of WH pronouns as relatives is very infrequent in Scots; the most commonly used one is that or often no marker appears at all.

I have already noted some of the constraints which affect the choice of relatives according to features of the antecedent in particular syntactic positions (cf. Quirk et al 1972:867 for further details).

The Edinburgh schoolchildren tend to use that and \emptyset roughly equally in preference to WH, although there are some important developmental trends in evidence here. Limber (1973), who studied the development of complex sentences in preschool children, found that the first relative clauses involved no relative pronouns; later that is used. As far as the use of WH relatives is concerned, only the subject form who is used; the inflected forms whom and whose never appear. We can see a clear progression from the six- to 10-year-olds, which is characterised by increasingly less reliance on the \emptyset strategy, and a correspondingly greater increase in the use of WH and that. Overall, however, even in the 10-year-old group, the WH strategy is not very frequent; that is the preferred relativiser. These findings are well in line with the local adult norms (cf. Romaine 1982).

We can say then that part of the process of the acquisition of relative clauses involves not a wholesale qualitative shift from one strategy to another. In other words it isn't the case that children lose a 'primitive' rule or strategy which juxtaposes clauses without any formal mark of their relation. English, unlike French for example, allows relativisation by deletion and the deletion strategy is commonly used by adults. Acquiring English relative clauses involves adding other strategies, i.e. WH and that. This involves some decrease in the frequency with which the \emptyset strategy is employed, but not in its loss, not even in subject position.

There are some further comments to make about the kinds of relative clause formation strategies used by these Edinburgh children. Some of the examples do not fit neatly into the typology established so far in the discussion. Earlier I defined relativisation as a process of embedding in which a relative clause is embedded in a matrix clause and there is a relation or co-reference between an NP in the matrix and an NP in the relative clause. Example (18), which illustrates oblique relativisation, is such a case.

(18) Things [what you sit on] they go.

It can be seen that the relationship between these two clauses is not quite the same as in the other examples I have cited so far. The use of the pronoun *they* to mark the subject slot is in a sense redundant because *things* already serves this function. The NPs *things* and *they* are co-referential, just as the relative marker *what* is also co-referential with *things*. The term *resumptive*, *shadow* or *copy pronoun* is used to refer to a pronoun like *they*.⁴ Another example of a genitive relative which I gave previously (but which did not actually occur in the data) illustrates a similar phenomenon.

(19) The person [THAT HIS foot is touched].

This time the resumptive pronoun is marked for genitive or possessive case since this is the function it serves in the relative clause. Furthermore, it sometimes happens that the resumptive element is a full NP and not a pronoun, as in (20).

(20) Then whoever THE PERSON [THAT'S he] catches first
THAT PERSON'S he in the next game. (10-year-old boy)

In this sentence that person is co-referential with the NP *the person*, as is the relative marker *that*. There were 15 instances in which shadows or resumptives were used by the Edinburgh children. Most of these cases (N=13) were like the two sentences above, (19) and (20), where a resumptive pronoun occurs in subject position of the matrix clause immediately following a relative clause in subject position. The other two cases were like (21) where the shadow appears within the relative clause itself to mark the position of the relativised NP.

(21) but the ones [\emptyset you can put pounds and notes on IT]
(8-year-old boy)

(22) That man [who Mickey Mouse was putting]
Mickey Mouse [who was putting HIM upside down].
(6-year-old girl)

The first one of these has a shadow pronoun as the object of a preposition; or in other words, it appears in the slot which would have been occupied by a relative pronoun or marker. The prototypical relative clause in this syntactic position would have been either (23), (24) or (25).

(23) but the ones [on which you can put pounds and notes]

(24) but the ones [which you can put pounds and notes on]

(25) but the ones [that you can put pounds and notes on]

Since the child has used a zero strategy of relativisation in which there is no overt relativiser to indicate the case relation of the relativised NP, the pronoun *it* marks its slot. The second example is slightly more complicated to explain. The girl appears to be hesitating between two constructions, e.g.

- i. The man [who Mickey Mouse was putting upside down].
- ii. Mickey Mouse was putting the man upside down.

What results is a conflation of the two, with a shadow pronoun appearing in direct object slot, which is the syntactic position she was trying to relativise initially.

We can think of these two additional types of relative clauses as alternative strategies to the ones we've already discussed. It remains to be seen, however, what role they play in the child's syntactic development and what implication they have when seen in terms of the Keenan-Comrie accessibility hierarchy and the perceptual hierarchy based on focus and embeddedness.

There is evidence from a variety of sources which can be used to argue that these alternative strategies serve an important syntactic and pragmatic function and represent intermediate developmental stages in the child's acquisition of the fully syntacticised adult prototype construction. Children seem to be using these alternatives in cases which involve some degree of perceptual difficulty. For example, in the instances where resumptive pronouns mark the case relation of relativised genitive and oblique NPs in the relative clause, I would claim that they help make the case of the relativised NP recoverable, particularly when a zero strategy of relativisation is used. Resumptive pronouns aid the relativisation of NPs which are in less accessible positions of the Keenan-Comrie case hierarchy. From a universal perspective Keenan and Comrie (1979) have noted a tendency for languages to use pronoun-retaining strategies on the lower positions of the hierarchy. The use of these alternative strategies is no doubt also connected with the fact that these children do not seem to use the pronominalising or case-coding WH strategy very frequently. The alternative strategies take up the slack in the system, particularly at the lower end of the hierarchy. One could also argue that perceptual difficulties are at work in the type of alternative relativisation strategy in which the copy appears in the matrix clause. In this case, the syntactic position is easily accessible to relativisation, i.e. most of these resumptive pronouns appear in object position. However, as we have seen, object relatives on subject antecedents interrupt the matrix clause; and in terms of deep structure the two NPs are maximally distant. Here the copying of the subject after the relative clause may serve to minimise the effects of interruptibility and act as a place holder for the referent introduced initially by the speaker.⁵

Although perceptual factors probably go a long way towards accounting for the appearance of these two types of resumptive pronoun strategies, they do not completely explain the developmental changes. For one thing, adults use these alternative strategies too (cf. Romaine 1982), and it may be that children are not exposed to the fully syntacticised strategies in any great frequency until they reach school. Thus, the difference between these two modes of relativisation reflects in part a dichotomy between written and spoken language on the one hand, and formal versus informal language on the other. Secondly, shadow pronouns can occur when the relativised NP occupies one of the more accessible syntactic positions in the case hierarchy, e.g. subject and direct object. There are no examples of these in the Edinburgh children's data, but Wald (1982), who studied relativisation in the discourse of 11-12 year olds in Los Angeles, found cases in which subject shadows appeared in the speech of 11-12 year olds, e.g.

- (26) It was about some lady THAT SHE was asleep and
THAT THEY told her to read the Bible.

In fact, Wald reports that subject shadows were more common than shadows in other case relations in embedded clauses. This appears to be at odds with what we would expect the case hierarchy to predict if perceptual factors were the most important, namely: that the least accessible positions would be most likely to retain pronouns. His results indicate a need for examining the functions relative clauses serve in actual discourse. From a functional perspective, relative clauses do the work of providing further information about an NP which has been introduced into discourse. In this respect, they are like comments on topics. For a sentence like:

(27) That lassie [\emptyset I go to school with]. (8-year-old boy)

the relative clause identifies the NP that lassie as one of a potential group of lassies and singles one particular one out for further comment. Along with various other syntactic devices, e.g. indefiniteness (cf. Bates and MacWhinney 1979 for a list of devices which act like topics of comments) it provides some necessary background information which the listener may not be assumed to have by the speaker. One reason why we found that children produced more object than subject embedded relative clauses (cf. Table 3) is that new information nouns tend to be located in object position. Thus, the high percentage of object relatives may merely reflect this fact. During the course of acquisition it may be that speakers switch from a primarily discourse-oriented system to a more purely syntactically motivated one.

3. RELATIVE CLAUSES IN PIDGINS AND CREOLES

It is here that we can see some important links between the child's acquisition of relative clauses and the development of these structures in pidgins and creoles. It has often been said that pidgin syntax is shallow and that pidgins lack rules for embedding and subordination of clauses. Pidgins tend to use no formal marking to indicate that one part of an utterance is subordinate to another. Distinctive marking of relative clauses comes later in the stabilisation and expansion phase of the pidgin life cycle, or arises in the process of creolisation.

Bickerton (1977b) for example, found in Hawaiian English Creole, where relativisation is being introduced as a new syntactic construction, where none existed previously, that object relativisation was more frequent than subject relativisation. In the data from the Edinburgh children we can see an indication of this switch from object to subject relativisation between the ages of six and eight. This is apparent in Table 3, where subject focus relatives do not become more frequent than object focus relatives before the child is eight.

Another parallel can be drawn from Bickerton's work on the development of relative clauses in Hawaiian English Creole. He gives the following example:

(28) Da boi jas wawk aut from hia, hiz a fishamaen.
The boy [(who) just walked out of here] (he's) a fisherman.

Bickerton argues that we can see the beginnings of a rudimentary strategy of relativisation here. In the earliest stages of the development of this construction it is difficult to tell whether 'true' embedding or merely a conjoining process has taken place. The surface marker which eventually becomes used in a relativising function is not a specialised relative pronoun like *who* in English, but a simple pronoun. Bickerton (1977b:274) suggests that

the use of pronouns represents an intermediate stage between zero forms and the full range of English relative pronouns. Thus, the route to fully syntacticised relativisation in Hawaiian English Creole can be illustrated in the three sentences ((29-31):

- (29) You fain Hawaiians [\emptyset spik English]. zero strategy
You found Hawaiians who could speak English.
- (30) Sam [dei drink] meik chrabol. pronoun strategy
Some who drink make trouble.
- (31) Evri filipino [hu kud aford it] bai wan. English relative pronoun
Every Filipino who could afford it bought one.

The fully syntacticised stage is reached when zero marking in subject position gives way to overt relativisation (either by WH pronominalisation or that) and the copy pronoun in the subject slot of the matrix following the relative clause is deleted.

A similar progression can be traced in children's acquisition of relative clauses. In the earliest stages of syntactic development children do not use embedded sentences at all; and indeed, even in the casual spoken language of adults simple conjunction of clauses or the use of independent sentences may be a preferred discourse alternative to relativisation. We can see the close relationship between those alternatives in examples like (32) where two independent clauses occur side by side with no formal mark of connection (either subordination or co-ordination) between them.

- (32) He met 'toothless' THAT was this big lion. (8-year-old boy)

Another possible way of presenting the same information or introducing the referent 'toothless' would be a fully syntacticised relative clause, as in (33).

- (33) He met toothless, who was a big lion.

Another example attesting the close relationship between relative clauses and conjoined sentences is given in (34).

- (34) There's a big alarm bell and that goes off. (8-year-old girl)

A possible alternative again would be a relative clause, as in:

- (35) There's a big alarm bell [that goes off].

The existence of sentences like (32) and (34) as possible alternatives to relativisation and their earlier emergence than relatives suggests that in the initial stages of syntactic development children do not possess strategies for the syntactic incorporation of one clause within another. Two propositions simply occur side by side or in a co-ordinated construction as shown in the diagram in Figure 1. Only later do they acquire the syntactic means for making the relation between propositions and clauses explicit. In the case of OS relatives there is little in the way of formal marking to distinguish them from two independent clauses which occur side by side; and it is therefore not surprising that these are among the first types to be perceived and produced by children. Later the child is able to produce true embedded constructions. In stage (i) the interpretation of such a constructions as relative as opposed to two distinct clauses where no connector appears is largely a pragmatic and prosodic matter.

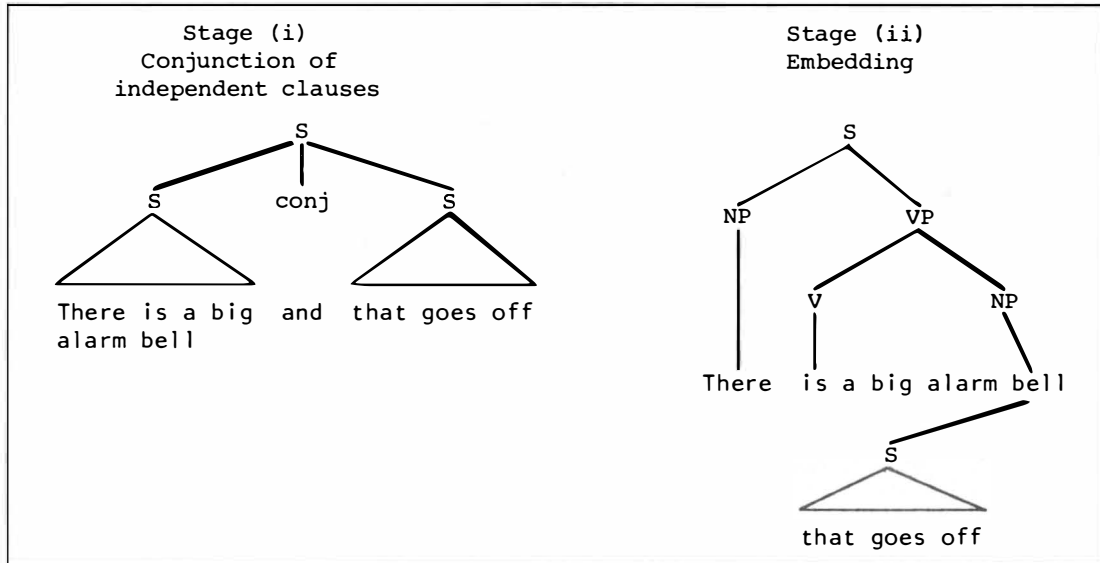


Figure 1: Stages in the syntacticisation of relative clauses

The transition from stage (i) to (ii) illustrates a change-over from discourse-pragmatic to grammatical-syntactic constraints on relativisation. In this way loose paratactic structures become condensed or syntacticised into tight hypotactic structures.

Wurm (1971), Dutton (1973), and Sankoff and Brown (1976) note the importance of intonation in the bracketing of relative clauses in Tok Pisin. Based on data from Churchill (1911), Sankoff and Brown (1976) say that relativisation in the early period of Tok Pisin's development appears to have involved no markers in the matrix S and an equi NP deletion rule in the embedded S. Hearers probably deduce the embeddedness from word order and juxtaposition of elements with the aid of prosodic features like stress and intonation.

The standard relative clause types discussed in grammars of Tok Pisin, e.g. Wurm (1971) and Dutton (1973), use no special marker of subordination. The 3rd person pronoun functions as a type of relative marker. Dutton (1973:95-96) for instance, cites the following possibilities for conjoining two sentences in a relative clause:

- (36) S1: mi lukim dok
I saw the dog
- S2: dok i ranim pik bilong mi
the dog chased my pig
- relative: mi lukim dok [em i ranim pik bilong mi]
I saw the dog that chased my pig
- dok mi lukim em [em i ranim pik bilong mi]
the dog I saw chased my pig

Dutton says that the second type is less common than the first. Although there is no case or gender marking in the pronoun, there is a plural form *ol*, which is used with plural antecedents. Oblique relatives are however a site where case marking turns up; *em* becomes *en* after *long*, *bilong* etc. Prepositions cannot be stranded. Here the relativised NP always appears as a pronoun and is never deleted, as in the following examples:

- (37) *pikinini [yu givim mani longen] em i stap long hap*
the child you gave the money to is over there (Dutton 1973:120)
- (38) *mi save dispela ples [yu go longen]*
I know where you're going (Dutton 1973:138)
- (39) *yu lukim dispela ia [kon ia wantaim isanap longen ia]*
did you see this one that has corn and cassowaries on it?
 (Sankoff and Brown 1976:214)

In subject and object relatives there is alternation between deletion and pronominalisation of the co-referential NP, but never full copying of the NP, according to Sankoff and Brown (1976:214). Subject focus relatives show the greatest variation in surface marking of the co-referential NP. Sankoff and Brown (1976) found that there was a tendency towards deletion rather than pronominalisation. This is not the case for Aitchison's (1983b:6) study of six young women in Lae. She reports that four of the five subject focus relatives in her data, and five of the 15 object focus relatives had introductory markers.

Since Aitchison does not discuss her results in terms of the factor of embeddedness, and Sankoff and Brown do not discuss theirs in terms of the factor of focus, it is not possible to make exact comparisons. Nevertheless, it can be seen that some interesting similarities, but also some differences, exist between the findings of my own study of children's relatives and those of Tok Pisin speakers' relatives. Sankoff and Brown (1976:216) found that 67 per cent of subject embedded (i.e. SO and SS) clauses were subject focus, i.e. SS. This is paralleled by my finding that for the Edinburgh children 58 per cent (i.e. 31/53) of subject embedded relatives were subject focus, although object focus relatives were overall more frequent than subject ones. The difference was however not as great as in Aitchison's data, where $\frac{3}{4}$ of the relatives were object focus. In the Edinburgh data just one half (i.e. 51 per cent) of the relatives were subject focus.⁶

There are also some points of comparison with Bickerton's data on relativisation in Hawaiian English Creole. Bickerton and Odo (1976:274-279) have observed that the few Hawaiian Pidgin English speakers who do produce relative clauses, relativise on the object noun of the matrix sentence far oftener than on the subject sentence. This is in agreement with my finding that the Edinburgh school children produce more than twice as many object embedded clauses as they do subject ones (i.e. 130 compared to 53). In Sankoff and Brown's data the difference is less, although still in the direction of favouring object over subject embedded (52 compared to 38).

Bickerton (1977b:284) also found that in Hawaiian English Creole markers were present at least twice as often in subject than in object focus relatives. Although this is paralleled by Aitchison's and my findings that deletion is less frequent in subject position, Sankoff and Brown (1976:215) report that the tendency for Tok Pisin speakers was to delete in a ratio of 2 to 1.

As far as pidgins and creoles are concerned, I have discussed the use of strategies of relativisation involving deletion or marking. However, I have

not said much about the different possibilities for marking relative clauses. We have already seen that Tok Pisin and Hawaiian English Creole use 3rd person pronouns. Sankoff and Brown (1976) discuss the creation of a new relativiser *ia* (from the place adverbial meaning *here*) in Tok Pisin via its extension as a demonstrative or generalised deictic particle in discourse, as in the example:

- (40) Meri ia [em i yangpela meri, draipela meri ia] em harim istap.
This girl, who was a young girl, big girl, was listening.

Here the particle *ia* is used to bracket an embedded clause from a matrix sentence by virtue of its placement after both the head noun and the embedded clause. Sankoff and Brown (1976:239) found that most sentences used some form of *ia* bracketing, and that the highest frequency of *ia* was in oblique relatives.

Aitchison (1983b), found no instances of *ia* bracketed relative clauses. She did however observe the use of *we* in seven out of 20 of the clauses, as in the example:⁷

- (41) Klostu em laik paition dispela sista ia, sista [we wok].
She almost hit this nursing sister, the sister who was on duty.
 (Aitchison 1983b:7)

The use of *we* as a relativiser is confined to a group of three young women who were related to each other and whose families lived near Goroka. According to Sankoff (1979:38) *we* is a 'low frequency relativiser for some current speakers', while Woolford (1979:121) notes that it is used by 'a very small percentage of Tok Pisin speakers'. The use of *we* as a relativiser also occurs in West African Pidgin English, Krio and other English-based pidgins and creoles.

As far as typology is concerned, Lehmann (1983:251) may be right when he says that the occurrence of a relative pronoun is evidently independent of language type. Furthermore, in talking about the morphological form of subordinators which function as relativisers, he suggests (1983:165) that there is no reason why a relativiser should have morpho-semantic connections to any other morphemes. This might be the conclusion one would draw from treating grammars as structural entities in isolation from their communicative functions.

Once one rejects a strictly syntactic view of relativisation in favour of a functional one, it can be seen that so-called natural languages create relativisers in similar ways to pidgins and creoles. There are certain kinds of linguistic categories which can become relativisers (e.g. deictics such as demonstrative pronouns and place adverbials, interrogatives), and thus come to perform the work of separating an NP from an embedded sentence. The common unity of these linguistic elements is probably best accommodated within a deictic theory of discourse reference; that is, they can all be used to alert the listener to a referent. Such a theory is outlined by Lyons (1975) in which he argues that the grammatical structure and interpretation of referring expressions can be accounted for through the deictic function of demonstrative pronouns and adverbs. He observes (1975:61) that the definite article and the personal pronouns in English and other languages are weak demonstratives, and that their anaphoric use is derived from deixis. It is well known that the definite article, demonstratives and third person pronouns are diachronically related. On the ground of their syntactic and semantic similarity some have argued that they should all be synchronically relatable, at least in the grammar of English.

There is support for this not only from diachrony and child language but also from pidgins and creoles. Dreyfuss (1977) compared the relative clause

formation strategies used by four creoles: Haitian Creole, Tok Pisin, Sango and Sranan. Three of these languages used a deictic marker as a relativiser. According to Dreyfuss (1977:150) the choice of the deictic in a relativising function is an independent innovation; that is, the languages have not borrowed from the superstrate. The fact that the languages are creoles does not seem to have influenced the kind of marker. None uses 'true' relative pronouns that vary with case, animacy or other characteristics of their antecedents.

Resumptive pronouns occur in all four languages, but there are differences in the positions in which they occur. All the languages, however, use them in oblique and genitive relatives. Dreyfuss (1977:170) suggests that this may be evidence that pronominalisation is the most favoured mechanism of the three possible choices available for marking the case of a co-referential NP. The other possibilities would be marking the case on the relative pronoun (i.e. Maxwell's WP-S). Where the relativised NP is a subject or direct object, however, the languages use a variety of means of encoding case. I have summarised these in Table 4.

	Haitian Creole	Tok Pisin	Sango	Sranan	English
Subject	1	2,3	2,3	2	1(2)
Direct object	2	2,3	2,3	2	1,2
Oblique/Genitive	3	3	3	3	1(2)

(1 = coding on relativiser; 2 = deletion; 3 = pronominalisation).

I have included modern English here for comparison. If we just consider the WH relatives, then English can be thought of as using only the first two strategies for coding case, namely, either by marking case on the pronoun or by deletion. I have put parentheses around the deletion strategy to indicate that it is not always possible to delete relatives in subject, genitive and oblique positions in modern English.

As I have already noted, the use of resumptive pronouns in standard English is very limited. We might expect further changes to take place in the newer creoles, i.e. Tok Pisin and Sango, as they come to be more widely spoken. One thing that may happen is that the use of resumptive pronouns in subject and object position would decrease or disappear. There might also be more constraints on deletion.

CONCLUSION

I have argued that we can identify some common developmental principles which govern the process of relativisation in child language, pidgins and creoles, once we recognise that a key part of the semantic-pragmatic function of the relative clause is the assignment of a referent to an empty NP slot. Although there has often been more interest in the formal properties of grammatical rules and their expressive role has been neglected, in both child language and creolisation we can see the evolution of structure and function. Sankoff and

Brown (1976) explicitly make the link between expansion of discourse function and the emergence of the relative clause in Tok Pisin. A bracketed relative clause is in some respects better suited to the needs of autonomous and non-interactive discourse situations, where meaning is conveyed largely by syntax rather than negotiated in face-to-face interaction (cf. also the discussion in Deuchar 1983).

One could carry this argument a bit further and say that at some level a language with relative clauses is in some respects 'better' than one without them, at least with respect to performing certain discourse functions. But what can one say about the qualitative differences between natural languages which *do* have relative clauses? The Keenan-Comrie hierarchy suggests some basic inequalities with respect to both the kinds of strategies different languages make available to their speakers, and the extent to which these strategies permit relativisation in various positions of the hierarchy. There is also the interesting fact that in many languages which have more than one type of relative clause, the different strategies are correlated with social and stylistic levels.

What are the consequences of such syntactic variation when seen in terms of logical structure and expressivity? Is there a difference in logical expressive power between languages which have certain types of relativisation strategies and not others; and is there a connection between the type of relativisation strategy a language has and the depth to which it penetrates the case hierarchy? In a cross-linguistic survey Keenan (1975) observed that languages which had pronoun-retaining strategies to mark the NP position relativised generally permitted the formation of relative clauses in a greater variety of environments than those which did not have such a strategy. To the extent that a language can express a logical structure which another language cannot, then the former may be said to be logically more expressive than the latter in that respect. Keenan proposes what he calls the Principle of Conservation of Logical Structure: that is, a construction which presents more of its logical structure (i.e. is logically more perspicacious) will have a wider distribution than one which does not, and there will be fewer restrictions on its syntactic functions (cf. also Fodor 1981).

One can also query whether there is any difference in expressivity between a language which has a weakly versus strongly grammaticalised version of some syntactic operation like relativisation. If we look at the relative clause as one possible solution to the communicative problem of locating and specifying referents in discourse, then it is not hard to see why one path of development which leads to the creation of relatives is the grammaticalisation of an anaphoric relation through the reinterpretation of what are basically deictic categories situated in the context of utterance. We can think of anaphora as a cline, as shown in Figure 2, which may be encoded by various syntactic means ranging from explicit to implicit. Languages which are [+Pro], i.e. pronoun-retaining, encode anaphora more explicitly than those which are [-Pro]. The former are thus more transparent in their marking of semantic information. Since strong grammaticalisation is characterised by semantic bleaching, this process operates at the expense of the expressive capacity of the language.

Chains of grammaticalisation repeat themselves developmentally and diachronically. Certain seemingly arbitrary syntactic structures may have their origin in a few basic communicative functions, such as deixis and anaphora. A number of emergent solutions may compete for accomplishing the same discourse functions. Some may eventually become grammaticalised, and as such serve as

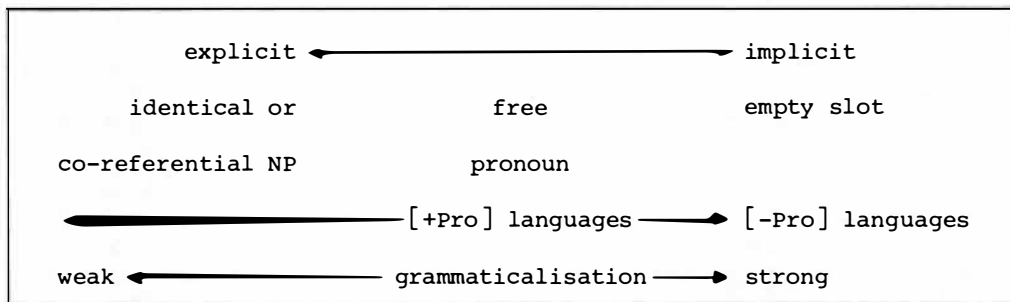


Figure 2: Anaphora

highly conventionalised, and often very efficient, strategies for dealing with recurrent communicative problems. In standard English, at any rate, pressure from the written language and prescriptive grammars enforce the fully syntacticised strategy of referring to referents, which grammarians call the relative clause.

NOTES

¹Slobin (forthcoming) shows that there are substantial differences in the rate of acquisition of relative clauses in Turkish and English. Not only are relative clauses used more frequently by English-speaking children (and adults) overall, but their development shows a much more accelerated growth curve. A major spurt takes place at around 3.6 for English speakers, while the mastery of Turkish relative clauses takes place later than 4.8. Slobin attributes these differences to two general psycholinguistic processing problems which Turkish relative clauses present to the learner: (i) they are not easily isolable as clauses; and (ii) they are not constructed in a uniform way across different types of relativisation. They are thus less transparently encoded in the syntactic structure of Turkish than English.

²In most treatments of English grammar a distinction is often made between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Restrictive clauses have the function of restricting the reference of the head NP they modify. Non-restrictive relative clauses are often said to function as comments, adding only additional information to a head which is already independently identified, or is unique in its reference, and has no need of further modification to identify its referent. The distinction is nonetheless somewhat tenuous, both synchronically and diachronically, as well as developmentally (cf. Romaine 1982). Tavakolian (1978:70) says that there is no evidence that children interpret a restrictive relative clause as a restriction of the head noun, rather than as a non-restrictive comment about it.

³It is interesting that the reverse route has been observed in a case of language death reported by Schmidt (1983), who found that less fluent Dyirbal speakers avoided subordination and the use of the embedded relative clause marker. These speakers preferred juxtaposition as a means of constructing discourse.

⁴There has been considerable debate about the status of resumptive pronouns and the nature of the relationship between them and extracted constituents with respect to binding conditions (cf. especially Chomsky 1982 and Zaenen and Maling 1982). The terms copy, resumptive and shadow pronoun have also been used in a number of different and sometimes overlapping senses by syntacticians. I use the term 'resumptive pronoun' here in the sense in which it is used in the most recent version of government and binding theory. In a sentence such as the following, *him*, is a resumptive pronoun equivalent to *t* (i.e. the trace of *who*) and is a variable bound by *who*.

The man [*who* John saw *him*].

It has generally been assumed that resumptive pronouns will occur when extraction with gaps is impossible.

⁵There is some experimental evidence to support the argument that resumptive pronouns facilitate processing (cf. Wall and Kaufman 1980). Zaenan and Maling (1982), however, note that the structures in which resumptive pronouns are found are in themselves more difficult to process than those out of which extraction is possible with a gap.

⁶Menyuk (1969) found that 87 per cent of children between the ages of 3-7 used object relatives, while 46 per cent used subject relatives. Slobin (forthcoming) also found that for both English- and Turkish-speaking children and adults overall more relative clauses were formed on non-subject NPs. He concludes that if a language provides equivalent means for relativising on various positions of the case hierarchy, the advantage to subject relativisation is not demonstrated.

⁷This particular example does however arguably show the rudimentary traces of a *ia*-bracketed relative clause, since *ia* occurs here as a postposed deictic (cf. Sankoff and Brown's 1976:244f discussion of the constraints on *ia*-bracketing). Siegel (1981) cites the use of *we* as a relativiser as a feature of creolised Tok Pisin. Even more characteristic of written Tok Pisin however is the emergence of the relativiser *husat*, which does not normally occur in the spoken language. Siegel (1981:31) records the first usage in Wantok, April/May 1979 and says that it also occurs in media broadcasts. It will be interesting to see whether it spreads into colloquial usage. An example is (Siegel 1981:30):

Mi laik autim wari bilong mi i go long ol manmeri husat i save
baim samting long maket.
*I'd like to bring out my worry to the people who buy things at
the market.*

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THE NUMBER OF PIDGIN ENGLISHES IN THE PACIFIC

Peter Mühlhäusler

1. INTRODUCTION

The question of what constitutes a *language*, as against a dialect, argot or patois, has received considerable attention in the past. A lucid discussion of this in relation to the Melanesian area is that by Wurm and Laycock (1969), whilst a detailed study of the theoretical issues is found in Harris (1980) and Romaine (ed. 1982). It is almost a truism that problems which have become blurred in fully developed 'old' languages, are identified much more neatly in the younger pidgins and creoles, and the question of language identification is no exception. How we identify pidgins and the criteria used for distinguishing one pidgin from another are the particular questions I would like to address myself to today.

It appears that, in the past, many writers have failed to acknowledge that there was a problem here. Instead, they have followed the well-known formula of naming pidgins after their location (1) and their principal 'lexifier language' (2), as in:

	1	Pidgin	2
e.g.	Chinese	Pidgin	English
	Nigerian	Pidgin	English
	Westafrican	Pidgin	Portuguese
	New Caledonian	Pidgin	French

This practice of naming pidgins has been of considerable use in the initial phase of identifying and locating pidgin languages. However, it has a number of serious drawbacks including:

(i) Speakers of these languages are becoming increasingly aware of the negative connotations of the term 'pidgin' and new names have been introduced for a number of them. Such names are either user-based, such as Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin) or Broken (for Torres Straits Pidgin English), or else invented by linguists as with Neomelanesian, Neosolomonic (Robert A. Hall's creations) and Cameroonian instead of Cameroons Pidgin English (see Todd 1979).

(ii) More seriously, pidgins can 'fly', i.e. a pidgin found in one location today may have been transported there only very recently from somewhere else. Thus, Fernando Póo Pidgin English was spoken by mainland West Africans originating from Nigeria and the Cameroons, New Guinea Pidgin English (Tok Pisin) was imported from Western Samoa (see Mühlhäusler 1978) and many of the Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin varieties probably started in

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New South Wales (see Dutton 1983). In the light of the high geographical mobility of these languages it thus appears inadvisable to associate them too closely with a single well-defined location.

(iii) It is further known that, in the course of their history, pidgins can change their lexical affiliation, a process referred to as relexification. Thus, present day Hiri Motu may be partially relexified Papuan Pidgin English, (cf. Dutton and Mühlhäusler 1979) and New Caledonian Pidgin French may have resulted from relexification of an earlier Pidgin English (cf. Hollyman 1976). It should be obvious that ongoing relexification poses special problems of language identity over time.

It is true that the problems raised above have been realised, at least implicitly, by a number of observers and we thus find a few notational devices which alleviate the problems. One of them is the use of non-localised (or only very generally localised) labels such as Beach-la-Mar (the lingua franca spoken 'between the meridians 140 and 180 and between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn' according to Reinecke 1937:727) or West African Pidgin English. Another relaxation is the interpretation of 'Chinese' in Chinese Pidgin English as indicating 'speakers of Chinese origin' rather than 'spoken along the China coast'.

Still, problems remain and continue to slow down the discussion of the complex linguistic and sociolinguistic dimensions of pidgin languages. I intend to show, with examples from the Pacific, that having a name for an entity is not a sufficient condition for the reality, meaningfulness or usefulness of what is supposed to be referred to. Pidginists have to acknowledge that a label such as Solomon Island Pidgin English may be as misleading and detrimental to theoretical studies as the use of terms such as 'phoneme', 'tagmeme' or 'exocentric construction' in theoretical linguistics. Put differently, many of the available names are rough-and-ready classification devices, but neither descriptions nor explanations.

2. COUNTING PIDGINS IN THE PACIFIC

Even a superficial look at the vast literature on Pidgin English in the Pacific will soon reveal a general lack of agreement both as to whether Pidgin English is spoken in a certain area or not and whether such a pidgin is the same as or different from other known pidgins.

Since in the past studies of pidgins were at best the by-product of other linguistic studies and at worst anecdotal travellers' tales, disagreement as to the existence of a pidgin in a certain area is understandable. An interesting case is that of Papuan Pidgin English (cf. Mühlhäusler 1978). One of the early magistrates in Papua, Monckton (1920) categorically states that (p.viii):

I have abstained from putting into the mouths of natives the ridiculous jargon or 'pidgin English' in which they are popularly supposed to converse. The old style of New Guinea officer spoke Motuan to his men, and I have, where required, merely given a free translation from that language into English. In recent books about New Guinea, written by men of whom I never heard whilst there, I have noticed sentences in pidgin English, supposed to have been spoken by natives, which I would defy any European or native in New Guinea, in my time, either to make sense of or interpret.

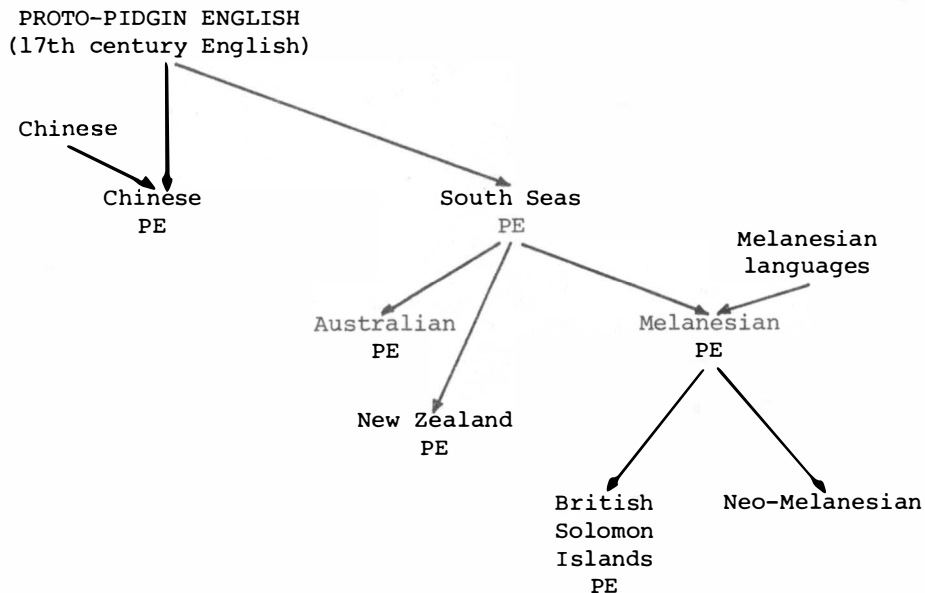
This view is also echoed in the following statement by an expert on the Papuan linguistic scene (Capell 1969:109):

In Papua, as against the Territory of New Guinea ... Pidgin had never been introduced. By early Government policy from the days of the first government of British New Guinea right up to very recent times, one native language had been chosen as a means of general intercommunication.

I have demonstrated, however, that Pidgin English was widely used in many parts of Papua until fairly recently (Mühlhäusler 1978), and I had no trouble in finding informants who could still speak it. However, these informants claimed to be speaking English not Pidgin. The term 'pidgin' has only recently become known to Pacific islanders and asking older inhabitants whether they speak pidgin is unlikely to make sense to them.

Similarly, Siegel (1982) was able to document that, in contrast to a widespread opinion that Pidgin English was never spoken in Fiji, it was used by a number of groups and more vigorously towards the end of the period of labour trade than at its beginnings. Judging from my own reading of Pacific history, there are very few islands indeed where Pidgin English was not spoken at some point in their contact history. Unfortunately, documentation is still very incomplete. But even for those cases where a reasonable amount of evidence is available, opinions as to the nature of the pidgins involved differ a great deal, as can be seen from a brief survey of what has been said about this matter:

Most earlier sources (e.g. Friederici 1911 or Churchill 1911) speak of only one South Seas Pidgin English, referred to by such names as Sandalwood English, Trepang English or Beach-la-Mar. This view is continued in Reinecke (1937:751): 'with due regard for all these differences, Beach-la-Mar may be regarded as one language' and it is only in more recent work that different languages are distinguished. The family tree given by Hall (1961), for instance, recognises the following varieties:



Melanesian Pidgin English (Schuchardt's 1981 Melaneso-Englisches) in this tree roughly corresponds to the former Beach-la-Mar. The reason for the separate development of British Solomon Islands Pidgin is given as follows:

The B.S.I. variety of Pidgin is closely related linguistically to that used in the Australian-mandated Territory of New Guinea, but there are significant differences in its use and official status.

and

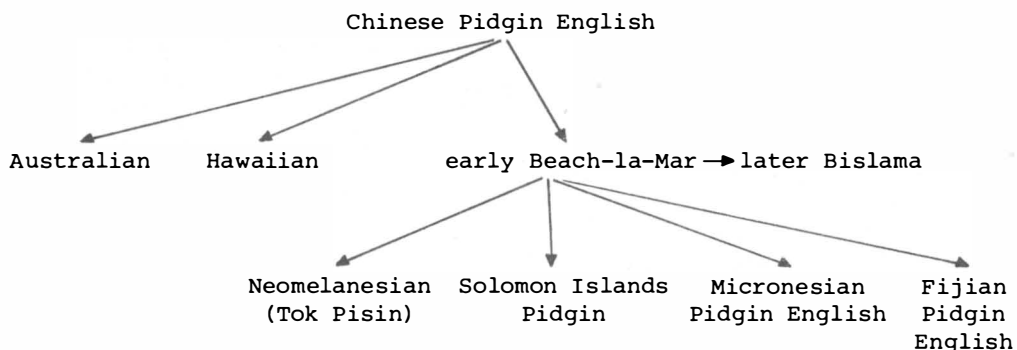
B.S.I. Pidgin is, in its grammatical structure, very close to Neo-Melanesian ... In vocabulary, however, B.S.I. Pidgin is distinctly archaic and closer to English than is Neo-Melanesian (Hall 1955:68-69).

Hall's arguments are not accepted universally and other classifications are given by subsequent authors. Thus, Voegelin and Voegelin (1964:57) state:

Neo-Melanesian, or Pidgin English, is spoken in the Australian Territory of New Guinea (including the Bismarck Archipelago), in the Solomon Islands and adjacent islands.

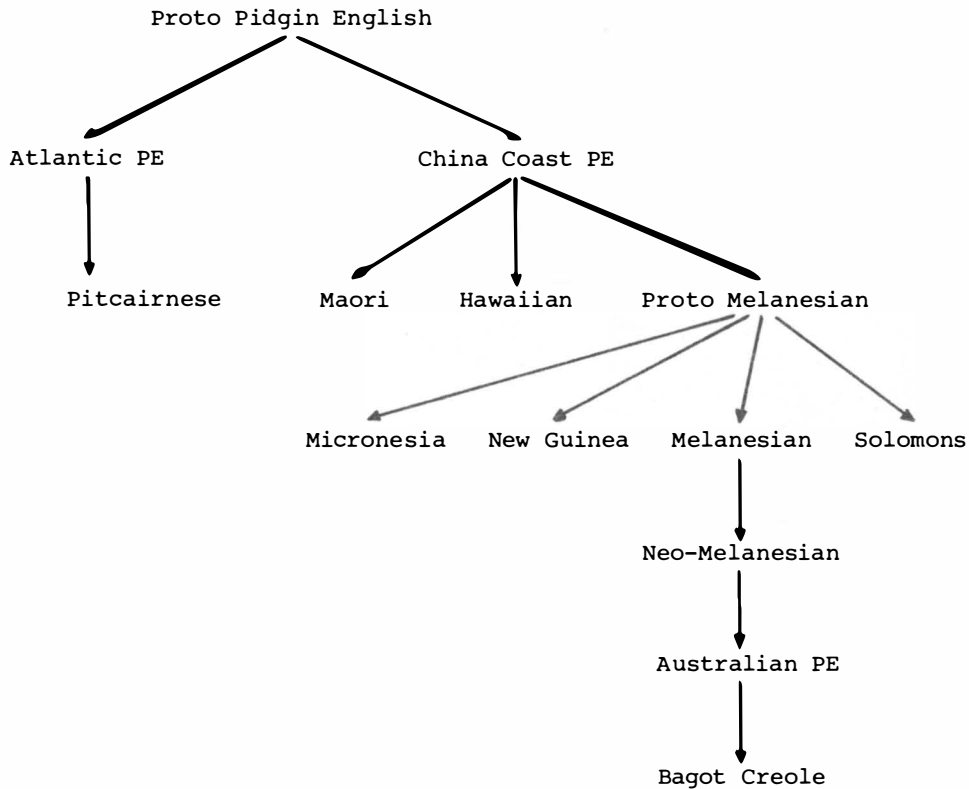
The only other variety mentioned by them is nineteenth century Beach-la-Mar.

Two more comprehensive accounts appeared in 1971. The first one, that of Wurm (1971), lists a reasonably large number of pidgins, which could be arranged in the following type of family tree:



A number of comments need to be made on Wurm's classification. Its principal virtue lies in the fact that it is based on first-hand observation and that it contains a number of valuable observations, such as that Beach-la-Mar is still known in Fiji (p.1008, a fact borne out in a recent paper by Siegel). Wurm is also correct in stressing that Australian Pidgin English varieties cannot be regarded as direct descendants from Beach-la-Mar (p.1013). There are two problematic areas in his account, however, the first being that he underrates the differences between 19th century Beach-la-Mar and present-day Bislama (p.1008), and the second that he may have given Chinese Pidgin English too important a role in the formation of Pacific Pidgin English varieties.

Hancock's often quoted 1971 and 1977 classifications suffer from more severe shortcomings. Thus, one would construct the following family tree from Hancock's remarks:



There are some further complications which have not incorporated the above putative family tree. Hancock states that 'a Neo-Melanesian-like substratum seems to be discernible' (p.509) in Hawaiian Pidgin English and his distinction between Melanesian and New Guinea Pidgin English is not clear. Hancock observes (p.523) on these varieties:

72: New Guinea or Papuan Pidgin English
creolized in some areas, intelligible with 74 and 75 (Neo-Melanesian and Neosolomonic)

74: Melanesian Pidgin English, also known as Neo-Melanesian, Sandalwood English, Beche-de-Mer, Beach-la-Mar, etc; (including speakers of Papuan Pidgin English with which it is usually classified)

Nor is this confusion resolved on the accompanying map, as the locations for the two alleged pidgins are given as the New Guinea mainland (New Guinea or Papuan variety) and the Bismarck Archipelago (Neo-Melanesian = Tok Pisin) respectively.

That Australian Pidgin English is not a direct development from Neo-Melanesian, as claimed by Hancock, should be evident from the fact that the former antedates the latter. The problems of the 1971 classification are not resolved in Hancock's 1977 proposals. The decision to group all geographic and temporal varieties of Melanesian Pidgin English together (entry 115 on p.378) seems particularly difficult to justify:

115. Melanesian Pidgin English, also known as Neo-Melanesian, Sandalwood English, Beche-de-Mer, Beach-la-mar, etc., originally an offshoot of China Coast Pidgin English. In Papua-New Guinea, a creolized variety having semi-official status is termed *Bisnis-English*, *Nuginian*, *Nuigini-tok*, *Tok Pisin*, etc. All Pidgin English varieties throughout the southwestern Pacific are closely related and have well in excess of a million speakers: R.A. Hall, Jr., *Melanesian Pidgin English: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary* (Baltimore, 1944); D.C. Laycock, 'Pidgin English in New Guinea', in W.S. Ramson, ed., *English Transported* (Canberra, 1970), pp.137-60. Pidgin English is also used in the New Hebrides, where it is known as *Bichlamar* or *Bislama*, and in the Solomon Islands: P. Laveau, *Apprenons le bichlamar* (Port-Vila, 1973).

In contrast, a number of very closely related Australian varieties of Pidgin English receive separate entries, the distinction between entry 107 and 108 being puzzling:

107. A creolized English is spoken on the Bagot Aboriginal Reserve near Darwin, northern Australia. A similar dialect has been described from Arnhem Land by M. Sharpe, 'Notes on the Creole-pidgin of Roper River', paper presented at the Conference of the Linguistic Society of Australia, May 1973.

108. Northern Territory Pidgin is the variety of English used by Aborigines throughout north-central Australia: B. Jernudd, 'Social change and Aboriginal speech variation in Australia', *Journal of the Linguistic Society of Australia* 1.

109. Neo-Nyungar or Aboriginal English is an English-Nyungar contact language used as the everyday speech of Aborigines in southwestern Australia. A more anglicized version of this is used in communication with white Australians and is called *Wetjala*, while an intentionally disguised variety called *Yeraka* is used as a play-language by women: W. Douglas, *The Aboriginal Languages of the South-West of Australia* (Canberra, 1968).

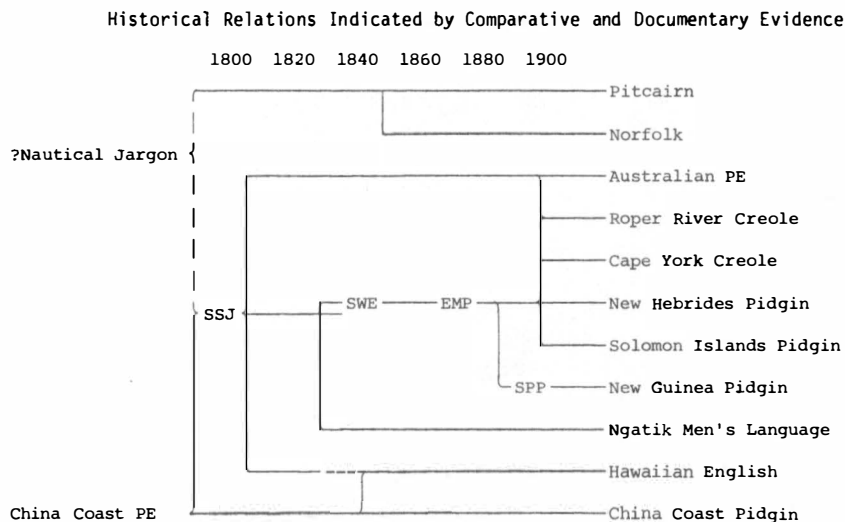
110. Australian Pidgin English is a direct offshoot of a Neo-Melanesian: R.A. Hall, Jr., 'Notes on Australian Pidgin English', *Language* 19:283-87 (1943).

111. A creolized English, sometimes called *Jargon English* and having similarities with New Guinea Pidgin, is spoken in the islands between Cape York and the Papuan coast opposite: T.E. Dutton, 'Informal English in the Torres Straits', in W.S. Ramson, ed., *English Transported* (Canberra, 1970), pp.137-60.

Equally puzzling is Hancock's decision to provide two separate entries for the historically and structurally closely linked Norfolk Island and Pitcairn Island Creoles.

The main excuse for the shortcomings of the classifications discussed so far is the absence of reliable data on many varieties and the lack of any consistent criteria for separating or grouping different pidgins. These problems are partly overcome in two more recent accounts of Pidgin English in the Pacific. Both Clark (1980) and Wurm (et al. 1981) take into account fieldwork and

archival work carried out on a number of lesser known Pacific pidgins and creoles, including Samoan Plantation Pidgin, New Caledonian Pidgin, Queensland Kanaka English, Ngatik Men's Language and Papuan Pidgin English. The principal virtue of Clark is his awareness of changes over time in the relationships between different pidgins (and derived creoles). His family tree (1980:48) clearly shows that what was one language at one point may be two or more at a later point:



SSJ = South Seas Jargon (Polynesia and Micronesia)

SWE = Sandalwood English (New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides)

EMP = Early Melanesian Pidgin (New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, Queensland, Fiji)

SPP = Samoan Plantation Pidgin

(For the sake of simplicity, the positions of vernacular languages have not been shown)

It would seem that Clark's account demonstrates the limits of what a family tree model may reveal about the relationships between the various Pacific pidgins. Although it results from a careful assessment of many sources and observation of comparative methodology, it still suffers from a number of shortcomings, including:

- (1) a continuous development is assumed, where in reality there may have been many historical breaks, caused by non-optimal patterns of transmission
- (2) geographical location is relied upon even in those cases where there have been considerable population movements between pidgin-speaking areas
- (3) as in all family trees the role of convergence and mergers of pidgins is ignored
- (4) shared substratal influence is not depicted.

These points will be raised again later.

A last attempt at 'counting' and mapping Pidgin English in the Pacific is made in a map (designed by Wurm et al) in the recent *Language atlas of the Pacific* (1981). The authors of this map have paid considerable attention to overcoming

the limitations of a purely geographically based classification. In particular, they have:

- (1) distinguished typographically between flourishing, dying and dead varieties
- (2) mapped areas of (putative) origin as well as areas where the languages were later spoken
- (3) given a brief annotated discussion of each of the varieties mapped.

It is this latter point which I would like to discuss in a bit more detail. The most important aspect of their classification is the distinction between the *linguistically ill-defined* Pacific Pidgin English, whose spread and appearance in many different parts of the Pacific (Loyalties, Tahiti, Samoa etc) is documented, and *linguistically distinct* varieties such as Tok Pisin, Papuan Pidgin English, Bislama and Solomon Pidgin English. Whilst such a distinction would seem to be a sound basis for counting and classifying pidgin in the Pacific, a number of problems remain unsolved, including:

- (1) The fact, mentioned in the text, that 'a number of regional dialect forms persisted in the New Hebrides' until fairly recently. This may be indicative either of the lack of stabilisation of the language or the fact that indigenes from different parts of the archipelago traditionally went to work on different plantations.
- (2) It is not clear whether Micronesian Pidgin is a separate unitary phenomenon. Apart from its origin in general Pacific Pidgin it was also influenced by Melanesian Pidgin imported by labourers from German New Guinea and the employment of Micronesians in the Samoan plantations in the 1860s and early 1870s.

Nonetheless, the compilers of the map have made significant progress in sorting out the complex picture of Australian pidgin languages, by stressing the basic unity of the northern Australian creole varieties, the complexities of the preceding pidgin situation, and the presence of a number of imported pidgins such as Queensland Kanaka English and Chinese Pidgin English. All in all, this account is a very considerable step forward and it is hoped that its findings will soon become more widely known among pidgin and creole scholars.

To conclude, when one looks back on the many attempts to classify and list Pacific pidgins, a rather desolate picture emerges. The contradictory and haphazard nature of all but the most recent accounts renders them almost useless as a basis for historical or comparative work. Furthermore, an extremely complex network of relationships is hidden by misleadingly simplistic descriptive accounts. This is particularly so in the case of Pidgin English in Australia, as will now be shown.

3. THE SPECIAL CASE OF PIDGIN ENGLISH IN AUSTRALIA

Because of the very complexity of the Australian Pidgin situation (cf. Mühlhäusler 1979) it can be expected that a satisfactory classification here will bring us considerably closer to a solution of the more general problems of pidgin classification. Whilst the study of the Australian scene has begun in earnest only very recently, a number of points of interest have emerged. First, we must distinguish five types of pidgin in this area:

- (i) local developments (e.g. the Aboriginal Pidgin English that developed at Port Macquarie)
- (ii) imported pidgins (e.g. Chinese Pidgin English in the second half of the nineteenth century or Japanese Pidgin English around Broome)
- (iii) mergers between local and imported pidgins (e.g. Aboriginal and Kanaka Pidgin in some parts of Queensland)
- (iv) mergers of imported pidgins (e.g. Polynesian, Chinese and Melanesian Pidgin English in the Torres Straits)
- (v) mergers of local pidgins (e.g. merger between Port Macquarie type Pidgin English and incipient Moreton Bay Pidgin English in Queensland, reported by Dutton (1983)).

The Australian situation further illustrates the important principle that, in the same geographical location, different varieties of Pidgin English may have been spoken either at the same (e.g. Chinese and Melanesian Pidgin English in coastal Queensland) or at different points in time (an example of the latter category being the replacement of a more Polynesian- by a Melanesian-type pidgin in the Torres Straits). Again, the importance of catastrophic events disrupting the continuity of pidgin transmission emerges. Examples include:

- (i) the discontinuation of the Pacific labour trade and the resulting functional weakening of Queensland Kanaka English
- (ii) the large-scale eradication of Tasmanian and New South Wales aborigines leading to the disappearance of Pidgin English in these areas
- (iii) the resettlement of aboriginal and islander groups leading to the establishment of non-traditional communication communities with special linguistic pressures.

Among additional forces influencing the pidgin and creole situation in Australia the following deserve to be mentioned:

- (i) the institutionalisation of a number of varieties for official purposes and, more recently, primary education
- (ii) the presence of representatives of all major types, i.e. jargons, stabilised pidgins, expanded pidgins and creoles, at times simultaneously and within the same geographical area. This means that structural influence occurs not only between unrelated varieties but also within different stages of the same variety
- (iii) the influence of the lexifier language English is manifested differentially at different times in different areas, e.g. minimally in the early period of Torres Straits pidgin and maximally in the varieties of the same language used by urban mainland Torres Straits groups.

Most of these factors mentioned here were not considered in any depth by the majority of previous investigators and considerable confusion exists. The following widespread assumptions stand in particular need of correction:

- (1) It is not justified, as has been the case in Hancock's classifications, to distinguish a number of separate creoles in northern mainland Australia. As pointed out by Sandefur (1979:13):

the findings of our survey indicate that the so-called 'pidgin English of the Kimberleys' is the same creole language as that spoken in the Roper River and Bambili areas of the Northern Territory; i.e. Kriol.

(2) Torres Straits pidgin (broken), however, has become a separate creole in recent years. As pointed out by Reinecke (et al 1975:584);

Torres Straits English is intermediate linguistically, as well as geographically, between New Guinea Pidgin and Aboriginal Australian Pidgin English.

It appears to be the only variety that has been strongly influenced by Melanesian Pidgin English and Dixon's more general statement (1980:73) may stand in need of revision:

The Australian Creoles are believed to have derived in part from Beach-la-Mar, a Melanesian pidgin that was spoken by Kanaka labourers brought from the South Sea Islands to work on Queensland sugar plantations in the late nineteenth century.

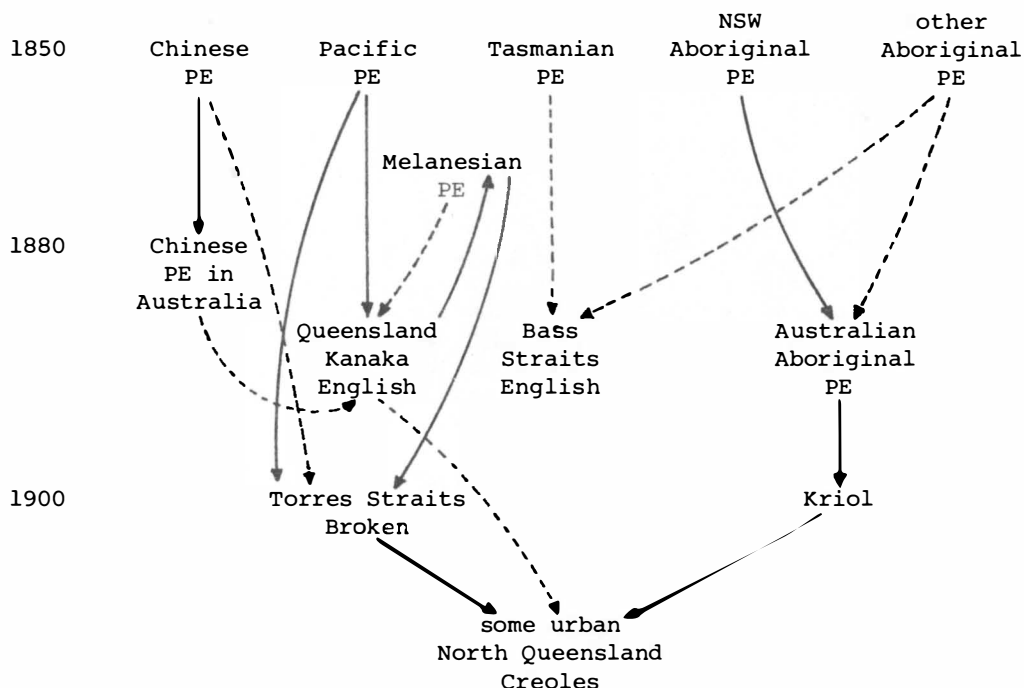
(3) The label Australian Pidgin English is potentially misleading. Hall's assessment of this 'language' appears to be based on an artificial overall-pattern grammar and not observations on actual spoken varieties:

Even from the brief survey above, it is evident that, on the basis of both grammatical structure and vocabulary, Australian Pidgin is sufficiently different from Melanesian Pidgin to be classed as a separate pidgin language, not merely a subdivision of Melanesian Pidgin or of a more inclusive 'Beach-la-Mar' (as done by Churchill, Reinecke and others). (R.A. Hall 1943:267)

Instead, we appear to be dealing with a number of separate local developments which have become a more uniform phenomenon only in the more recent past; as a result of increased mobility, common political aspirations and, in some cases, standardisation. Note also that this label is used to refer to jargons, pidgins and creoles alike.

Whereas some of the just discussed complexities are reflected in the *Language atlas of the Pacific area*, map 24, the authors have opted for a synchronic view and therefore ignore the diverse historical character of what they refer to as 'Australian Pidgin'. Knowing that any attempt to suggest a more definite classification of Australian Pidgins and Creoles is likely to run into difficulties, I would nevertheless suggest the following tentative family 'network' (rather than tree):

English-based pidgins and creoles in Australia



strong influence —————>
 weak influence - - - - ->

(Note: Western Australian varieties such as Neo-Nyungar and influence of standard English not indicated)

4. DISCONTINUITY

4.1 General remarks

One of the most fundamental questions of historical linguistics is:

In what sense is it possible for a language to undergo changes of the kind familiar from the historical grammars, and yet remain the same language? (Harris 1977:17)

Historical linguists working with 'normal' languages have chosen to either ignore the problem or to propose a number of ad hoc solutions, including the appeal to continuity of speech communities, intelligibility and geographic boundedness. More recently, linguists working on the description of linguistic continua have been able to show that historical continuity involves the addition of low level rules to a grammar and that the development from internal resources can be pictured as a continuum composed of implicationally patterned rules.

Occasional mention is made of discontinuities between grammars, but most of these discontinuities are seen to be the result of minor discrepancies between the grammars of successive generations rather than sudden breaks in a linguistic tradition. That the problem of identity from stage to stage is of a very different dimension when it comes to the description of pidgins and creoles has been stated by a number of observers, particularly concisely by Hoenigswald (1971:476):

More than in the case of natural languages one expects to run into problems of identity from stage to stage. It is difficult enough to be quite sure, both in theory and in practice, when a given ordinary language is a descendant (under change) rather than a collateral relative of a given older language. It has been said that to discover a line of descent is to discriminate what has gotten handed down from mother to infant over the generations from what has passed through other channels. If this is true, the pidgins, with their special mechanism of exclusively secondary transmittal (?) should indeed be troublesome to place on a family tree. And if it is further the case that pidgins are typically born and then again dropped from use in shortlived bursts of activity, the whole linear notion of 'gradual' change is not even a superficially useful approximation to the truth, as it is for normal, primary languages. Still, the altering complexion of a pidgin-using area (say, the Caribbean) over the generations and centuries is surely an important and fit subject for diachronic study.

Discontinuity, in the case of the Pacific Pidgins, is manifested in a number of ways including:

- (i) rapid changes in population composition and population movements
- (ii) rapid structural change as a result of different functional requirements
- (iii) changing patterns of language transmission
- (iv) language replacement as a result of planning or other outside interference.

Let us consider a few case studies and their effects on our general argument.

4.2 Queensland Kanaka English

A closer scrutiny of historical sources of this language has led investigators such as Dutton and myself (Dutton and Mühlhäusler 1983) to suspect that we are dealing with three at least partly distinct varieties here, the first and earliest one being influenced by heavily anglicised Pacific Pidgin as spoken by the Loyalty Islanders, the second stage by New Hebridean Bichelamar and the third and last one by Solomon Islands Pidgin, though this is a rather idealised picture. The implications for comparative studies of Pacific Pidgins have been discussed in detail by Dutton (1980:107-109). Because of the importance of Dutton's remarks I would like to include the following lengthy quotation:

This result is that when some fifty or so structural features were compared in CE, Papuan Pidgin English (PPE), Solomons Islands Pidgin (SIP), New Hebridean Pidgin (or Bichelamar) (NHP) and New Guinea Pidgin (or Tok Pisin or Neo-Melanesian Pidgin (NGP) the results suggest that CE is more like PPE, then SIP, then NHP and NGP approximately equal last. This is a surprising result given earlier speculations about the relationships between these languages and what we know of the labour trade, and one therefore that invites a little further comment.

Having accounted for the close similarities between Canefields English (CE = Kanaka English) and Papuan Pidgin English by drawing attention to the fact that many of the PPE sources do in fact reflect Torres Straits English (cf. Mühlhäusler 1978), Dutton continues (pp.108-109):

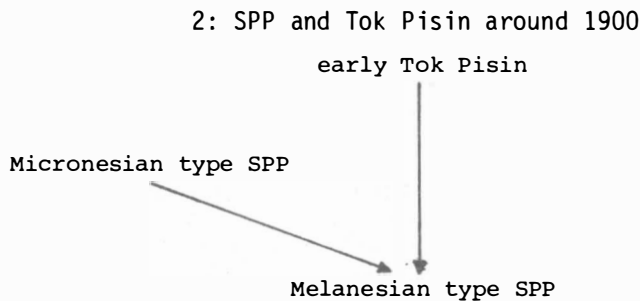
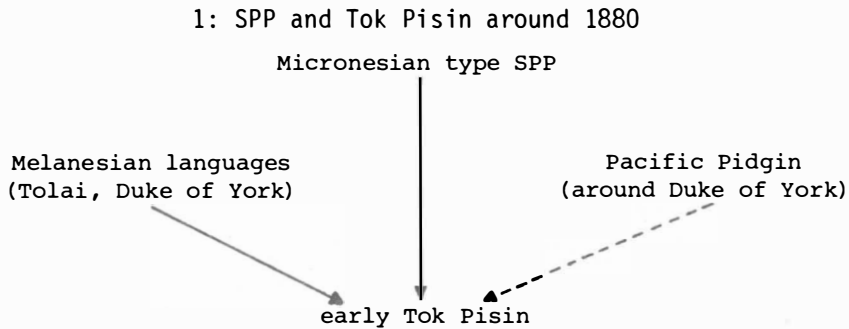
The CE-SIP connection is, however, very surprising in view of the history of the labour trade and the dating of TL's and PS's speech that has been suggested above. Thus right up to the early 1890s there were always more New Hebrideans in Queensland than there were Solomon Islanders. The trade began by importing Loyalty Islanders and New Hebrideans and it was not till the mid-1870s that Solomon Islanders were being brought in in any numbers - see Chart. By this time the trade had been in operation for ten years which should have been long enough, as already noted, for a CE pidgin to have developed and stabilised as it was in constant use by white overseers and 'old chums' and imparted to 'new chums' as they arrived progressively every year. Not only that but it should have been long enough for it to have developed a distinctly New Hebridean 'flavour' which should have been transmitted to one and all who came later. Why then is CE more like SIP than NHP? Obviously one (CE) or the other (NHP) or both must have changed. At the moment there is no way of telling which of these (and perhaps other) possibilities is nearest the 'truth' or if there is some other explanation. However, given that in the latter part of the trade Solomon Islanders (generally called 'Marattas', a corrupted form of 'Malaita', the island homeland of the largest number of Solomon Islanders that came to Queensland) increasingly outnumbered New Hebrideans - see Chart - it is possible that CE changed from a New Hebridean-flavoured one to a Solomon Island-flavoured one in Queensland during that time.

4.3 Samoan Plantation Pidgin (SPP)

The pattern of recruiting sketched for the Queensland plantations by Dutton is very similar for those in Samoa. In the initial years, the majority of recruits were drawn from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and thus a variety of Micronesian Pidgin English prevailed on the plantations. From the mid-1870s first New Hebrideans and Solomon Islanders (both for a comparatively short period) and then Bismarck Archipelago Islanders were employed, a fact which is reflected

in the change of SPP to a language which is identical with Tok Pisin spoken in the New Guinea Islands at the same time.

Thus, we have the interesting case of two pidgins (SPP and Tok Pisin) whose role as donor and receiver language changes over a short period of time, as can be seen from the following schemes:



In fact, around 1900 there was only one speech community for SPP and Tok Pisin whose internal coherence was reinforced by intensive labour trade, mission and administrative contacts between German New Guinea and German Samoa. After 1914 contact between the two territories ceased and, lacking the numbers and functional status of Tok Pisin in New Guinea, SPP experienced both structural and functional fossilisation.

4.4 Tok Pisin

A comprehensive survey of the socio-historical context in which Tok Pisin developed is given by Mühlhäusler (1979). Some more recent evidence on its Samoan origin is provided by Mosel and Mühlhäusler (1982).

The earliest accounts of Pidgin English in the area of present-day Papua New Guinea date from the 1860s and 1870s when whalers and traders (most of them based in Samoa) entered into brief contacts with the indigenes of New Ireland, New Britain and the Duke-of-York Archipelago. The language samples I have obtained suggest a great deal of variation in this Jargon English, i.e. it constituted individual attempts of a small number of islanders to communicate

with their visitors rather than a socially institutionalised pidgin language. The use of these unstable varieties was dependant on the presence of Europeans. Considering the rapid turnover of personnel and the short average life of the trading posts, the life-span of each of these jargons must have been rather limited – a possible exception being the Duke of York Archipelago, where there may have been a more gradual transition to a stable pidgin. In any case, most of the earlier jargons had probably disappeared when Germany proclaimed New Guinea a colony and thus laid the foundations for more permanent culture contact.

Large-scale contacts between Europeans and New Guineans began around 1880 when increasing numbers of islanders were recruited for the German plantations of Samoa. By 1890 about 1000 had been returned from Samoa, bringing with them a better knowledge of European ways and, above all, a stable pidgin, Samoan Plantation Pidgin English, learnt during their indenture. There is indeed a very rapid increase in the number of Pidgin English speakers soon after inception of labour trade with Samoa. The German trader HERNSHEIM is reported to have noticed dramatic changes, as pointed out by SCHUCHARDT:

In New Britain, where, according to his information, no native understood any European language some seven years ago, now everyone, particularly the children, speak the English in question, sometimes quite fluently. He has often heard natives make use of this idiom among themselves when they are talking about Whites or their possessions.
(reported in Schuchardt 1883, translation 1979)

A firm pattern of language transmission soon became established. Young men between the ages of sixteen and twenty went to a plantation, mainly to Samoa before 1900 and increasingly to plantations in other parts of German New Guinea thereafter. On their return they brought with them a good knowledge of Tok Pisin (as the stabilised plantation language deserves to be called), the rudiments of which they taught to the next generation of young men. The social functions of the language were equally well defined. It was used primarily as a means of vertical communication between Europeans and Papua New Guineans, and secondarily to talk about European social and economic innovations, particularly those relating to the plantation economy. Hence the name Tok Vaitiman, which was used to refer to Tok Pisin until the mid-1920s.

The fact that English was withdrawn as a language between 1884 and 1914 had two principal consequences. It greatly sped up the process of stabilisation of Tok Pisin as a system separate from English and it led to incipient relexification with German words. By 1920 up to about 25 per cent of the 1000 word lexical inventory was of German origin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1979b:199-207). Both trends were reversed with the departure of the Germans and their replacement by Australian settlers and administrators. As a result, in these areas where contact with Europeans was most pronounced, Tok Pisin became increasingly anglicised and unstable, as can be seen from many contemporary complaints, for instance the following one in the *Rabaul Times* of 8 November 1935:

Unfortunately, ever since the Australian occupation of New Guinea, the correct pidgin English has been steadily undergoing a process of mutilation and corruption, until at this present stage – after over twenty years of barbarous treatment – pidgin-English has become almost unrecognizable and in many instances is unintelligible to the native.

The writer of this editorial characterises the language further as:

... an interchange of bastardized expressions; a sort of silly chop-suey English, bereft of procedure and devoid of limitations; only half understood by the native and at times misinterpreted with dire results to the native who, in all good faith, executes what he has understood to be an order, but finds to his discomfort that the "master" or the "Missus" had an entirely different object in mind. These misunderstood instructions are, at times, interpreted as disobedience by the person delivering the order and unjust punishment is meted out to the "boy", whose knowledge of mutilated English has not been sufficient to understand the instruction.

At the same time, in the more isolated rural areas, Tok Pisin became firmly established as an indigenous lingua franca, experiencing considerable structural and functional expansion. It was used as the medium of intercommunication by speakers of many hundred different vernaculars, which, among other things, meant that the role of Tok Pisin's original substratum languages, the closely related languages of the Blanche Bay-Duke of York and New Ireland area, became increasingly unimportant. The learning age dropped from 18+ to 12 and younger, though the plantations continued to function as the 'high schools' for linguistic proficiency in Tok Pisin. As regards its social functions, it had developed into a means of expressing all aspects of the newly emerged contact culture, which is characterised by Mead (1931:144) as follows:

In the mandated Territory of New Guinea a strange, widely flung culture is growing up, a new culture bred of the contact of the white man and the native, a culture that is breaking down barriers of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years old. Where before each small Melanesian community lived unto itself alone, acknowledging kinship possibly with a half-dozen other villages but political relationships with no group outside its narrow boundaries, a camaraderie is developing which extends up the Sepik far beyond Marienburg into the very heart of the New Guinea mainland, down into the old German Solomons, along the precipitous coasts of New Britain, into the Admiralties. It is a strange culture; almost all those affected by it are males between the ages of twelve and thirty; their homes are scattered far and wide, so that it is necessary to "go, go-go-go, two fellows Sunday (two weeks)" to reach the places from which they came, but they speak a common language, pidgin English, or "talk boy", and their canons are homogeneous and simple. This is the culture of the work boy, the boy who has made, or is about to make, "paper" with the white man, as plantation hand, member of a boat's crew, house boy, child's nurse, wharf laborer or laborer in the gold fields.

Note that Tok Pisin is now referred to as Tok Boi, 'the language of the indigene in European employment'.

The events of the Second World War brought an end to this situation. The breakdown of the Australian administration, the missions and the plantation economy, accompanied by large-scale population displacement, led to an almost

total disruption of the traditional forms of language transmission. As a result, a whole generation of Papua New Guineans grew up with little or no knowledge of Tok Pisin. Mead (1956:371) remarks:

These young men in their early twenties represent a particularly difficult problem because the war cut them off from both the continuing teaching they would have received from the Mission and from the ordinary sort of long-term work for the European in which their elders had been schooled. They were just reaching adolescence when the Japanese occupation started, and very few were old enough to do much work for the Americans. Their knowledge of Neo-Melanesian is inferior to that of the older men and they do not have the same sense of free communication with Europeans which their elders learned as work boys.

The resumption of Australian control in 1945 did not mean a return to old patterns. Instead, an ambitious program for the economic and educational progress of the country was pursued. Next to an increasing urbanisation and social and geographic mobility these policies meant formal instruction in the English language for a large number of the population, even in the remote areas. The result was the development, at least partly independent of the earlier tradition of Tok Pisin, of a new anglicised variety of the language, a kind of post-pidgin continuum. Its main result is the crystallisation of a separate sociolect, Urban Pidgin, which is only partially intelligible to speakers of the traditional rural Tok Pisin.

The influence of Australian English culture and language receded somewhat in the years immediately prior to independence (1970 to 1976). During this period, Tok Pisin was adopted as the language of nationalism and its independence from English was stressed, a fact reflected in the increasing use of the name Tok Pisin.

Most recently, yet another significant change has occurred. Instead of becoming a strongly centralised nation, independent Papua New Guinea is characterised by strong regionalism, reflected in powerful regional governments. In some areas, Tok Pisin is being superseded by local *lingue franche* and Laycock (1980) predicts social and linguistic compartmentalisation of the language, including its structural decline in some areas.

This very sketchy survey of the external conditions underlying the structural development of Tok Pisin makes it clear that, during a timespan of little more than 100 years, we find:

- (i) a number of significant breaks in the composition of the speech community, including the decline in the importance of European speakers, the severing of the links with Samoa, the decline of the plantations and compartmentalisation into regional and social varieties
- (ii) several changes in the substratum and superstratum languages, including the change from English to German and English again, the decline of Tolai and a fact which I have not discussed in the paper, the growing importance of speakers of non-Melanesian languages, in particular Highlanders
- (iii) a number of changes in the social functions, mainly a development from a master-servant language to an indigenous *lingua franca* to either regional *lingua franca* or creole.

All these external factors have left traces in the linguistic development of Tok Pisin. It is possible to identify at least three and possibly five qualitatively different and mutually only partially or hardly intelligible varieties. That this has not gone unnoticed by the users of this language can be seen from the following translation of an account given to me by Mr Joseph K. of Lorengau:

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 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.

4.5 Pidgin English in Hawaii

Whereas Carr (1972:xiv) appears to suggest a continuous development from the early seaport jargons (*hapa haole*) spoken around 1800 to present day pidgin and and creole varieties of Da Kine, she has to admit (p.xiv): 'Unfortunately we are without records of the many intermediate stages in this change'.

A very different account is given by Bickerton (1979:8ff):

... over the last few years I've been privileged to be in one of the few places in the world where a pidgin language still survives — Hawaii. It survives there for the very simple reason that the Hawaiian pidgin does not date from the first European contact. The first European contact was strictly between English speakers and Hawaiian speakers and produced a language known as *hapa haole* which is quite distinct from the subsequent pidgin. And I can tell you in one sentence how it's distinct from the subsequent pidgin. You take any piece of *hapa haole*, and you can reconstitute it into English by adding the missing morphemes. It's like a kind of game, you know, like a puzzle — reconstitute the *hapa haole* by adding the missing morphemes. But you take a piece of plantation pidgin dating from the post-*hapa haole*

period and then put morphemes in there to reconstitute it into English, and there's *no way* you can do it. It's all back to front; no way by simply adding a few grammatical morphemes to it can you make anything that looks even remotely like English. So we have the advantage then that the real pidgin only began, it didn't even begin, in 1876. Up until 1876 in Hawaii there were only English and Hawaiian. After the passage of the Sugar Act of 1876 which enabled people to get good prices for their sugar in the U.S., when the sugar industry boomed, then people had to get labor fast. They brought in a rapid succession of Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, Phillipino and large numbers of other smaller groups. But in the first instance, when a pidgin was formed, since the previous plantations founded prior to 1876 had been staffed by Hawaiians and since the language of work, the language of control in these plantations had been Hawaiian, the first pidgin in Hawaii was Pidgin Hawaiian. It even had a name: it is called *olelo hapiiai* which means literally 'language of the wet taro' because the first kind of funny Hawaiian that was spoken in Hawaii was spoken by Chinese who were growers of wetland taro. So, this language flourished, unknown to linguistic science entirely, between 1876 and about 1896; and gradually, gradually as Hawaiian began to die and as English became more powerful, Pidgin English took over. So Pidgin English really only dates from the turn of the century.

I do not know to what extent one is justified in speaking of a unitary plantation variety of Pidgin English in Hawaii. The historical evidence would seem to suggest the simultaneous existence of a number of different ethnic and geographic varieties, though this could only be verified if more linguistic details became known.

4.6 Fijian Pidgin English

Our last example, Fijian Pidgin English, again clearly illustrates the difficulties involved in counting Pidgin Englishes in the Pacific. My discussion is based principally on Siegel's valuable 1982 analysis. Contrary to earlier claims that Pidgin English was never spoken in Fiji, Siegel established its presence for a considerable time-span. Thus, Fijians used some form of English in the very early contacts around the middle of the nineteenth century (Siegel 1982:10):

There is some evidence that South Seas Jargon was used to some extent in Fiji by those involved in sailing. In the above examples, all the speakers had been abroad in ships sailing around the Pacific.

However, since this jargon English was used and learned by Fijians outside their native islands, it would be a misnomer to refer to it as Fijian Jargon English. Instead, it is simply South Seas Jargon English (SJJ) spoken by a few Fijians.

A very similar situation holds for the early labour trade. Siegel (p.27) points out that some recruiting for Fiji was carried out in Pidgin English and that this language may even have been used on a number of plantations. It is probable

that Melanesian Pidgin (MP) was used for communication between labourers of different language groups on some plantations while Fijian was used for the same purpose on others. There is little evidence of MP being spoken by Fijians except those of mixed race or those who worked or travelled on ships. There is no evidence of any stabilised 'Fijian Plantation Pidgin'.

Again, it is principally a language spoken outside the country or by visiting (short-term resident) outsiders. Finally, in the last years of labour trade, a stable Pidgin English was brought to Fiji, but again it was used in such a way that Fijian influence could not assert itself. Siegel (1982:32) remarks:

The increase in the number of 'old hands', especially from Queensland, increased the amount of Melanesian Pidgin spoken in Fiji so that even some Fijians became familiar with it. However, there is still no evidence for a stabilised Fiji variety of pidgin English.

Siegel's article clearly illustrates the general principle that geographical classification is a very inadequate means of identifying pidgin languages.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Having criticised earlier attempts at counting and classifying pidgin Englishes in the Pacific and having considered a number of case studies, I would now like to return to the original problem of identifying and counting pidgins and pull together the argument explicit and implicit in the discussion so far. Generally speaking, the problems of determining what constitutes a (separate) language and what determines identity of a language over time are even more prominent with pidgins than in ordinary language identification and classification. The traditional structural and social criteria for setting apart separate languages are virtually useless for solving most problems of the Pacific pidgin situation. To be precise:

(i) Lexicostatistical criteria (cognate counts) can be at best a very rough guideline since there is a common lexifier language, English. Consequently, even historically unrelated pidgins may be classified as the same language, and most varieties would count as dialects of English (see Wurm and Laycock 1961).

(ii) Structure statistical methods, such as employed by Dutton (1980) and Clark (1980), are problematic, since the source of numerous pidgin structures is universal grammar. The presence of a relativiser *we who, which, that* in Tok Pisin, Bislama, West African Pidgin English and Torres Straits Creole, for instance, appears to be the result of independent developments rather than shared history or borrowing from the same source. Still, there is some limited potential in structural comparison.

(iii) Intelligibility is a very difficult criterion to apply to pidgins, since they are makeshift interlingual means of communication in the first place. Even within a relatively stable pidgin-using group, there may be considerably more misunderstanding than in a group of speakers sharing a first language. In many instances intelligibility is affected by accent rather than lexical or structural properties of the pidgin involved. At best, this criterion will allow investigators to group together more or less readily intelligible varieties.

(iv) The intention to speak the same language, again, is not a reliable measure since in numerous cases pidgin speakers intend to speak English and are unaware of the separate linguistic status of their pidgin. The scarcity of names for different pidgin varieties is a further indication of the fact that, in many cases, there is no clearly defined target language.

(v) Political status has become a consideration only in the very recent past. However, political support for a language such as Bislama is no guarantee that we are dealing with a single rather than two or three separate pidgins.

The problems of isolating and classifying pidgins has not been greatly alleviated by supplementing the above conventional measures of language status with special criteria for pidgins. Thus:

(vi) Location has turned out to be an unreliable basis for pidgin identification since the same language may be spoken in a number of different areas. Thus, before 1900 Pidgin English spoken in Samoa and the Bismarck Archipelago was the same language from a structural, lexical and sociolinguistic view, and the Pidgin English of the Kiwai Islanders of Papua (cf. Landtman 1918) was the same language as Torres Straits pidgin.¹ On the other hand, pidgin English spoken in the same location may be a historically unrelated or only weakly related language, an example being early Pacific Pidgin and later Tok Pisin in the Duke-of-York New Britain area. Location is a particularly dangerous concept as regards the formative years of Pacific pidgins, since they developed against a background of large-scale population movements and in a context of fluid and changing political boundaries. It is only in the context of the new nation states such as Papua New Guinea or Vanuatu (New Hebrides) that political, geographic and linguistic boundaries begin to coincide more closely. A further danger with the use of location for identification and classification purposes is that the location has been either too general (as in the case of Australian Pidgin English or New Guinea Pidgin English²) or too narrowly-based (as with Bagot Creole, or Norfolk Island Creole).

(vii) The problem of identity over time deserves special attention with pidgins. The name given to a variety at point A in time should not be transferred uncritically to a variety spoken in the same location at a later time. The name Beach-la-Mar and present day Vanuatu Bislama have frequently been confused. Clark (1980:4) rightly points out that:

There seems to be no justification for treating the name as if it referred to a distinct language apart from the general pidgin history of the region.

(viii) It follows from (vii) that the question 'How many pidgins?' can be asked meaningfully only for well-defined points in time. There have been considerable changes in the number of pidgins spoken in the entire Pacific area as well as in individual locations over the last 150 years,³ involving both convergent and divergent developments.

(ix) It is of the utmost importance to distinguish unstable, individual solutions to cross-linguistic communication in the Pacific (Jargon English) from stable social solutions with recognisable linguistic norms (pidgins proper). The number of the former must have been very large indeed,

approaching the number of individuals availing themselves of a reduced form of English in communication across language boundaries. However, they were of low structural stability and their functional life depended on the continuation of a number of forms of contact. In the absence of any firm patterns of transmission, there is little continuity of linguistic tradition other than a number of lexical stereotypes and universally motivated structural properties.⁴ The development of stable pidgins, on the other hand, occurs only in very special situational contexts, such as plantations, in highly multilingual areas where a plantation pidgin is introduced as a lingua franca, and in stable stratified 'colonial-type' societies such as Northern Australia. A further requirement for stability is the relative absence of English as a model language. These conditions were met in relatively few areas.

(x) Not only should one distinguish between jargons and pidgins, but in addition, the fact that pidgins can change in structural complexity over time should be recognised: stable pidgins can become expanded pidgins or creoles. Whereas the transition from an expanded pidgin to a creole (as in the case of Tok Pisin) is a gradual phenomenon and thus allows us to classify both first and second language varieties as the same language, creolisation of less developed pidgins (as in the case of Australian Aboriginal Pidgin and Kriol) poses a problem in that the absence of a gradient transition from one variety to the next suggests that we are better served with the recognition of two separate languages.⁵

(xi) The notions of structural and lexical differences have to be treated with great care: structural differences can reflect different stages in the linguistic development from lesser to greater complexity, differential influence of the prestige lexifier language (e.g. in the case of Rural and anglicised Urban Tok Pisin), influence from other languages (in particular areal features) or a different historical provenance.

Having raised these points, I would like to conclude with some of the lessons that can be learnt from this exercise. While other linguists have come to some of these conclusions, I am not aware that a comprehensive assessment of the type given here has appeared elsewhere. The implications for the study of pidgin English in the Pacific and for comparative pidgin/creole studies in general are:

(xii) Pidgin Englishes identified for random localities and at random points in time are an unsound basis for comparative work. The only sound basis for comparison is longitudinal evidence of a pidgin developing within well-defined speech communities.

(xiii) Linguistic differences and similarities are not a good basis for establishing genetic relationships. As pointed out by Dutton (1980:109-110):

Finally, a word of warning to those who may be tempted to equate high degrees of similarity with closeness of genetic relationship. It may of course be so but here, where we are dealing with a set of languages all based on English the task of distinguishing between similarity due to genetic relationship (as indicated by shared innovations, etc.) and similarity due to common borrowing and/or convergence or drift, is particularly difficult, and may in fact be impossible. The case is in fact a particularly challenging one for the historical linguist.

(xiv) In undertaking developmental analysis, or in writing common core grammars, care must be taken not to fix historically unrelated languages.⁶

(xv) Whereas there is no single way of establishing whether one is dealing with one or more pidgin languages, it is essential that the same criteria of identification should be used for comparative, classificatory or mapping purposes. The suitability of the criteria in the following list will depend on the purposes of the investigation:

- (a) Is the language spoken in a well-defined area?
- (b) Is there a single identifiable speech community?
- (c) Are there socially and geographically conditioned varieties in the same area and what is their linguistic status? What is their folk-classificatory status?
- (d) Are there considerable differences in complexity within the same area/language community?
- (e) Is there a linguistic continuum between more and less complex varieties?
- (f) Are there institutionalised patterns of transmission?
- (g) Are there indigenous and scientific names for the pidgin under investigation?
- (h) What are the lexical differences? How long have they been in existence?
- (j) What are the structural differences? What is the most plausible explanation for them?

Not having applied a consistent set of criteria to the pidgins I have been dealing with I am not going to stick out my neck and put a number to the Pidgin Englishes of the Pacific. However, I wish I had thought about these matters earlier, for it might have prevented me from identifying, as separate varieties, languages such as Papuan Pidgin English (Mühlhäusler 1978b). The answer to the question of pidgin English identification is not likely to be forthcoming for some time, as a great deal of data analysis still needs to be carried out. However, it is hoped that it will provide, one day, very significant insights into the nature of language relationships in the Pacific and language relationships in general. The question 'what is *language*?' may in fact turn out to make little sense until we have settled what a language is.

NOTES

¹Research into the history of Torres Straits Pidgin has been severely hampered by the investigators' failure to realise that the masses of recorded samples of Kiwai Pidgin constituted valuable historical material for Torres Straits Pidgin.

²The confusion of Tok Pisin with Papuan Pidgin English (historically very weakly related and structurally and lexically quite different) has led authors such as Bauer (1974) to construct quite unreal 'overall pattern' grammatical descriptions incorporating both pidgins.

³This is the time-depth for Pidgin English in this area. I leave aside the question of age of older varieties which may have been imported from elsewhere.

⁴However, such universal properties were often replaced by other strategies such as carry over of first language patterns by jargon-using individuals.

⁵It is well known that any form of creolisation involves a certain amount of language creation from scratch and hence affects historical continuity.

⁶An example of such an attempt is that by Sankoff (1977), where the development of clitisation is extrapolated from data from Queensland Kanana English, Beach-la-Mar and Tok Pisin.

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MALAITAN INFLUENCE ON TWO GRAMMATICAL PARTICLES IN SOLOMON ISLANDS PIJIN

Linda Simons

1. INTRODUCTION¹

Solomon Islands Pijin is the variety of Melanesian Pidgin English spoken in the Solomon Islands. It is called 'Pijin' by Solomon Islanders, and I will refer to it by the same or with the abbreviation SIP. It is spoken by over half the Solomon Islanders as a second language of wider communication (total population of the Solomons is currently estimated to be 230,000 and by a few thousand² as a first language (primarily children in towns and plantation areas).

The influence of English on Pijin is immediately obvious. A scan through the Pijin dictionary (Simons and Young 1978) shows that 95 per cent of the words defined there have borrowed their form from English. However, the influence of local Melanesian languages is evident as well, equally as pervasive but generally more subtle. As a general rule the contribution of English has been more at the level of form and primary meaning, while the contribution of the local languages has been more at the level of grammar and extended meanings.

I believe the Malaitan languages have an especially close relationship with SIP because of the role the Malaitans played in the labour trade. A glance at the history of the 19th century labour trade to Queensland shows that there was a higher proportion of Malaitans working overseas than people from any other single island. Edward Docker in his book *The Blackbirders* states (1970:233):

From about 1885 onwards that island [Malaita] had come to supply overwhelmingly the largest number of recruits to Queensland out of all Melanesia.

Another source, Peter Corris in *Passage, port, and plantation: a history of Solomon Islands labor migration 1870-1914* states (1973:89, 104) that Malaitans were regarded as the best workers by plantation owners and labour recruiters. As for their actual numbers, Corris (1973:129-130) provides the following statistics about the number of people to be repatriated when the labour trade was abolished:

At the time of the 1906 inquiry there were 6389 Melanesians in Queensland liable to deportation; it was estimated that about 4000 were Solomon Islanders, of whom about 2500 were Malaitans.

He also reports (p.104) that Malaitans were to be found living in many other parts of the Solomons as workers on trading ships, plantations, and at trading

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centres. Accounts of early visitors to Malaita show that pidgin English was already well established in some parts of the island by the turn of the century. A visitor to South Malaita in 1894 'found there very young children who could speak Pidgin English which they had learned from Queensland returns' (Corris p.123). A visitor to Fiu (northwest Malaita) in 1902 reported that:

'most if not all' of the people there had been to
Queensland of Fiji and spoke 'pidgeon English'
(Corris p.123).

All of this indicates that both by their numbers and their personality, the Malaitans were the dominant group of Solomon Islanders in the setting in which Solomon Islands Pijin was growing. It is reasonable to assume that because of this, they had a great influence on Solomons Pijin in its formative stages, and in its spread throughout the Solomons group. Today one can see the influence of Malaitan languages on SIP in both its vocabulary and its grammar, and this paper seeks to examine the influence Malaitan grammar has had on two specific grammatical particles in SIP.

This paper examines two Pijin words which are particularly elusive: *nao* and *ia*. It is generally assumed that both have inherited their lexical forms from English (from 'now' and 'here' respectively), but an attempt to understand their meaning and grammatical uses from the perspective of the English source words will prove far inadequate. The key to understanding their meanings lies in a comparison to the forms in the Malaitan languages for which *nao* and *ia* correspond in function.

For the native English speaker who learns SIP, it is very difficult, even after years of experience, to use these particles correctly because of interference from English. However, for the Malaitan, the use of these particles parallels the use of similar particles in his or her mother tongue, so it is largely a case of lexical transfer. The function and meaning of these two particles does overlap with the function and meaning of English 'now' and 'here' in a small way, and this is probably how the phonological forms got a toe-hold in the language. But the true source of their present day function and meaning is from the vernaculars.

My examples showing a comparison between SIP and a Malaitan vernacular use the To'abaita (TOB) language specifically. To'abaita is spoken by about 6000 people at the northwest end of Malaita and is one of 12 closely related languages and dialects spoken on the island. I do not mean to imply that To'abaita is any more closely related to SIP than any other of the Malaitan dialects. Indeed, this is not so. But I do assume that To'abaita is representative of all the Malaitan languages and therefore it is appropriate to use it specifically in making a comparison to SIP. Roger Keesing in his *Kwaio grammar* (1984) and his earlier manuscript of *Kwaio: a grammatical introduction* (n.d.) makes many grammatical comparisons between Kwaio and SIP, nearly all of which have correspondences in TOB as well. In reference to the SIP items I discuss in this paper, Keesing gives a detailed explanation (1984) of the correspondence between Kwaio *no'o* and SIP *nao* (see Section 2.1 below).³

This paper will not only show the meanings of *nao* and *ia*, but will also show how these two grammatical particles exhibit the generic nature of pidgin languages in general. We will see how one word in SIP is equivalent to a number of different words in the Malaitan language.

2. PIJIN nao

In studying Pijin texts, I have found at least three different uses of the word *nao*. These three uses are: (1) to show completed action or state, (2) to mark or emphasise a topic, and (3) to connect sentences in a narrative. In Table 1 notice that the Malaitan morphemes that correspond to Pijin *nao* nearly all begin with the syllable 'na'. This suggests that the phonological similarity between these Malaitan words and the SIP word is not necessarily a coincidence. That is, the reason that SIP adopted the form *nao* for these functions, is possibly due more to the similarity in form between the Malaitan morphemes and English 'now' rather than to the similarity of their meanings. Table 1 shows the Malaitan cognate sets of the three uses of *nao*, each of which is examined below.

	completed action	marking a topic	sentence connector
To'abaita	na'a	na	ma
Lau	naa	na	ma
Kwara'ae	na'a	ne'e	ma
Kwaio	no'o	ne'e	na
'Are'are	no'o	ne	na
Sa'a	na		na

2.1 SIP *nao* showing completed action

The most common use of *nao* in Pijin is equivalent to TOB *na'a*. *Na'a* can be loosely defined as 'completed action or changed state'. It follows an active verb phrase to mean the action of the verb is completed (or will be completed) rather than ongoing. It follows a descriptive phrase to mean a new state exists which did not before. It is not translated explicitly into English, but rather its meaning is part of the tense and mode of the English verb. It does not mean 'past' action for it can also be used with TOB future tense. When used with future tense it indicates an action or a new state will be accomplished in the future but it is not yet so.

SIP *nao* and TOB *na'a* both are frequently used to end descriptive clauses and active clauses. In the following examples, the Pijin clause is given first, and then the corresponding To'abaita example, the literal English gloss, and a free English translation. Both the SIP and TOB examples are well formed and natural clauses — the TOB examples are not a word-by-word gloss of the SIP (as is the English), but the examples from the two languages happen to be, in most cases, formally equivalent. Many of the SIP examples come from stories published in *Buk fo ridim and raetem Pijin, Buk 1* edited by Ernest Lee (1981). Other examples are from my own collection of SIP and TOB texts. Abbreviations used in the English glosses are: NOM = nominaliser, PL = plural marker, and SP = species.

- (1) SIP ... hemi had tumas nao.
 TOB ... 'e 'efetei 'asia na'a.
 it difficult very
 ... it is very difficult.
- (2) SIP ... hemi bring-im faea nao.⁵
 TOB ... ka ngali-a na'a nga dunga.
 he bring-it the fire
 ... he brought the fire.
- (3) SIP ... evriwan resis kam nao.
 TOB ... kera fita mai na'a.
 they run hither
 ... they came running.
- (4) SIP Hemi dae nai.
 TOB 'E mae na'a.
 he die
 He died.

2.2 SIP nao marking a topic

A second use of Pijin nao is to mark the first element in a clause as the topic. In TOB na is used to do this. There are three different manifestations of this use of SIP nao and TOB na. The first is with the subject of the clause. Example 5 shows a simple declarative sentence.

- (5) SIP Rongoomea hemi raet -em.
 TOB Tha Rongoomea 'e keda -a.
 Mr Rongoomea he write-it
 Rongoomea wrote it.

The subject of this sentence can be topicalised by adding SIP nao (or TOB na), making what is equivalent to an English cleft sentence. (Note that the TOB particle na often contracts with the immediately following subject marker: no = na + 'o and ne = na + 'e.)

- (6) SIP Rongoomea nao hemi raet -em.
 TOB Tha Rongoomea ne keda - a. (ne = na 'e)
 Mr Rongoomea he wrote-it
 It was Rongoomea who wrote it.

Another example,

- (7) SIP Mifala tenfala man nao mifala go.
 TOB Kamili'a te'e akwala na mili lae.
 we one ten men we go
 It was ten of us men who went.

If the SIP nao and the TOB na had been omitted in example 7 the English gloss would be: *ten of us went*.

The second manifestation of using nao to mark a topic is when a clause constituent other than subject is put to the front. When it is fronted in this way, it is usually followed by nao in SIP and na in TOB. In examples 8 and 9 the direct object is fronted from its usual position directly following the verb to become the first element of the sentence. In example 10, the possessor is fronted.

- (8) SIP Desfala tobako nao hem no bring-im.
 TOB Firi 'eri ne a'i si ngali-a.
tobacco this he not bring-it
 [But] *this tobacco he did not bring.*
- (9) SIP Deswan nao mi no save.
 TOB Si doo ne'e na kusi thaito'omana.
some thing this I not know
 [But] *this I don't know.*
- (10) SIP Olketa man nao waka blong olketa
 TOB Wane ki na raoa kera
man PL work their
 SIP fo klae an brekem nat.
 TOB 'ana ra'a la ma 'ui la.
to climb and break nuts
 [As for] *the men, their work is to climb the trees and crack the nuts.*

The third manifestation of nao marking a topic is in questions. There are two ways to form questions in Pijin. The 'unmarked' way is to substitute the question word in the same place as the element being asked about. For instance, in the example,

- (11) SIP Iu luk-im wanem?
you see-it what?
What do you see?

wanem is in the normal place for the direct object. The other, and perhaps more common, way to form questions in Pijin is to front the question word and follow it by nao. For instance,

- (12) SIP Wanem nao iu luk-im?
what you see-it?
What is it you see?

Both of these ways to form questions are also used in To'abaita.

- (13) non-fronted
 SIP Iu luk -im wanem?
 TOB 'O riki-a taa?
you see -it what?
What are you looking at?
- (14) fronted
 SIP Wanem nao iu luk -im?
 TOB Taa no riki-a? (no = na 'o)
what you look-it?
What is it you are looking at?

Not only the direct object in a question can be fronted. In example 15, the locational phrase moves from its usual place at the end of the clause to the front. When this happens, it is followed by SIP nao or TOB na and a trace or 'place holder' phrase is put in the 'empty' place in both Pijin and To'abaita. (In the examples with direct object above, the traces are the suffixes SIP -im and TOB -a which signal an object.)

- (15) non-fronted
 SIP Iufala go [long] wea?
 TOB Mulu lae 'i fei?
 you PL go to where?
 Where are you going?
- (16) fronted
 SIP Wea nao iufala go long hem?
 TOB 'I fei na mulu lae 'uri-a?
 where you PL go to it?
 Where is it you are going?

This pattern of using *nao* to topicalise the thing in the beginning of the sentence can be generalised as:

SIP topic *nao* comment
 TOB topic *na* comment

The topic is the thing being talked about whether it is subject, object, possessor, location, or question word. The comment is what is being said about the topic.

2.3 SIP *nao* connecting sentences

A third use of *nao* is when it occurs at the beginning of the sentence, usually in a narrative discourse, where it is used to connect sentences. In this use it can be glossed *and then*.⁶ This use of SIP *nao* is equivalent to TOB *ma*. Note that the 'Are'are and Sa'a equivalents (see Table 1) have *na* for this. The examples 17, 18 and 19 came from a single story.

- (17) SIP Nao mifala trifala boe mifala luk -im plande buma ...
 TOB Ma kamili'a ulu wela mili riki-a buma 'oro ...
 and we three boy we saw -it fish SP many
 And then we three boys saw many buma ...
- (18) SIP Nao taem hem luk -im olsem ...
 TOB Ma si manga nia 'e riki-a 'una 'eri ...
 and some time he he saw -it like this
 And when he saw it like this ...
- (19) SIP Nao mi talem hem ...
 TOB Ma nau ku fa'arongoa ...
 and I I told him
 And then I told him ...

2.4 Summary

From this discussion we can see that the uses of *nao* in Pijin directly parallel the uses of vernacular morphemes with similar phonetic shape, rather than the uses of the English word 'now'. We can also see that *nao* exhibits the generic nature of pidgin languages, in that the functions of several morphemes in the underlying Melanesian source languages have been merged into a single morpheme in SIP. This case is of particular interest in that it demonstrates the generic forming nature of a pidgin language in the realm of grammatical function morphemes. Table 2 shows that several vernacular words correspond to a single

word in Pijin, but that this is not a one-to-one reciprocal correspondence. For instance, one use of SIP *nao* is equivalent to TOB *na*, but TOB *na* has other grammatical uses as well (including forming relative clauses and equative sentences) which correspond to SIP words other than *nao*.

Table 2: TOB equivalents to SIP <i>nao</i>		
SIP	TOB	OTHER SIP EQUIVALENTS
<i>nao</i>	<i>na'a</i>	-
	<i>na</i>	<i>wea/hu</i> (relative clause) <i>hemi</i> (equative sentence)
	<i>ma</i>	<i>an</i> (<i>and</i>)

3. PIJIN *ia*

The particle *ia* has three different grammatical uses in SIP: (1) to show a physical location, (2) to recall an item that has already been mentioned in a text, and (3) to affirm a sentence. We will look at each of these in turn.

3.1 *ia* showing a physical location

The particle *ia* can be used following a noun or pronoun to indicate the location of that item near the speaker.⁷ The TOB equivalent is *ne'e*. For example,

- (20) SIP *Wanem ia?*
 TOB *Taa ne'e?*
what this
What is this (I'm holding)?
- (21) SIP *Buk ia.*
 TOB *Buka ne'e.*
book this
This (I'm holding) is a book.
- (22) SIP *... mi folom kam leg blong iu an hemi kasem nao*
 TOB *... ku susulea mai ka fula na'a*
I track toward me they reached
- SIP *long mamana haos ia ...*
 TOB *'i maana bi'u ne'e ...*
to front house this
... I tracked your footprints and they came to the front of this house ...

SIP *ia* can also refer to locations away from the speaker if the speaker also uses gestures of some sort to indicate the exact location. For example,

- (23) SIP *Wanem ia?*
what that
What is that [I'm pointing at]?

- (24) SIP Buk ia.
book that
That is a book [over there].

In TOB, the gestures are not so necessary because there are several words in this set indicating specific location, all of which parallel ia. Note the SIP-TOB correspondences in Table 3. ia in the sense of physical location can be equivalent to six different words in TOB. Table 3 also shows alternate SIP forms in parentheses. These forms are more specific than ia and are used if the context requires clarification. Note the different grammatical frame the alternates are used in – all follow long.

SIP	TOB	ENG
ia (long hia)	ne'e	<i>here</i>
ia (long dea)	nenā	<i>there</i>
ia (long dea/wei)	lokoo	<i>over there</i>
ia (long dea/wei)	labaa	<i>way over there</i>
ia (long antap)	loo	<i>up there</i>
ia (long daon)	fuu	<i>down there</i>

3.2 ia recalling a previously mentioned item

A second, very common use of ia is to recall or refer to a person or thing that has already been mentioned.⁸ Examples 25 and 26 are consecutive sentences taken from a SIP story. The setting is given in the first sentence, then recalled in the second sentence using ia.

(25) 1st sentence

SIP Mifala tenfala boe oltaem go kasem fis long wanfala
we ten boy always go catch fish at a

SIP ples olketa kalem Fo'odo wea hemi stap long sanbis.
place they call Fo'odo where it is at beach
We ten boys always went to catch fish at a place they call
Fo'odo which is on a beach.

(26) 2nd sentence

SIP Taem mifala go long ples ia, ...
when we go to place that
When we went to that place, ...

In TOB, there are two common equivalents for this use of SIP ia to recall a previously mentioned item, plus others that are not so common. For recall from the immediate context, 'eri is used. For reference from a more remote context, either far back in the text, or from a common shared experience in the past, baa is used. The second sentence from the preceding example with its TOB equivalent is given in example 27.

- (27) 2nd sentence
 SIP Taem mifala go long ples ia, ...
 TOB Si manga na mili lae 'ana kula 'eri, ...
when we go to place this
When we went to this place, ...

Another example, using the less common 'ena as an equivalent to SIP ia follows. 'ena refers to some general thing that both speaker and hearer know about.

- (28) SIP ... praes blong hem i lelebet big tumas nao
 TOB ... liu la -na 'e adange'e ba'ita 'asia na'a
go NOM its is slightly big much
 SIP long evri trak ia.
 TOB 'ana aini tarake 'ena ki sui.
among all truck which you know about PL finish
... its price was slightly more than all other trucks [which are on the road today].

The full list of TOB words used to recall an item is given in Table 4 with SIP equivalents. Again when TOB distinguishes six levels of reference, Pijin condenses them into one and relies more on the implicit context to prevent confusion.

Table 4: TOB equivalents to SIP ia: textual reference

SIP	TOB	ENG
ia	ne'e	<i>this</i>
ia	'ena	<i>that, general information we have in common</i>
ia	'eri	<i>this, the, that, the one I just mentioned</i>
ia	baa	<i>this, the, that, the specific one we know about from before</i>
ia	loo	<i>that, the, the former</i>
ia	fuu	<i>that, the, the latter</i>

3.3 ia affirming a sentence

A third use of Pijin ia is in the form of a sentence tag which relates to the whole sentence. This use is often perplexing to native English speakers because there is no good translation for it. It indicates an affirmation, a declaration, an accusation; it indicates the speaker's certainty about the statement's truth; or, when used with question intonation, asks the hearer for agreement. In example 29, ia simply helps make the declaration. One TOB equivalent to SIP ia as a sentence tag is shown in the example also.

- (29) SIP ... hem kolsap finis nao ia.
 TOB ... karangia kai sui na'a ne'e.
soon it will finish completed
... soon it will be finished [indeed it will].

Another TOB equivalent of SIP ia affirming a sentence is nena as shown in example 30 which is a question.

- (30) SIP Kwalumae hemi sei, 'Hu ia?'
 TOB Tha Kwalumae ka ba'e, 'Ni tei nena?'
 Mr Kwalumae he said, who
 Kwalumae said, 'Who are you?'

Table 5 shows the full set of TOB words that fill the grammatical slot of sentence affirmation tag. Once again we can see how Pijin has simplified a more complex system from the vernacular. *ia* as a sentence affirmation tag is equivalent to at least four words in TOB.

SIP	TOB	ENG
<i>ia</i>	<i>ne'e</i>	<i>indeed; really?</i>
<i>ia</i>	<i>nenā</i>	<i>indeed; really?</i>
<i>ia</i>	<i>neri</i>	<i>indeed; really?</i>
<i>ia</i>	<i>nabaa</i>	<i>indeed; really? like before</i>

Clearly distinguishing each of the four TOB words from one another is difficult. However, as one might suspect from the similarity of the forms with the set of textual reference words, their distribution follows the same line as the textual reference words. In example 31 we see an example of a fairly common occurrence in TOB, that of a sentence affirmation tag immediately following a textual reference word with which it rhymes. This happens in Pijin too, less frequently, which produces two *ia*'s in a row.

- (31) SIP Olketa laetem tos ia ia, ...
 TOB Kera fa'atharua kwethu 'eri neri, ...
 they light torch the indeed
 They lit the [aforementioned] torch, [indeed they did], ...

3.4 Summary

Table 6 is a summary chart of the uses of *ia* we have just studied and their TOB equivalents. Note the TOB similarities across the rows. This explains why *ia* has three different grammatical uses; so does *ne'e* and the related morphemes. The Pijin set is simplified both horizontally and vertically on the chart. Across the chart we see the different grammatical patterns *ia* is used in, and down the chart we see what range of meaning it has in each of these distinct grammatical patterns.

The word *ia* is not unique to Solomons Pijin; it occurs in the other Pacific pidgins as well. In Papua New Guinea, for instance, there has been some discussion on just what the particle is, what language it derives from, how it is used, and how it should be spelled. Mihalic (1971) lists two uses, each spelled differently: *hia* as an 'adverb of place' (p.36) and *ya* as an 'exclamatory particle at the end of a sentence' (p.206). Sankoff and Brown (1976) note it is used in three ways, all of which they spell *ia*: adverb of place, deictic, and as a bracket around relative clauses, although they say their data 'show very little use of *ia* as an adverb of place' (p.639). Their idea that *ia* is used at both the beginning and end of relative clauses is questioned by Bradshaw (1982)

Table 6: TOB equivalents to SIP ia					
PHYSICAL LOCATION		TEXTUAL REFERENCE		SENTENCE TAG	
SIP	TOB	SIP	TOB	SIP	TOB
ia	ne'e nena lokoo labaa loo fuu	ia	ne'e 'ena 'eri baa loo fuu	ia	ne'e nena neri nabaa

who doubts that the word even derives from English 'here', but rather suggests it comes from German *ja* or English 'yeah' (p.225) and is used most often in the sense of sentence affirmation.

As for Vanuatu's Bislama, Camden's dictionary includes the entries *ia*, *ya*, and *hemia*. *ia* he defines as an adverb meaning *here* (p.37). *ya* he describes as both a deictic and an 'emphasis marker on a noun to which a relative clause relates' and as an 'emphasis adverb' which occurs at the end of a sentence (p.136). He states that *hemia* is different from *hem ya* and is a pronoun meaning *this* or *that* (p.37).

It is quite obvious that there is a widespread common thread of meaning and uses of *ia* in the Pacific pidgins, but these meanings have yet to be clearly defined. It appears that its use as a locational is more common in SIP than in Tok Pisin or Bislama, especially in its meanings 'there', 'over there', 'up', and 'down'. It appears to have no relation to forming relative clauses in SIP, but may have some in Tok Pisin and Bislama.

Regardless of what one may posit as *ia*'s original source during the formation of Pacific pidgins, it is clear that the Malaitan vernaculars have had a definite influence on the meanings and uses that *ia* has come to develop in Solomon Islands Pijin. Furthermore, whether we posit the original source as English *here* 'adverb of place' or German *ja* 'affirmation', the identity of the corresponding Malaitan forms (as in TOB *ne'e*) provides a ready explanation for why *ia* has such seemingly different functions in SIP today.

NOTES

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- ²These figures are estimates. No official census of Solomon Island population has counted people who speak Pijin as a second language, although the 1976 census counts children who speak Pijin as a first language. A language survey in the western Solomons by Robert Early (1982) showed that even in an area supposedly dominated by Roviana language as a lingua franca, 70-80 per cent of the adults could speak Pijin.
- ³Other papers which compare a Pacific pidgin with a vernacular include Camden (1979), McElhanon (1975), Roosman (1975).
- ⁴The sources for the information in this chart are as follows: To'abaita and Lau from personal study; Kwara'ae from Deck (1933-34); Kwaio from Keesing (1984) and Kate Akin, personal communication; Are'are from Geerts (1970); and Sa'a from Ivens (1929).
- ⁵This example shows a dissimilarity between SIP and TOB. TOB na'a separates the transitive verb and the direct object but SIP nao follows the direct object.
- ⁶It should be noted that while a similar use of 'now' as a sentence connector in English is not standard, it is common in some dialects.
- ⁷In Solomon Islands literature, this use of ia is usually spelled hia although this may be more for orthographic distinction than to represent a phonological distinction.
- ⁸The Malaitan form baa has been borrowed with both form and meaning into Pijin. Some Pijin speakers, including non-Malaitans, use ba as well as ia to recall a previously mentioned item.

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CREOLISATION, NATIVISATION OR SUBSTRATE INFLUENCES:
WHAT IS HAPPENING TO BAE IN SOLOMON ISLANDS PIJIN

Christine Jourdan

Bae, babae, bambae and ϕ (hereafter referred to as bae markers) are among the possibilities available to a contemporary speaker of Solomons Pijin to express what we group under our notions of future or conditional. The slots in which each of these elements are likely to appear in a sentence are multiple. So are the possibilities of linking them with conditional markers like *sapos*, *if* etc., or time delimiters like *taem*, *tumoro*, *astede* etc. In many cases, a combination of time delimiters and conditional markers is used in conjunction with bae markers. In other cases bae markers stand on their own in the sentences. Some speakers (the old ones particularly) tend not to use the bae markers on a regular basis; in their speech, bae markers appear to be in free variation with ϕ when the sentence is fronted by a time delimiter marker, or a conditional marker; or in free variation with prepositions marking the passage of time (i.e. *den*, *bihaen*); or simply the value of the absent bae marker is conveyed by the context.

In this paper¹ we shall look how the bae markers are incorporated in the speech of many speakers of Solomons Pijin, young and old, men and women, and for whom the Pijin is either a second language or a mother tongue. We shall study the behaviour of the bae markers in an historical perspective to focus finally on their behaviour in contemporary Pijin, particularly in the speech of urban Pijin speakers. We shall try at the same time to assess the influences of creolisation or substratum languages, if any, on such a linguistic device. The main claim in this paper will be that insofar as bae markers are concerned, nativisation does not seem to be the discriminant factor of change, as the main heuristic criterion is the opposition between *main language* and *secondary language*, rather than the traditional opposition between *mother tongue* and *second language*. I will argue that it is not necessary for a pidgin to become nativised to undergo changes linked to its functions as main language of an urban community, and therefore to become creolised: hence the impact of nativisation need only be minimal. A pidgin becomes a creole *not* because it has acquired native speakers, but because both the traditional contexts of use and the traditional sociolinguistic position of its speakers have changed. Nativisation is not a causal factor of creolisation. It is only one of many aspects that creolisation takes, and if we want to push the idea further, nativisation is only one of the results of pre-existing 'creolicity'. This study will show, as well, that so far as bae markers are concerned, there is

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more continuity between the speech of urban speakers of Pijin for whom it is a mother tongue and the speech of urban speakers of Pijin for whom it is a second language, than there is continuity between the speech of urban speakers of Pijin as a second language and the speech of rural speakers of Pijin as a second language. We shall see as well that nativisation of the language does not seem to affect as yet the position of bae markers in the sentences or the frequency of redundant constructions employing bae markers with conditional markers and time delimiters.

1. SOLOMON ISLANDS PIJIN

Solomon Islands Pijin, called locally 'Pijin' and referred to as such herein-after, is spoken throughout the Solomons archipelago by about 175,000 persons, of whom only 1302 speak it as a first language.² It is the overwhelming lingua franca of the island group, superseding missionary *lingue franche*.³ Intrinsically linked to the 19th century 'labour trade' to Queensland and to the 20th century local circular labour migration, Pijin was from the start an adult male prerogative, to which women had no access. It is still quite common nowadays to come across mature women, in remote areas of the Solomons (such as the Weather Coast of Guadalcanal, or the Kwaio or Kwara'ae middle bush of Malaita), whose knowledge of Pijin is limited to passive competency or is non-existent. These women, because they were never incorporated into the traditional settings or contexts of Pijin usage and transmission (plantations, or missions like the S.S.E.M.⁴ station in Onepusu and later on, schooling), never had any need for Pijin and/or any opportunity or incentive to learn it.

The situation is being modified nowadays with increasing urbanisation, schooling, development and reinforcement of a cash crop economy providing all members of the population, and not exclusively young men as had been the case before, with money and opportunities to travel within the island group. An increasing movement of population in this context led to contact between people of different linguistic traditions,⁵ and opened the way for Pijin to become the lingua franca of the group. For a long time (some 80 years or so) Pijin remained the second language of the male population, a second language that they tended to learn in early adulthood in particular work settings. Nowadays Pijin is undergoing nativisation, particularly in the urban setting and is (to borrow from the anthropomorphic approach of Sankoff and Laberge)⁶ acquiring native speakers. Not only that, and probably just as importantly, people tend to have access to and to learn Pijin at a much earlier age and in wider communication contexts than before. Pijin is no longer a language associated with particular activities, settings, sex and age groups; it is now associated as well with geographical concentration and distribution of population, with day to day activities in urban settings, and with the development of a culture of which it is the medium of communication, thus transcending the linguistic prerogatives existing previously, in terms of sex and age.

It is probably best to start from the beginning and to sketch the history of Pijin. I shall outline briefly historical and sociolinguistic conditions prevailing when and where a proto Solomons Pijin appeared.

2. BACKGROUND TO SOLOMON ISLANDS PIJIN

During the 1860s, Australia developed in its tropical state of Queensland a plantation economy based on the production of sugarcane. The country had almost all the elements necessary for the success of such an enterprise: a vast amount of land, an adequate climate, and both capital and market. But it lacked cheap labour. For reasons linked to the colonial ideology of the time as well as to the need of maintaining production and labour costs at their lowest levels, European labour was declared inappropriate to work the land in such a harsh climatic environment.

Planters turned towards neighbouring Melanesia. The then New Hebrides (now Vanuatu), the Solomon Islands and New Caledonia became the labour 'reservoir' of the Queensland plantation economy. A labour trade was developed between Melanesia and Queensland.⁷ It lasted about 40 years, from 1863 to 1906 (Corris 1973; Saunders 1974, Moore 1981) and involved about 63,000 persons (Price and Baker 1976:110). At the beginning of the trade, the planters started recruiting in the New Hebrides, the closest of the Melanesian archipelagos; they then moved north towards the Banks islands, the Santa Cruz archipelago, and later, around 1870 towards the Solomon Islands, when the recruiting possibilities in the southern islands became difficult.

By 1883, i.e. twenty years after the beginning of the trade, more than half the total number of labourers involved in it had already been recruited. Most were from the New Hebrides, representing around 66% of the Melanesian work force.⁸ By the end of the trade, the numerical importance of New Hebrideans being recruited diminished considerably, as the recruiting grounds shifted from south to north.

During the forty years of the 'trade', a pidgin language evolved (Dutton 1980, Dutton and Mühlhäusler 1982) probably based on the Pacific Trade Jargon known as *Beche-de-mer* or *Beach-La-Mar* (Clark 1977). This earlier *Beach-La-Mar* of the central Pacific developed into a more elaborated and stabilised Melanesian Pidgin. It became widely used as the lingua franca of the plantation system, between Melanesians not sharing the same language and between Melanesian and Europeans. Even though the Melanesian languages spoken by the labourers taken to Queensland were not mutually intelligible, most of them belonged to the same language family (Austronesian, mainly Eastern Oceanic subgroup) and thus shared common basic syntactic structures. This probably contributed to an early emergence of relatively stable syntactic conventions, as the substrate syntactic influence was somewhat homogeneous (cf. Keesing, forthcoming).

At the end of their three-year contract, the labourers had the opportunity to return to their home island or to extend their stay in Queensland for another three years or more. In 1906, in application of the White Australia Policy, most of the Melanesians still in Queensland at that time were repatriated to their islands or origin. Solomon Islanders, who comprised the main bulk of the Melanesian labour force at the end of the trade (59.44%),⁹ were particularly affected by this repatriation.¹⁰ The pidgin brought back to their islands by the Solomon Islanders developed into the lingua franca of the archipelago. By 1910, plantations developed locally and recruited labour from the different islands; and not surprisingly, the first labourers to enroll were men who had been to Queensland and Fiji before, most of whom had some knowledge

of pidgin. Kanaka Pidgin English was thus reactivated and because of extensive usage it became localised, acquiring linguistic and social Solomonian specificities.¹¹ Of course the time period during which the pidgin was in limbo depends on the elapsed time between the Islanders' return from Queensland and the time during which they had the opportunity to use their pidgin on a regular basis. For some who returned from Queensland early on in the trade, the elapsed time must have been 20 years or so. For those who were repatriated in 1906, the waiting time might have been only three or four years. However it seems more reasonable to think that the pidgin limbo state on an individual basis must have been rather short, as only young men were recruited for plantation work. The labourers who had been back from Queensland for 20 years or more would have been in their forties or fifties at the beginning of the circular migration in the Solomon Islands; it is doubtful that they would have been recruited.

3. PIDGIN, CREOLE AND THE URBAN SITUATION

Traditionally, the definitions of both 'pidgin' and 'creole' incorporated the following elements:

A pidgin is a vehicular language; stabilised and transmissible, coined with elements of at least two languages; its simplified and reduced structure is in parallel with the limited communicative contexts of use; it is always a second language and answers the communication needs of speakers having no other language in common.

By opposition, a creole is a pidgin which has acquired native speakers, and concomitantly, a more complicated structure, in parallel with the expanded communicative contexts of use as a mother tongue.

Pidgin speakers have a native language to fall back on. Creole speakers have only creole to fall back on. Pidgin speakers are thus inherently at least bilingual, where creole speakers do not need to be bilingual. This is at least what can be read from texts dealing with adequacies of pidgin and creole languages (Hymes 1971) and material dealing with the problems of creolisation (Labov 1971).

Clearly, the elements of this traditional approach to the definition of pidgin and creole oppose the two types of languages, as if they were different from one another, and as if this difference was due to the pidgin becoming the mother tongue of a new generation of children. This opposition is now outdated by virtue of all the pidgin/creole studies that have been undertaken since, and is much too conservative in the sense that it does not take into account the sociolinguistic pressures to which pidgins have been subjected, particularly in urban settings. For instance a study of the urban variety of Pijin in Honiara, as we shall see later on, shows that there is more continuity between the speech of urban speakers of Pijin as a mother tongue and urban speakers of Pijin as a second language than there is continuity between urban speakers of Pijin as a second language and rural speakers of Pijin as a second language. This is true no matter what age group we examine. The difference between the two varieties of speech cannot be measured in terms of opposition between second language vs. mother tongue, but rather in terms of opposition between main language vs. secondary language. Of course it is all a matter of degree in the amount of Pijin usage vs. mother tongue usage, as well as nuances in the variety of speech situations in which both languages are most likely to be found; many combinations are possible.

Therefore, when I speak of insufficiencies of the terms 'pidgin' and 'creole', I mean that they are inadequate as stated because they do not reflect the contemporary contexts in which such languages are found. When both terms were coined, the situation of pidgins and creoles were clearly delimited, both by social functions and social contexts. In the postwar Solomon Islands, for instance, the only pidgin speakers were men who had been outside of their home village to work as labourers on plantations, somewhere in the archipelago. They were 'classical' speakers of pidgin, and the use they made of it was archetypal of the pidgin situation. They used their Pijin in multilingual contexts only, in particular and limited social settings and interactions — with non-wantok¹² co-workers, or with overseers or recruiters. With everyone else, in that particular context, or back home, they would return to their mother tongue. No one at the time was a 'creole' speaker of Solomons Pijin. It was not even thought that such a possibility could occur, as most members of the then British administration considered that Pijin had no chance of social or geographical expansion. However, urbanisation changed the game, as it recreated the multilingual context provided beforehand by the plantation system: with major differences however, in that all members of the society, and not only males, became members of and contributed to this multilingualism. Moreover, their insertion in this multilingual context could now be for a long time, or permanently, whereas it used to be for two or three years. Young couples went to town, families settled down, children were born; some as creole speakers of Pijin, other ones as pidgin speakers of Pijin (according to the definitions mentioned above) but both groups with the same aim at communication and the same needs. If the variety of Pijin found in rural areas is socially and functionally a pidgin, I am however not prepared to say the same of the variety of Pijin spoken in town by fluent bilingual Pijin speakers for whom it is the main language of daily interaction. Here we have a stabilised and expanded pidgin which fills the same social and functional slots as does the pidgin spoken by unilingual Pijin speakers. Therefore on the basis of my observations, I am not prepared to call unilingual Pijin speakers creole speakers, on the basis that they have only Pijin as a mother tongue, if I cannot label in the same way the bilingual Pijin speakers (children in particular) for whom Pijin is the main language.

There are, in the town of Honiara, speakers of Pijin as a second language for whom it is the main language of daily interaction, be it inside or outside the domestic context, and for whom the use of the vernacular is limited to their home village, or when a wantok of theirs is visiting.

This is precisely the case of settled town dwellers, whose life and activities are polarised towards urban identification, and thus see themselves as fitting better into the Honiara context than into the village situation. Most long-time town dwellers hardly ever go back to visit their home village more than once a year or so.¹³ Not going back to the village is a way of escaping from these obligations, which they nevertheless fulfill whenever a relative or wantok comes to town for a short visit but ends up staying six months instead.¹⁴

On the other hand, Honiara has now a growing generation of children and teenagers for whom Pijin is the mother tongue, and/or the main language. It is a main language, second chronologically to their vernacular mother tongue, that they have learned very early, as soon as their insertion in the society made them come out of the family circle and involved them in activities which required a wider medium of communication: interaction with neighbours (children or adults), games, local day to day activities etc., and later on, schooling. Some children did learn Pijin even earlier, along with their family's or

mother's vernacular and mastered from a very early age a kind of native bilingualism. They are fully fluent both in Pijin and 'langgus'.¹⁵ Some children use the languages in a very diglossic¹⁶ manner, using one language with one parent and another language with the other parent. For other children, the languages tend to overlap, in functions and in contexts, indifferently. Even if some children do not acquire Pijin until they actually go to school (between the ages of seven and nine), most are exposed to it before then. For instance, in the sample of children I interviewed at the Vura school during the month of September 1983, only three out of 70 arrived at school for their first year of primary education without knowing Pijin. Such a small number is only normal, for this is a community in which most of daily social interaction is being conducted in Pijin. There is an urban culture in the making, built around Pijin and for which Pijin is the cement and the only common linguistic dominator. It is both a means of access to this culture, and a reflection of it.

Honiara is a multilingual town. The last census of population, in 1976, showed that 63 languages and dialects of the Solomon Islands were represented in Honiara, albeit with very different numbers of speakers.¹⁷ Born here or not, but living in this rich linguistic imbroglio, the town dweller has no other choice but to master Pijin, and rather quickly, in order to have a social life in this community. And so did I. Some of my informants were puzzled by the fact that I was not aiming at learning their home language in order to talk to them, differing in that respect from anthropologists they had seen or heard of before me. I had to explain that I wanted to talk to everyone in town, and that I could not be expected to learn all the 63 languages and dialects used in Honiara in order to do so. My best avenue, with regard to communication that is, was to learn Pijin quickly, as they themselves had to in order to deal with the multilingual situation. Both they and I were 'in the same boat' for that matter, as the only language we could use with one another was a language foreign to all of us, but yet common to all of us. It was the only language we could use consistently and regularly all over town, with everyone, in many sociolinguistic contexts, despite the parallel presence of 63 other local languages. Days went by without my hearing friends and informants use their vernacular mother tongue, either by default, or because they had become so comfortable in their Pijin or because they rested assured that Pijin would see them through any urban communication context, that they would not even bother switching to 'langgus' to talk to their wantoks.

In this Tower of Babel-like town, most people are married into another language group, and have neighbours, friends and colleagues belonging to other language groups. Pijin is not only the cement of this culture in the making, it is as well the cement of many families, when parents do not share the same language and raise their children through and with it. Pijin is then, for these families, the only medium that will ensure communication, both at the generation level (between siblings for instance) and at the cross-generation level (between parents and children, or grandparents and children). Multilingualism is a natural environment¹⁸ to which nobody pays attention; it is taken for granted and, so to speak, never considered to be an impairment to social interaction, probably because Pijin is there to fall back on in case of sociolinguistic difficulties. I recorded in an evening of October 1982, a volleyball game organised in the garden of my host family, in which 12 people, neighbours and friends, took part. No less than eight different languages, Pijin not included, were heard during that game; participants gave orders, or made comments and criticisms, and joked in their language and Pijin alike. Vernaculars were heard mostly when everything went smoothly, but Pijin was relied on all the

time, when disputes occurred between the two teams, to sort the situation out and discuss the rules. After the match when everybody sat down to rest and enjoy the cool night breeze, all conversations and discussions were held in Pijin, as if a return to normal and casual life in town meant an automatic return to Pijin as well.

4. THE DATA AND THEIR SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The data on which this paper is based were collected in the Solomon Islands, in 1983. What is referred to as the *urban sample* is part of a corpus of interviews made in Vura, a suburban area of Honiara, during the months of August, September and October of 1983). The main corpus of texts is based on a stratified sample and comprises 112 interviews of 45 minutes to 90 minutes each, made with adults (62 interviews) and interviews of 30 to 45 minutes each made with children (50 interviews). The interviews were devised in such a way as to provide information on the linguistic 'habitus' (origin, praxis, choices) of the informants during the various stages and contexts of their lives; and to provide texts for linguistic analysis. The *rural corpus* comprises interviews which are part of a wider corpus of texts collected in AvuAvu, on the Weather Coast of Guadalcanal in November 1983.¹⁹ The number of interviews used for this paper is as follows:

	SAMPLE				TOTAL
	Urban sample Vura		Rural sample AvuAvu		
	M	F	M	F	
ADULTS	6	6	9	5	26
CHILDREN	8	8	4	7	27
TOTAL	28		25		53

For this paper, tapes were selected at random amongst the original body of texts, except for the children of the urban sample. As I wanted to be able to compare the speech of native speakers of Pijin to the speech of children having Pijin as a second language, I had to make a selection amongst the children and choose them accordingly. Therefore the 16 children in the children urban corpus are divided into two groups of eight according to whether they have Pijin as a sole mother tongue or not. In the group of children having Pijin as a second language, all know both Pijin and a vernacular, and sometimes two vernaculars. In most cases, children are bilingual from a very early age. In the *rural corpus*, the discrepancy between the number of men and women can be explained by the fact that many women in remote rural areas do not know how to speak Pijin, even though many of them nowadays would be able to understand it.

4.1 Vura

Vura is a suburb of Honiara, located four kilometres east of the city centre. However, as the town stretches along a narrow coastal strip between ridges and hills to the south and the sea to the north, Vura is well inside the town boundaries. It is a housing estate developed in three phases since 1971 by the Honiara Housing Authority, originally to provide housing for government

employees. The small agglomeration has been built to follow or make the best out of the geographical configurations of the Honiara surroundings and lies in a gully surrounded by ridges, along Vura Creek. It is serviced by buses running approximately every hour taking passengers to Honiara for a fare of 25¢. Taxis regularly cruise the area and charge \$2.00 for a trip to town. This transport system, augmented by individually owned cars, allows for quick and frequent access to Honiara. Most people working in town commute twice a day, thus giving to the small agglomeration a definite atmosphere of suburbia. The last (1981) census showed a population of 2859 people, i.e., 13% of the Honiara population. Most of the Vura dwellers are young people, couples with young children, working either in the public service or in stores and private companies. Men are usually employed as skilled workers – like carpenters, plumbers and mechanics – or as clerks or office workers for the government or private enterprise. Some, very few, have their own enterprise; only one in my corpus has a professional occupation. Women work as nurses or secretaries and in most of the cases as housegirls in European households. Vura has some services, including a primary school, a clinic and two stores; all the religious denominations have churches nearby. There is a small market in Kukum, within walking distance, and all this contributes to make Vura almost self supportive in terms of amenities. The Vura dwellers come from different islands of the Solomons and most of the vernaculars of the island group are represented. The majority, however, come from the island of Malaita, the most populous of the Solomon Islands and the one which has been historically the most involved in the labour trade to Queensland and the circular migration within the archipelago. Many families have been living in Vura for 10 years or so and children now as old as 13 were born there. In this multilingual community, Pijin is the main language of communication, even though it is the second language for a great number of people. It is definitely the main language at school, at church, in the clinic, in the stores and at the market. It is the language of public life. In private life, vernaculars are widely used even though Pijin tends to be the main language of most families where parents come from different linguistic backgrounds. In some cases, and this is happening more and more often, it is becoming the main language of communication between parents and children even when they share the same vernacular.

4.2 AvuAvu

AvuAvu is a Catholic mission station located on the Weather Coast of Guadalcanal. AvuAvu was founded by the Marist Brothers around the end of the First World War and has since been a stronghold of Catholicism on Guadalcanal. Like all the Weather Coast villages, it is very isolated from the rest of the island and from Honiara in the north, by a high mountain ridge running parallel to the south coast. Except for a small tractor trail linking AvuAvu to Marau Sound in the east tip of the island, there is no easy means of access to the outside world. Cutter boats sail around the island irregularly, and because of their unreliability and the length of the trip to Honiara, people tend to avoid taking them and prefer taking the plane. A small airstrip at Haemarao (five kilometres east of AvuAvu) allows a link twice a week with Honiara. Flying is expensive (SDB\$36.00 = AUS\$35.00 return in November 1983) and aircraft are not used very often by people on private trips. Except for the two small shop owners, the government agent, the nurse at the clinic and the teachers of the primary and secondary school, the people of AvuAvu have a subsistence economy, augmented in some cases by the yields of cash cropping. All the adult men

recorded in AvuAvu learnt their Pijin before the Second World War, during a sojourn on a plantation, either in the Russell Islands or on the other side of Guadalcanal, thus following a very traditional pattern of pidgin acquisition. Most of them have been to Honiara at least once. Children do not know Pijin before they get to primary school, even though they might have heard some villagers or some older children use it with strangers. The local vernacular Tolo is the main language of the day to day activities. At the beginning of the mission station, Ghari, the language of the west of Guadalcanal, was used for mission purposes, as it was the lingua franca of the Catholic mission in the island group. Adults who went to school at the AvuAvu primary school were taught in the Ghari language by the Catholic sisters. In general, Pijin is a second language and secondary language for everybody, except for the students and teachers of the Provincial Secondary School, who, coming from different parts of the Weather Coast, have to rely on Pijin for daily interaction.

5. BAE AND BABAE: EARLY USES

There are many texts dating back to the last century and the beginning of this one, in which one can find renderings of pidgin in the Pacific. The main ones are books written by sea captains, beachcombers, traders or adventurers relating, in a novel-like form, their experiences in the Pacific. Excerpts of pidgin or, more precisely, of Beach-La-Mar are included in these renderings to add colour to the text. They cannot, in any case, be considered as accurate transcriptions of what the authors actually heard, for reasons dealing with racial and sociolinguistic prejudices and/or linguistic incompetence on the part of the authors. The Kanaka Pidgin English of Queensland is rather extensively represented in reports of inquiries and tribunals, such as the 1906 Royal Commission of Enquiry on the Sugar Industry. Melanesian labourers were called as witnesses and their statements in pidgin were transcribed. In some cases, one can find questions in pidgin asked by commissioners. For the reasons stated above, they must be taken cautiously. However keeping this in mind it is still possible to analyse these occurrences.

It is clear in the first place that there were many ways, either in Beach-La-Mar or in Kanaka Pidgin English, to express the notion of future — either with nuances of causality, immediacy or not, and with presence or absence of bae markers (transcribed in these texts as by and by). This could be done with a conditional marker introducing a clause at sentence initial position as in:

- (1) Suppose ship ready then I go home.
 COND SEQ
 If there is a ship I will go home.
 (QVP.1906.II p.84:2862)

or in clause initial position anywhere in the sentence, as in:

- (2) This man here make'm me tambu and spos me break'em tambu, me die.
 TOP IRR O
 This man made me taboo and if I break the taboo, I will die.
 (Cromar 1935:167)

In both cases, the conditional leading to a future action is clear, even though there is no future marking device. This exists in variation with the following:

- (3) Suppose me come along school, by and by me no save fight.

IRR FM

If I go to school, I will not fight any more.

(Young 1923:47) (around 1886-1887 in Bundaberg)

where both conditional markers and future markers are present, in a construction nowadays very common in Solomons Pijin. (There are 80 of them in the present corpus of occurrences). In these particular cases, (1) has a nuance of immediate consequence and (3) has a nuance of distant consequence. When by and by appears, it is either in conjunction with a conditional marker as above, and by and by is in clause initial position, or alone, fronted at the sentence initial position such as in:

- (4) He no like'im school, because he no savee.

By and by he like'm plenty, he come all the time.

He does not like school because he does not know what it is.

At some point, he will like it a lot and he will come all the time.

(Young 1923:46) (around 1886-1887)

It is interesting to note that from the early days of its stabilisation, Beach-La-Mar and its offshoot, Kanaka Pidgin English offered to their speakers a wide variety of future marking constructions: a variety which is in fact very much the same as is found in the variety of Pijin still spoken by the old men in the rural areas of the Eastern Solomons, as we shall see later on.

6. BAE MARKERS TODAY

6.1 Bambiae/babae becomes bae

Sankoff and Laberge (1980) have shown for Tok Pisin in Lae, that a reduction of baimbai into bai was almost complete; they registered only five instances of baimbai among 395 occurrences of bae markers. They note however that baimbai was still present in the speech community in particular contexts (e.g. radio broadcasts). Even though these five occurrences of baimbai were found in the adult subgroup, the age factor did not seem to be a discriminating criterion. They concluded that for their subjects, the change into bai had already taken place.

In Solomons Pijin, the situation is not that clear, even though it seems that the urban children have eliminated babae and bambae from their speech. Among 209 occurrences of bae markers produced by the urban children of the Vura corpus, only five instances of babae were found. In the urban adult subgroup, 83 instances of bae and 71 instances of babae and bambae were recorded. This gives an appearance of balance between the two forms, and we could believe that they are in variation. However if we rearrange the data according to the age of the speakers, it is then clear that usage has shifted strikingly across generations. I divided the adult subgroup into two age groups; the age of 35 was chosen arbitrarily as the discriminating age.

The results present two subgroups that are a mirror image of one another. Babae is a regular feature of the older adults but is only used in 11% of the cases by younger adults. What are the reasons for this difference? If we oppose the number of occurrences produced by the older speakers of B to the occurrences produced by the speakers of A, a change across generations emerges strikingly. However, we have to pay attention to the sociolinguistic characteristics of the speakers. Informants of group B have all learned Pijin

Table 1: Occurrences of Bae and Babae in the urban adult subgroup according to age							
SPEAKERS BETWEEN 25 AND 35				SPEAKERS OVER 36 YEARS			
	age	Bae	Babae		age	Bae	Babae
J.M.	34	3	4	B.M.	38	1	17
M.F.	25	14	0	L.S.	54	2	16
E.R.	33	17	0	S.S.	65	1	7
E.N.	32	6	0	M.K.	51	3	9
B.M.	30	15	5	M.A.	39	2	3
E.M.	29	17	7	M.B.	36	2	3
TOTAL		72	16	TOTAL		11	55

in young adulthood, and in traditional contexts of acquisition such as plantations, mission schools, etc. In this period (especially for the older ones) the regular pattern (as shown in excerpts of Pijin dating back before the war) was bambae and babae, written mostly as by and by, and not bae. It seems likely that although Solomon Islanders would have interpreted babae as a reduplicated form, the continuing superstrate influences of English-speaking Europeans, who would have consistently used by and by (as many who do not master the language well keep on doing today), would have encouraged the preservation of the reduplicated form as standard. These people who had learned Pijin in more traditional contexts arrived in town in full or late adulthood and had never before that time had much chance to practise their Pijin in wider communicative contexts. Even though these people speak a variety of Pijin that is very similar to the variety spoken by the younger adults and by the urban children, they are very much aware of the changes which the language has undergone and are able to point them out. Most were conscious for instance, of the change of babae into bae when I asked them direct questions about the language itself. Some older informants even expressed value judgements and deplored that the younger generation stretched the language too far and were breaking some rules.

Members of subgroup A, on the other hand, learned their Pijin in their childhood or in their teens and have been living in town for at least 20 years. Their Pijin is much faster than the one spoken by the older members, resembling in that the urban children. The lack of stress of the first syllable is probably a reason for the reduction to bae, a phenomenon widely spread in the young Pijin speakers' community. Reduction of olketa to oketa, okta or even ota is quite common; expressions like nao ia become naia; possessive markers such as bilong become blong, and most commonly blo.

In the rural sample, adults produced 68 occurrences of babae and 54 occurrences of bae. The more conservative in this matter were the older members of that subgroup. The younger ones, who had learned Pijin at school with their peers, or in Honiara, tended to use more bae than babae. But even in the rural sample, the children overwhelmingly used bae in a more important proportion than they used babae.

Obviously, the two have been available to the speakers of Solomons Pijin for some time already. The older speakers tend to be conservative and use the older

form of babae (the only one attested in excerpts of Pacific Pidgin dating from the previous century) more than the younger ones do. The younger generation, i.e. in my corpus the children and the young adults, tend to use bae almost exclusively.

6.2 A note on the frequency of use

The number of occurrences of bae/babae in the different groups of the corpus is as follows:

Urban children	:	209
Urban adults	:	154
Rural children	:	39
Rural adults	:	122
TOTAL	:	524

It is worth noting the difference in the number of occurrences of bae markers produced by the children and adults in both rural and urban corpora used for this research. The urban children use bae markers in a very prolific manner, whereas the rural children produce a limited number of future markers. There could be many reasons for this difference. First, let us look at the length of the interviews and texts. In this corpus adults talked easily for 45 minutes to an hour and a half, whereas children talked at most for 30 minutes. However, despite the length difference, urban children produced a number of bae markers that is, numerically, quite significantly higher than the number produced by the adults in twice the time. This could be due to the fact that adults having a longer past than children will have more opportunities to speak about their past in the past than to talk about their future, with future markers. However, adults did not speak about their lives only, nor did children speak about their future only, particularly as the latter were quite uneasy with the concept of future itself. In the rural sample, the differences between children and adults is numerically very important. It does not seem probable that given more time, the children would have produced a relatively more significant percentage of bae markers. On the other hand they produced a lot of 'future' sentences without using the bae markers, in constructions giving a 'future' indicator only through context. Second, let us have a look at the content of the interviews. In general, the interviews were very similar in all four sections of the corpus. Life histories, *kastom stori*²⁰ and a questionnaire comprised the bulk of each interview, during which all speakers had opportunities of using the future marker. Of course, whatever happened in the past was not likely to be reported with a bae marker, except when informants were repeating someone else's speech. This was particularly true in recountings of events having taken place in the past or in *kastom* stories. In those cases, the bae markers were embedded in sentences of the following kinds, with more or less variations in the arrangements of different segments of the sentences and with the presence or absence of adverbs indicating conditional or subsequent actions.

- (5) Boe ia hem kom nao, talem gele nao. Osem talem:
boe/this/he/ come/ tells/girl/ in this way/tells/:
This boy arrived, talked to the girl. He told her like that:
- * BAE mitufala ranawe tude naia.
will/we/ run away/today/
we'll run away today. (PS.52/a)

or in a sentence such as:

- (6) Olketa se: Sapos iu taetem, BAE rop ia hem go moa
they/ say/ if/ you/tighten/will/rope/this/it/ go/again
They said: if you tighten it, this cord will go back
- long insaed long bele blong mam blong hem ia.
 LOC/ in/ LOC/ belly/POSS/ mummy/POSS/ his/.
inside his mother's womb. (PS.58/b)

As the content of the interviews was quite homogeneous in the four subgroups of the corpus, it does not seem that the occurrences of bae markers be linked to it.

Third, is the difference between urban children's speech and urban adults' speech, attributable to nativisation or not? It is doubtful, as we shall see later on. However that difference could very well be a sign that bae markers are becoming a regular feature of the urban children's speech, when it comes to marking future. This is what the sociolinguistic analysis made of the Vura school children speech community tends to show.

6.3 Other ways of marking future

As we have seen at the beginning of this paper, there are many ways to express 'future' in Solomons Pijin, and bae markers are only one of them. Let us look at some of the possibilities, as found in the corpus of texts. For each sentence *not* using the bae device, I add one sentence produced by the same speaker when using it. I want to point out here that the Pijin perfect markers and deictics nao, ia and naia (a combination of nao and ia) do not convey in Pijin the notion of temporaneity, as Simons has shown (this volume, pp.53-65). They are not in correlation with bae markers in the occurrences.

- (7) Sapos mi go insaed, mifala dae naia.
 IRR LPS V LOC LPP V PM
if/ I/ go/inside/ we/ die/
If I go inside, we shall die. (PS.51/a)
- (8) Sapos mi herem samting ia, bae mi pulum kam nao.
 IRR LPS V O FM LPS V DIR PM
if/ I/ hear/ something/this/, will/I/ pull/.
If I hear this thing, I will pull it. (PS.51/a)

In this case, both sentences begin with the conditional marker sapos in the initial position. However at the clause initial position, bae is in variation with zero, without this having any effect on the meaning of the whole sentence. In both cases, the action to take place in the main proposition depends on what will happen in the conditional clause.

In the following examples, there is no conditional marker in sentence initial position or in clause initial position. However the first example definitely bears a future meaning even without any future marking device. The second sentence uses a future marking device in clause initial position.

- (9) Mi tink, mi se mi dae nao
 LPS V LPS V LPS V CONJ
I/ think/I/ say/I/die/.
I thought it looked like I was going to die. (PS.9/a)

- (10) Pipol no save wokabaot olsem bifo,
 S NEG V PREP T.ADV
people/do not/know/walk/as/before/,
People are not used to walking any more,
 babae hem sensem ol laef blon Solomon.
 FM 3PS V O POSS
will/ it/ change/all/life/of/
it will affect all the life of the Solomons. (PS.9/a)

In the next couple of sentences, both principal clause and subordinate clause segments begin with a conditional marker or a dubitative marker of some sort. In the first one, the future is hypothetical.

- (11) Sapos mi go, ating mi hapi nao.
 COND IPS V DUB 1ST ST.V
if/ I/ go/, might/I/ happy/now
If I had gone, I might be happy now. (PS.71/a)
- (12) Sapos oketa kol fo mifala kam mekem, ating bae mi go meke fo hem.
 COND 3PP V DUB FM 1PS AUX V DAT
if/ they/ ask/we/come/make/, *might/will/I/ go/ make/for/them*
If they ask us to come and do it, maybe I shall go and do it for them.
 (PS.71/a)

In the next set of examples, a subsequent action is defined by the adverb den and indicates that the events in that particular sequence will take place in the future.

- (13) Eitin novemba, afta skul finish, den mi go.
 T.AD
18/ November/,after/school/finish/,then/I/go
After school finishes on November 18, I will go. (PS.53/a)
- (14) Mifala paselem, den mifala bae ovenem hem ia.
 1PP V TAD 1PP FM V O
we/ wrap/, then/we/ will/oven/it/
We wrap it up then we'll cook it in the oven. (Ps.53/a)

All these examples show clearly that speakers of Solomons Pijin have the choice when it comes to use bae as a future marker. Bae markers are in variation with zero, or with time delimiters or conjunctions, or with conditional and dubitative markers, and sometimes with a combination of two or three of those as in:

- (15) SAPOS oketa kasem mi moa, DEN gel ia, DEN big gel
 COND 3PP V O CONJ, ADV S ADV ADJ S
if/ they/ catch/me/again/,then/girl/this/then/big/girl/
If they catch me again, then this girl, then this big girl
 ia hemi kasem hem, DEN hem kom kasem hia, BAE gel ia hem
 3PS V O ADV 3PS AUX V ADV FM S 3PS
she/ catch/her/ then/she/come/catch/here/, *will/girl/this/she*
catches her, then she comes to catch here, this girl will
 se hem les ia, BAE hem go ples moa, DEN nomoa, mi kros
 V 3PS ST.V FM S V LOC ADV CONJ S ST.V
say/she/enough/, *will/she/go/somewhere/again/*, *then/ I/ cross/*
say that she has enough, she will go away, then, I get cross

mi go kilim hem nao.
 S AUX V O
 I/ go/ beat/ her/
 I go and beat her then. (PS.51/a)

But it seems that urban children have a tendency to use bae markers more than any of the three other groups comprising the corpus (that is if we take into account the short period of time during which they were taped). They follow this pattern regularly, and seem to favour bae markers when it comes to giving any nuances of future to a sentence. As they are urban children, and because in other Melanesian pidgins (Tok Pisin for instance) creolisation is found in the context of urbanisation, we could easily be tempted to link this observation to creolisation, and to nativisation in particular. Or, and more reasonably, we could link it to pressures on the language, due to a diversification and augmentation of contexts of use, requiring that elements of discourse acquire particular and precise functions in syntax (Sankoff and Brown 1980). Let us look in detail at the number of occurrences of bae markers produced by the children: of a total of 209 bae markers found in their speech, 103 were produced by eight children speaking Pijin as a second language or as a second 'mother tongue' and 106 by eight children having Pijin as their only 'mother tongue'. The difference is not significant and so far it does not seem that bilingualism or unilingualism in Pijin affects the number of occurrences of bae markers. Thus, if there is a difference between the speech of urban children and the speech of urban adults as reflected by the extensive usage the former make of the bae markers, this may be so simply because the speech community represented by the children of Vura and Vura school is somehow rather homogeneous, and is different from the speech community of the adults. The difference is due to a generational change rather to nativisation. So is the redundancy the difference creates, because of the pressures put on and the demands made on the language by a new generation of speakers who use the system of the language to expand their stylistic and syntactic repertoire.

6.4 Positions of bae markers in sentences

Solomon Islands Pijin is being nativised (I mean here that it is becoming the only mother tongue of a generation of children) but this does not seem to affect the position of bae markers in the sentences. However, Labov (see Sankoff and Laberge, who also cite this, in Sankoff 1980:110) argues that:

It is not at all obvious that a pidgin will develop obligatory tense markers when it becomes a native language. Yet this has happened in case after case... When pidgins become creoles, the system of optional adverbs gives way to an obligatory tense marker next to the verb. (Labov 1971:29)

I would like to suggest that what is happening to bae markers in Solomons Pijin is slightly different. As yet, bae markers do not show a tendency to move next to the verb in the speech of children who have Pijin as a sole mother tongue. Creolisation has been happening for more than fifteen years in Honiara and it might not be a long enough time for the changes to happen. However if there was an innate ability in the native speakers of Pijin that would allow them to 'transform' their language into a creole, the length of time is a non problem here. It should happen as soon as native speakers acquire speech. In this respect, what is happening to bae markers in Solomons Pijin seems to be an

exception to the universal rule proposed by Labov. In order to see how this rule applies to Solomons Pijin, I shall examine here the position of bae markers in all groups of the corpus, and their position in sentences produced by the urban children. One has to keep in mind the sociolinguistic characteristics of Honiara at large and of Vura in particular as described in the first part of this paper, as well as those of the children.

At this stage, it would be useful to bring some refinement to what has been described as the almost automatic 'linguistic habitus' (in Bourdieu's terminology) of the offspring of parents having two different languages, i.e. that such a child would in a multilingual situation where Pijin is the lingua franca, be automatically raised in Pijin *only* by his/her parents. In a survey I made of 70 school children of the Vura school in Honiara all were found to have fluent knowledge of Pijin. Forty-two were born in Honiara and had lived there with their families all their lives. Of the remaining 28, ten arrived in Honiara a few months after they were born; nine arrived before they were of school age²¹ and nine arrived after they had already started school. Obviously, the great majority of these children was in contact with Pijin from a very early age.

Out of these 70 children, 30 had parents who did not share the same vernacular. According to the usual pattern of creolisation, the offspring of such couples living in a multilingual context should use the Pijin their parents speak and 'transform' it into a creole. However it happens in most of these cases that one of the parents knows the vernacular of the other, and that the couple uses both one vernacular and Pijin at home. In this kind of context, the children very often acquire both vernacular and Pijin at the same time.

For 16 children in this group, the main home language is Pijin. For eight, the main home language was their father's language and for four it was their mother's language. But out of these 30 children, 20 could speak their mother's language and 20 could speak their father's language. In such families, children use both languages fluently and indiscriminately at home. It appears as well that some of these children use one language with one parent and the other language with the other parent. Out of the same 30 children, 11 would use Pijin with both parents, six use Pijin with their father and their mother's language with her; five use their father's language with both parents and five use their mother's language with both parents; three use their mother's language with their mother and their father's language with their father.

Therefore it is in no way evident that children born into bilingual families would automatically end up speaking Pijin only. Most cases show that children tend to be bilingual, as the parents, mothers particularly, tend to use their own vernaculars to speak to their children. In other words, when children are born to bilingual families and brought up in town, it does not necessarily follow that they will be automatically brought up only in Pijin. However the fact that Pijin is in most cases the dominant language of these children outside the family circle, only reflects the encroachment of the language on the town. Most of the town children know another language as well, even if in most of the cases they use Pijin more than they use the vernacular. They are in fact bilingual from the age of language acquisition and in effect have two 'mother tongues'. On the other hand, it is common to find bilingual children using the languages in a diglossic manner, keeping the vernacular as almost exclusively a language of the home (sometimes along with Pijin) and using Pijin almost exclusively in the outside world. Because of peer group pressures and the wide range of contexts in which they can use Pijin, most of these children become more fluent in it than in their vernacular mother tongue.

In most cases, as soon as children get old enough to wander alone outside their household, they hear more Pijin than they hear their vernacular mother tongue. Out of the 40 remaining children whose parents have the same vernacular, 32 have their parents' vernacular as the main home language, seven have Pijin and one has both Pijin and vernacular as a main home language. Six children were using mainly Pijin to talk to their father, and five were using it to talk to their mother. Four were using mainly Pijin to talk to both of them and this despite the fact that everybody in the household was fluent in vernacular as well.

There are however some children who only have Pijin as a mother tongue and differ from the preceding ones by the fact that they are unilingual Pijin speakers. Their parents have in all cases different mother tongues, sometimes belonging to different linguistic families (Chinese and Fijian for example). Among these children some might have been exposed to a vernacular in and around their home, but were never taught to speak it. These children constitute the unilingual Pijin speakers of my corpus. They are a minority in Honiara, and in order to record their speech I really had to look for them. Therefore, I consider it very important to differentiate between children who have 'two mother tongues' (Pijin and vernacular) and children who are unilingual Pijin speakers. Moreover, given the sociolinguistic environment in which these children are living it is important to stress that just as we cannot expect that children springing from a two-vernacular household be raised automatically in Pijin only, we cannot expect that children born to families sharing the same vernacular should use this only vernacular as their main language for daily interaction.

6.5 Figures and analysis

As the preverbal position of bae markers had been pointed out by Labov as being one of the characteristics of an obligatory tense marker, it seemed that the preverbal position of bae was a determinant variable. Accordingly, the sentences have been classified into two main categories: (bae/babae)+NP/PS+V and NP/PS+(bae/babae)+V. Table 2 shows the results of this classification.

	bae+NP/PS+V		NP/PS+bae+V		Unclassified		Total
	%		%		%		
Children Honiara	191	91.39	14	6.69	4	1.92	209
Adults Honiara	140	90.91	9	5.85	5	3.24	154
Children AvuAvu	37	94.88	2	5.12	0	0	39
Adults AvuAvu	107	87.71	13	10.65	2	1.64	122
TOTAL	475	90.64	38	7.25	11	2.11	524

Very clearly, informants in all four groups of this corpus overwhelmingly use bae markers in constructions of the type: bae+NP/PS+V/ rather than in constructions of the type: NP/PS+bae+VP. Surprisingly, it is the rural adult group which presents the higher percentage of bae markers in the preverbal position in the corpus. It is rather interesting for the theory of creole universals that a construction associated in another Melanesian pidgin (Tok Pisin) with the development of creolisation through nativisation, could be found in Solomons Pijin used by children and adults alike, and even more by adults than by children. Clearly, in the case of the Solomons Pijin, the children do not carry further the tendencies shown by the adults. Both constructions have always been available to Pijin speakers and the fact that some children are now using this Pijin as a native language does not affect the distribution of possible constructions across generations. But looking at the data one cannot but be struck by the very big difference found in Solomons Pijin between the two different constructions. Obviously either in rural or urban settings, the immediately preverbal position of bae markers is not a favourite one. However, as will be seen, the system of pronouns requires close examination. In most substrate languages of the Solomon Islands, the obligatory pronoun indicating the subject of a clause is incorporated in the verb phrase. If at least some speakers of Pijin are following a corresponding pattern in Pijin (as Keesing, this volume, p.97, argues) a bae marker preceding a 'subject pronoun' may constitute a future marker within the verb phrase. Hence, bae+NP+V constructions and bae+PS+V constructions may, for some speakers, be radically different.

If we break down the classification of these sentences into more refined categories with respect to the positions of NPs, PS and baes, some differences appear between the four groups of the corpus. These categories have been so devised because it seemed obvious by glancing at the corpus that the positions of bae markers were concomitant with the positions of Subject Noun Phrases (SNP) and Subject Pronouns (SP). With this in mind, four categories were devised, each of them being subdivided in two, according to whether the subject is a noun phrase or a pronoun anaphorically referencing the subject. Where such a pronoun stands alone, I shall label it PS (leaving open the question of its grammatical status); where it reiterates an explicit Subject NP, I shall refer to it as an SRP (Subject Referencing Pronoun). Where two pronouns occur, one in the subject NP slot and one in the SRP slot, I shall refer to the first as a Focal Pronoun (FP). The main categories are as follows:

A=bae+PS+V

- (16) Bae mi kom bek ifining nomoa.
 bae PS V DIR ADV CONJ
will/I/ come/back/evening/
I will come back in the evening only. (A1.87/1)

B=bae+SNP+V

- (17) Bae oiketa devol devol blon oiketa lukim.
 bae SNP V
will/PLU/ spirits/ POSS/their/ see.
Their ancestors' spirits will see. (B1.58/6)

C=SNP+bae+SRP+V

- (18) No, mami blong mi bae hem stei.
 SNP FM SRP V
mummy/POSS/ will/she/stay/
No, my mother will stay. (Cl.53b/3)

D=FP+bae+PS+V

- (19) Iu bae iu go insaed.
 FP FM PS V DIR
you/FM/ you/go/inside/
You will go inside. (Dl.74/13)

E=SNP+bae+V

- (20) Dadi blong mi bae go long ples blong hem.
 SNP FM V PREP LOC POSS
daddy/my/ will/go/to/ place/his/
My daddy will go to his village. (El.53b/4)

F=PS+bae+V

- (21) Mitufala nao bae tekem kom wanfala gel ia.
 LPPS TOP FM V DIR ART O
we/ shall/take/ back/a/ girl/
The two of us will bring a girl back. (Fl.60a/1)

G=bae+SNP/FP+SRP+V

- (22) Bae olketa pipol olketa laekem.
 FM SNP SRP V
will/PLU/ people/they/ like
People will like it. (Gl.85/13)

H=elliptical

- (23) Den tumoro bae finis.
 SEQ TA FM V
then/tomorrow/will/finish
It will finish tomorrow. (H.45b/2)

Table 3 shows the distribution of the various occurrences of bae markers in the categories.

Let us have a look at the different types of sentences in detail.²² In the first category, the sentences are of the type: 'A'=bae+PS+V such as in:

- (24) Bae mi iusim Pijin lo hem.
 bae PS V DO
will/I/ use/ Pijin/to/him
I shall use Pijin to speak to him. (Al.85/1)

or of the type 'B'=bae+NP+V such as in:

- (25) Bikos bae samfala saed blon gele kom wetem tu ia.
 bae NP V
because/will/some/ side/POSS/girl/come/with/too
Because some people on the girl's side will come along too. (Bl.18/6)

Table 3: Number of occurrences of bae per categories for each subgroup of the corpus					
	Children Honiara	Adults Honiara	Children Rural	Adults Rural	TOTAL
bae+PS+V A	151 72.24%	111 72.07%	36 92.30%	78 63.93%	376 71.7%
bae+SNP+V B	23 11%	13 8.44%	1 2.56%	6 4.91%	43 8.21%
SNP+bae+SRP+V C	9 4.30%	9 5.84%	-	14 11.47%	32 6.10%
FP+bae+SRP+V D	4 1.91%	2 1.29%	-	5 4.09%	11 2.10%
SNP+bae+V E	7 3.34%	5 3.24%	2 5.12%	12 10%	26 4.96%
PS+bae+V F	7 3.34%	5 2.59%	-	1 0.8%	12 2.29%
bae+(SNP/FP)+SRP+V G	4 1.91%	5 3.24%	-	4 3.27%	12 2.29%
Unclassifiable ²³ H	4 1.91%	5 3.24%	-	2 1.63%	11 2.10%
TOTAL	209	154	39	122	524

When put together, categories A and B comprise the main category of the corpus, representing 79.96% of all occurrences. Category B is of less importance with a total of 43 occurrences of 8.20% of the corpus. It is conceivably normal that this should be so, as in the context of discourse it is not necessary to repeat a SNP in all the sentences of which it is the subject if the context is clear. Once the SNP has been stated, its weight is carried by a pronoun in the remaining clauses of the sentence, or in the following sentences. In this type of construction, bae is either in sentence initial position (110 cases for A and 12 cases for B) or in clause initial position, (64 cases for A and 3 cases for B) in a very traditional pidgin pattern. Sometimes bae markers are preceded by a noun phrase (direct object or oblique), or preposition, either in initial of the sentence or in initial of the clause (13 for A and 3 for B).

Within category A, the main subdivision is A2 (COND...,bae+PS+V). None of the four groups of the corpus shows a tendency to use these constructions more than any other groups. Table 3 shows the results.

Looking at the occurrences of A2 in table 4, it seems that this type of construction has always been available to speakers of Solomons Pijin when they want to mark the future or the conditional. It appears in all four subgroups of the corpus in almost equal proportions except among the rural Children. Certainly, the data from Queensland and from the south-west Pacific (as mentioned

Table 4: Results of subdivisions A1 and A2 for each of the subgroups of the corpus					
	A1 bae+PS+V		A2 COND...,bae+PS+V		TOTAL
Children Honiara	77	51%	32	21.19%	109
Adults Honiara	63	56.75%	27	24.32%	90
Rural Children	22	56.41%	3	7.64%	25
Rural Adults	35	45.45%	19	24.35%	54
TOTAL	197		81		278

above) show that this possibility already existed at that early stage in the development of this language. One can observe moreover that the rural adults of the corpus, mostly old men who learned their Pijin on plantations in the Solomons between the two wars and old women who learned theirs on mission stations (such as Onepusu or Kwailebis in Malaita) during the same period of time and have not had since a lot of occasion to practise it, tend to use A2 as frequently as the urban adults do and slightly more frequently than the urban children. As direct influence of urban speech patterns onto rural speech is dubious in view of the sparsity of contacts between the two varieties, it seems that the redundant construction A2 has always represented an important way of marking future. Its consistency in the speech of Solomons Pijin speakers cannot be considered as a recent phenomenon.

All groups seem to use A2 with regularity, depending on context and discourse. Looking again at table 3, one notes that rural adults produce A and B in proportions significantly lower than the ones produced by the other groups. The difference can be found in C and D, which are rather well represented in the rural adults group. We shall see in the next section how one can account for these results.

The quality and role of the bae markers in sentences of A1 or A2 type has always been a problem to analyse. It is tempting to say that bae is a fronted adverb preceding NP/PS and VP in sentences such as:

- (26) Bae mi wokabaot kombaek.
 ADV PS V DIR
I shall come back. (A1.41A/3)

But looking more closely, it is hard to say that bae is 'more fronted' in that sentence than it is in the next one. Both are in clause initial position and in a very traditional pidgin pattern, they fill the slot of the future marker.

(27) Dad blong me talem bae mifala go lo West.

FM PS V

My father said that we'll go to the West(ern Solomons). (A1.46/6)

To analyse bae markers as future markers is even more economical in the case of sentences of type A2, beginning with a conditional marker. The conditional marker needs not to be tagged by another future marking device in clause initial position, but when it is the case, the redundant bae looks more like a future marker separated from the VP by an embedded PS or NP, rather than like an adverb. As we have seen earlier, the redundancy of bae in this type of construction is nothing new in the development of the Solomons Pijin. This redundancy is very frequent as well in sentences starting with a time delimiter. In these cases, bae markers are in the slot immediately following the time delimiter, and may well be a future marker within the VP, preceding the embedded PS, such as in:

(28) Tude nao bae mi go askem moa.

TD TOP BM PS AUX V ADV

Today I will ask her again. (A5.52A/6)

or in constructions similar to A2, such as:

(29) Taem skul finish bae mifala go ranran.

TD BM PS AUX V

When school is over we shall go running. (A5.41b/7)

However, as Keesing (this volume) points out, if speakers were following substrate patterns in the last two sentences, the future markers would not be separated from the VP by a pronoun (mi or mifala); rather, the pronoun would be incorporated within the VP, and so would the future marker. In both analyses, the future marker is part of the VP; or again, the time delimiter can be found in the slot immediately following the bae marker such as in:

(30) Bae next following wik mifala go lo skul.

BM TD PS V PREP LOC

We shall go to school next week. (A5.72a/4)

It is worth noting that in my corpus, only rural speakers of Pijin, either children or adults — who by definition speak Pijin as a second and secondary language — are putting time delimiters in such a slot. None of the urban speakers do so.

The next category comprises subdivisions C = SNP+bae+SRP+V and D = FP+bae+SRP+V. This category represents 8.2% of all occurrences. If we look at table 3 we note that this category is more productive in the rural adult subgroup and represents 15.57% (or 19 cases) of all bae sentences produced by this group. These types of constructions are not very frequent in the urban subgroups where they represent 6.21% of the children's sentences and 6.09% of the adults' sentences. It is interesting to note at this point that the vernacular languages of Malaita and Guadalcanal offer the same possible way of building future sentences. The future marker is embedded either between SNP and SRP, or between SRP and V. It is difficult at this point to explain why this type of construction is more important in the rural subgroup. One can look at it from the substratomanic's (in Bickerton's terminology) point of view and consider that among all the options of marking future offered to the pidgin speaker, rural speakers will tend to use these constructions more than any other groups because it is an option available to them in their language as well (see Keesing, this volume). Note that future marking constructions similar to types A are equally available in the vernaculars

of the informants of this corpus,²⁴ and if the calquing was really happening, we could only say that the more the Pijin speakers were distanced from their vernaculars the less important this category would be in their speech. Looking at table 5, we note that this is exactly what is happening. Unilingual Pijin speakers who are definitely not in the position of calquing because they do not know a vernacular language, hardly use these constructions. Moreover, they tend to use constructions A = bae+PA+V more than any of the other groups.

	A+B		C+D	
		%		%
Rural adults	84	68.85	19	15.57
Urban adults	124	80.51	11	7.14
Bilingual urban children (Pijin and Vernacular)	81	78.64	11	10.67
Unilingual urban children (Pijin only)	95	89.62	2	1.88

As clearly shown in table 3, unilingual Pijin speakers hardly ever use these constructions. Moreover they tend to use construction A more than any of the other groups. As I mentioned earlier, categories A,B,C,D are part of the future marking system of both vernaculars and Pijin. Pijin speakers and vernacular speakers have, it seems, the same possibilities. With a slight difference however: constructions such as type A and B are favoured pidgin constructions to mark future, and constructions of type C and D are favoured vernacular constructions to mark future. Looking at table 5 again, we see clearly the shift existing in the proportions of A+B and of C+D sentences in the different subgroups. While the proportion of A+B augments from top to bottom, the proportion of C+D decreases, and this is in parallel with the contact speakers have with a vernacular. What is striking here is the similarity in the occurrences produced by urban adults and bilingual urban children. This only confirms the proposition that I had made above, whereby their sociolinguistic situation being very similar, they are most likely to produce a similar percentage of different constructions, *mutatis mutandis*. While rural adults tend to use more widely all the options offered to them to mark future, urban speakers of Pijin tend to narrow down the use they make of this range of possibilities, to the point of not using them at all, as in the case of unilingual Pijin speakers.

Now the problem is this: if all four categories are part of the Pijin system, as I have argued earlier, why would these urban children focus on some constructions rather than others. There are many possible reasons for this. First the overwhelming proportion of A compared to all the other constructions gives it the status of the main future marking construction. It is the one children will hear most and the one they can identify most easily. Therefore if they are to produce a future sentence, it is most probable that they will

produce this one; particularly when they do not have a vernacular language that could interfere or suggest a different way of building such a sentence. Second, one has to think in terms of economy of change. If it is theoretically admitted that when becoming creoles, pidgins acquire semantic and syntactic redundancy, it is equally admitted that linguistic change can include loss of a non-functional redundancy. And for that matter it is more economic to produce sentences of type A rather than sentences of type C.

Categories E and F are interesting in many ways. If you recall, these constructions have been identified in Tok Pisin as becoming very important particularly in the speech of native speakers.²⁶ In Sankoff and Laberge's corpus, this type of bae sentences represent 151 occurrences out of 404.²⁷ This category represents thus 37.37% of their corpus (or 24.25% if we do not count the 53 elliptical sentences). Looking at table 2, it is obvious that this category is not an important one in Solomons Pijin: it represents only 7.25% of the corpus or 38 occurrences. Moreover, these constructions are more important in the rural adults subgroup where they represent 10.65% of the bae sentences produced by this group, than they are in the urban subgroups where they represent 5.84% and 6.69% in the urban children corpus.

These constructions seem to be available to all Pijin speakers, across generational and geographical boundaries. And once more it seems that we are dealing here with a rather conservative construction, as urban speakers produced only half the amount produced by rural speakers. If we again divide the urban children into two groups it is clear that unilingual Pijin speakers do not tend to produce this type of construction (eight occurrences) more than bilingual Pijin speakers (eight occurrences). The Solomon Island corpus does not show that this construction could be associated with nativisation. We can thus start to analyse E and F in a new light. For instance one could say that E and F are variants of C and D. If SRP in C and PS in D are subject copying pronouns and thus do not fill any syntactical function, they are likely to be dropped as redundant if the context of discourse does not require that the subject be topicalised or if the subject is contextually clear from any ambiguity. As Keesing (this volume) indicates, in substrate languages for which we have data, the otherwise obligatory SRP can optionally be dropped in such contexts. The preverbal position of bae in E and F would thus appear to be due not to its movement from a sentence or clause initial position into the VP but rather to a redundant pronoun being dropped from constructions such as C and D. And this is particularly true in the case of E where the subject is a noun phrase and is contextually clear. This type of construction is much more important in the rural corpus than F is.

7. FROM PIDGIN PIJIN TO CREOLE PIJIN

To understand properly the homogeneity found in the urban subgroups, either adults or unilingual and bilingual children, as opposed to the rural corpus, it is important to reconsider the opposition pidgin/creole. In this corpus we have in fact four subgroups which can be best described in the following manner:

Rural adults: speakers of Pijin as a second and secondary language, and speakers of a vernacular as a first and main language.

Urban adults: speakers of Pijin as a second but main language outside the home and speakers of a vernacular as first language and in some cases main language at home.
 May speak Pijin as main language at home.

Bilingual urban children:

- (1) speakers of Pijin as a second language acquired very young for whom Pijin is the main language outside of home and for most, the main language at home too.
- (2) speakers of Pijin as a mother tongue along with a vernacular and speakers of Pijin as a main language both in or out of home.

Unilingual urban children:

speakers of Pijin as a mother tongue and main language without any knowledge of a vernacular.

Obviously, the language praxis of urban dwellers is very homogeneous. Even if Pijin is not the first language of most of the informants of the corpus, it is nevertheless their main language, specially outside of the family circle. It does not seem, as yet, that the nativisation of Pijin in town has brought significant changes to the future marking system, beyond the narrowing of the possibilities. If we admit that there is an innate quality in the creole speakers, as in all native speakers, to accommodate and transform their language to satisfy their new sociolinguistic needs, then is it not normal to expect these innate qualities or 'bioprogram' (Bickerton 1983) to apply to the language of the first generation creole speakers? If they do, then there should be a difference between the two varieties of language, as of the first generation of creole speakers - that is, if the pidgin we are talking about is non-stabilised and non-expanded; and if it is still the secondary language of the population using it. But if this pidgin has become a main language for a speech community, it has undergone transformations which have nothing to do with nativisation, but have to do with the sociolinguistic pressures to which this pidgin has been subjected. It is then possible to expect that the nativisation of this main language will not bring much change in the language. This would explain, *inter alia*, why there are more differences between rural and urban varieties than there are differences within the urban variety, between Pijin spoken as a main language and Pijin spoken as a mother tongue. Of course it is always possible that changes due to creolisation have happened in other parts of the language, and that creolisation still has no effect on future marking in the Solomons. So far, a survey of the corpus does not show any differences, but a forthcoming detailed study of other aspects of Solomons Pijin will look into that.

8. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have attempted to show how bae markers are used by speakers of Solomons Islands Pijin. It is clear that marking future with a bae marker is only one of the possibilities offered to Pijin speakers to build future sentences. It is obvious too that there are many ways to incorporate bae markers in future sentences. In this respect we have to remember some points.

- (1) When it comes to usage of bae markers by speakers of Solomons Pijin, the main opposition lies between *main language* versus *secondary language* rather than between *mother tongue* versus *second language*. This opposition overlaps

the *rural/urban* opposition. As I have stressed before, Pijin is always a second and secondary language in rural areas. In urban areas, it is either a second language a first language (along with a vernacular in most cases), but it is a main language for most of the speakers.

(2) In Solomons Pijin, *bae* markers cannot be studied independently. Their position in various constructions is concomitant with the usage of SNP and subject pronouns. What superficially appears to be a movement of *bae* markers close to the verb from sentence or clause initial position, could in some cases be caused by a redundant subject referencing pronoun/predicate marker being dropped. Thus:

- (31) George *bae hem kom*.
 SNP FM SRP V
George will come.

can become

- (32) George *bae kom*.
 SNP FM V
George will come.

if the redundant SRP has been dropped. This explanation is particularly tempting as constructions such as 'George *bae hem kom*' are found in rural speakers' speech but are hardly being used by urban speakers, and constructions such as 'George *bae kom*' are less important in urban speech than they are in rural speech (refer to table 3, categories C and E). It seems that these two types of constructions are in variation in the rural adult sample and could represent two varieties of the same form. This would explain why constructions such as 'George *bae kom*' would not be important in the urban sample, as forms of which they represent apparent contractions do not occur in that speech.

(3) Rural speakers tend to use a wider variety of *bae* constructions than urban speakers. I have noted earlier that the more Pijin speakers were distanced from their vernacular to the point of having none, the more they tended to lose complicated *bae* structures which incorporate subject referencing pronouns or predicate markers. In this case, unilingual Pijin speakers do not innovate constructions, but rather tend to lose some that were existing in the speech of bilingual Pijin speakers. Doing so they tend to focus on one particular construction of *bae* sentences – type A = *bae+PS+V*, which they use overwhelmingly. In some ways, the loss of C = *SNP+bae+SRP+V* and D = *FP+bae+PS+V* by the unilingual generation of Pijin speakers can be seen as a dynamic process of regularisation of tendencies which used to be in variation. This is probably the most important aspect of the study of the future marking in Solomon Islands Pijin. We observe here, then, not a multiplication of future marking devices but a regularisation of the forms which are in variation in rural speech and a specialisation of the functions assumed by these different forms.

(4) In Solomon Islands Pijin, constructions putting *bae* markers in an immediately preverbal position are not favourite ones. Nor can they be associated with nativisation. They are found in all subgroups of the corpus and particularly in the rural adult subgroup. Because they are more important in the rural adult subgroup than in the urban adult subgroup we can erase the possibility that the occurrences found in the latter could be due to feedback action from the unilingual speakers' speech onto the bilingual urban speakers' speech. I would rather say that this construction has always been available to Pijin speakers but that urban speakers tend to lose it because they do not exploit all the

possible bae constructions. Indeed, the urban speakers show a more pervasive pattern and a greater frequency of using bae markers preceding noun subjects (construction type B) than do the rural adults; whereas the latter more regularly use bae markers to mark future tense or 'non accomplished mode' within the verb phrase, preceding a clitic subject referencing pronoun (construction types C and D).

At the same time, we can put aside the explanation that this particular construction could well be a result of anglicisation. If that were the case, only urban speakers in regular contact with English should produce it. As most cases are found in the subgroup having the least contact with English, and mainly no contact at all, I am tempted to say that this is a Pijin construction which has been part of the Pijin grammar long enough for the rural adults to acquire it and that it is due neither to nativisation nor to anglicisation. Moreover, unilingual Pijin speakers do not pursue the trend shown by the adults. But the most interesting here is the fact that what is happening to the bae markers in the speech of unilingual Pijin speakers after 20 years of nativisation of the language, is not very different from what is happening in the speech of bilingual pidgin speakers living in the same sociolinguistic environment. Does this mean that these two groups of speakers living in the same speech community and subjected to the same sociolinguistic expectations and constraints are likely to produce a variety which differs from the other variety of the corpus mainly because the eventual input of vernaculars is not as important or simply absent? Or does this mean that 20 years of nativisation (one generation) is not long enough for the effects that have been attributed to it to become apparent in Solomons Pijin? As I have shown, the changes happening in the structures of bae markers in town seem to be due rather to a generational change linked to sociolinguistic transformations, than to nativisation per se. Solomons Pijin is undergoing changes which have to do with its own system. To think that the only possible changes happening in Pijin could be due either to nativisation or to anglicisation would not do justice to the dynamics of the language nor acknowledge the sociological context which fosters it.

NOTES

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²1976 census of population: Text Table 19A.

³The main missionary lingue franche of the Solomon Islands were: Babatana (Choiseul Island) and Roviana (New Georgia Archipelago) used by the Methodist (now United) Church; Marovo (New Georgia Group), Maringe (Santa Isabel) and Gela (Florida) used by the Melanesian Mission along with Mota, the Banks Island language, used by the Mission as a general and international lingua franca in the New Hebrides and the south-east Solomons; Ghari (Guadalcanal) and Kahua (Makira) used by the Roman Catholic Church.

⁴The South Seas Evangelical Mission, originally from Bundaberg in Queensland under the name of 'Queensland Kanaka Mission'. Created by Florence Young in 1882,

its purpose was to give the Kanakas some rudiments of schooling but most of all, to christianise them. The teaching medium was the Kanaka Pidgin English. The mission was highly successful in Queensland and in 1906, Miss Young was claiming that around 5000 people per week attended the 14 mission stations of Queensland (QVP 1906, II:51-55. In 1904, one mission station was opened at Onepusu on the south-eastern coast of Malaita, the main island in terms of labour supply, with the object of providing for the returning labourers.

⁵There are 63 indigenous languages in the Solomon Islands, plus many dialects. These languages fall into two types of linguistic families: the Austronesian (or Malayo-Polynesian) family, comprising 56 languages, six of which are languages of the Polynesian outliers; the Papuan (non-Austronesian) family, comprising seven languages, scattered across the island group (Tryon and Hackman 1983:19).

⁶In Sankoff 1980:195-209.

⁷During the second half of the 19th century, the plantation system was the main economic venture of the European expansion in the Pacific. Sugarcane, cocoa, copra and cotton plantations were set up particularly in Fiji, Samoa, New Caledonia and Hawaii. By taking part in the trade, these islands were able to secure the cheap labour they would otherwise have lacked.

⁸Compiled from Price and Baker 1976:110-111.

⁹Also compiled from Price and Baker 1976:110-111.

¹⁰Some, who had been in Queensland long enough and otherwise met the government exemption conditions were able to stay in Queensland. The rest of the Melanesian labour force was sent home. As the Melanesian community in Queensland had lost its strength after 1906, and because of various sociolinguistic pressures put upon them by their new life in Queensland, the Melanesians lost the need to use pidgin. Except for a few words and expressions used occasionally by some members of the third generations of Melanesians in Queensland—the youngest ones being in their fifties—'Kanaka Pidgin English', has almost totally disappeared from Queensland. See Jourdan 1983.

¹¹It is worth noting at this point that as men from the Eastern Islands of the archipelago became primarily involved in plantation work, as they had been in Queensland and Fiji, most of the vernacular and social influences found in Pijin nowadays are those of the Eastern Islands, mainly Malaita.

¹²The definition of 'wantok' seems nowadays to be encapsulating ideological notions of group identity as well as of linguistic group boundaries. However in this context, our usage of 'wantok' refers to the linguistic aspect of the definition, even though both aspects cannot be easily dissociated. Accordingly, a 'wantok' is someone who shares one's language and with whom one has kinship or friendship ties.

¹³Partly because of high transport cost, and partly because of the high financial obligations towards their kin that they are expected to fulfill; all the higher for them, because they are wage earners and thus perceived as rich by the rest of the village community.

¹⁴To a certain extent, despite the pleasure that these visits create, they tend to rapidly become a burden to the host, precisely because of the food cost involved in keeping all the visitors, and are thus not overtly and enthusiastically encouraged. Having no gardens, town dwellers have to buy, either at the market or at the local store, whatever they eat, thus mobilising most of the earned money on the food budget.

¹⁵Pijin word meaning: vernacular.

- ¹⁶In Fishman's terminology.
- ¹⁷The same census reported that in Honiara alone, 407 persons over five years had claimed to have Pijin as their 'first language', whatever that means. Only nine persons in that group were aged 20+.
- ¹⁸For similar observations see Sankoff 1980:95-132.
- ¹⁹My original research project included plans to collect data in the rural areas of Malaita, for obvious historical reasons. However, because of difficulties linked to research permits at the time I was in the field, I got permission to work on Guadalcanal only.
- ²⁰Pijin word meaning 'myth' or 'traditional stories'.
- ²¹In the Solomon Islands, children start primary school between the ages of seven and nine and finish it after six years of primary education, between the ages of 13 and 15. Schooling is not mandatory.
- ²²The code which follows each of the examples identifies the different sentences according to the category and the speakers to which they belong. A code such as Bl.18/6 means that this particular sentence is found in category B of the corpus, subsection 1, belongs to the speaker identified by no.18 and it is the sixth sentence produced by this speaker in which a bae marker appears.
- ²³These sentences are unclassifiable due to hesitations appearing after bae, because some of them are elliptical and have no subject NP or PS, or because bae has been reduplicated.
- ²⁴Their vernaculars are: for the rural corpus: Kwaio, Kwara'ae and Toamba'ita on the island of Malaita and Tolo on the island of Guadalcanal; for the urban corpus: 'Are'Are, Baelelea, Kwai, Kwaio, Langalanga, Lau, Toambai'ta and Sa'a on the island of Malaita; Ghari on Guadalcanal; Arosi on Makira; Varisi on Choiseul; Luangiua on Ontong Java; Rennellese on Bellona and Gilbertese.
- ²⁵The urban children subgroup has been divided into two groups: unilingual Pijin speakers and bilingual Pijin speakers. The unilingual Pijin speakers do not know a vernacular, whereas the bilingual children do.
- ²⁶Sankoff and Laberge 1980:195-209.
- ²⁷In this category Sankoff and Laberge include 53 bae sentences having no subject — either NP or PS.

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SUBJECT PRONOUNS AND TENSE-MARKING IN
SOUTHEAST SOLOMONIC LANGUAGES AND SOLOMONS PIJIN:
GROUNDS FOR SUBSTRATOMANIA?

Roger M. Keesing

INTRODUCTION¹

I will take as my text constructions in Solomon Islands Pijin where what appear to be subject pronouns are preceded by the particle *bae*:

bae mi luk-im

bae mifala go etc.

I will argue that such constructions in Melanesian Pidgin dialects can be the outcome of (at least) three different grammars. I will provide evidence that suggests that older speakers of bush dialects of Solomons Pijin – that is, men who learned Pijin as a second language when they worked on plantations – use a grammar, in such constructions, which follows the patterns of substrate languages of the south-eastern Solomons.

The pattern of pronominal anaphora in Oceanic Austronesian languages, including Southeast Solomonic languages, is very different from that in English (although it has parallels in many other language families). I examine the Oceanic pattern of marking subject-object relations with pronominal clitics within the verb phrase, and associated marking of temporal relationships with tense-marking particles, in comparative perspective. Coming back to the Solomons, I examine the manifestation of these patterns in the languages of the south-eastern Solomons, the area which has provided the bulk of plantation labourers during the nineteenth century Labour Trade and twentieth century internal plantation system.

Having surveyed the patterns of subject-marking and tense-marking in Southeast Solomonic languages, I will examine the Pijin used by older speakers, to suggest that their use of *baebae* as future-marker, and their use of the (English-derived) subject pronouns of Pijin, show a close calquing on their native languages. For speakers who acquired Pijin as young adults, such calquing is perhaps not theoretically surprising. But in the context of Melanesian Pidgin it has, I will suggest, three interesting implications:

(1) The incorporation of *bae*, as a grammatical tense-marker, within the verb phrase is not a recent phenomenon, and a consequence of creolisation, but derives (at least in Solomons Pijin) from the decades-old period of plantation

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usage. Sankoff and Laberge (1973) imply that although the pattern may have been present earlier, the full grammaticalisation of *bai* as a tense-marker in Tok Pisin is a recent phenomenon, accelerated by creolisation.

(2) The Pijin to which these older speakers (who learned it as a second language in the 1902s and 1930s) had access allowed of pervasive calquing on substrate languages, in such fundamental respects as the marking of agent-object relations and tense. This strongly suggests that the Queensland Pidgin of the late nineteenth century already incorporated fundamental Oceanic syntactic patterns, an inference borne out by contemporary texts.

(3) Because these and other syntactic elaborations of Melanesian Pidgin date back to the early twentieth (or late nineteenth) century, they provide evidence for a very different pattern of development than those Bickerton has described, in *Roots of language* (1981), as characteristic of 'true creoles'. Bickerton himself (1981, 1984) exempts Melanesian Pidgin from the arguments against substrate influence he advances in his general attack on 'substratophile' interpretations. But the historical and linguistic implications of these differences have not yet been adequately explored.

SOUTHEAST SOLOMONIC AND OCEANIC AUSTRONESIAN

Subgrouping of the Oceanic Austronesian languages at higher levels is still relatively problematic. On the one hand, few of the 400 or so languages (especially in island Melanesia) have been well described; on the other hand, rapid lexical replacement, word tabooing, pervasive borrowing, and chaining at the level of dialect and language have impeded conventional subgrouping techniques. On several points most of the authorities now are in general agreement. One is that the languages of central and northern Vanuatu, Fiji, Rotuma and Polynesia fall into a single subgroup, for which Green and Pawley (1984) have used the term 'Remote Oceanic'. Another is that the languages of the south-eastern Solomons — south-eastern Ysabel, Gela, Guadalcanal, Malaita and San Cristobal (Makira) — form a single subgroup within Oceanic, marked by conservatism in their retention of Proto-Oceanic (POC) lexical, phonological, and syntactic patterns. Most of the Remote Oceanic languages are similarly conservative of POC patterns. In a 1972 monograph Pawley (1972) tentatively grouped Southeast Solomonic and Remote Oceanic languages together as comprising an Eastern Oceanic (EO) subgroup; but no firm evidence has yet established whether the similarities of the putative EO languages represent more than shared retentions of POC patterns (see Grace 1976). A third relevant point on which there is now some measure of agreement is that the Nuclear Micronesian languages — spoken in Kiribati, the Marshalls and the eastern and central Carolines — have some close connection to Remote Oceanic languages and/or Southeast Solomonic languages. Green and Pawley (1984) tentatively include them within Remote Oceanic; Blust (1984) questions the subgrouping of Guadalcanal-Gela and San Cristobal-Malaita languages together as Southeast Solomonic, and provides some tidbits of evidence suggesting a Malaita-Nuclear Micronesian subgrouping. My own guess at this stage is that a subgroup will be firmly established which corresponds roughly to Pawley's original Eastern Oceanic (although it may incorporate the languages of Southern Vanuatu and will probably incorporate Nuclear Micronesian, as well as Southeast Solomonic and the Remote Oceanic languages). These niceties of subgrouping are not crucial to my argument, except insofar as they will be drawn on to show that patterns assignable to an early Oceanic language probably spoken in eastern Melanesia are clearly preserved in

the daughter languages of the south-east Solomons and Nuclear Micronesia. (I shall draw on the latter to illustrate parallel syntactic patterns.) It does, however, leave me with an awkward terminological problem, with which I shall deal by referring to Eastern Oceanic as if it were a firmly established subgroup including Southeast Solomonic and Nuclear Micronesian as well as Remote Oceanic.

SOUTHEAST SOLOMONIC AND THE SHAPING OF PIJIN

Before examining the syntax of subject-marking and tense-marking in Eastern Oceanic languages (loosely defined in this manner), it will be useful to establish that Southeast Solomonic languages are those likely to have had the most significant impact (as sources of substrate models) on the emergence of a somewhat distinctive Solomons Pijin from an antecedent dialect of pidgin spoken in Queensland and other plantation areas in the latter nineteenth century. This is *not* to claim that Southeast Solomonic languages were the dominant source of substrate models shaping the emergence and stabilisation of this earlier Pacific Plantation Pidgin. I elsewhere (Keesing n.d.3) argue that many of the patterns of Melanesian Pidgin were established prior to 1860, and that others emerged in the Labour Trade, prior to 1880. In both periods, I argue, Oceanic (and mainly EO) languages had a primary shaping influence; but the special influence of Southeast Solomonic, if there was one, would have been largely confined to the decades since 1890.

Price and Baker (1976) summarise available evidence on the islands of origin of Pacific Islanders recruited to Queensland in the period 1863-1904. The figures are grouped by five year periods. The data can, for our purposes, be examined from two directions. One is to look at the percentage of speakers of Southeast Solomonic languages within the overall population of recruits from all parts of the south-western Pacific. The second is to compare percentages of speakers of Southeast Solomonic languages vis-a-vis speakers of other Solomons languages (which are mainly Oceanic, but include several small enclaves of non-Austronesian languages). Table 1 shows the percentages of Southeast Solomonic speakers in relation to the total number of islanders recruited to Queensland:

1868-1872	1.5
1873-1877	9.1
1878-1882	13.7
1883-1887	17.9
1888-1892	41.9
1893-1897	50.5
1898-1904	60.0

In Table 2, I compare the percentages of speakers of Southeast Solomonic languages from four areas (Malaita, Guadalcanal, Makira [San Cristobal], and Gela, including smaller offshore islands speaking dialects of Malaita and Makira languages) with speakers of other Oceanic languages and (to the extent they are recognisable from the tables) of non-Austronesian languages.

Table 2: Solomon Islands languages in the Queensland Labour Trade						
Numbers in columns show percentages; total numbers of recruits shown following five year periods.						
	MALAITA	GUADALCANAL	MAKIRA	GELA	OTHER OC	NAN
1868-1872 (n = 82)	8.5	14.6	11.0	36.6	29.3	-
1873-1877 (n = 910)	48.6	20.4	12.2	8.8	1.8	8.2
1878-1882 (n = 1688)	31.6	35.4	10.2	15.2	3.9	3.7
1883-1887 (n = 2891)	43.2	26.9	4.4	12.2	6.2	7.0
1888-1892 (n = 3588)	47.3	29.0	1.9	18.7	-	3.1
1893-1897 (n = 3084)	58.6	24.6	3.3	11.6	-	1.8
1898-1904 (n = 5081)	70.9	16.0	5.7	6.3	-	1.1
	TOTAL SE SOLOMONIC %	TOTAL OTHER OC %		TOTAL NAN %		
1868-1872	70.7	29.3		-		
1873-1877	90.0	1.8		8.2		
1878-1882	92.4	3.9		3.7		
1883-1887	86.7	6.2		7.0		
1888-1892	96.9	-		3.1		
1893-1897	98.1	-		1.8		
1898-1904	98.9	-		1.1		

These figures slightly underestimate the percentages of Southeast Solomonic speakers among Queensland recruits, since all of Ysabel is counted as 'other Oceanic', whereas Bughotu, spoken on the south-eastern end of the island, is a Guadalcanal-Gelic language. However, the figures serve to confirm the overwhelming preponderance of speakers of Southeast Solomonic languages among Queensland recruits from the Solomons, especially in the latter stages of the Labour Trade. Although Fiji did not play as significant a part as Queensland in the development of Pijin (Siegel 1985), Siegel's data indicate a similar preponderance of speakers of Southeast Solomonic languages in the Labour Trade. Table 3 summarises Siegel's data on Fiji recruits from the Solomons.

For the early decades of this century, when an internal plantation system was established in the Solomons and overseas recruiting ended, detailed figures are relatively sparse. However, the available data indicate that the same pattern continued, with recruits from Malaita and Guadalcanal providing the bulk of the labour force. The Labour Commission appointed in 1928 to investigate labour

	MALAITA	GUADALCANAL	MAKIRA	GELA	OTHER OC	NAN
1876-1887 (n = 4420)	61.0	20.2	12.7	1.6	4.2	0.3
1888-1899 (n = 1084)	76.2	16.8	5.4	0.2	1.2	-
1900-1911 (n = 1807)	88.3	7.6	2.1	0.8	0.9	0.1
	TOTAL SE SOLOMONIC %		TOTAL OTHER OC %		TOTAL NAN %	
1876-1887	95.5		4.2		0.3	
1888-1899	98.6		1.2		-	
1900-1911	98.8		0.9		0.1	

regulations in the BSIP gave the following figures for that year. Of the 2,176 Solomon Islanders recruited in 1928, 1,459 (67.1%) were from Malaita, 399 (18.3%) were from Guadalcanal, and 318 (14.6%) were from all other islands (BSIP 3/II/I, 1929, cited in Jourdan n.d.). Jackson (1978:224) gives rough percentage figures for 1925: 66.7% of Solomons plantation workers from Malaita, 33.3% from 'Guadalcanal, San Cristobal and Santa Cruz'. This great preponderance of Malaitans, and secondarily of Guadalcanal men, in the plantation (and domestic) labour force continued through the 1930s, and up until World War II. During World War II the Solomon Islands Labour Corps and Solomon Islands Defence Force were comprised primarily of Malaitans. The percentage of speakers of Southeast Solomonic languages in the plantation and domestic labour force in the Solomons through the first four decades of this century was probably at a relatively constant level of about 85-90%.

From these figures alone we can reasonably conclude that if Solomon Islands languages had any substantial shaping influence on prewar plantation Pijin, it is the Southeast Solomonic languages, especially those of Malaita and Guadalcanal, to which we should look for substrate models. It may be further relevant that in several other parts of the Solomons, one or more indigenous languages were adopted by missions as *lingue franche* (Rovaina and Marovo in the Western Solomons, Gela, Arosi in Makira, Bughotu on Ysabel). The Catholics on Guadalcanal used Visale and Ghari in some areas; but it was particularly on Malaita and secondarily on Guadalcanal that Pijin became used as a language of inter-ethnic and mission communication as well as plantation work. Not surprisingly, in the postwar Maasina Rule anticolonial movement, centred in Malaita, Pijin played a central part as medium of interethnic communication. Without assuming, then, that any Solomon Islands languages had an important shaping influence on the pidgin spoken in Queensland as of, say, 1890, it seems that to the degree Solomons Pijin represents a distinctive development from Queensland Pidgin, and to the degree substrate languages have contributed to this process (both questions to which I will return), Southeast Solomonic languages, especially those of Malaita and Guadalcanal, are the probable sources of such substrate influences.

THE OCEANIC PATTERN OF AGENT-OBJECT AND TENSE-MARKING

A brief review of some features of POC syntax is needed. POC employed a system of pronominal anaphora quite different from that in English,² although as I have noted the Oceanic pattern has analogues in other language families. In this system, agent- and object-relations are marked within the verb phrase through clitic pronouns indexing a subject NP and (apparently) referencing an object NP. The obligatory constituents of a transitive verbal sentence, in the canonical Oceanic pattern (Pawley and Reid 1979), comprise a verb phrase consisting a clitic pronoun referencing the actor preceding the verb, a transitive suffix attached to the verb, and (probably) a clitic pronoun following the verb and referencing the direct object. Neither the subject NP nor the object NP need be expressed in the surface syntax: it is the clitic copy³ pronouns that (at the level of surface syntax) are the obligatory constituents. Subject and object NP's, arguments of the predicate, are (to use Wolff's 1979 term) 'optional adjuncts'.

Four sets of pronouns have been reconstructed for POC, of which two sets are directly relevant for our purposes. Pronouns of the first set, which I will call *focal* pronouns, fit into the slot occupied by a subject NP. Pronouns of the second set, which I will call *subject-referencing* pronouns, fit into a slot in the verb phrase preceding the verb (and as we will see, are usually separated from it by tense/aspect/mode marking particles). A third set of pronouns may have been suffixed to transitive suffixes attached to verb roots, although this may (as Harrison 1978 suggests) represent a development out of an original system in which focal pronouns were used as direct objects. In any case, it is focal and subject-referencing pronouns that are of primary importance in my argument; I will refer to them generically as 'subject pronouns'. Table 4 gives Pawley's (1972) reconstruction of subject pronouns for the putative Proto-Eastern Oceanic (I have slightly simplified some complexities of reconstruction):

		FOCAL	SUBJECT-REFERENCING
SINGULAR	1	i-nau	ku
	2	i-koe	ko, o
	3	inia, ia	na
DUAL	1 incl	kitadua	tadua
	1 excl	kamidua	(ka)midua
	2	kamudua	mu <u>du</u>
	3	(k)id <u>adua</u>	dadua
TRIAL	1 incl	(ki)t <u>atolu</u>	t <u>atolu</u>
	1 excl	kamit <u>olu</u>	mit <u>olu</u>
	2	kamut <u>olu</u>	mut <u>olu</u>
	3	(k)idat <u>olu</u>	dat <u>olu</u>
PLURAL	1 incl	kita	ta
	1 excl	kami	kami
	2	kam(i)u	m(i)u
	3	(k)ida	da

The dual and trial sets are marked with morphemes for 'two' and 'three'. What is morphologically a trial set seems to have been used more or less freely as an alternative to the plural set, but usually with some implication of limited number.

The subject-referencing pronouns (which Pawley [1972] calls 'unemphatic subject pronouns') are, as noted, the obligatory pronominal elements in verbal sentences; the focal pronouns were used (in a putative PEO) 'when the speaker wishes to focus on or emphasize the pronoun', serving as 'emphatic or redundant subject' (Pawley 1972:36). We will shortly glimpse this pattern in Southeast Solomonic languages.

We can illustrate the operation of subject-referencing pronouns (SRP's) as clitic copy pronouns embedded in VP's with a few examples from Nuclear Micronesian languages (taken from Harrison 1978), which also serve to show how clitic pronouns reference explicit or implied object NP's.

Kosraen: sru ei esam-uhi sohn
 Sru SRP(3s) remember-him John
 Sru remembers John.

or: ei esam-uhi sohn
 SRP(3s) remember-him John
 He remembers John.

Woleaian: ye wer-i-yei
 SRP(3s) see-TrS-me
 He saw me.

Gilbertese: i noor-i-ko
 SRP(1s) see-TrS-you
 I saw you.

Rehg (1981:158-159) notes a pattern for Ponapean which will probably have to be reconstructed for POC (or PEO?), and which will prove to be significant when we come to look at Southeast Solomonic languages. The subject-referencing pronouns are obligatory constituents of *verbal* sentences, indexing features of the underlying (deep-structure) subject in the VP and marking the base that follows as a verb. However, some sentence-types contain no verbs - in Ponapean, equational sentences and replies to questions. In these sentences, the rule creating the pronoun copy (SRP) of the underlying syntactic subject (what for Polynesian Sandra Chung calls a 'clitic placement' rule) does not operate. Rather, if such a sentence has a pronominal subject, the focal pronoun is used. Thus, in Ponapean:

 kowe ohl loalekeng
 FPr(2s) man intelligent
 You are an intelligent man.

In Ponapean *kowe* is the reflex of PEO *i-koe, the focal pronoun; the corresponding Ponapean SRP, reflex of PEO *ko, is *ke*.

As I have noted, such a marking of subject/agent and object/patient on verbs is a common pattern in other language families. It is, for example, pervasive in Mayan languages. Thus in Tzotzil (John Haviland, personal communication):

 ch-i-bat ta j-na
 NONPST-1sABS-go to 1sERG-house
 I will go to my house.

ch-i-s-maj li Xun-e
 NONPST-lsABS-3sERG-hit ART *John*
John will hit me.

The pattern of ergativity need not concern us. Suffice it to note that in both the intransitive and transitive constructions the subject is marked on the verb; and in the transitive construction, the object is marked on the verb as well.

A pattern slightly closer to the Oceanic is found in Ural-Altaiic languages. Thus in Turkish:

biz gid-eceğ-iz
 we go-FUT-we
We will go.

and

Izmir-de ki adam-lar gel-ecek-ler
 Izmir-LOC REL man-PLU come-FUT-they
The men who are in Izmir will come.

can be rendered, without noun or pronoun in the subject NP slot, as:

gid-eceğ-iz
 go-FUT-we
We will go.

and

gel-ecek-ler
 come-FUT-they
They will come.

The first of these shows how the free pronoun in Turkish (here *biz we*), fitting into the same syntactic slot as a noun subject, is – as with the Oceanic focal pronouns – redundant syntactically; where it is used, it adds emphasis.

The system of tense-aspect marking in POC (and a putative PEO) has not yet been worked out in any detail. In his reconstruction of PEO, Pawley (1972:41) infers a pattern where an aspect-marking slot ('continuative') preceded the SRP and another aspect-marking slot followed the SRP. A marker for future-tense (which in many daughter languages is manifest either as marking non-past or as marking irrealis or non-accomplished mode) appears to have fit into the slot following the subject-referencing pronoun (i.e., between the SRP and the verb). Pawley (1972) reconstructs this future-marking particle as *-i. It was probably suffixed to the vowel of the subject-referencing pronoun. As we will shortly see, this is a common pattern in Southeast Solomonic languages. (Another future-marking particle, *na, in a slot following the SRP, has also been reconstructed for POC; but it is not represented in the languages with which we are concerned.)

SUBJECT PRONOUNS IN SOUTHEAST SOLOMONIC LANGUAGES

In general, Southeast Solomonic languages preserve quite clearly and directly the inferred PEO (POC?) pattern of subject pronouns. A set of focal pronouns is optionally used to add topical emphasis; a set of subject-referencing pronouns, embedded in the verb phrase, serves to reference an implied noun or pronoun subject or to reiterate an explicit noun subject (which in the canonical SVO pattern precedes the verb phrase). Here I set out paradigms of focal and subject-referencing pronouns for one Guadalcanal language and two Malaita languages. Further pronominal paradigms from Southeast Solomonic languages are set out in Appendix I (because most of the missionary-grammarians of these

languages did not understand the nature of subject-referencing pronouns, and worked mainly with Bible translations as texts of languages they did not speak fluently, the data are fragmentary in some instances). The forms given represent the subject-referencing pronouns unmarked for future-tense or irrealis/non-accomplished mode.

The pronominal paradigms of Guadalcanal-Gela languages can be illustrated with the interior Guadalcanal language Ghaimuta (Simons 1977):

		FOCAL	SUBJECT-REFERENCING
SINGULAR	1	(i)nau	ku, u
	2	(i)ghoe	ko, o
	3	ia	e
DUAL	1 incl	(i)kogita	koko
	1 excl	(i)kogami	amiko
	2	(i)kogamu	kamuko
	3	(i)koira	arako
TRIAL	1 incl	(i)lugita	kalu
	1 excl	(i)lugami	amilu
	2	(i)lugamu	kamulu
	3	(i)laira	aralu
PLURAL	1 incl	(i)gita	ka
	1 excl	(i)gami	ami
	2	(i)gamu	kamu
	3	ira	ara

Simons notes that in Ghaimuta 'the verbal [i.e., subject-referencing] pronouns occur in the verb phrase and are used to indicate the person and number of the subject of the verb' (1977:12). In Ghaimuta it is possible, according to Simons, either to use the SRP without the focal pronoun, to use the focal pronoun without the SRP, or to use both in sequence. In general, however, in these Guadalcanal-Gela languages the subject-referencing pronoun is syntactically obligatory and the focal pronoun is optionally used to add topical emphasis. (In some languages there are minor variations on this theme, such as ϕ -marking for the third person singular and use of the focal pronoun rather than SRP in second person singular.)

Turning to the Malaita languages (of the Cristobal-Malaita subgroup), we can take one pronominal paradigm from the northern end of the island and one from the central zone as illustrations. The first, from the north, is To'aba'ita (Lichtenberk 1984), see Table 6.

For Kwaio, spoken in the mountainous central zone of the island, see Table 7 (Keesing 1985).

For Kwaio, the focal pronouns are always optional, the subject-referencing pronouns obligatory — with three provisos. First of all, the short paired pronouns nau ku (usually contracted to na-ku) and ngai e (usually contracted

		FOCAL	SUBJECT-REFERENCING
SINGULAR	1	nau	ku
	2	'oe	'o
	3	nia	'e
DUAL	1 incl	koro	koro
	1 excl	kamare'a	mera
	2	kamaro'a	moro
	3	keero'a	kero
PLURAL	1 incl	kulu	kulu
	1 excl	kamili'a	mili
	2	kamalu'a	mulu
	3	kera	kera

		FOCAL	SUBJECT-REFERENCING
SINGULAR	1	(i)nau	ku
	2	(i)'oo	{ko 'oi
	3	ngai(a)	{ka e
DUAL	1 incl	('i)da'a	golo
	1 excl	('e)me'e	mele
	2	('o)mo'o	molo
	3	('i)ga'a	gala
PAUCAL	1 incl	('i)dauru	goru
	1 excl	('e)meeru	meru
	2	('o)mooru	moru
	3	('i)gauru	garu
PLURAL	1 incl	gia	ki
	1 excl	('i)mani	mi
	2	('a)miu	mu
	3	gila	(gi)la

to nga-e) are usually used together in first and third person singular. Second, the second person singular focal pronoun 'oo is sometimes used where we would expect the corresponding SRP (a pattern found in some Guadalcanal languages as well). Finally, in contexts of discourse where a noun subject is explicit, the SRP referencing it (and indexed to it in number) is occasionally omitted. This omission of a subject-referencing pronoun following a noun subject is also optional in To'aba'ita, but is apparently more common than in Kwaio.

A verb may appear without a subject marker if the referent of the subject is recoverable from the context, either linguistic or extralinguistic (Lichtenberk 1984:13).

In Kwaio (and probably in other Southeast Solomonian languages) equational sentences do not contain verbs. If an equational sentence has a pronominal subject the focal pronoun is used; the subject-referencing pronoun (which would mark the following base as a verb) cannot be used. Recall that this same pattern occurs in Ponapean. In Kwaio the same is true of sentences with locative phrases as predicates:

'aga'a i asi
 FPr(3d) LOC sea
The two of them are at the coast.

In To'abaita, such locative sentences are verbal, using the verb *nii* *be located* - which, incidentally, corresponds to Pijin *stap*.

FUTURE-MARKING IN SOUTHEAST SOLOMONIC

At this stage, we can usefully turn to the marking of future-tense (or irrealis- or non-accomplished-mode) in the Southeast Solomonian languages. A first generalisation is that in all the languages for which information is available, future-tense (or some close equivalent) is marked with an affix attached to the subject-referencing pronoun. Recall that in PEO as reconstructed by Pawley, future tense was marked on subject-referencing pronouns with a suffixed *-i attached to the SRP's. This pattern is preserved in many of the Southeast Solomonian languages, including most of the Malaita languages. In other Southeast Solomonian languages future-tense is marked on the subject-referencing pronouns with a monosyllabic prefix to the SRP. In either pattern, there is often some slight modification to the SRP (especially in singular forms), in the form of a shift in either the vowel or consonant of the SRP or some elision of the future-marker and SRP.

Let us first look at the Malaita languages. In the northern Malaita languages for which we have data, future-tense is marked on the SRP with a suffixed -i, -ke, or -ki. Thus, for To'aba'ita (Lichtenberk 1984:9):

		SUBJECT-REFERENCING (NON-ACCOMPLISHED MODE)
SINGULAR	1	kwa-i
	2	'o-ki
	3	ka-i
DUAL	1 incl	ko-ki
	1 excl	me-ki
	2	mo-ki
	3	ke-ki
PLURAL	1 incl	ku-ki
	1 excl	mi-ki
	2	mu-ki
	3	ke-ki

A generally similar pattern occurs in Kwara'ae and other northern Malaita languages (see Appendix II).

In two other Cristobal-Malaita languages for which we have data, Arosi (Makira) and Longgu (Guadalcanal coast), future-tense is marked on the subject-referencing pronoun with a bound or free particle seemingly invariant in form (see Appendix II).

Returning to Malaita, however, we find a rather different pattern of future-marking in Kwaio, where future-tense is marked on the subject-referencing pronoun with a prefixed *ta-*:

ta-ku *I will*
ta-goru *we (PAUCAL 1 INCL) will*

The only irregularities are:

to-'o *you (SING) will*
te-'e *he will*

When we turn to the Guadalcanal-Gela languages, we again find a common pattern of prefixing the future-marking particle to the SRP. Thus in Ghaimuta (Simons 1977:13) future is marked by prefixing *bak-* (or *ba-* when the SRP begins with *k*) to the SRP:

		UNMARKED SRP	FUTURE-MARKED SRP
SINGULAR	1	ku, u	ba-ku
	2	ko, o	ba-ko
	3	e	bak-e
DUAL	1 incl	koko	ba-koko
	1 excl	amiko	bak-amiko

For Vaturanga (Ndi), another Guadalcanal language, the future-marking particle is again prefixed to the subject-referencing pronoun. From the limited data given by Ivens (1933-35b) it appears that the future-marker has the invariant form *k-* in all slots:

		UNMARKED SRP	FUTURE-MARKED SRP
SINGULAR	1	au	k-au
	2	o	k-o
	3	e	k-e
PLURAL	1 incl	a	k-a
	1 excl	ami	k-ami
	2	amu	k-amu
	3	ara	k-ara

Thus, in Vaturanga:

ka-mu zajaba-na *You will know it.*

Pawley (1972:101) has commented at some length on the innovation in Guadalcanal-Gela languages whereby the initial consonants of subject-referencing pronouns have been lost, and future-marking *k-* has emerged as a prefix to these forms.⁴ Whatever the historical processes involved, what is important for us is to note that speakers of Southeast Solomonic languages share a general pattern in which:

(a) clitic pronouns marked for person and number and embedded in verb phrases, referencing implicit or explicit noun or pronoun subjects, were the obligatory subject-pronominal constituents of verbal sentences;

(b) focal pronouns, in sentences with pronominal subjects, were used optionally, to foreground or emphasise the pronominal reference; the crucial semantic and syntactic information was carried by subject-referencing pronouns; and many sentences had no subject (and indeed no object) NP's.

(c) future-tense (or irrealis or non-accomplished mode) was marked on the subject-referencing pronoun by a suffixed or prefixed particle. The latter pattern was most common in Guadalcanal-Gela languages, the former most common in Cristobal-Malaita languages, although future-marking by prefixed and suffixed particles occurred in each subgroup.

Let me now come back to Solomons Pijin.

SUBJECT PRONOUNS IN SOLOMONS PIJIN

I believe we err if we try to describe 'the grammar' of a Melanesian Pidgin dialect – not simply because there are local and regional variations in usages, but because Pidgin constructions are flexibly amenable to alternative grammatical analyses depending on the linguistic knowledge a learner of Pidgin brings to the encounter, and the age and circumstances of its acquisition. I thus will make no sweeping claims about *the grammar* of Solomons Pijin. I shall simply suggest, given the patterns of Pijin syntax, pathways along which it appears to have been analysed, and hence used, by some speakers of Solomons languages.

In a long unpublished paper (Keesing n.d.2) I have assayed an interpretation of the development of subject pronouns in Solomons Pijin out of the Plantation Pijin used in the latter nineteenth century in Queensland, New Caledonia, Samoa and (to some extent) Fiji. I suggest that in this Plantation Pidgin, as Solomon Islanders encountered it when (in the 1890s) they began to dominate the plantation scene, a system of subject pronouns, more or less stabilised, preserved the Oceanic pattern, but in a simplified form. In this inferred system (although there were variations in particular pronominal forms), the Oceanic subject-referencing pronoun slot was filled, in singular, with SRP's marked for person:

FOCAL	SUBJECT-REFERENCING
mi	mi
iu	iu
hem	i

In the non-singular slots, however, the equivalent of focal pronouns were marked for person and number (*iumi*, *mifala*, etc.), but apparently a generalised predicate-marker *i* was being used in lieu of a subject-referencing pronoun

marked for person and number.⁵ This pattern is preserved in Bislama and Tok Pisin, where to maintain reference for person and number a speaker must apparently use the full (focal pronoun) as well as *i* as predicate marker (see Camden 1979).

In the same paper (Keesing n.d.2), I show that older speakers of Kwaio (Malaita) who learned Pijin in prewar plantation contexts use a quite different pronominal paradigm. In their Pijin, the nineteenth century Plantation Pidgin paradigm is re-analysed so as to create a set of subject-referencing pronouns fully marked for person and number, as in Kwaio. The paradigm these older Kwaio speakers appear to be using is as follows:

Table 11: Kwaio Pijin			
		FOCAL	SUBJECT-REFERENCING
SINGULAR	1	mi	mi
	2	iu	iu
	3	hem	hem-i i
DUAL	1 incl	iumi (tufala)	iumi (tufala)
	1 excl	mitufala	mitufala
	2	iutufala	iutufala
	3	tufala	tufala(-i) i
PLURAL	1 incl	iumi	iumi
	1 excl	mifala	mifala
	2	iufala	iufala
	3	olketa	olketa(-i) i

These pronouns are, in the usage of these older Kwaio speakers of Pijin, subject to a blocking rule such that focal and subject-referencing pronouns that are identical in shape (or differ only in the suffixed third-person marker *-i*) are not repeated in direct sequence unless some particle intervenes. This can be the topicalising particle *nao* (L. Simons, this volume, p.53), a modal *maet*, or (as we will see) a future-tense-marking *bae*. Occasionally a speaker repeats the paired pronouns directly, but only when they are separated by a pause emphasising the topicalisation of the focal pronoun (as *nao* does). Some examples of the usage of these older Kwaio speakers, all taken from spoken texts, will show these pronouns used in contexts of discourse. The first passage comes from *Kwalafane'ia*, recounting his adventures on a prewar Western Solomons plantation:

ou, let-im hem-i kam, iumi bae-em raasen fo iumi
 EXCL allow-TrS SRP(3s) come SRP(lpi) buy-TrS ration for Pr(lpi)
Oh, let him come, so we can buy ourselves rations.

foromu masta hem-i no gif-im laaseni longo iumi
 because master SRP(3s) NEG give-TrS ration LOC Pr(lpi)
Because our master didn't give us rations.

nao mifala redi nao, ia
 then SRP(1pe) be ready PRF RHET
 Then we got ready.

mifala rukurukudaon longo wafu
 SRP(1pe) look down(RED) LOC wharf
 We looked down to the wharf.

oraet, mi, mi godaon longo wafu
 so FPr(1s) SRP(1s) descend LOC wharf
 So me, I went down to the wharf.

Here Kwalfane'ia uses Pijin pronouns in exactly the same ways, and slots, as he uses Kwaio subject-referencing pronouns; in the last sentence, he uses a focal pronoun for emphasis, then the corresponding (syntactically obligatory) SRP. Interestingly, one of the early pieces of pre-1920s evidence that Solomon Islanders were using the pronominal system I have sketched shows the same pattern, but using third person plural pronouns. It was recorded by the surveyor Knibbs (1929:242) in the south-eastern Solomons in 1913: 'Oh, altogether, altogether go along river. Me waitem along hot water'.

Later in his account, Kwalfane'ia describes how he and his mates were tried for assaulting the European plantation manager:

olketa mek-em kout long mifala nao, ia
 SRP(3p) do-TrS trial LOC Pr(1pe) PRF RHET
 So they put us on trial.

nao mifala kookout nao, olketa see, iufala ia,
 then SRP(1pe) be tried(RED) PRF SRP(3p) say FPr(2p) DEI
 They tried us, asking, 'You men,

wanem nao iufala kir-im masta fo
 INT(what?) TOP SRP(2p) hit-TrS master for
 why did you hit your master?' ...

hem-i no gif-im kaikai long mifala - mi nao mi
 SRP(3s) NEG give-TrS food LOC Pr(1pe) FPr(1s) TOP SRP(1s)
 'He didn't give us any food' - it was I who was the

fasi kesi
 be first case
 first one tried.

hem-i no gif-im kaikai long mifala
 SRP(3s) NEG give-TrS food LOC Pr(1pe)
 'He didn't give us any food.'

waswe iufala, fosi iufala hangri tumas nao, iufala
 INT(why?) FPr(2p) if SRP(2p) be hungry very PRF SRP(2p)
 'Why, if you were very hungry, didn't you

no kalaemap kokonate, iufala kaikai-em kokonate?
 NEG climb coconut SRP(2p) eat-TrS coconut
 climb coconut palms and eat the coconuts?'

Kwalfane'ia's usage of focal and subject-referencing pronouns exactly follows that in corresponding Kwaio sentence structures. The calquing is exact and pervasive. We see in *mi nao mi*... the pairing of focal pronoun and SRP. Later we find the focal pronoun and SRP separated by an embedded clause, in

waswe iufala, fosi iufala hangri tumas nao, iufala... Such degrees of syntactic complexity are not supposed to be found in pidgins (except in their later creolising phases); but here it is possible because the whole pattern is directly, morpheme-by-morpheme, calqued onto a corresponding Kwaio syntactic pattern. Jonathan Fiifi'i, another Kwaio speaker in his sixties, one who commands a repertoire from the 'bush' Pijin used here to contemporary Honiara Pijin, here gives another example of focal pronoun and SRP separated by a topicalising particle:

iu stap long hia, iu stapkwaet
 SRP(2s) stay LOC DEI SRP(2s) be still
 You stay here, stay quiet.

no seksek
 NEG move
 Don't move around.

mi nomoa mi go
 FPr(1s) only SRP(1s) go
 I alone will go.

This pattern of pronominal usage is not confined to Kwaio speakers of Pijin. From Tolo'au, a Kwara'ae (Malaita) policeman who learned his Pijin in the 1920s prior to the massacre he recounts here:

mista lilisi i kerap wantaem nao i go insaet long haos
 Mr Lillies SRP(3) spring at once PRF SRP(3) go inside LOC house
 Mr Lillies sprang up and sprang into the

takisi, ko insaet haos, olketa kiikil-im insaet haos,
 tax go inside house SRP(3p) kill(RED)-TrS inside house
 tax house, went into the house, and they killed him (there) in the house,

mi no luk-im nao
 SRP(1s) NEG see-TrS PRF
 I didn't see it.

mi aotsaet wet-em olketa busumane nao
 FPr(1s) outside with-TrS PLU bushman now
 I was outside with all the bushmen.

mifala faafaete aotsaete
 SRP(1pe) fight(RED) outside
 We fought outside.

mista belo, mista lilisi, tufala-i dae nao
 Mr Bell Mr Lillies SRP(3d) die PRF
 Mr Bell and Mr Lillies were dead.

mi nao mi faet wet-em olketa nomoa, mi aotsaet
 FPr(1s) TOP SRP(1s) fight Pr(3p) only FPr(1s) outside with-TrS
 I was just left to fight with them, I was outside

wet-em olketa nomoa
 with-TrS Pr(3p) only
 with them.

Here we find again the paired focal pronoun and SRP *mi ... mi* separated by the topicalising particle. We also see an example of *tufala-i* as subject-referencing pronoun (marked here for dual number as well as third person) used with an

explicit noun subject. Another narrative by a Malaita policeman who escaped this 1927 massacre, Usuli Tefu'i from Lau, further illustrates this pattern of pronominal usage.

oraet, samting hem-i laek-em, na waswe hem-i ask-em
 so something SRP(3s) want-TrS so INT(why?) SRP(3s) ask-TrS
So if there was anything he wanted, then if he asked

mi, mi nao mi du-im deskaen samting
 FPr(1s) FPr(1s) TOP SRP(1s) do-TrS this kind something
me, I'd do whatever it was.

taem hem-i siki, mista bel i gar-em siki nao,
 time SRP(3s) be sick Mr Bell SRP(3) get-TrS illness now
When he was sick, when Mr Bell had an illness,

mitufala kam long tulake,
 SRP(1de) come LOC Tulagi
the two of us came to Tulagi,

mi tuu mi kam mi stap weit-em
 FPr(1s) too SRP(1s) come SRP(1s) stay with-TrS
I too came and I stayed with him.

Here again we find *mi ... mi* sequences; and we also find *hem-i* as a subject-referencing pronoun referencing an explicit noun subject.

Was this pattern of pronominal usage confined to speakers of Malaita languages? The following passage comes from Sale Vuza (Sir Jacob Vouza), who learned Pijin as a policeman in the 1920s; his native language is Tasimboko (Guadalcanal):

mi luk-im wan man nomoa long Toabaita hem-i kil-im
 SRP(1s) see-TrS one man only LOC To'abaita SRP(3s) hit-TrS
I saw a To'abaita man who killed

mane wea hem-i hambaka-im waef blong hem
 man REL SRP(3s) fuck-TrS wife PsP Pr(3s)
a man who had sex with his wife.

hem-i kil-im finis, kam long Aoke nao, fo kam repot,
 SRP(3s) hit-TrS COMP come LOC Auki PRF INF AUX report
He killed him, then came to Auki to report:

mi nao mi kil-im
 FPr(1s) TOP SRP(1s) hit-TrS
I'm the one who killed him.

hem nao hem-i kil-im desfala mane wea hem-i hambaka
 FPr(3s) TOP SRP(3s) hit-TrS this-A/SMkr man REL SRP(3s) have sex
He's the one who killed the man who had sex

long wuman blong hem
 LOC woman PsP Pr(3s)
with his wife.

Here Vuza uses both *mi nao mi* and *hem nao hem-i*: unmistakable evidence of the re-analysis of nineteenth century Plantation Pidgin pronouns (as represented in Bislama and Tok Pisin) that has occurred among Solomon Islands speakers. What these Solomon Islanders appear to have done with the Queensland Pidgin they inherited, with its (for them) semantically impoverished predicate-marker as

generalised copy pronoun (in non-singular slots), is to recapture the semantically-marked subject pronoun into the SRP slot: hem i or tufala i became re-analysed as hem-i and tufala-i; with the short unmarked i form used as an option where reference is clear.

A final piece of text comes from another Guadalcanal speaker of this generation, Domenico Alibua, a speaker of the Tolo dialect of Talise (cassette and transcript from Christine Jourdan). Alibua's experience was in the Catholic mission, not the constabulary; so the pattern we have seen could not have represented 'police pidgin'.

den taem olketa muvu kam long hia, padre buyon and
then when SRP(3p) move DEI LOC here father Bouillon and
Then when they moved here, Father Bouillon and

padre koako tufala-i stap long hia, long avuavu fastaem,
father Koako SRP93d) stay LOC here LOC Avuavu at first
Father Koako stayed here at Avuavu at first,

den tu-fala bigiman long longgu tufala send-em nius
then two-A/SMkr leader LOC Longgu SRP(3d) send-TrS news
then two leaders from Longgu sent word

po olketa pipol long bush po kom kil-im olketa pristi ia ...
for PLU people LOC bush INF AUX hit-TrS PLU priest DEI
for the bush people to come and kill those priests ...

bikos gavman hem-i des kam nomoa, ia
because government SRP(3s) TAM come PstVbP RHET
Because the government had just come, right?

hem-i des kam apta - olketa misionari nao kam
SRP(3s) TAM come after PLU missionary TOP come
It just came after - it was the missionaries who had come

fastaem long solomon aelans
first LOC Solomon Islands
first to the Solomon Islands.

bet gavman taem i kam, hem olsem hem-i no
but government when SRP(3) arrive FPr(3s) as though SRP(3s) NEG
But when the government came, it wasn't

strong olsem tude
be strong like today
strong as it is nowadays.

Here in two places Alibua references explicit noun subjects with the SRP tufala(-i). In these constructions and others, Alibua unmistakably calques the Pijin pronouns onto the pattern in his native language of maintaining reference with SRP's, and creating semantic emphasis with focal pronouns (note gavman ... hem olsem hem-i ...). Note again the use of mi ... mi in the following subsequent passage:

olketa pipol des her-em lotu, state po kakam anda
PLU people TAM hear-TrS church start INF come(REDUP) and
People heard about the church, and started to come, and

skulboes kom anda aeven mi tu mi kam dat taem...
schoolboys come and even FPr(1s) too SRP(1s) come that time
school boys came - even I myself came at that time ...

den mi taem mi rid-im leta ia tu-fala skulboe
 then FPr(1s) when SRP(1s) read-TrS letter DEI two-A/Smkr schoolboy
The time I read the letter was when two schoolboys

tek-em go katch-em mi long talise angarich
 take-TrS DEI reach-TrS Pr(1s) LOC Talise Anchorage
took it to me at Talise Anchorage.

A final source of clarification of the pronominal system used by these older speakers of Solomons Pijin is the pattern used in non-verbal sentences. Data on such sentences in Solomons Pijin are limited, and usages probably vary according to the occurrence of such sentences in speakers' first languages. We have seen that in To'aba'ita (northern Malaita), equational sentences are non-verbal but locative sentences use a verb 'stay, be located'. In Kwaio (central Malaita) both equational and locative sentences are non-verbal. Older Kwaio speakers use exactly the same patterns in Pijin as they do in Kwaio.

hem long solowata
 FPr(3s) LOC sea
He's at the coast.

Compare, in Kwaio:

ngai i asi
 FPr(3s) LOC sea
He's at the coast.

That is, the focal pronoun — not the subject-referencing pronoun — is used in such non-verbal constructions. We may guess that To'aba'ita speakers avail themselves of the alternative Pijin construction:

hem-i stap solowata
 SRP(3s) *be located* LOC sea
He's at the coast.

This construction is of course also available to, and sometimes used by, Kwaio speakers. That such verbless sentences, using focal pronouns, are common in Pijin usage in other parts of the Solomons is clear from Heubner and Horoi's grammatical sketch of Pijin compiled for the U.S. Peace Corps (1979).

Let me now begin to work back toward questions of future-marking in Pijin — constructions such as *bae mi luk-im* — with which I began.

FUTURE-MARKING IN PIJIN

It appears that the most common pattern for marking future in late nineteenth century Pacific Plantation Pidgin was to use *bae* or *baebae* in a slot preceding a subject NP. In such constructions, *bae*(*bae*) can probably best be considered a 'temporal adverb'; it corresponds to the usage in the English constructions from which the lexical items derives. 'By and by we'll go to town.' This is the standard pattern among older speakers of Bislama (in Vanuatu) and Tok Pisin (in Papua New Guinea) for whom Pidgin was a lingua franca of plantation work.

However, it appears that in Bislama, at least, the possibility of using *bae* following the subject NP slot has been an alternative available for many decades. In such constructions, where a subject NP is followed by a pronoun or predicate-marker, and *bae* intervenes between them, *bae* is (it would seem) incorporated within the VP as a tense-aspect marker. This is the 'movement

toward the verb' which Sankoff and Laberge (1973) associate with recent developments in Tok Pisin catalysed by creolisation, whereby a peripherally-used temporal adverb becomes progressively grammaticalised.

Rather than adduce evidence for the early occurrence of such constructions incorporating *bae* into the VP, in Bislama and Solomons Pijin, I shall be content with a single – but to me, compelling – datum: a sentence recorded by Layard in New Caledonia (apparently in the 1870s), and published by Schuchardt (1883): 'brother belong-a-me by and by he dead'.

My texts gathered from older speakers of Kwaio and other Solomons languages who learned Pijin in plantation contexts prior to World War II suggest that by the 1930s the incorporation of *bae*(*bae*) within the verb phrase was the most common pattern, although *bae*(*bae*) preceding the subject NP remained a frequently used alternative. I shall here give a few examples of constructions used by these older speakers of Pijin where *bae*(*bae*) is used following a noun subject or a focal pronoun, and precedes the subject-referencing pronoun. First, we can examine two extracts from Kwalafane'ia's account of arrival of the Japanese in the Solomons when he was working on a plantation:

diapani baebae hem-i kam tudee, ia
 Japanese FUT SRP(3s) come today RHET
 The Japanese are going to come today.

evriting olsem baebae hem-i kas-em iu
 everything like that FUT SRP(3s) hit-TrS Pr(2s)
 All those sorts of things could hit you

long ruga bae iu dae, ia
 LOC Lunga FUT SRP(2s) die RHET
 at Lunga and you'd die, right?

And later in his account, talking of first Maasina Rule meetings:

nao iufala Kwaio baebae iufala dion-em
 now FRP(2p) Kwaio FUT SRP(2p) join-TrS
 So you Kwaio people join it.

And again, from an account of Tulagi under attack:

nara sikesiki i go moa longo 'ifiningi baebae hem-i kam
 another section SRP(3) go PstVbp LOC evening FUT SRP(3s) come
 Another [plane] which took its place in the evening would come.

Jonathan Fiifi'i, another Kwaio speaker (here using his 'bush' dialect), is talking of the long matches obtained in trade stores during his childhood:

dis-fala masisi ia, nomata siton, safosi thei
 DEI-A/SMkr matches DEI even if stone if SRP(3p)
 These matches will ignite even if you

sikras-em long hemu, baebae hem-i save laeti nomoa
 scrape-TrS LOC Pr(3s) FUT SRP(3s) MOD ignite PstVbp
 strike one on a stone.

Note here Fiifi'i's use of a form of 'they' as third-person plural subject-referencing pronoun, a pattern I discuss elsewhere (Keesing n.d.1 and n.d.2).

Where a noun subject is explicit, the subject-referencing pronoun can optionally be deleted, as in many of the substrate languages. Thus, from Domenico Alibua of the Guadalcanal Weather Coast:

den, olketa mane po devodevolo ia, olketa bipo i kam,
 then PLU man for ancestor DEI FPr(3p) before SRP(3) come
 Then all the pagans, before they had come,

olketa-i no wande her-emu, ia, bikosi olketa-i tink,
 SRP(3p) NEG MOD hear-TrS RHET because SRP(3p) think
 didn't want to hear it, because they thought,

ou, lotu ia baebae kam, i spoel-em devol blong iumi
 EXCL church DEI FUT come SRP(3) destroy-TrS ancestor PsP Pr(lpi)
 'Oh, if this church comes, it will destroy our ancestors.' ...

Where the focal pronoun is used in place of a noun subject, the future-marking bae(bae) fits into the slot between focal and subject referencing pronoun. Thus from Simone Maa'eobi, another Kwaio speaker who learned Pijin on a prewar plantation:

iu bae iu mek-em
 FPr(2s) FUT SRP(2s) do-TrS
 You will do it.

mi bae mi sal-em naef blong mi long Taunau'a
 FPr(1s) FUT-SRP(1s) sell-TrS knife PSP Pr(1s) LOC Taunau'a
 I'll sell my knife at Taunau'a.

iu bae iu goap wattaem?
 FPr(2s) FUT SRP(2s) ascend INT(when?)
 When will you go up the hill?

tufala bae tufala-i kambek wattaem?
 FPr(3d) FUT SRP(3d) return INT(when?)
 When will the two of them get back?

In Fiifi'i's text of his father's theft of a pig, when he was a boy, he tells of how a feral pig would return to its original home:

googo hem-i tink-im ples wea hem-i bon long hem
 then SRP(3s) remember-TrS place where SRP(3s) be born LOC Pr(3s)
 And then he remembers the place where he was born,

anaa bik-fala long hem, hem baebae i kambaek, ia
 and be big-A/SMkr LOC Pr(3s) FPr(3s) FUT SRP(3) return RHET
 and grew up, and comes back after a while.

However, use of bae(bae) in the slot preceding a subject noun remains an option, although in my texts from these older speakers it occurs less than one third as frequently. An example from Domenico Alibua will illustrate:

baebae evriwan, olketa soldia long merika, olketa tel-em se
 FUT everyone PLU soldier LOC America SRP(3p) tell-TrS that
 Then everyone - the American soldiers announced that

olketa-i no wand-em eni misionari moa po istapu, ia
 SRP(3p) NEG want-TrS QNT missionary more INF stay RHET
 they didn't want any more missionaries to remain.

From Kwalafane'ia's account of his trial for assaulting a plantation manager:

nao mi tanlaon nao, mi see, kokonate long rifa ia,
 then SRP(1s) turn PRF SRP(1s) say coconut LOC Lever's DEI
 So I turned and said, 'These Levers' coconuts -

fosi mifala kaikai-em baebae olketa masta long rifa i
 if SRP(1pe) eat-TrS FUT PLU master LOC Lever's SRP(3)
 if we ate them all the Lever's bosses would

tokotoko long mifala, ia
 quarrel LOC Pr(1pe) RHET
 get angry with us.

Elsewhere Kwalafane'ia's account illustrates the use of bae(bae) preceding a focal pronoun and subject-referencing pronoun:

baebae mi nao mi luk fo hem
 FUT FPr(1s) TOP SRP(1s) look LOC Pr(3s)
 I'll look for it.

I suspect that what is happening, when these speakers who seem to be calquing closely on their native languages in equating bae(bae) with a future-marker place it in a slot preceding a noun or pronoun subject, represents a topicalisation by fronting. In those substrate languages for which I have data, modals of possibility and probability canonically fit into a slot within the VP preceding the subject-referencing pronoun (just as maet does in Solomons Pijin). However, when the modality is to be foregrounded, these modals can be fronted to a position in the surface syntax preceding a noun subject. This pattern of fronting a modal from the VP cannot be used with future-marking particles in the substrate languages because they are marked on the subject-referencing pronouns by affixation.⁶ Bae(bae) in Pijin, being a free form, can (like maet) be foregrounded in this manner to emphasise the time frame or irrealis mode of the action described.⁷ Kwaio speakers of Pijin often use constructions employing both a modal of possibility and a future-marker. In such constructions the modal always precedes bae. The standard slot for maet is at the onset of the verb phrase, with bae (if used) immediately following it: olketa man maet bae i kam *the men might come*. If maet is topicalised by fronting, bae remains in the verb phrase: maet olketa man bae i kam. This exactly follows the pattern in Kwaio constructions:

ta'a no'ona bala ta-la nigi i gani
 people DEI MOD FUT-SRP(3p) come LOC tomorrow
 Maybe those people will come tomorrow.

bala ta'a no'ona ta-la nigi i gani
 MOD people DEI FUT-SRP come LOC tomorrow
 Maybe those people will come tomorrow.

At this point we can step back for a more general assessment of future-marking among these older speakers of Solomons Pijin who learned it as young adults as a plantation lingua franca. It would seem that bae(bae) is being analysed by these speakers as corresponding to a future-marking particle, in their native languages, occurring within the verb phrase. For speakers of Kwaio and speakers of Guadalcanal languages, for whom future-marking particles in their native languages are prefixed to the subject-referencing pronouns, the Pijin form fits into the same slot and allows of a direct calquing. For speakers of northern Malaita languages, in which future-marking particles are suffixed to subject-referencing pronouns, the fit is less exact but entails a shift in the order of tense/aspect marking within the verb phrase. The shift is not, of course, insignificant; nor is the contrast between a bound affix, whether prefixed or suffixed to the SRP, and a free form such as (bae)bae. I will return shortly to analyse the significance of the contrasts. Despite the significant contrasts

between bae in Pijin and future-marking particles in the substrate languages, for these older speakers of Southeast Solomonic languages, the canonical analysis of bae appears to be as a fully-grammaticalised tense/aspect marker within the VP. My fragmentary data strongly suggest that the rather different semantic shadings of bae among speakers of different Southeast Solomonic languages (to mark irrealis or non-accomplished mode rather than future-tense, or in varying combinations with modals of possibility and probability) will turn out to correspond directly to the usages of 'future-marking' particles in particular languages.

To establish this point with certainty would require a detailed comparative study of substrate languages and Pijin usages; and this has not been possible because of the present political obstacles to research. For Kwaio speakers, however, the evidence is very clear, if we examine the place of future-markers within the tense-aspect system of Kwaio, and the Pijin constructions used by Kwaio men who have learned Pijin as young adults in contexts of plantation work. We have seen how the future-marking particle, in Kwaio, can operate in conjunction with modals of possibility; and how Pijin usages exactly follow the same pattern, both syntactically and semantically. Even more clear evidence comes from the interaction of the future-marking particle with the aspect marker bi'i. By itself, in a slot immediately following the subject referencing pronoun, bi'i indicates that the action of the verb has just taken place:

gala bi'i nigi
SRP(3d) TAM arrive
The two of them just got here.

Kwaio speakers use the Pijin aspect marker das as equivalent to bi'i, in exactly the same slot:

tufala(-i) das kam
SRP(3d) TAM come
The two of them just got here.

In Kwaio, bi'i can be used in conjunction with the future-marking ta-, and creates a time-frame 'after a while'. Thus in a text from Maa'eobi, we get:

ta-goru bi'i aga-si-a
FUT-SRP(lti) TAM see-TrS-PrO(3s)
We'll see it soon.

And in a parallel Pijin account, we find:

bae iumi das luk-im
FUT SRP(lpi) TAM see-TrS
We'll see it soon.

From such exact, complex parallels between substrate pattern and Pijin usage, where subtle semantic shadings are created which are not predictable from the tense-aspect markers operating individually, we can be left with no doubt that such older Kwaio speakers are using formulae of morpheme equivalences (ta- = bae, bi'i = das, etc.) in calquing Pijin onto Kwaio. There seems no good reason to doubt that men like Tolo'au, Usuli Tefu'i, Vuza and Alibua were doing the same thing, with their various substrate languages which shared more-or-less similar ways of marking tense/aspect — even though for some of them equating bae(bae) with their future-markers entailed minor changes in the order of constituents within verb phrases. As such men, in contexts of plantation or police work, sat around their fires at night or ate their rations or cut copra, telling

stories in Pijin about adventures at home and away, they very probably correctly interpreted most of the semantic subtleties of one another's utterances despite the variations created by calquing on particular substrate languages. A Lau speaker might not produce a sentence exactly corresponding to *bae iumi das lukim*, but in a context of discourse he would very probably understand it.

In the Solomons, then, for at least half a century *bae(bae)* seems to have been fully grammaticalised as the equivalent to the marker of future/irrealis or non-accomplished mode in substrate languages, fitting into a canonical position immediately preceding the subject-referencing pronoun within the verb phrase.

This pattern in Solomons Pijin contrasts with that reported by Sankoff and Laberge (1973) for Tok Pisin, where the grammaticalisation of *bae* is supposed to be a result of, or reinforced by, creolisation, and to represent a 'shift' of *bae* in the direction of the verb. We have seen, in one of the sentences from Alibua, the illusion of such a 'shift' created by the (optional) omission of a subject-referencing pronoun following an explicit noun subject. In the other constructions we have examined where the future-marker is incorporated within the VP, it is in each case followed by a subject-referencing pronoun (as in substrate languages, where future is marked on the SRP).

This, then, brings us back to the constructions with which we began, such as *bae mi luk-im* – constructions where we find *bae* preceding a single pronoun. At the outset, I suggested that such constructions could be the surface product of three different grammars (as they shape pronominal constructions).

First of all, such constructions go far back in time. Thus Pionnier, based on his observations on Malekula in the early 1890s, gives as a future paradigm (1913:189):

banbaille mi go
banbaille you go
banbaille hi go
banbaille you mi go (etc.)

Schuchardt (1883) gives 'by and by he come'. And Florence Young, recounting her experiences with Queensland 'Kanakas' in 1887, records (from a man named 'Caleb'):

He no like-'im school, because he no savee. By-and-by
 he like-'im plenty, he come all the time. (Young 1926:46)

Where older speakers of Malaita and Guadalcanal languages whose Pijin I have examined use *bae(bae)* followed by a pronoun, it would seem that the pronoun is the (for them syntactically obligatory) subject-referencing pronoun. The future-marker would seem to be (in its for them canonical position) within the verb phrase, in sentences such as (from Kwalafane'ia):

bae mifala rus-im mani tuu
 FUT SRP(lpe) lose-TrS money too
 And we'd lose money, too.

And, from several points in Fiifi'i's narrative:

finis, hem-i see nao, oraeti, baebae iumi go nao
 then SRP(3s) say PRF OK FUT SRP(lpi) go now
 After that he said, 'OK, we'll go in a while.

nao, hem-i tal-em fo mitufala go bata hem-i see
 then SRP(3s) tell-TrS for SRP(lde) go but SRP(3s) say
 So then he said we were to go, but said

baebae mitufala go — longo safa nao.
 FUT SRP(lde) go LOC evening now
 we were to go in the evening.

googoraoni, mi go kas-em roti gogodaon fo solowata,
 circle(RED) SRP(1s) TAM reach-TrS path descend(RED) LOC coast
 Circling, I'll go to where the path drops down to the coast,

oraet, baebae mi put-um bikibiki ia nao
 then FUT SRP(1s) put-TrS pig DEI PRF
 then I'll leave the pigs there.

put-um kam kolsafu long ples nomoa, mek-em taem tutake
 put-TrS DEI near LOC place only CAUS(make-TrS) when dark
 He put it close by, so that when it got dark

lelebeti, bifo baebae i kar-em kam insaet long haos
 slightly before FUT SRP(3) carry-TrS DEI inside LOC house
 he could bring it into the house.

However, note that when a sentence has neither an explicit noun subject nor a focal pronoun, if bae(bae) were being used as a temporal adverb (in the slot preceding the subject NP slot) it would produce the same surface order as a construction where bae(bae) is a future-marker in the VP, preceding a subject-referencing pronoun:

bae + (NP) + SRP > bae + SRP (where NP = ∅)
 (NP) + bae + SRP > bae + SRP (where NP = ∅)

Data on Bislama (Vanuatu) available to me suggest that the former is the usual pattern in that dialect, whereas the latter appears to be the usual pattern for older speakers of Solomons Pijin. The differences between the two constructions are manifest when we find, in Bislama, both the focal and subject-referencing pronouns being used. Thus, in a text from a Santo bush Bislama speaker provided to me by Jacques Guy:

bae mi mi ...

and from Charpentier (1979):

bae mi mi blok-im marid ya
 I will prevent this marriage.

and

baebae mi mi ded
 I will be dead.

I have speculated (Keesing n.d.2) that it was the surface parallels created in this manner (and similar constructional ambiguities created by modals such as maet) that initially allowed Solomon Islanders to reanalyse sequences of pronoun + predicate-marker in the nineteenth century Plantation Pidgin into subject-referencing pronouns marked for person and number. Thus:

bae hem i kam
 FUT Pr(3s) PM come

could be reanalysed as:

bae hem-i kam
 FUT SRP(3s) come

and

maet tufala i du-im
 MOD Pr(3d) PM do-TrS

could be reanalysed as:

maet tufala-i du-im
 MOD SRP(2s) do-TrS

Two different systems of marking future, then, can produce similar surface constructions. I infer that one, with future-marker as a tense-marking particle within the verb phrase, was the standard pattern in prewar Solomons Pijin. As we have seen, it follows closely the pattern of future-marking in substrate languages of the south-eastern Solomons (whose speakers comprised the bulk of the plantation labour force). A different pattern, canonical in Bislama (and in older dialects of Tok Pisin), uses bae(bae) as a temporal adverb in a slot preceding a noun subject or focal pronoun. The two patterns produce parallel constructions when subject NP or focal pronoun is omitted.

I will return at this stage to the contrasts between (bae)bae as a free form, preceding the subject-referencing pronoun, and the future-marking particle in the Oceanic languages of eastern Melanesia, which characteristically is a bound suffix attached to the SRP. Why, we might ask, if substrate influences have indeed shaped future-marking in Melanesian Pidgin, and if the future-marking particle in most of the languages of Vanuatu and the south-east Solomons is *suffixed* to the subject-referencing pronoun, do we not get such constructions as *mi bae go? I infer that where bae has been grammaticalised by Melanesian speakers, analysed as part of the verb phrase, it has been placed in a slot preceding the SRP (a slot characteristically filled in these Oceanic languages by modals) through a kind of ongoing dialectical interaction with superstrate models and speakers of 'Tok Masta'. English-speakers using Pidgin, throughout the plantation period, seemingly always have used 'by and by' in clause-initial position, as in English: 'by and by you do him', or 'by and by this fella man he come'. Melanesians who, as Southeast Solomons speakers seem to have done, analyse baebae as semantically equivalent to the future-marking particles in their native languages, and the pronouns of Pidgin as equivalent syntactically to the obligatory SRP's, produced a linguistic coin equivalent to that of their overseers as long as they kept the future-marker in the slot preceding the SRP (retaining the option to topicalise the future-marker by fronting it in the slot preceding a noun subject, as modals can be so fronted in many of the substrate languages).⁸

This scenario illustrates how a third grammatical system can produce similar surface constructions. Pronouns can be analysed in an English-like manner, such that rather than pronominal reference being indexed within the verb phrase (with a subject-referencing pronoun), pronominal anaphora entails substitution of a pronoun for a noun subject, in the same slot. In such a grammar — which may be emerging among urban speakers of Solomons Pijin extensively exposed to English in school and other contexts — a bae-marker preceding a pronoun represents a temporal adverb: but the subject NP slot is filled (with a pronoun), not empty.

The point, then, is that the same surface constructions in Pijin may be produced by, or analysed in terms of, different grammatical systems. This, I presume, is a process which has been going on throughout the history of Melanesian Pidgin. For many decades the accommodation has been among speakers of different and mutually unintelligible (but usually genetically related and grammatically similar) Pacific Islands languages, and between them and speakers of 'Tok Masta' mapping Pidgin onto superstrate patterns. Now the patterns of mutual accommodation have changed somewhat, especially in the urban context (Jourdan 1985); but the flexibility remains.

CONCLUSION

The argument I have advanced points in a number of directions. First it suggests the need for a much closer examination of the processes of substrate modelling, and the sources of substrate models, than has yet been attempted. This is a task I am pursuing elsewhere (Keesing n.d.3), although the contributions of any one scholar in this enormous task will inevitably be limited and partial. It is a task, I suggest, that will require a dialectic between 'substratomania' (Bickerton 1977:61) and exploration of universal grammatical patterns, faculties and constraints.

Second, it calls for great caution in inferring from patterns of surface syntax the grammar being used by speakers of Melanesian Pidgins. At the very least, one would require a substantial corpus from a single speaker to interpret constructions such as *bae mi luk-im*.

Third, it suggests the value of close-grained examination of the usage of Pijin by speakers of different Solomons (or Vanuatu or Papua New Guinea) languages, to assess the nature and degree of calquing (a project pursued by Mosel, 1980, for Kuanua and Camden, 1979, for Tangoa).

Fourth, to the extent we take substrate modelling seriously, we must carefully examine the historical evidence to determine which speakers of which languages in which periods were centrally involved. I have suggested elsewhere (n.d.3) that studies of Tok Pisin have too often taken the wrong focus both in time and in space. Bickerton (1981, 1984) is undoubtedly right in exempting Melanesian Pidgin from the model of pidgincreole development he advances. It would seem that for at least a century, Pidgin has had a degree of syntactic elaboration and standardisation far beyond what prevailing theories would lead us to expect of a trade jargon or impoverished plantation *lingua franca*. Indeed, emerging fragmentary evidence suggests to me that much of this elaboration and standardisation antedates the onset of the Labour Trade. An early Beach-la-Mar spoken by Islands ships crews by the onset of the sandalwood period (1840s) already seems to have incorporated both a fundamental Oceanic syntactic structure and a degree of elaboration and standardisation that went well beyond a trade jargon.⁹ Melanesian Pidgin has a very different kind of history, and a very different structure, than the simple, unstandardised jargons prevailing linguistic theory would lead us to expect.

The future-marking *bae* is a case in point. Far from being (as a grammatical marker within the verb phrase) a recent outcome of creolisation, the evidence from Solomons Pijin suggests a much longer history. Layard's tantalising 'brother belong-a-me by and by he dead', recorded in New Caledonia more than a century ago, can well give us food for thought.

NOTES

¹For helpful comments and suggestions on a preliminary version of this paper, I am indebted to Tom Dutton, Alan Jones, Don Laycock, Andrew Pawley, Malcolm Ross, Darrell Tryon and Professor E.M. Uhlenbeck. Christine Jourdan has assisted in many ways, providing data, enduring hours of debate about Pijin pronouns and substrate models, and proffering many useful suggestions and insights. She also provided a valuable text from Guadalcanal Tolo speaker Domenico Alibua.

²Anna Shnukal has usefully pointed out to me that the pattern of pronominal anaphora in the colloquial English spoken on ships and on plantations in the nineteenth century may have provided models for Pidgin pronominal usages: these speakers may commonly have used a pronoun recapitulating and referencing a preceding subject NP ('my brother he ...'; 'John and Jack and Sam they ...').

³While the clitic subject-referencing pronouns copy an underlying *pronoun* subject, they *index* an underlying noun subject. In Oceanic languages they characteristically are marked for non-singular number only when the explicit or implied noun subject is higher-animate as well as non-singular, and when reference is to the plurality as individuals rather than as a collectivity. Otherwise, the third person singular subject-referencing pronoun is characteristically used.

Note that whereas the subject-referencing pronoun is indexed to an underlying noun subject, it may not be indexed in person and number to a surface noun subject. Kwaio (Malaita) provides a useful example. In a sentence where the underlying subject is 'Ubuni, Seda and I', this can be realised in surface constructions as:

la 'Ubuni ma la Seda meru...
 ART 'Ubuni CON ART Seda SRP(1te)
 'Ubuni and Seda, we ...

Here the underlying subject is

la 'Ubuni la Seda ma inau...
 'Ubuni and Seda and I ...

or characteristically, in EO languages at least,

'e-meeru la 'Ubuni ma la Seda...
 FPr(3te) ART 'Ubuni CON ART Seda
 We, 'Ubuni and Seda (and I) ...

If, in PEO, an explicit direct object NP was referenced by a clitic pronoun suffixed to the transitive suffix (this is not certain; see Harrison 1978), this clitic was apparently in an invariant 3p.s. form (i.e., it was not marked for non-singular number, even though the following direct object NP might be plural).

⁴Pawley notes that:

PEO *(ng)ku, *ko, and *n(i)a are reconstructed ... as the shapes of the embedded subject pronouns marking 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular respectively. They are replaced in Bugotu, Nggela [Gela], Vaturanga (Guadalcanal-Nggelic languages) and in Sa'a (Malaita) by u, o and e respectively ...

The loss of *k appears to be related to the development in these languages of a special series of preverbal forms

marking future tense plus person and number. Bugotu, Nggela and Vaturanga exhibit forms consisting of a future marker plus pronouns -u, -o, and -e... The simplifications led to the development of u, o and e as the basic, isolable pronoun forms, ke having been reinterpreted as consisting of future marker k- plus 3rd singular pronoun -e.

⁵In Keesing n.d.2, I suggest that the semantic impoverishment of Oceanic subject-referencing pronouns in Queensland Pidgin may not simply represent the simplification characteristic of pidgins, but may reflect the fact that in many of the Northern New Hebridean languages spoken in the heartland of the 1870s-1880s Labour Trade, the Oceanic subject-referencing pronouns are similarly impoverished semantically. Thus in Mota, SRP's marked for person and number have vanished, and in a sentence unmarked for tense or modality are represented in vestigial form by the invariant predicate-marker i; in Maewo, the two sets of SRP's contain only residual semantic marking, the one used in 'simple indicative sentences' has the invariant form i, except in 2p.s. and lp.p.e., where it assumes the form u (Codrington 1885:410, 412-413).

⁶Kwaio provides an interesting partial exception. Where the normal pattern of future-marking operates by prefixing the particle ta- (or an allomorph) to the subject-referencing pronoun, Kwaio speakers occasionally use a longer, free, form of the future-marker ta'a, in the slot preceding a subject-referencing pronoun: ta'a gila leka is a rare alternative of ta-la leka *they will go*. In a verbal sentence, where there is a subject-referencing pronoun and a slot within the verb phrase for ta'a or ta-, the future-marker would not be fronted into a slot preceding a noun subject or focal pronoun. However, in a non-verbal sentence with a prepositional phrase as predicate there is no subject-referencing pronoun or verb phrase; and although the need for future-marking in such a sentence would be rare, I have recorded:

ta'a 'e-meeru 'ubu-na ano
 FUT FPr(lte) inside-PrS(3s) forest
We will be in the forest.

Here the future-marker is fronted to a position preceding the focal pronoun, which is in the same slot as a noun subject would be; this exactly corresponds to (a Kwaio speaker's) Pijin baebae mifala long sikilafu, where the sentence is verbless and mifala is the focal pronoun.

⁷Camden (personal communication) believes that for at least some speakers of Bislama, who use bae(bae) both within the VP and preceding a noun (or pronoun) subject, the latter usage represents a topicalisation or foregrounding of the temporality or modality by means of fronting.

⁸I am indebted to Tom Dutton and Darrell Tryon for useful discussion of this problem.

⁹In 1977 correspondence with me, Bickerton (personal communication) posed the following intriguing questions:

It occurs to me that if, somewhere in the South Pacific around 1850 or thereabouts, there had been a plantation settled over a period long enough for children to grow up and acquire and stabilize the language, that language could have been *repidginized* (as has certainly happened with Krio in West Africa) and retained its structure as

it was disseminated through the Pacific, taking on substratal undertones (or overtones!) in the various places it took root. Is there any historical evidence whatsoever that such a development might have occurred (it might have happened in somewhere that's no longer pidgin speaking, one of the Micronesian islands say)?

In 1977 I thought that Bickerton was wrong, and that the fundamental structures of Pidgin had evolved during the Labour Trade, with Oceanic languages of the New Hebrides and Solomons providing the crucial substratal influences. I now believe, although the evidence is fragmentary that Bickerton was right — that a Pacific trade jargon creolised by the latter 1840s, was imported by ships' crews into southern Melanesia during the sandalwood trade, underwent subsequent further creolising influences in that period, and was introduced more or less fully developed into the Labour Trade, with sailors from the Loyalties, Isle des Pins, etc., as crucial agents. But I believe Bickerton was wrong in guessing that plantations provided the crucial locus. I believe multilingual, multi-ethnic ships' crews, and children (including half-European children) growing up on them were the crucial loci, with such shore-bases as Kosrae in the Carolines, Rotuma and the 'Kingsmill Islands' (Gilberts = Kiribati) playing an important part as well. However, I believe that some grammatical elaboration and standardisation took place during the Labour Trade, prior to the separation of Tok Pisin (via Samoa and the Bismarcks) from the Melanesian Pidgin lineage. These speculations are pursued further in Keesing n.d.3. If they are correct, the early Oceanic substrate models underlying Melanesian Pidgin syntax came from Eastern Oceanic languages, but predominantly from Nuclear Micronesian languages.

APPENDIX I: SUBJECT PRONOUNS IN SOUTHEAST SOLOMONIC

Some grammatical information on other languages in the Guadalcanal-Gela subgroup is available, although pronominal paradigms are fragmentary and partial. (As noted, the early missionary grammarians were not aware of the grammatical nature and function of subject-referencing pronouns, so data on them is necessarily inferential and often incomplete.) Forms given here are those unmarked for future-tense or irrealis mode (see Appendix II for future-marked forms).

		FOCAL	SUBJECT-REFERENCING
SINGULAR	1	(i)nu	nu
	2	(i)ghoe, gho	o
	3	(i)ghia	ni
DUAL	1 incl	(tauka)	tako
	1 excl	ghamiruka (gharika)	miko
	2	ghamuruka	muko
	3	ghiruka (rauka)	ako

continued ...

Table 12 continued ...

TRIAL	1 incl	[ghitatolu?]	[tatu?]
	1 excl	[ghamitolu]	[mitu?]
	2	[ghamutolu]	[mutu?]
	3	ghiratolu	atu
PLURAL	1 incl	(i)ghita	ta
	1 excl	(i)ghami	mi
	2	(i)ghamu	mu
	3	(i)ghira	a

Here the data are taken from Capell (1930), augmented by data from Tryon and Hackman (1983: in parentheses). For Vaturanga (Ndi) we find some condensation of semantic information in the non-singular subject-referencing pronouns, which (optionally?) omit the number-marking 'two' or 'three' morpheme:

Table 13: Vaturanga (Guadalcanal)

		FOCAL	SUBJECT-REFERENCING
SINGULAR	1	(i)nau	au, nau
	2	(i)hoe	o, hoe
	3	aia	e
DUAL	1 incl	kuta	a
	1 excl	kuami	ami
	2	kuamu	amu
	3	kura	ara
TRIAL	1 incl	taluhita	a
	1 excl	taluhami	ami
	2	taluhamu	amu
	3	taluhira	ara
PLURAL	1 incl	(i)hita	a
	1 excl	(i)hami	ami
	2	(i)hamu	amu
	3	(i)hira	ara

Ivens (1933-35b:358) notes that:

the short forms in the [second] column are used by themselves as the subject: au vano *I am going*; but the long forms of the first column, inau, etc. [i.e., the focal pronouns marked with i-] must always be followed in the singular and plural by the shorter forms ... while the forms of the [first] column [which are marked with -i] must always be followed by the short forms. However, hoe is never used with ihoe, though it may serve as a subject, being followed by o ... The dual and trial forms are never used alone as the subject, but are always followed by the short plural forms of the third column.

For languages of the Cristobal-Malaita subgroup we have, first the Longgu language of the Guadalcanal coast (Ivens 1933-35a:609-610).

		FOCAL	SUBJECT-REFERENCING
SINGULAR	1	(i)nau	u
	2	(i)oe	o
	3	(i)ngaia	e
PLURAL	1 incl	(i)nggia	nggia'a
	1 excl	(i)ami	ami
	2	(i)amu	amu
	3	(i)nggira	nggira, ara

Dual forms are the same as plural ones, but marked with *rua* two. Ivens notes that 'the forms in the second column [the SRP's] are used by themselves as the subject, or they may follow the longer forms of the first column' (Ivens 1933-35a:610).

For Arosi, spoken on Makira (San Cristobal), we have (Capell 1971):

		FOCAL	SUBJECT-REFERENCING
SINGULAR	1	inau	au
	2	i'oe	'o
	3	iia	a
DUAL	1 incl	igara	gari
	1 excl	i'amiria	miri
	2	('a)murua	muru
	3	irarua	raru
PLURAL	1 incl	igia	gaau
	1 excl	i'ameu	mi, meu
	2	i'amou	mou
	3	iraaui	ra, rau

Capell (1971:23) comments that:

it is not possible to say inau 'ari = *I go*. There must be an indicator of person, number and time [i.e., an SRP] that links the actor inau to the action 'ari: in this case nau, so that the utterance becomes inau 'ari, *I go*. The part that can be omitted is the actor, inau, unless the utterance is emphatic, I am going.

The pronouns of the northern Malaita languages are essentially the same as those given for To'aba'ita. The subject-referencing pronouns (unmarked for future) in Kwara'ae (north-central Malaita) are given in Appendix II, along with future-marked forms.

APPENDIX II: FUTURE-MARKING IN CRISTOBAL-MALAITA LANGUAGES

Here a few further exemplifications of future-marking in Cristobal-Malaita languages are given. For Kwara'ae, spoken in north-central Malaita, we can compare subject-referencing pronouns unmarked for future (column 1) and marked for future (column 2); data are from Deck (1934:36-40):

		SRP (UNMARKED)	SRP (MARKED FOR FUTURE)
SINGULAR	1	ku	ku-i
	2	ko	'o-ke
	3	ka	ke
DUAL	1 incl	koro	koro-ke
	1 excl	mere	me-ke
	2	moro	mo-ke
	3	ka	ke
TRIAL	1 incl	kulu	kulu-ke
	1 excl	mili	(kai)mili-ke
	2	mulu	mulu-ke
	3	kirulu	kirulu-ke
PLURAL	1 incl	ka	ke
	1 excl	kami	kami-ke
	2	kamu	kamu-ke
	3	kira	kira-ke

In Arosi (Capell 1971:27) future-tense is marked on the SRP with a suffixed -i, with only minimal modifications of the SRP's:

		NON-FUTURE SRP	FUTURE-MARKED SRP
SINGULAR	1	(n)au	wa-i
	2	'o	'o-i
	3	a	(n)a-i
DUAL	1 incl	gari	gari-i
	1 excl	miri	miri-i

In Longgu, though the data are incomplete and confused, future-marking seems to be accomplished with the invariant particle gho following the subject-referencing pronoun (Ivens 1933-35a).

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ON THE LACK OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING TUVALUANS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Doug Munro

Tuvalu (formerly the Ellice Islands) is a cluster of nine small coral atolls and reef islands situated in western Polynesia near the junction of the Equator and the International Date Line. The Tuvalu language is Polynesian and belongs to the Samoic subgroup of languages (Pawley 1966). Today most of the 7000+ Tuvaluans living within their group are at least bilingual. Kiribati, the language of the Gilbert Islands (now Kiribati), is the second language for many. This is in consequence of Tuvalu's previous colonial association, from 1893 until 1975, with this island group. Indeed, Kiribati is still the preferred second language for many Tuvaluans. English, although the language of instruction, comes a poor third. But as the language of government it is nevertheless in widespread use when the occasion demands. This was not always the case: only in the present century has English-speaking ability been in evidence. The present paper seeks to document and explain why that proficiency was lacking last century.

English-speaking ability among Pacific Islanders in the nineteenth century generally depended on the nature and the intensity of their contacts with native English speakers. In the case of Tuvalu these were hardly extensive. Even when the ubiquitous whaleship began cruising the area from the 1820s, a sail on the horizon was still a rare sight. In short Tuvalu held little attraction to whalers: whales were few, the facilities for repairs and reprovisioning were minimal, and the badly charted islands were regarded as dangerous obstacles to navigation. Tuvalu was thus treated as a thoroughfare rather than a resort, with whaleships typically passing through the group to other whaling grounds without contacts of any description taking place between ship and shore. When contacts did occur, they generally took the form of Tuvaluans coming out in their canoes to barter with whalers on the open sea. An estimated 200-250 whaling voyages passed through Tuvalu (Munro 1982:35&n.), a meagre total when one considers that 'some 300 American whalers must have been at sea at any one time from 1820-35 and some 600 from 1835-60' (Wace and Lovett 1973:14).

The Tuvalu experience contrasts with that of several neighbouring islands or clusters of islands. Both Rotuma and Wallis Island, to the south and south-east, were frequently visited by whalers with crewmen frequently going ashore (Campbell 1976:65-66), while in southern Kiribati to the north 'the whaling era

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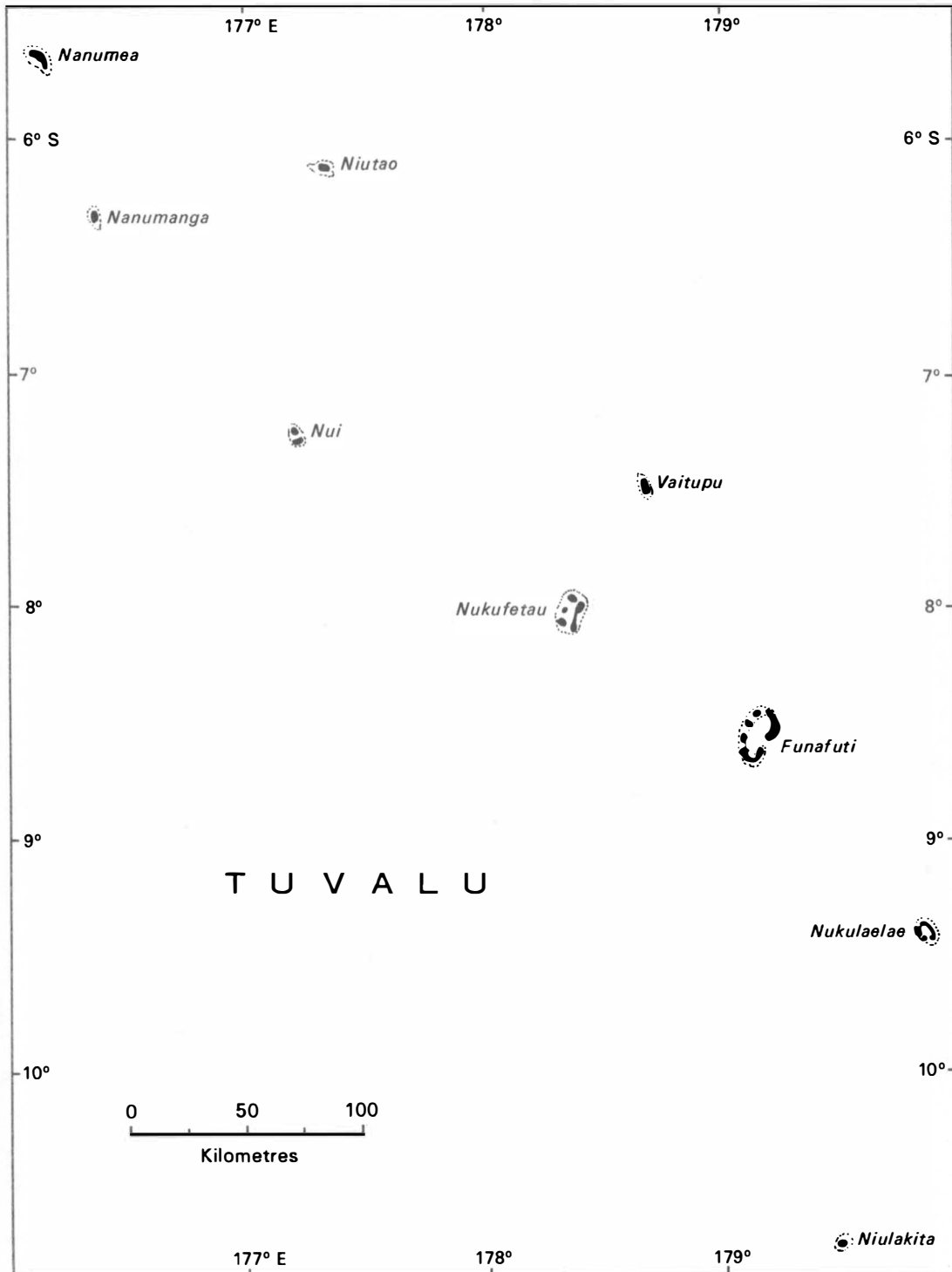


Figure 1: Tuvalu (formerly the Ellice Islands). After Admiralty Chart No.1830.

saw a frequency of shipping and a degree of contact which has not been matched since' (Macdonald 1982:24). At Wallis Island by the late 1830s the 'volume of shipping had become so great that many of the Islanders spoke a little English' (Campbell 1976:66); and Macdonald (1982:21) considers that the small groups of Europeans scattered through southern Kiribati, who acted as middlemen and interpreters to passing whaleships, had their role usurped by the

number of Islanders, especially those who had worked on whalers themselves, who were soon sufficiently proficient in English to conduct their own trade. In any case, trade was adequately carried on without the benefit of language with the Gilbertese holding up in one hand the article for sale and then holding up the fingers of the other to indicate how many heads or plugs ... of tobacco they wanted in exchange.

Tuvaluans made themselves understood in the same way. On one occasion

...several canoes came off, with cocoa-nuts, which the natives traded for pieces of iron hoop, and fish hooks ... they held up in one hand cocoa-nuts, and the forefinger of the other was hooked in their mouths, exclaiming 'mattaw, mattaw' [matau] meaning fish-hooks

(Jarman 1838:163-164).

At this stage there was no need for Tuvaluans to know English since they could make themselves understood by sign language to passing whalers.

In any case the opportunities for Tuvaluans of this period to acquire even a rudimentary knowledge of English were lacking. Very few Tuvaluans went out into the wider world and fewer still white men lived in the group. Again, comparisons with Wallis Island and Rotuma are instructive. According to Campbell, the historian of beachcomber activity in the Pacific, both places

became beachcomber centres on a scale quite disproportionate to their size. Wallis Island had a floating population of perhaps a few dozen at various times in the 1830's, with several more residing more or less permanently. Rotuma had several beachcombers during the 1820's (Campbell 1976:81).

By 1830, 30 Englishmen alone were living at Rotuma (Bach 1968:6n) and ten white men at Wallis Island in 1839 (Wilkes 1845:II,58). It was the presence of these men, rather than the mere volume of shipping, which was the decisive factor. For this reason a visiting missionary reported in 1842 that Rotumans had 'an extensive knowledge of the English language' (Crocombe and Crocombe 1968:20). The large number of Rotumans and Wallis Islanders who worked on whaleships added to the pool of English-speakers at both places.

These preconditions did not obtain in Tuvalu. Very few Tuvaluans worked on whaleships. The first known to have done so was a man from Nui in 1827 and, significantly, he was not recruited at his home island but at Rotuma (*Independence II* 1825-1828: entry for 7 November 1827). Only a handful of others followed his example, such as 'Ben', the son of a chief of Nukufetau, who was returned in 1850 by a passing trading vessel the *Rodolph* (Kemble 1966: 142-143). Nor did many Europeans live ashore during the whaling era. Because whaling captains passing through the group tended to avoid sending parties ashore, there was little scope for crewmen deserting; and in any case few

potential deserters would have chosen such an improbable haven as a small coral atoll or worse still a reef island. Charlie Douglas jumped ship at Niutao (Dana 1935:247) and a couple of men from the *Stafford* made an unsuccessful attempt to stay ashore at Nukufetau in 1861 (*Stafford* 1860-1863: entry for 20 October 1861). A fortnight later the captain of the *Stafford* discharged one of his crew at Vaitupu. Whether the two unnamed white men who greeted the whaleship *Elizabeth* at Nui the same year were deserters, or whether they were bona fide traders, is not specified (*Elizabeth* 1859-1864: entry for 16 September 1861). Into the same ambivalent category falls Jack O'Brien, who stayed on as a trader to become an established identity in the group (Restieaux n.d.). But what is certain is that it was rare to find a white man living in Tuvalu before the advent of traders proper in the mid-1850s (Maude 1968:265n.). The only example revealed by the fragmentary documentary evidence is an Englishman from Sydney named 'Heiti Bill' whom the *Rodolph* took from Nukufetau to Vaitupu in 1850 (Kemble 1966:147).

In the circumstances there was little scope, or need, for Tuvaluans of the time to acquire a knowledge of English. The men of the *Rodolph* had a 'verry [sic] poor' interpreter as a crewman, presumably a Polynesian from another island group, and had to rely on 'Ben' and 'Heiti Bill' to make themselves understood (Kemble 1966:141-147). Three years later, in 1853, at Nanumea, the captain of the whaleship *Planter* had to rely on his third mate, from Vava'u in Tonga, to interpret. He described the mate as being able to 'talk more or less in all of the languages spoken on the different islands of those seas'. But the Nanumea and the Vava'u dialects are not mutually intelligible and the mate's abilities were found wanting when the captain attempted to explain to the chiefs such matters as the nature of the universe, the change of seasons, and the way in which rain formed by condensation (Pease n.d.).

Further evidence is provided by the experiences of the Rev. A.W. Murray of the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.), who made the pioneering missionary voyage to Tuvalu in 1865. On that occasion he only visited the five southern islands of the group. At Nukufetau he met a high ranking man called Taukiei who had served on European ships and 'who understands and talks English amazingly well' (Murray 1865:341). A few days later at Nui, the limit of his cruise, 'canoes met us, and the first words we heard were the following, in English, from a young man in one of them: "Is this the ship with the missionaries?"' (Murray 1876:389). The population of the five southern islands in 1865 numbered approximately 1,100 (Bedford, Macdonald and Munro 1980:237), and yet Murray could discover only two who could speak English. The following year the absence of English-speakers at Nanumea resulted in a very tense moment for Murray who considered himself lucky not to have been killed. In an attempt to make himself understood, Murray spoke in Samoan. He tried to say words to the effect that Christianity would change the life of the island, and he used the unfortunate phrase *vau o fuli te fenua*, which means to *turn the island sideways or even upside down*. Had he said *fuli tino change the people* he would have been on safer ground. But instead his perceived threat angered the Nanumeans who repulsed him with spears and clubs (Munro 1982:120n.).

The period from 1865 to 1900 saw increasing outside contacts with Tuvalu. The L.M.S. established Samoan pastors on all islands; trading companies landed resident traders throughout the group; and in 1892 Great Britain declared a Protectorate over the group. Nevertheless the need and the opportunities for Tuvaluans to acquire English did not correspondingly broaden. Tuvaluans became bilingual but in Samoan and Tuvaluan, as a result of the schools run by the influential L.M.S. pastors. Most of the pastors had some knowledge of English,

some a very fluent grasp. Kirisome of Nui (1865-1899), in the estimate of one English missionary, 'possessed a knowledge of the English language and idiom [that] far exceeds that of any other native I have met...' (Newell 1885:19). But he never gave instruction in English which would have been inimical to the propagation of fa'a Samoa *the Samoan way* (Besnier n.d.; Brady 1970:21-25; Munro 1978:89).

Nor did the presence of increased numbers of resident traders, especially in the late 1870s and 1880s (Munro 1982:186-190), make an appreciable difference. Most were English-speakers although other nationalities included Germans, a couple of Chinese and a Dane. But whatever their native tongue, traders had little linguistic influence: instead they were anxious to learn Tuvalu for the sake of the business and for their social well-being. This was just one of the ways in which resident traders conformed to the needs of their wider environment. Louis Becke's astonishment when he discovered that another trader, George Winchcombe, had been 'four years on Niutao and cannot yet talk the language in fact I had to translate for him' (Becke 1880) reveals that Winchcombe was quite out of the ordinary. When Winchcombe moved to Nukufetau he solved his problem to a degree by teaching the Islanders English. 'Certainly they speak it very well', remarked a visitor (Woodford 1884:17). It would appear, however, that this observation applies only to a handful of Nukufetauans - those who had actually learnt English from Winchcombe - rather than the island as a whole.

Otherwise, very few Tuvaluans last century learnt English despite increased European contact. The documentary record on the subject is meagre indeed. On most islands there was at least one Tuvaluan who could speak English sufficiently well to interpret for visiting Royal Navy captains. Captain Maxwell found one at Nui in 1881 and Captain Bridge found another in Vaitupu in 1883 (Maxwell 1881:5; Bridge 1883:3). At Nukulaelae in 1883 the Judicial Commissioner accompanying Captain Bridge met a man who had never been off the island but who 'spoke English very fairly' (Le Hunte 1883:6). On some other islands, however, such as Niutao in 1881, no Tuvaluans at all could speak English (Maxwell 1881:5).

It was only after the commencement of large scale return labour migration to the phosphate works at Ocean Island and Nauru that the need arose for Tuvaluans in any number to learn English. The opportunities for labour migration increased dramatically after the Second World War with educated Tuvaluans finding employment in growing numbers at Tarawa, the administrative centre of the then Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony; and since the late-1960s young men have recruited for overseas merchant marines. Because of the circular nature of labour migration, and because of its near universality, overseas work has become part of the pattern of expectations and life experience for Tuvaluan males.

These developments greatly encouraged English-speaking proficiency. In the case of work at Ocean Island and Nauru, 'The most important prerequisite for obtaining skilled work and/or advanced training was a good command of English' (Chambers 1984:173). In the cases of work with the Colony civil service (and now in the Tuvaluan civil service) and with overseas merchant marines, a good command of English is quite essential. Most of those civil servants in the Colony days were pupils of Donald Kennedy who ran the Ellice Islands School at Funafuti then Vaitupu from 1924 until the late-1930s. Instruction was carried out in English, not nominally but in reality. It was a radical departure for the time but it paid dividends and had unforeseen repercussions.

The educational achievements of those taught by Kennedy and his disciples were such that they won a high proportion of the scholarships available for overseas study, and they rapidly came to dominate the higher levels of the local civil service in the 1950s and 1960s. The consequent resentment felt by the Gilbertese, and the ill-feeling that developed between races, were important factors in the eventual partition of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony in 1975. (Macdonald 1982:137).

The fact that those Tuvaluans, both of the phosphate islands and at Tarawa, worked alongside large numbers of Gilbertese men, had the added result that Tuvaluans abroad acquired fluency in the Gilbertese language.¹

In summary, nineteenth century Tuvaluans had neither the need nor the opportunity to become proficient in English. This was a function of the nature and the intensity of their contacts with the outside world, which mitigated against the acquisition of English-speaking ability by large numbers of Tuvaluans. In the present century the accumulated pressures of labour migration and the use of English as the medium of instruction (at least nominally) and the language of government, together with the enhancement of employment prospects for those with a sound command of English, have combined to encourage the widespread use of the language. Once the older generation passes away, there will be very few Tuvaluans indeed without at least some command of English.

NOTES

¹It must be emphasised that more Tuvaluan men than women have acquired a knowledge of English, although the situation is rapidly becoming more even. This is because overseas employment was, and still is, primarily for men. Generally, wives and children only join the men once sufficient seniority has been established. The women usually remain in a domestic situation removed from the English-speaking work environment. On the other hand, because they are in close association with Gilbertese women in the labourers' quarters, they readily acquire Gilbertese. Today, however, the large number of women employed in the Tuvalu civil service at Funafuti, and as school teachers on the outer islands, is resulting in a significant increase in the numbers of English-speaking Tuvaluan women.

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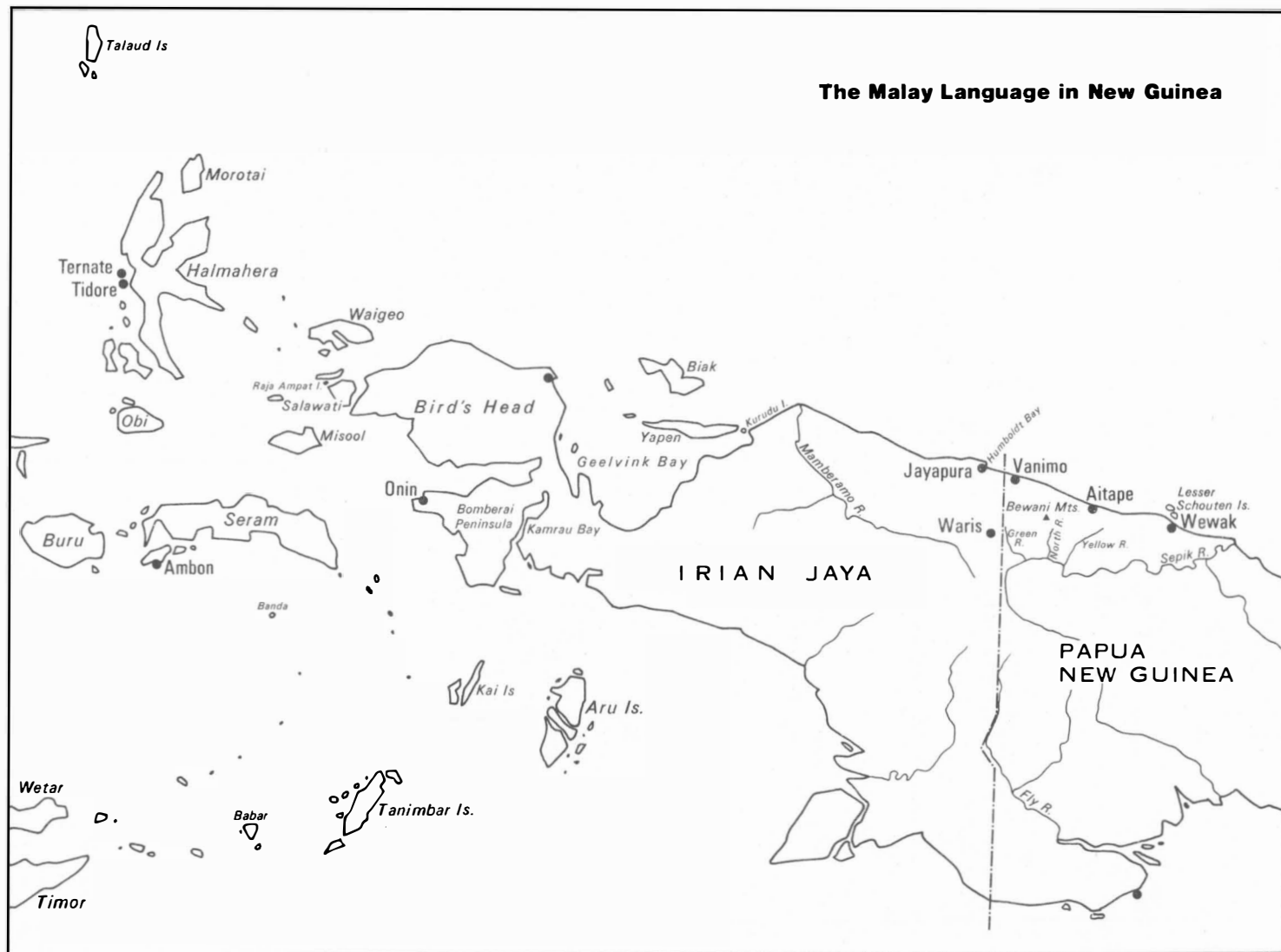
THE MALAY LANGUAGE IN NEW GUINEA

Walter Seiler

0. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I will be concerned with the spread of the Malay language from the Moluccas to New Guinea from the time of the early European adventurers up to the close of the 19th century. When the first Portuguese explorers arrived in the Moluccas, Malay was already known there (see for instance Bausani 1972). We know very little of the early spread of Malay from Sumatra; it is likely, however, that Malay reached the Spice Islands before the close of the first millennium. Merchant fleets of the Srividjaya empire, which had its capital near modern Palembang squarely within the original Malay-speaking area, used to sail to the Moluccas and presumably spread some Malay in the process. Malay must have reached the Moluccas at the latest with the rise to power of Malacca in the 15th century. Malay served as the lingua franca in this multinational community where, according to one contemporary observer, 'very often eighty-four languages' were spoken (Pires 1944:269). While we know little enough about the early spread of Malay to the Moluccas, almost nothing is known about its further spread to New Guinea. Early Iberian exploration determined that there was trade between New Guinea and neighbouring islands (Stevens 1930:173) and that slaves were the main 'commodity' to be exported from New Guinea (Boxer and Manguin 1979:185). From the accounts of these early missions we do not gain any information about what languages were spoken in the trading situations. When more than 300 years later Australians explored the Sepik area of Papua New Guinea, they encountered many tribes who had some knowledge of Malay (see for instance McCarthy 1936-37). This is often attributed to old trading contacts between the Sepik people and Malay traders. Likewise, the Malay element in Tok Pisin is said to stem from this contact (see for instance Rowley 1965:56).

The purpose of this paper is to show first, that trade between the Moluccas and New Guinea was confined to the Bird's Head area and did not stretch to the area of modern Papua New Guinea (PNG); second, that even where trade was going on Malay did not gain a foothold before the Dutch began to actively colonise the island; third, the extent of knowledge of Malay in the Sepik area spread by bird hunters and fourth that the Malay element in Tok Pisin is not due to these bird-trading contacts but to German plantations in the old protectorate where Malay served as a trade language.



1. SPREAD OF MALAY TO NEW GUINEA FROM THE MOLUCCAS

Given that the Western part of New Guinea was interwoven in a trade network with the Moluccas one wonders how people communicated before the introduction of Malay. Was there any prestige language in the area? In fact several trade languages were used in the Moluccas and the Bird's Head area. At the time of the European arrival Ternate and Tidore were the two most important powers in the Moluccas and their closely related languages served as *lingue franche* (Sá 1955:362). Along the southern coast of the Bird's Head there were several languages that served the same purpose. In these parts of New Guinea the Ceramese were the dominant influence, as can be learned from the journal of Keyts who undertook a major exploration journey in 1675 (Leupe 1875). One of the places Keyts went to was Onin, on the Bomberai Peninsula, which was an important trade centre at the time. He tells us of one of the chiefs that he did not know any Malay and only spoke Onin (Leupe 1875:118). According to Anceaux (1958:112), Onin, an Austronesian language, was formerly an important trade language along the coasts of the Bomberai Peninsula and also along the south coast of the Bird's Head. Keyts also sailed further East and went into Kamrau Bay to the island of Namatota. Namatota was apparently the centre of the Massoi bark trade. This tallies nicely with the fact that the local language Kaiwai, an Austronesian language, was and still is used as a *lingua franca* in the area (Anceaux 1958:117). Apart from Kaiwai the locals also spoke 'Ceramese' fluently (Leupe 1875:151). Malay interpreters were found to be useless in these regions.

Another question that deserves attention concerns the extent of Ceramese influence; how far east did they trade? In 1825 Kolff headed an exploration party to the south coast of New Guinea with (among other things) the aim of gathering information about visits of foreign traders in that area. At one stage they passed the Aru Islands in a north-east direction:

As soon as we passed the Arru Islands, the pilot stated to me that they were unacquainted with the navigation beyond, and were even afraid to proceed any further. The traders from Ceram, and the islands to the westward, do not penetrate beyond the Arrus. (Kolff 1840:318).

Kolff and his party sailed as far east as about 139°, but they could not get into contact with the people. Coasting along the mainland in a westerly direction he was finally able to talk to some people, who came from an island at about 136°; referring to one of the chiefs of this island, Kolff remarked that: 'he could not speak Malayan, but with the aid of the interpreters we were enabled to converse in their own language' (ibid.:330). These people were visited by the Ceramese and 'their own language' may have been 'Ceramese'. The following day Kolff's party came under attack, just as incidentally Keyts had 150 years earlier, and this he attributed to the 'sinister dealings' of the Ceramese, who — so he thought — inspired the people with hatred to all foreigners to retain their exclusive trade (ibid.:341). Kolff left New Guinea 'being convinced that the coast to the eastward of the spot where we found ourselves [i.e. 136 degrees East], was not visited by foreign traders (Kolff 1840:343).

Within the limits of this paper it is impossible to elaborate on these sketchy remarks. The main points to note are that there was quite extensive trade between the south coast of New Guinea and the surrounding islands, the trade items being mainly slaves, massoi bark and birds of paradise. There were a number of well entrenched trade languages in the area such as 'Ceramese', Onin

and Kaiwai. Malay, on the other hand, was almost unknown. This state of affairs remained unchanged up to the second half of the 19th century when the Dutch began colonising New Guinea (Koninklijk Instituut 1862). Before that time the Dutch only had a marginal interest in their colony and they did not interfere in the local trade affairs. This non-interference, I would suggest, is the main reason why Malay never spread to New Guinea to any noticeable extent before the middle of last century.

The same applies to the north coast of New Guinea. There again we find long established trade, local trade languages and basically no interference in this trade by the new colonial powers. When Wallace stayed at Manokwari (Dorey), which was one of the most visited places on the coast, he found it troublesome to get his labourers to work 'as scarcely one of them could speak a word of Malay' (Wallace 1874:498). Three years before Wallace visited Manokwari the first two Dutch Protestant missionaries, Ottow and Geissler, had moved in there and started their activity. These and later missionaries (especially the two Van Hasselt's) also did some work on the local language which happened to be Biak (Noemfoorsch). The task of recording Biak was not very easy as the local people knew almost no Malay (Van Hasselt 1936:116). The Biak people were the main traders in the area and their language was widely used as a lingua franca. Knowledge of Biak stretched as far west as the Raja Empat Islands. Eastwards the influence of the Biak did not extend further than Kurudu Island, i.e. it was unknown east of Geelvink Bay (Van Hasselt 1936:115, Anceaux 1961:6). The Biak also acted as intermediaries between the mainland and Tidore. Tidore claimed this part of New Guinea as their 'protectorate' and the local chiefs were nominally dependent on it. The language of the Tidorese was also known along the north coast of New Guinea (Haga 1885:257), but again, as in the case of Biak, not east of Geelvink Bay. This bay constituted something of a dividing line. The area west of the bay was firmly connected with the Moluccas but east of it people were not much exposed to outside influence. In these parts slavery and hierarchically organised societies were absent, iron was little known and knowledge of Western Languages (Malay, Biak or Tidorese) was nil.

Even in those areas of the north coast where Tidorese influence made itself felt, very little Malay was known right up to the middle of last century, as in the case of the south coast. From Forrest's voyage in the 1770s we learn that at Manokwari some people could 'jabber a little Malay' (Forrest 1969:103). By Labillardière, a member of d'Entrecasteaux's expedition in the late 18th century, we are told that the local chieftains who were in contact with the Moluccas were quite fluent in Malay, but that this language was practically unknown to the masses of the population (Labillardière 1800:299). In 1858 the official Etna expedition reached Humboldt Bay for the first time. The overall impression of the various reports of this voyage is that that area was practically untouched by outside influence. They did not seem to know chiefs, went naked (which changed soon with regular outside contact) and did not know a single word of Malay (Koninklijk Instituut 1862).

When the Germans began colonising New Guinea they found considerable Malay influence in the north-western part of the protectorate. A German trader called Kaernbach paid a visit to the Lesser Schouten Islands in 1893 and found Malay speaking people there (Nachrichten aus ... 1893:43). According to the same journal we learn that Kaernbach first had to deal with Malay traders who came across the border from Humboldt Bay (Nachrichten aus ... 1895:19). The fact that the Germans found Malay traders, locals fluent in Malay and a few isolated artefacts along the coast when they first started colonising New Guinea led

many contemporary observers to believe that 'there could be no doubt that the whole coastline ... had been visited by Malay seafarers since time immemorial' (Parkinson 1979:39/40). However, from what has been said above it would appear that regular Malay visits did not in fact stretch far back. As we have seen, the Dutch exploration party that visited Humboldt Bay in 1858 did not find any traces of outside influence. But things changed rather quickly after that. When Van Der Crab visited Humboldt Bay in 1871 his interpreter still could not make himself understood (Robidé 1879:129). However, when the missionary Bink went to this bay in 1893 he found foreign traders already well established. He remarked that Ternatense traders shot birds of paradise in that area (Bink 1894:325). By 1903 knowledge of Malay was common among the people of Humboldt Bay (Wichmann vol.4 1917:157).

It would appear that Malays started regular trading visits to areas east of Geelvink Bay sometime after the middle of the 19th century, at the same time as the Dutch began to explore their long-forgotten colony. This was just prior to the beginning of the German activities in the area. Twenty years or so of contact between the local people and Malays could easily account for the knowledge of Malay on the part of the coastal people. Note that Malay influence was not found anywhere east of modern Wewak.

Having sketched the slow advance of the Malay language to eastern New Guinea I would now like to turn to a discussion of the extent of penetration of Malay into the interior of the Sepik area.

2. MALAY IN THE INTERIOR OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

When the Germans and later the Australians penetrated the interior of the Sepik area they found, time and again, locals who could speak Malay. They had learned it from bird of paradise traders who hunted in that region for a few decades. The Dutch-German border expedition, for instance, found evidence of Malay bird trade a fair distance inland along the then Dutch-German border. Schultze-Jena reports that the traders hunted birds only partly on their own and that they gave their guns to the locals so that they could do the shooting (Schultze-Jena 1914:35). This is interesting as it shows that there was quite extensive contact between the two groups, the ideal situation for the spread/rise of a pidgin language. Schultze's is one of the earliest accounts of the inland bird trade. From his report it would appear that the traders had not yet, by the time of the expedition, crossed the Bewani Mountains. We do not get a better picture of the bird trade until after World War I. It was then established that from Hollandia (Jayapura), which was the focal point of the bird trade, the main trade route crossed the Bewani Mountains and then followed east along the southern slopes of the mountains, as far east as about 142 degrees longitude. The English traveller Cheesman went to Krisa in 1938 and noticed several Malay artefacts. Old people in the village could still remember the bird traders and still knew a number of Malay words (Cheesman 1957:267). One of the most detailed accounts of the bird trade can be found in a patrol report by McCarthy. He was in the Yellow River area in the mid-thirties; here is an extract of his report:

The Yuan [people along Yellow River] speak a Papuan language but yet have a working knowledge of Malay pidgin. Like most New Guinea peoples they have been touched by a 'foreign' culture (other than European), but they are distinctive in being the only inland people who adopted the tongue of the

foreigners as a trade 'talk'. It is true that this 'talk' is a simple version of pidgin Malay — nevertheless the Malayan or trading intrusion must have [been] definite and constant for the language to be adopted by these primitive Papuans. The people of Kelnon and Aidawok villages speak the Malay dialect. Their Malay is identical except for trivial differences. Pabwei, Yuani and the Maurom people also know it but Mariyami, a village on the Yellow River near the junction of the Sepik do not speak it. Thus there is an area of country extending from the foothills of the Sepik Basin on the north to within a few miles of the Sepik River whose inhabitants speak the Malay pidgin as a trade language. The Yellow River seems to be the limit of the language to the east but as the trade route runs to the west to Hollandia, it may safely be presumed that the people of the North River and of the country west of the Yellow River use the same tongue (McCarthy 1936/37:12-13).

After this McCarthy goes on to discuss the bird trade and says that the route of the Malays followed 'the valley of the Sepik River, the north side being entered from behind the coastal ranges of Vanimo near the international boundary' (ibid.). He also notes that some trace of Malay can be found east of the Yellow River; for instance the word 'yuan' was found to be in use among people in inland areas south of Wewak, having the same meaning as the Malay 'tuan', from which it is most probably derived. As McCarthy states himself, this could have easily come from the coast; this is all the more likely as this was practically the only Malay word they knew. McCarthy was thoroughly impressed by the knowledge of Malay among the people along the Yellow River and he thought that it was unlikely that it could be accounted for only by the fairly recent bird trade. He offers in fact some speculations as to the likely source of the people's competence in Malay, but this we can safely omit here. Also it would appear that McCarthy's grasp of Malay was fairly good, as he commented about 'dialectic differences': 'The Malay of the Yuan is slightly different from that of the coastal villages near Vanimo, the changes are dialectic — the rest is the same' (ibid.). So given his apparent knowledge of Malay, there is little reason to doubt McCarthy's statement that Malay was used extensively along the Yellow River. This is also confirmed by other observers such as Marshall (1938:49/50) or Oakley (1933:5).

McCarthy assumed that the people between the Yellow River and the border with Dutch New Guinea also spoke Malay, as the trade routes passed through that area to Hollandia. This is in fact so. An oil surveyor called Eve found knowledge of Malay all along the left tributaries of the Sepik from Yellow River to Green River: 'Eve visited many villages in northwest Sepik district during 1935 and 1936 which, so far as is known, had never before seen a white man. Here he was greeted by these unknown primitives in Malay expressions' (Reed 1943:91). Eve's observations are also almost certainly the source for the following statement, found in a terrain study of the Allied Forces during World War 2: 'Natives along both the Green and Hauser Rivers have been subjected to Malay influence, and understand Malay pidgin' (Allied Geographical Section 1943:140). The same remarks are also made with respect to North and Horden Rivers (ibid.).

What has been said above should be sufficient to get a good picture of the intrusion of Malay bird of paradise hunters into the West Sepik area. The Malays began their activities in the last quarter of the 19th century and

ceased to visit the Sepik after the collapse of the plume trade in the twenties of this century. During these 50 years they intruded into an area that can be roughly delimited by the Sepik to the south, the coast to the north and Aitape to the east. In this area some Malay was understood by the people.

Now, given this apparent widespread knowledge of Malay in parts of the Sepik area earlier on in this century, it is surprising to learn how little is left of this trade language. A recent field trip took me to the Waris-speaking area south of the Bewani mountains. The trade routes of the Malays cut through this region and people are well aware of their visits, although all people who came in direct contact with the Malays are now, 60 years later, dead. The Waris people have no idea what language these bird shooters spoke. This is all the more surprising as they were again exposed to Malay after World War 2, when the Dutch established themselves in the area for roughly 15 years before the Australians assumed control. In fact many people in the Waris area are perfectly fluent in Malay and they would thus have the opportunity of comparison. That they are not aware that the two languages are the same suggests that their contact with the bird hunters can not have been very intensive. I will not pursue this matter further here; suffice it to say that it is slightly suspicious in view of these findings that Malay should have been that widely known in an area much further to the east, as was suggested by the various sources referred to before.

I will conclude this paper by looking at the question of whether this bird trade could be the source of the Malay element in Tok Pisin.

3. THE MALAY ELEMENT IN TOK PISIN

We have seen that the Malay language did not spread to eastern New Guinea before the middle of last century. It spread as far east as Wewak. Now, it is well known that Tok Pisin reached the mainland of New Guinea fairly late. It was almost unknown when the Germans arrived there in the mid-eighties. It is therefore rather unlikely that pre-European contacts between the local people and Malays could have left any traces in Tok Pisin. According to Mühlhäusler the major factor in the formation and stabilisation of Tok Pisin were the plantations in Samoa (Mühlhäusler 1976), far removed from any potential influence of Malay. Malay influence on Tok Pisin is restricted to a number of words such as *klambu mosquito net*, *pinatang insect* or *tiang post* (see Mühlhäusler 1979:199). These words found their way into Tok Pisin via the German plantations on the mainland of New Guinea (MNG), where Malay played some role as a trade language as I will now show.

The period of German colonisation of MNG can be divided into two parts with respect to their labour policy. Up to 1900 the New Guinea Company (in the hands of which colonisation of MNG lay almost exclusively), resorted to recruiting large numbers of labourers from outside their protectorate. They relied mainly on workers from the then Dutch East Indies, for the most part Javanese and Chinese, many of whom had already worked on tobacco plantations in Sumatra (for a discussion of foreign coloured labour in New Guinea see Biskup 1970).

The number of Malays and Chinese being recruited for the plantations reached a peak in the early nineties during which time they outnumbered the rest of the workforce which was mainly recruited from the Bismarck Archipelago (BA). After 1895 the figures dropped gradually and after the turn of the century Malays and

Chinese played no role any more on the plantations. So for 15 years a sizeable number of the labourers consisted of people whose common language was Malay. As there was no established trade language on the coast of MNG when the Germans arrived, this should have boosted the chances of Malay becoming the lingua franca on the plantations and from there for the whole of MNG. We know in fact that Malay was spoken on some plantations to a certain extent, but it never became widely known. The reasons for this lie mainly in the failure of the German colonisation efforts during the time the Malay presence was at its peak (Seiler 1982).

The single most important plantation with respect to Malay was Stephansort in Astrolabe Bay. This was the only plantation which showed some continuity from its foundation in 1888 up to the turn of the century and it is here that the use of Malay as a means of intertribal communication is variously attested. In 1892 Stephansort was taken over by the Astrolabe Company, a daughter company of the New Guinea Company. Their main objective was the planting of tobacco and this is why it is here that we find the greatest number of skilled Malays and Chinese. In March 1894 the following labourers worked for the plantations of the Astrolabe Company:

	Europeans	Melanesians	Malays	Chinese
Stephansort	4	297	114	235
Erima	4	160	111	161
Maraga	1	95	31	2
Yomba	2	39	32	84

It is on these plantations that Malay flourished for a number of years until the Malay speaking work force declined rapidly after the turn of the century. Some elements of this trade language found their way into the developing Tok Pisin via the Melanesians (BA islanders) who worked on the plantations (Nachrichten aus ... 1893, Wendland 1939:76).

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VARIATION IN TORRES STRAIT CREOLE: A PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION

Anna Shnukal

INTRODUCTION*

It has often been claimed (e.g. by Le Page in Bailey 1966:vi-vii, Hymes 1971:299, Kay and Sankoff 1974:61, Bickerton 1975:1) that creole languages which co-exist with at least one of their major sources exhibit significantly more variation than languages with longer histories, (although native speakers of the latter appear to use and allow for far greater variation than is commonly supposed).

This paper sketches aspects of regional and generational variation in the phonology, syntax and lexicon of the English-based creole of Torres Strait. It deals with sixteen of the most salient variable features of the creole, all of which appear to correlate with the non-linguistic parameters of age and island of origin.

The data are based on fieldwork notes and on the observations and judgements of Islanders. The fieldwork reported on here was carried out in the nine island reserve communities where Torres Strait Creole (usually called Broken, Pizin or Blaikman by Islanders) is spoken as a first language by the majority of the inhabitants, i.e., on Erub, Hammond, Masig, Mer, Purma, St Paul, Ugar, Waraber and Yam. None of the examples is drawn from consciously acrolectal speech such as one hears on formal public occasions, in church or in the classroom. None of the data presented here was elicited, except for judgements about the significance of certain ways of speaking. All, in fact, were noted during conversations in which I was a participant observer, but only when people had become used to my presence and seemed to be unaffected linguistically by it.

Six phonological, seven syntactic, and three lexical features are discussed below. However, while many Islanders are conscious of certain phonological and lexical differences in the creole and cite these as evidence for regional varieties, syntactic variation was never mentioned.

It should be noted also that, although most Torres Strait Islanders claim to be able to tell where other Islanders come from by the way they speak the language in question,¹ in practice many cues appear to be non-linguistic. Skin pigmentation, height, body build and shape of nose, head and forehead influence judgements about island of origin just as much as linguistic phenomena.

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TORRES STRAIT CREOLE

Torres Strait Creole (TSC) is an English-lexifier creole which has become the lingua franca of Torres Strait Islanders. I use 'Torres Strait Islanders' rather than 'Torres Strait' advisedly, since about two-thirds of the approximately 20,000 Torres Strait Islanders now live outside the Strait, the majority in the coastal cities and towns of Queensland. Even so, most of these continue to use the creole in their dealings with other Islanders, and there is family and community pressure on every Islander to learn it.

The language itself is a descendent of the Pacific Pidgin English or Beach-la-Mar, spoken by the South Sea Islanders who came in great numbers to Torres Strait from the 1860s to the end of the last century to work in the beche-de-mer, trochus and pearling industries. The pidgin was quickly adopted as a common language by the Torres Strait Islanders, Europeans, New Guineans, Aborigines, Filipinos, Malays and Japanese who worked in the marine industries of the Strait. It is possible that a socially predominant variety first stabilised in the North Queensland canefields, but this aspect needs further research.²

Through a combination of circumstances, which have been discussed elsewhere (Shnukal 1983a, 1983b), the pidgin creolised on the eastern island of Erub and Ugar in the mid to late 1890s and again on St Paul's Anglican Mission for South Sea Islanders on Moa from around 1910. The majority and by far the most influential of the men in these communities were South Sea Islanders, most of whom had Torres Strait Islander wives. The children from these marriages adopted the pidgin spoken by their fathers as their first language, under the mistaken impression that they were speaking English, the 'white man's language'.

An Islander life began to change under the twin influences of Christianity and capitalism, the pidgin began to spread throughout the Strait, primarily because of its usefulness as a common language. It was not until the early decades of this century that pan-Islander contacts necessitated a lingua franca between the eastern island speakers of Meriam Mir, a Papuan language, and the central and western Islanders, who spoke varieties of Kala Lagaw Ya, a language of the Pama-Nyungan family.

As the pidgin spread, it increasingly displaced the two traditional languages as the mother tongue of Islander children in the eastern and central islands and at present it is the majority language (in the sense that the majority of communication is carried out in the creole) on the eastern islands of Erub, Ugar and Mer; on Masig, Yam, Purma and Waraber, the four central islands; and on Hammond (a Catholic Mission established in 1929) and in St Paul's community on Moa, two islands of the near western group.

This paper deals only with variation among speakers from those nine reserve islands where TSC is the first language of most of the inhabitants and the preferred daily medium of communication. A description of the several varieties spoken in the multilingual and multi-ethnic communities of Thursday Island and Bamaga, with their shifting populations and strong European influence, poses difficult problems of analysis and will not be attempted here.

PREVIOUS LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS OF TORRES STRAIT CREOLE

There have been only two published linguistic descriptions of the creole, both of which mentioned the variability found there. Dutton (1970) described the major linguistic features of the speech of a mixed group of twelve-to-fourteen year

old boys. However, the variety produced for Dutton appears to have been fairly acrolectal and he termed it the 'informal English' of Torres Strait. In 1979, Crowley and Rigsby published a description of another variety spoken as a second language by elderly Aboriginal people living at Bamaga, an Aboriginal/Islander settlement on Cape York, and which they named Cape York Creole.³ Shnukal (1982) briefly discussed some syntactic and semantic features of the language, which she termed Torres Strait Creole.

Most of what Crowley and Rigsby write about the syntax and lexicon of Cape York Creole applies also to TSC, although the proportion of substrate island language vocabulary in common use by Islanders is about 15 per cent of the total, mainly names of plants, animals, marine life, birds, insects, body parts, kin terms and cultural activities. Crowley and Rigsby, however, found that 'surprisingly few' substrate words were used by the Aboriginal people whose speech they were describing (1979:205).⁴

The phonology of TSC is less complex than that of Cape York Creole. The phonemes of TSC are listed in Figure 1, together with their major phonetic realisations.

Consonants:													
p	[p,f]	t	[t,θ]	k	[k]	s	[s,ʃ,ʒ]	l	[l]	m	[m]	y	[j]
b	[b,v]	d	[d,ð]	g	[g]	z	[z,ʒ,ʝ]	r	[r]**	n	[n]	w	[w]
										ng	[ŋ]		
** The apico-alveolar /r/ is strongly trilled.													
Vowels:													
i	[i]	e	[ε]	a	[a]	o	[ɔ]	u	[u]				
Diphthongs:													
au	[aʊ]	ei	[εj]	ai	[aɪ]	oi	[ɔj]						

Figure 1: The phonemes of Torres Strait Creole

Note that the language has only two phonemic fricatives, /s/ and /z/, five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and four falling diphthongs. Vowel length is not phonemic.

When spoken at conversational speed among Islanders, the creole is not mutually intelligible with English, although it can be understood to some extent when it is spoken slowly and there are contextual cues. However, it owes its diffusion partly to the fact that it was and still is generally believed to be English, although most Islanders are now aware that it is not the same variety as is spoken by Europeans.⁵ It is also fair to say that its phonological norms are largely those of English. Many Islanders who would like to speak English well, profess embarrassment at hearing basilectal forms and criticise themselves and other Islanders for producing non-standard English phonological features such as stops for fricatives, high or mid front vowels for schwa, and so on.⁶

SOME VARIABLE FEATURES OF TORRES STRAIT CREOLE

This section discusses sixteen phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical variables, with respect to the two non-linguistic parameters of age and region.⁷ (An outline of the main points discussed is given in Figure 2.) To simplify the analysis in this first attempt to discover developmental trends in the creole, *age* is here considered by generation (children and adolescents; parents; grandparents) and *region* refers to either the eastern or the near western and central island group – linguistically speaking, to whether the substrate language is Meriam Mir or Kala Lagaw Ya.

The data are grouped into phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical examples. Within these, there is no particular hierarchy, although variant forms which appear to correlate with both age and region are presented last in each linguistic section. Most of the examples are written in an orthography developed for the language, but some are given in (usually broad) phonetic script between square brackets.

The *age* column contains those variants which appear to correlate most highly with the age of the speaker. The more marked form, in all cases the 'older' variant typically diagnostic of elderly speakers, is listed first, followed by the unmarked or 'younger' form.

The *region* column contains variants which appear to correlate most highly with island group of origin, and there the eastern island forms precede the western/central variants.⁸ This is because eastern island speech is the model for many far western Islanders who learn TSC in their teens as their second, or sometimes

		Non-linguistic parameters	
		AGE	REGION
Linguistic parameters	PHONOLOGY	(1) Word stress	(2) Intonation (3) Vowel and consonant quality (4) Transitive/causative marker
		(5) Schwa (6) Fricatives	
		(7) Transitive/causative marker (8) Plural marker (9) Copula (10) Conjunction	(11) Causatives
	MORPHO-SYNTAX	(12) Possessives (13) Position of aspect markers	
		(14) Adoption of English lexicon	(15) Retention of substrate lexicon
	LEXICON	(16) Adoption of western island lexicon	

Figure 2: Variable features of Torres Strait Creole

third, language. It is also considered to be the most 'stylish' speech and 'deeper' (more prestigious because it contains older forms) than other island varieties, even by first language speakers from St Paul and the central islands. Moreover, Erub Islanders claim ownership of the language, a claim based on historical primacy, saying: *wi bos blo dat tok we're the owners of that talk and i tang blo wi it's our tongue.*

PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES

Phonological variables discussed here are (1) word stress, which appears to correlate most highly with age of speaker; (2) intonation; (3) vowel and consonant quality, and (4) transitive/causative markers, which indicate speaker's island group of origin; and the use of (5) mid-central schwa and (6) the fricatives [f, v, θ, ð, ʃ, ʒ], which have both generational and regional correlates. More detailed quantitative studies are needed to discover the relative contribution of age and region to (5) and (6) as well as the purely linguistic constraints on the occurrence of all the phonological variables.

1. Word stress

Primary stress on the final syllable of certain two-syllable words (mostly nouns, but also some adjectives and numerals) and on the penultimate syllable of three-syllable words is diagnostic of the speech of elderly people. Younger speakers are tending to shift primary stress to the initial syllable, probably influenced by the typical English nominal stress pattern. This variation is found almost entirely in what Islanders call *prapa* 'true' creole words, most of which were borrowed from English at an early date. It may be that these earlier (a) forms were influenced by the stress pattern of Meriam Mir, where stress occurs on the final syllable if this is closed or on the penultimate if the final syllable is open. Traditional language words rarely alter their stress when they occur in the creole. While most speakers show some variability, the incidence of non-initial word stress is noticeably highest among elderly speakers, and lowest among adolescents.

Some examples are listed below:

(a)	(b)	
batól	bótol	<i>bottle</i>
kaléko	káliko	<i>lava-lava</i> [<i>Pacific island male sarong</i>]
karsín	kársin	<i>kerosene</i>
maból	mábol	<i>marble</i>
melén	mélen	<i>in the middle (of)</i>
mersín	médsin	<i>medicine</i>
namás	námas	<i>marinated raw fish</i>
petréł	pétrel	<i>petrol</i>
rabés	rábis	<i>rubbish</i>
talínga	tálinga	<i>ear</i>
stupét	stúpíd	<i>stupid</i>
lebín	lében	<i>eleven</i>
sebén	sében	<i>seven</i>

2. Intonation

Differences in intonation and lexicon were most often cited as proof of regional varieties of the creole. I was told many times that people from different islands speak with a recognisably different 'tune'. The Erub people particularly are said to 'have a tune', or 'put music into' their speech: dempla i tyuni da tok. This contrasts, say the near western and central Islanders, with the way they themselves speak: mipla spik stret.

The intonational differences, which correlate highly with substrate language group and may in fact be due to the influence of these languages, are most usefully described here in musical terms. The speech of the eastern Islanders appears to make use of a wider pitch range than that of the near western and central Islanders. Thus, while the interval between the highest and lowest intra-sentence pitch of the latter group generally varies by no more than a major third, for the former it is more likely to vary by up to a perfect fifth. Statements, questions and commands, the majority of which have falling intonation, may begin at a higher pitch for Easterners than for the others or end at a lower pitch. Sentence-internally, there are differences in pitch contour between the two groups. The eastern Islanders, whose speech is characterised by a marked rising and falling tone, use a greater pitch variation than do other speakers.

In this context, pitch is connected to vowel quality phenomena which will be dealt with in the next subsection. However, it should be noted here that the lengthening of stressed syllables, by vowel prolongation, diphthongisation or even secondary vowel accretion, allows opportunities for pitch variation which are often exploited by the eastern Islanders, especially the elderly women. This is so particularly for words occurring in sentence-final position. A short open-syllable word like *go*, for example, in the question: *weya yu go? where are you going?* can be drawn out with each vocalic portion of the segmental string being given a different pitch.

Eastern island speech, then, is immediately recognisable as such because of its 'tune', which is to say that it has a slower tempo, more vowel coloration, and greater dynamic (loud and soft) variation than the speech of near western and central Islanders.

3. Vowel and consonant quality

This feature refers here to six differing vowel and consonant pronunciations which mark regional speech varieties of the creole.

3.1 Early monosyllabic borrowings from English with stressed tense mid front vowel in closed position are usually pronounced by eastern Islanders with a centring off-glide or even an additional low vowel. The English word 'plate' [plejt], for example, becomes [pleə̃t] or even [plẽt] for eastern Islanders. Others are more likely to pronounce such words with a pure vowel [plɛt], or as a diphthong with high front off-glide [plejt]. Here are some more examples:

(a)	(b)	
[mɛə̃t]	[mɛt, mɛjt]	<i>friend</i>
[nɛə̃m]	[nɛm, nɛjm]	<i>name</i>
[rɛə̃n]	[rɛn, rɛjn]	<i>rain</i>

(a)	(b)	
[sɛɛnz]	[sɛnz, sɛjnz]	<i>to change</i>
[tɛɛl]	[tɛl, tɛjl]	<i>tail</i>
[wɛɛt]	[wɛt, wɛjt]	<i>to wait</i>

3.2 English monosyllabic borrowings ending in open mid vowels are usually pronounced by eastern Islanders with a pure mid vowel nucleus, followed by an optional semivowel (predictable from the quality of the nucleus) and a low central to back vowel. Western and central Islanders tend to use a pure mid vowel, which is sometimes slightly lengthened:

(a)	(b)	
[dɛ(j)ɐ]	[dɛ]	<i>there</i>
[wɛ(j)ɐ]	[wɛ]	<i>where</i>
[sɔ(w)ɐ]	[sɔ]	<i>sore</i>
[mɔ(w)ɐ]	[mɔ]	<i>more</i>

3.3 The palatalisation or diphthongisation of non-high, non-back vowels which follow or precede velar consonants is another characteristic of eastern speech, not found to the same extent in the west. Thus we have:

(a)	(b)	
[gʲɛmɔŋ]	[gɛmɔŋ]	<i>false</i>
[sɔnbɔjŋ]	[sɔnbɔŋk]	<i>cay</i>

This feature seems to depend on the time at which the word was introduced. One middle-aged Erub man told me that 'eggs' were [ɛjk] when he was a child and eggs were found in nests. However, they became [ɛg] after they began to be sold in the island store.

The variant forms listed above as 3.1.a, 3.2.a and 3.3.a are, I think, what western and central Islanders are referring to when they make the following kinds of statements about eastern island speakers: 'they drag the Pidgin, you know' and dempla i drage dem wod *they draw out the words*.

3.4 Eastern Islanders are also much more likely to pronounce certain early English borrowings with stressed or unstressed high front [ɪ] as [ɛ] rather than as [i]. Thus one finds the following pronunciation pairs:

(a)	(b)	
[ɔŋgrɛ]	[ɔŋgri]	<i>hungry</i>
[bɛlɛ]	[bɛli]	<i>front of torso</i>
[mɔɔɛ]	[mɔɔni]	<i>money</i>
[mɛlk]	[milk]	<i>milk</i>
[pɛkmɔpɛ]	[pikɛmɔpɛ]	<i>to give a lift to</i>
[sɛlɛ]	[sili]	<i>chilli</i>
[spɛtɛ]	[spiti]	<i>to spit, cough up</i>
[splɛtɛ]	[spliti]	<i>to split</i>

3.5 Also characteristic of eastern island speech is the quality of the low vowel, which is slightly lower and more back than the western and central variant:

(a)	(b)	
[asməpɛ]	[asmɛpɛ]	<i>to lift</i>
[kəm]	[kɛm]	<i>to come</i>
[pəmɛ]	[pɛmɛ]	<i>pregnant</i>
[pəs]	[pɛs]	<i>first</i>
[rən]	[rɛn]	<i>to run</i>

3.6 There do not appear to be many consonantal differences between the two major regional varieties. One noticeable difference is the more fortis articulation of the apico-dental stops /t/ and /d/ in the east. This is due, I suspect, to the influence of Meriam Mir, the substrate language. Kala Lagaw Ya, the western and central island substrate, has phonemic interdental as well as dental stops, but western Islanders use interdentals in the creole only for words of substrate origin or English borrowings with interdental fricatives. Thus there is a three-way difference, with eastern Islanders using only fortis apico-dental stops, but western Islanders using either lenis dental stops or, for English-derived words containing interdental fricatives, the KLY interdental stops.

(a)	(b)	
[tisa]	[ɟisa]	<i>teacher</i>
[wata]	[wɔɟa]	<i>water</i>
[tati]	[tɔɟi]	<i>thirty</i>
[dɛmpla]	[ɟɛmpla]	<i>they</i>

3.7 Some words have two variants, each of which has at least one different vowel and/or consonant phoneme and is thereby immediately recognisable as being either eastern or western. Where the word is of English origin, the most English-like form is always to be found in western speech, the (b) variant. Some of these word pairs are listed below:

(a)	(b)	
angis	angsip	<i>handkerchief</i>
badi	bodi	<i>body</i>
baget	baket	<i>bucket</i>
gerap	gedap	<i>to wake up, get up</i>
kaleko	kaliko	<i>lava-lava</i>
karel	korol	<i>coral</i>
klos	kloz	<i>dress</i>
lebin	leben	<i>eleven</i>
lek	leg	<i>leg, foot</i>
lesen	lisen	<i>to hear, listen to</i>
malek	simalet	<i>mullet</i>
maret	mari	<i>to marry</i>
melen	midel	<i>in the middle (of)</i>
mersin	medsin	<i>medicine</i>
pakit	poket	<i>pocket</i>
plande	plenti	<i>many</i>
plane	plante	<i>to plant</i>
pwaka	pwoka	<i>pig</i>
rabes	rabis	<i>rubbish</i>
sane	sende	<i>to send</i>

(a)	(b)	
solota	solwata	<i>sea</i>
skwis	skwid	<i>squid</i>
spaile	spoile	<i>to offend</i>
stupet	stupid	<i>stupid</i>
suka	suga	<i>sugar</i>
swele	swalowe	<i>to swallow</i>
tale	tele	<i>to tell</i>
tese	teste	<i>to taste</i>

4. Transitive/causative marker

Except for the two verbs *gibi to give* and *libi to leave*, the eastern island transitive/causative marker is always mid front -e. Elsewhere, however, when the stressed vowel is high, the marker is almost always high front -i, the only example I have found so far of vowel harmony in TSC.

(a)	(b)	
kare	kari	<i>to hold</i>
kile	kili	<i>to kill</i>
kline	klini	<i>to clean</i>
kuke	kuki	<i>to cook</i>
mite	miti	<i>to meet</i>
pute	puti	<i>to put</i>
ride	ridi	<i>to read</i>
splete	spliti	<i>to split</i>
skine	skini	<i>to peel</i>
sute	suti	<i>to shoot</i>
yuze	yuzi	<i>to use</i>

5. Schwa

The use of schwa and of certain fricatives (to be discussed in the following section) appear to be affected by both age and region. Thus one hears both (a) and (b) variants, the former being preferred by older speakers on all islands, although their incidence seems to be highest among eastern Islanders.

(a)	(b)	
[bɔtɔl]	[bɔtəɪ]	<i>bottle</i>
[dɔti]	[dətɪ]	<i>dirty</i>
[ɛli]	[əlɪ]	<i>early</i>
[lɔɡun]	[ləɡun]	<i>lagoon</i>
[nɪdɛɪ]	[nɪdəl]	<i>needle</i>
[pɔpɔɪ]	[pɔpəl]	<i>purple</i>
[sɔt]	[ʃət]	<i>shirt</i>
[sɔs]	[tʃəs]	<i>church</i>
[tɔti]	[θətɪ]	<i>thirty</i>
[teɪbɛɪ]	[teɪbəl]	<i>table</i>

While schwa does not yet have phonemic status, there may be a phonological shift underway among young speakers on Thursday Island and Bamaga under strong superstrate influence.

6. Fricatives

Also still without phonemic status and correlated with both of the non-linguistic parameters is the use of the fricatives [f, v, θ, ð, ʃ] and the affricate [tʃ] in words of English origin. As yet voiced [ʒ] and [ʝ] are only rarely heard.

Now, while the use of either the (a) or (b) variant of the first five phonological variables discussed distinguishes most Islanders according to generation or island group of origin, there is not a great deal of variation in individual speech. In the case of the fricatives, however, there may be individual variation in the same narrative, or even in the same sentence. At a bible class I attended once on Erub, a middle-aged speaker with a fair knowledge of English used back-to-back the following two sentences: em i luɡaut [ʃip] blo em *he looked after his sheep*, and em i luɡaut dem [sip] *he looked after the sheep*, and I have heard many phrases and sentences like the following: [februəri mɑnt] *in February*, [pɔ nɑθiŋ] *for no good reason*, em i [dɛp] [frɔm] *kam daun he's deaf from the plane descent* and [sɑpɛm] prapa [ʃɑp]! *sharpen it really sharp!*

Further examples of these common consonant alternations are:

(a)	(b)	
[aranziz]	[ɔrinʒ]	<i>orange</i>
[brada]	[brɑðɑ]	<i>brother</i>
[lɛbɛn]	[lɛvɛn]	<i>eleven</i>
[ɔpɛs]	[ɔfɛs]	<i>office</i>
[pajb]	[fajv]	<i>five</i>
[pilam]	[filɛm]	<i>camera film</i>
[pinis]	[finiʃ]	<i>completive marker</i>
[sɑtɛ]	[ʃɑtɛ]	<i>to shut</i>
[sɛk]	[ʃɛjk]	<i>to shake</i>
[silba]	[silva]	<i>silver</i>
[sɔs]	[tʃɔs]	<i>church</i>
[tati]	[θɛti]	<i>thirty</i>
[wɔs]	[wɔtʃ]	<i>watch</i>
[zakɛt]	[dzakɛt]	<i>jacket</i>
[zulaɟ]	[dzulaɟ]	<i>July</i> ⁹

MORPHO-SYNTACTIC VARIABLES

Morpho-syntactic variability was never mentioned by Islanders when discussing generational or regional differences and, given the disputed status of such variability, it may be misleading to claim the following seven features as instances of it.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the (a) and (b) variants of each feature do appear to express the same information content, although, like the phonological variants discussed above, each conveys additional social information as to the speaker's age and island of origin. I do not yet know, however, what further semantic or pragmatic information is conveyed by the formal differences noted here.

(7) to (10) appear to correlate strongly with age. The (b) variants are rarely heard among people born before World War II, although occasionally older people with an interest in influencing the young and who have been exposed to English

(such as teachers, councillors, Anglican priests and Pentecostal pastors and elders) will use the (b) variants. Thus younger speakers and certain categories of older speakers are beginning to omit the previously obligatory transitive/causative marker (7), while adding nominal plural marking (8), inserting copula *bi* in sentences like (9b), and using a greater number of conjunctions (10). Only one syntactic variable (11) may indicate a regional difference, while (12) and (13) appear to be influenced by both age and region. Like the phonological features (1), (5) and (6), they are all tending towards English norms

Because I have restricted discussion here to unelicited data, and syntactic variation is difficult to gather in large quantities, the number of examples in this section is reduced. Again, the (a) variants refer to older speakers except for (11a) which is preferred by eastern Islanders. For (12) and (13), where both age and region appear to be relevant, the (a) variant tends to be used most often by the oldest eastern Islanders, and least often by the youngest near western or central Islanders.

7. Transitive/causative marker

Whereas (4) noted variation in the phonological shape of this marker, (7) shows variation with respect to its presence or absence. I would say that it is categorically present in either of its forms for older speakers of the creole, whereas speakers under thirty use it variably in conversation. On formal occasions, it is almost always present.¹¹ Thus one can hear the following kinds of alternation in the younger speakers' everyday talk:

- (a) Dadi kan meke yu redi.
- (b) Dadi kan mek yu redi.
Daddy can't get you ready.
- (c) Sate ai blo yu.
- (d) Sat yu ai.
Shut your eyes.
- (e) Ai make yu.
- (f) Ai mak yu.
I'll get even with you.

8. Plural marker

Nouns are not morphologically marked for plurality in the basilectal varieties of TSC — a typical creole feature. However, children and adolescents are beginning to add the English plural marker to a few commonly used English-derived nominals when these are preceded by *dem the* (plural) or *demkain these/those kinds of*. Examples are:

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| (a) | (b) | |
| dem boi | dem [boiz] | <i>the boys</i> |
| demkain ting | demkain [θiŋz] | <i>these, those kinds of things</i> |

9. Copula

Basilectal varieties of the creole do not contain a copula, the forms *bin* or *bi*, from English 'been', occurring pre-verbally as a past tense marker. Recently, however, teenagers, almost all of whom have been taught by English-speaking teachers in high school, are variably inserting copula *bi* in sentences containing

a locative expression, presumably influenced by the comparable structural pattern of English. Insertion of copula *bi* rarely occurs in the speech of people over 25.

For young speakers, then, one hears some alternation between the (a) and (b) variants listed below:

- (a) Da spot i go lo Masig.
- (b) Da spot i go bi lo Masig.

The sports carnival will be held on Yorke Island.

Other examples of (b) variants are: *beiking pauda spostu bi antap the baking powder [tin] should be on top*; and *Meri, ju spostu bi de nau Mary, you're supposed to be there.*

10. Conjunctions

Research carried out on pidgin languages generally and on possible pidgin precursors of TSC (see, for example, Dutton 1980 and Mühlhäusler 1983) suggests that few complementisers occur in those languages. In TSC, semantic linking is still generally indicated through sentential juxtaposition, discourse markers and prosodic features, rather than through the use of co-ordination and subordination markers, although this is changing. The speech of elderly first language creole speakers shows a much lower incidence of conjunctions than does that of middle-aged and young speakers. The former are likely to use juxtaposition rather than formal linking of sentences such as: *ai graule yu, ai wande gedap I'm rousing on you because I want to get up.* The equivalent sentence, spoken by a 28-year-old woman on Yam Island was: *ai graule yu biko ai wande gedap.* Similarly, one hears the following kind of variation in most island communities:

- (a) Ju kaikai pinis, ju go kaikai diswan.
- (b) Ip ju kaikai pinis, ju go kaikai diswan.
If you eat up all your food, you can have these [chips].

11. Causatives

The only syntactic variable feature which may correlate with region is the causative construction. Eastern Islanders seem to be more likely to use simply a verb plus the transitive/causative marker *-e*, whereas other Islanders tend to prefer to use the verb *meke* to *make*, *cause*, *cause to become* plus uninflected verb (which may now be in the process of being re-analysed as an adjective). The first example given here is particularly diagnostic of Erub speech:

- | | | |
|--------|------------|---------------------------------|
| (a) | (b) | |
| swime | meke swim | <i>to give (someone) a bath</i> |
| pase | meke pas | <i>to tie</i> |
| sape | meke sap | <i>to sharpen</i> |
| strete | meke stret | <i>to straighten</i> |
| slaike | meke slaik | <i>to loosen</i> |
| taite | meke tait | <i>to tighten</i> |

The recent borrowing of Kala Lagaw Ya lexicon into the eastern variety of the creole also has a syntactic aspect and this will be discussed in (16).

12. Possessives

Features (12) and (13) appear to be influenced by both age and region. The (a) variant of (12) is the most common, with the (b) variant beginning to be heard among young speakers and more often in the near western and central varieties. It is favoured by, but not limited to, cases of inalienable possession. One would rarely hear, for example, an expression like: *mai mane my money* or *yu bot your boat*, but only *mane blo mi* or *bot blo yu*. (Blong, the older form, is heard only in the formal speech of elderly Islanders.) Some examples of variation that I have noted during fieldwork are listed below:

(a)	(b)	
ai blo yu	yu ai	<i>your eye</i>
mama blo yu	yu mama	<i>your mother</i>
mami blo mi	mai mami	<i>my mother</i>
nem blo da boi	da boi nem	<i>the boy's name</i>
nem blo dempla	dempla nem	<i>their name</i>
oman blo em	em waif	<i>his wife</i>
ples blo Koni	Koni ples	<i>Connie's place [land long owned by Connie's family]</i>
tang blo yu	yu tang	<i>your tongue</i>

13. Position of aspect markers

An innovation in the language is the shift of originally sentence-initial or sentence-final aspect markers to within the verb phrase. This is beginning to occur among the youngest speakers, possibly because of English influence, but also perhaps because of natural internal developments in the language. (See Sankoff and Laberge 1974 for an account of the parallel movement of Tok Pisin *bai*.) Thus the examples given below illustrate the variation that results from the movement of the initially sentence-final completive marker *pinis* into the VP:

- (a) Yu wase klos pinis.
 (b) Yu pinis wase klos.
You've washed your clothes.

However, sentence-initial dubitive *mait*, the Kala Lagaw Ya repetitives *kaine* and *lak*, and *kasa*, a counterfactual, may also variably shift into the verb phrase.

LEXICAL VARIABLES

This section deals with the major types of lexical variation, the result of innovative borrowing from both English and Kala Lagaw Ya as well as retention of vocabulary from both substrate languages.¹²

14. Adoption of English lexicon

Strongly correlated with age is the variable adoption of English vocabulary items and in practice, almost any English word is potentially able to be borrowed into TSC. I have heard conversations about medical computer technology which would be intelligible to English speakers because of the predominantly English vocabulary used. However, outside of such specialised semantic domains, it is younger speakers, most of whom have received their secondary education in

English from European teachers, who use the greatest amount of English vocabulary. I have listed only a few variable items here, although there are dozens in common use today. The (a) words are most likely to be used by Islanders over 40, whereas the (b) words have entered the language during the past 15 to 20 years:

(a)	(b)	
ai no sabe	aidano	<i>I don't know</i>
batol	konteina	<i>container</i>
boi	san	<i>son</i>
dinataim	lanstaim	<i>lunchtime</i>
gibi (po sot taim)	lene	<i>to lend</i>
klozet	toilet	<i>toilet</i>
lo	ene	<i>in</i>
lo	den	<i>than</i>
meke	du	<i>to do</i>
nidel	inzeksin	<i>injection</i>
oltaim	yustu	<i>habitual past marker</i>
oman	waif	<i>wife</i>
pasin	abit	<i>way of doing things</i>
puaka	pig	<i>pig</i>
slu	mub	<i>to move</i>
smol piknini	beibi	<i>baby</i>
sore	pil sori po	<i>to feel sorry for</i>
spaile	distabe	<i>to disturb</i>
spik izi	wispa	<i>whisper</i>
tingbaut	rimemba	<i>to remember</i>
tingbaut	bilib	<i>to believe</i>
teke prom	boro	<i>to borrow</i>
tret	koton	<i>cotton (thread)</i>
wanem	wat	<i>what</i>
wiskit	mustas	<i>moustache</i>
wiswei	au	<i>how</i>
yawo	si yu	<i>goodbye</i>
yawo	gudbai	<i>to farewell</i>

One special subset of (14) is that of the English pronouns. In the speech of some adolescents, [i] and [ʒi] are beginning to replace em, the third person singular pronoun, and enibodi and eniting are now sometimes used in negative sentences in place of the more usual nobodi and nating.

15. Retention of substrate lexicon

Here are just a few examples of the scores of traditional language vocabulary in everyday use in the creole of the two major groups of islands. It is chiefly this vocabulary which is mentioned by Islanders as diagnostic of region. Thus we have the following pairs of words, the (a) form being used by eastern Islanders and the (b) form by near western and central Islanders:

(a)	(b)	
arti	sugu	<i>octopus</i>
ata	athei	<i>grandfather</i>
augemwali	kathalsod	<i>Mother Hubbard dress</i>
beizam	baidham	<i>shark</i>
bes	kasa	<i>false</i>

(a)

goi	pedauk	<i>bald head</i>
kayer	kayar	<i>crayfish</i>
keikei	danakuth	<i>sideways glance</i>
ketai	kuthai	<i>wild yam</i>
kipro	kipru	<i>seagull</i>
nasem	natham	<i>namesake</i>
nazir	kabar	<i>trochus</i>
sik	kausa	<i>blossom</i>
syusyu	saradh	<i>bleached</i>
tapot	awar	<i>finger nail</i>
tam	tham	<i>branch</i>

(The th represents a voiceless interdental stop, not a fricative.)

However, the situation is not quite as clear-cut as this, as there is often a third 'true' creole alternative, which may be widely used, the choice depending on such factors as the age of the speaker, the formality of the occasion and the desired stylistic effect. Where 'true' creole variants exist they are usually preferred by younger speakers, but this is not always the case, as (16) will demonstrate.

16. Adoption of western island lexicon

Of more interest than either (14) or (15), because of its unexpectedness, is the increasing adoption of western island language vocabulary throughout the Strait. The proportion of these items in TSC is, of course, higher in the central and western islands. However, it is increasing among eastern island teenagers and young adults who attended high school on Thursday Island (from the early 1960s) and Bamaga (from the early 1970s) where English was the language of instruction, TSC the lingua franca among the students and where the great majority of the students came from the western islands, where the traditional language predominates.¹³

Most of the borrowing seems to fall into three main syntactic categories: aspect markers; intensifiers; and emotives, although the interrogative tag *au?*, the interjections *yawo farewell* and *wa yes*, together with the kin terms *aka grandmother* and *athei grandfather*, are now also common in the eastern islands. *Yawo* and *wa* have now replaced *nawa* and *wau*. *Aka* and *athei* are used instead of the earlier eastern address terms, *pop* and *ata grandparent*. Moreover, they are generally agreed to be 'better', because, unlike the Meriam Mir terms, they are specified for sex.

I was told that western island vocabulary was always introduced into the eastern group by high school students, who 'bring back the new language'. Middle-aged and older eastern Islanders disapprove strongly of this development. Many times when I used or enquired about a western island term I was told: *No yuze diswan, i blo dempla Don't use that word. It belongs to them [the western Islanders]*. Several eastern Islanders now living on Thursday Island bemoaned the fact that their children knew only western island words. In spite of this disapproval, such vocabulary is now spreading to some older speakers, anxious to keep abreast of the latest linguistic developments.

A few of these recent borrowings from the west, most of which have occurred during the past ten years, are given below:

16.1 Aspect markers seem to be particularly good candidates for borrowing. They may also be extremely difficult to translate. Lak and kaine, like gen, are repetitive markers, usually translated by English *again*; matha has several related meanings, one of which is the equivalent of *po continually* or *can't stop* (said admiringly) and another of one ... dasol *only, just* in the pejorative sense of *do nothing but*; kai is the western equivalent of pas, meaning *before taking any other action, straightaway*; and kasa, like gyeman, is used when there is no ostensible purpose for an action or when the ostensible purpose is not the true one. Thus one can hear variation between the following pairs of sentences, the first of each pair being more typical of older and/or eastern island speech:

- (a) Em i go baik gen.
- (b) Lak/kaine em go baik (gen).
She went back again.
- (c) Em po yan!
- (d) Em matha yan!
He can't stop talking! He talks all the time!
- (e) Yu one luk dasol, yu no meke nating.
- (f) Yu matha luk, yu no meke nating.
You only look, you don't do anything.
- (g) Kam ya pas!
- (h) Kam ya kai!
Come here a moment [before you do anything else]!
- (i) Em i gyeman wagbaut.
- (j) Em i kasa wagbaut.
She's just walking around.

(Here examples (a), (c) and (e) are more likely to be used by older speakers or by Easterners and (b), (d) and (f) by younger near western and central Islanders.)

16.2 There are two intensifiers, matha (in another sense, that of *very*) and mina (meaning something like *truly*) which are increasingly being used in all varieties of the creole alongside the 'true' creole term, prapa. An example of this alternation is:

- (a) Em i prapa gud man.
- (b) Em i matha/mina gud man.
He's a very kind man.

(I was told that matha was borrowed into TSC in the mid-1970s, became popular at the end of the decade and is now very 'fashionable' everywhere.)

16.3 Four emotives from the western island substrate, augar, gar, matha and yagar, have become widely disseminated over the past few years, according to eastern Islanders.

Augar is an expression of speaker surprise, while gar, which occurs sentence-finally, indicates that the speaker feels empathy, concern, or tenderness towards the animate subject under discussion. There does not appear to be a precise equivalent in Meriam Mir, although something of its intent may be conveyed by prosodic and paralinguistic means.

- (c) Em beibi (gar)!
But he's only a little baby!

- (d) Em mai pren (gar)!
She's my friend, after all!

The second item, *matha*, in its 'emotive' sense, is used when the speaker is making the best of circumstances which are not those which she would have chosen, but which she is prepared to accept gracefully. *Matha*, which can sometimes be translated as *instead*, suggests that the course to be followed is not the desired one but that the speaker acquiesces in the changed situation out of friendship, courtesy, a desire to please, a wish to avoid confrontation, or any combination of these motivations. *Wi matha go ya we'll go here instead* has as subtext something like: *we can't go where we had planned, so we'll make the best of it and...* In (e), a can of soft drink is referred to: in (f) the favour being bestowed was the speaker's turn to use the single community phone:

- (e) Yu matha tekem!
Why don't you have it!
- (f) Yu matha go!
It's alright. You go ahead.

Yagar conveys the sympathy felt by the speaker towards the addressee or towards someone adversely affected by the action or state of affairs under discussion. It can be translated partially by English *poor...* or as *I'm sorry, what a pity*. The equivalent Meriam Mir term is *wayi*, but that is now used only by elderly eastern Islanders. Everyone else uses *yagar*.

- (g) *Yagar, yu go nau.*
What a pity you're going.
- (h) A: *Gel blo em i paswei.*
His daughter died.
- B: *Yagar!*
I'm so sorry to hear that.

CONCLUSION

In this preliminary discussion of variation in Torres Strait Creole, I have suggested that sixteen salient linguistic variable features of the language correlate with and are therefore diagnostic of speaker age and/or island of origin.

What now needs to be done is a fine-grained quantitative analysis of these and other variable features with respect to linguistic and non-linguistic parameters, as well as a factor analysis to unravel the relative strength of the constraints on variable forms.

Other possible sources of variability in the creole which have not been discussed here include universal phonological simplification processes, morpho-syntactic and lexical rule re-analysis and the influence of putative universals of creole evolution. (The shift of sentential modifiers from initial or final position to within the sentence (13) may be one such universal process.)

There is one obvious source of phonological and lexical variation that has not been dealt with except by implication in (1), (3), (5), (6) and (14): the time at which individual words were borrowed into the language. Thus while English 'rain' and 'nail', which were probably borrowed into Pacific Pidgin English, the precursor of TSC, are pronounced as [rɛn] and [nɪl] respectively, 'plane' and 'mail', two recent borrowings, have become [plejn] and [mejl]. [Soʒəl] *social security benefits* is almost always pronounced this way, even by elderly eastern

Islanders, the most conservative of all speakers. [Kapa], from English 'copper', another early borrowing, means *roofing iron*, whereas [kɔpa], a later borrowing, refers to a tub or other large container in which water is boiled or hand washing is done, and there are many other such pairs. Similarly, the period at which TSC replaced the traditional language on a given island appear to influence the amount of substrate lexicon in common use on that island. On Mer, for example, a greater number of Meriam Mir words occur in the creole than is the case on Erub.

It is fair to say that the most salient linguistic differences in TSC are those usually cited by the Islanders themselves: intonation and lexical choice, both of which would appear to have their primary source in the two substrate languages of the area and are strongly correlated with eastern versus western speech. Of more general linguistic interest, however, are the generational differences, which may provide formal evidence of decreolisation. Out of twelve age-related features, all except one show a movement towards English norms.

At the same time, however, there is at work a powerful countervailing process to full decreolisation and that is the increasing pride that young bilingual speakers profess to have in the creole as a marker of ethnic identity, solidarity and separateness, and a strong consciousness of the boundaries and appropriate domains of each language.

It will be interesting to see which of these processes: (1) linguistic decreolisation, which would indicate increasing social and cultural absorption into the English-speaking community; or (2) preservation of a unique ethnic and socio-cultural marker of separation, will ultimately prevail.

NOTES

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¹This is especially so for the most phonologically marked varieties, those of Erub and St Paul, which could be viewed as situated at opposite ends of a basilectal/acrolectal continuum.

²This canefields connection is little known among present-day Torres Strait Islanders, although there is evidence that many of the South Sea Islanders who came to Torres Strait had spent time in the sugar-growing districts of Queensland.

³Rigsby (1984) now argues that for sociological, cultural and historical reasons, 'the 'Cape York Creole' name should be dropped' (6) in favour of 'Torres Strait Creole'.

⁴Here, substrate languages refer, not to the Pacific Island languages which contributed to the formation of the original pidgin, but to the two traditional Torres Strait island languages.

⁵Nor does it have the same status as English or either of the two traditional languages, which are called (prapa) *langus true languages*. The creole is

never called langus, but referred to variously as Big Thap, Pizin Inglis, Broken Inglis, Inglis blo yumpla, tok blo yumpla, tang blo waitman and, most recently, Blaikman.

⁶One of my earliest fieldwork recollections on Erub was waking up to hear the son of the family, aged seven, correcting the speech of his cousin: i no paib, i faiv *it's not pibe, it's five*. Later, a well-educated Masig Islander explained to me some of the differences between the Masig and Erub pronunciations. Erub people say 'lesen' [lɛsɛn], he told me, and added: 'We laugh at them because 'listen' is an English word'.

⁷Not discussed here are the minor intra-group phonological and lexical differences that exist between the Mer and Erub varieties of the creole and among those of the central and near western islands.

⁸The forms 3.1.a, 3.2.a and 3.3.a are diagnostic also of elderly speech, having been borrowed into the language at an early stage. Their categorical use is rare, although they occur most often in the speech of elderly eastern Islanders and not at all among young near western and central Islanders.

⁹Europeans often comment adversely on the fact that Islanders 'mix up their ps and fs, 'can't tell the difference between b and v', i.e., use fricatives where English has stops and vice versa. When talking to Europeans, many Islanders use the most acrolectal form of the creole they can produce and often hypercorrect. Thus, knowing that many stop sounds in the creole correspond to English fricatives, they may change every stop sound to its corresponding fricative (p to f, b to v, t to θ, d to ð, and s to ʒ) producing utterances like 'to sheep [= sip] wine', 'to look fale [= pale]', or 'the breeze [= bridge]'.

¹⁰See the discussion by Lavandera (1978) on whether the concept of the sociolinguistic variable can legitimately be extended beyond the phonological realm.

¹¹Verbs which are borrowed from the traditional languages do not have this marker. Generally speaking, there is far less variation in substrate words than in English borrowings, although some inter-island variation does occur.

¹²See Dutton (1970:143, 149-152) for a discussion of lexical variation resulting from substrate influence.

¹³Whereas the far western Islanders used to learn the creole as adults, they are now learning it at about age 12 or 13 when they go to high school and sometimes even earlier from relatives living on Thursday Island and Bamaga. This has become a matter of concern to many in those communities and language planning and retention activities have recently been instituted.

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KRIOL — AN AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE RESOURCE

Margaret C. Sharpe

INTRODUCTION

The Australian Aboriginal creole known now as Kriol, and widely spoken in the north of Australia, was for many years overlooked by experts and administrators. This was due in part to sociolinguistic rules governing its use, and varying abilities in standard English use by Kriol speakers, although many early mission workers and other whites in contact situations learnt it from Aborigines and used it in interacting with them.

Present evidence is that the language is derived from a contact jargon developed for interaction between Aborigines of the Port Jackson (Sydney) area and the white convicts and settlers, that it reached its current form at least 80 years ago, and that it is now a stable language unlikely to die out or change rapidly. Its phonology, grammar and lexis marry superficial features of English with many features of the underlying Aboriginal languages, and it therefore has a right to be regarded as an Aboriginal language, and is so regarded by its mother-tongue speakers.

As a modern Aboriginal language it has flexibility for use in traditional and modern Aboriginal cultural areas, and recent research suggests its use in bilingual programs in schools helps school children towards both better English and better separation of English and Kriol than when English only is used in school.

KRIOL

In 1976, John Sandefur and I wrote:

Most of the Aborigines resident at settlements at Ngukurr (Roper River) and Bamyili¹ (near Katherine) speak a contact vernacular which they refer to as 'Pidgin English'

or, I might add, 'Roper Pidgin', Roper Kriol, or Kriol.

The language has become creolised, being the first language for the younger people, and the usual language of communication for the older people. Similar Creoles appear to be spoken in a wide area in cattle station areas of the Northern Territory... Aborigines at Ngukurr and Bamyili who are fluent in English clearly differentiate the Creole and English, and

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rarely mix them. Those who are less fluent in English speak a mixture of English and Creole to non-Aborigines, the proportion varying with their familiarity with English. This situation accounts for the non-recognition of the Creole as a language entity by many government and school staff for many years. (Sharpe and Sandefur 1976:63)

I had also encountered speakers of a pidgin, which seemed identical to Roper Kriol, in central Australia, central and north Queensland, and in 1977, in a publication directed mainly towards school teachers, we wrote:

A speaking and hearing knowledge of Roper Creole can be quite an asset for whites even in these places. (Sharpe and Sandefur 1977:52)

Three, and often four, generations of Aborigines in the Roper area now speak or have spoken Kriol as their first language, and Sandefur now maintains, on the basis of research and surveys carried out by him and Joy Sandefur, and by him and Aborigines from Roper River, that Kriol is spoken now as first language by some 7,000 people, and is in regular use by a total of about 20,000 people across the northern part of Australia, from Western Australia to Queensland. In addition, although it had escaped the notice of officials, there were many whites who found it essential for use in interaction with Aborigines, if there was to be any real communication.

I began study of Kriol as a sideline in my research on a traditional Aboriginal language of the Roper area, and later John Sandefur focused his study on Kriol itself. We both happened to be based at Ngukurr, and therefore described the creole spoken there, but members of the Aboriginal community from much farther afield seemed to regard the language as having its centre there, in referring to it as Ropa pijin. In the 1960s, the Northern Territory Welfare Branch, responsible for education of Aborigines, considered that the English of Roper Aborigines was better on the whole than that of those from other areas, and even before this time a number of Aboriginal people from that area became known in white circles. Two brothers in one family were a health worker and a magistrate, and their father was a lay preacher in the Church of England. Perhaps the prominence at that time of such people gave a certain prestige to this area and its language within the Aboriginal community (the father was also a djunggayi in the Aboriginal community, one of the leaders), but in any case the evidence seems now to show that the pidgin or creole spoken in many other places was very similar to the Roper variety.

ORIGINS AND HISTORY

From early on in records since the British penal settlement at Port Jackson (Sydney) in 1788, there are references to a pidgin language used for communication between the native inhabitants and the newcomers. Baker (1966:312) quotes a source as early as 1796 which refers to 'a barbarous mixture of English with the Port Jackson dialect' used as the sole means of communication between blacks and whites. Examples quoted by Baker from this source clearly show the shift in phonology of English words due to the phonological system of the Aboriginal language, though in Baker there is no reference to grammatical features.

In the 1830s, 1840s, and later sources to the turn of the century, there are word lists which include a number of terms which are still known and used in

Kriol. Many, such as boomerang, woomera, corroboree, kangaroo, myall, etc., passed into general English usage. Bogi swim, bath (possibly of English origin), gabarra head, and gula anger, from early lists, are still current in Kriol.

Various opinions and theories have been advanced on the origins of the first pidgin (or pidgins) used in Australia. There are references to a pidgin, a language mixture, in Collins 1796 (mentioned by Baker 1966), Threlkeld 1834, Meston 1896 and Favenc 1904, according to Baker (1966), as well as more recent comments by researchers and compilers from the 1930s on. Because of lack of settled terminology, as well as understandable lack of linguistic sophistication of many of these writers, it is hard at this distance to ascertain whether what they spoke of were jargon, pidgin or creole situations, or mixtures of these. My main informant on the Alawa language of the Northern Territory, Barnabas Roberts (c. 1894-1974) claimed that the Roper Pidgin was brought from Queensland by stockmen. Some trace its origins to the Beach-la-mar pidgin of the Pacific, brought to Queensland canefields by indentured Islander labour. Because Islanders' attitudes towards Aborigines precluded much contact between the races, there was probably little direct interaction, but white overseers and stockmen could well have acted as intermediaries, that is, if there is an organic connection between the two pidgins. One may have developed from the other, both developed from common elements, or a common process could have been in action. However, there is more obvious connection between Tok Pisin in New Guinea with Bamaga Creole (Cape York) and the Beach-la-mar Pidgin, than there is with Kriol.

Pidgins develop into creoles in areas where, for one or another reason, the pidgin becomes the preferred common language for a community, and this certainly was the case at Ngukurr (Roper River Settlement) from the early years of this century. Workers from the Church Missionary Society set up a mission there in 1908, a refuge both from massacre and sport killing by whites, and from inter-tribal wars (information from Barnabas Roberts). People from about a dozen different language groups came in to the mission in such proportions that no one language predominated. English was the language of the mission staff, though there are early references to the use of pidgin by some of them (Sandefur 1980a:3).

From this time also, we have the classic books by Mrs Aeneas Gunn of Elsey Station on the upper Roper River, including *The little black princess* (1905) and *We of the Never Never* (1908). Although Mrs Gunn had only one year at the station, she had a sympathetic - if by today's standards a little paternalistic - interest in the Aborigines, and her books are full of examples of pidgin conversations and remarks. In the 1960s, I went through the first of these books and transcribed these examples, using the current Kriol orthography. There were very few words and word usages which would not fit easily into modern Kriol. I remember one word she gave which I had not encountered at Ngukurr; I later found it in everyday use at Djembere,² the Aboriginal community settlement two miles from the present Elsey Station. Sandefur (1980b:6) has a list of about a dozen words and phrases not in use in Kriol today from this same source. Some of these could well be errors Jeannie Gunn herself made in transcribing or remembering the forms.

About 30 years ago, Gospel Recordings produced some records of Bible stories in Kriol, which Sandefur has checked, and in them there are few expressions not in common use today, and those few would be known to older speakers (Sandefur 1980b:6). From both my experience and John Sandefur's, I would guess that Kriol

has changed to about the same extent as Australian English has in the same time. For example, in the last 20 years (actually in the early 1960s between 1961 and 1965) we have exchanged the word radio for the older wireless, and many have commented that the use of hopefully as a clause introducer has become common only in the last few years. It is probably accurate to say that in Kriol, we have a language which has maintained stability in basic grammar, and which has sustained only the same vocabulary shift as any other modern language in use over at least 80 years.

Both Sandefur and I have done our major research on this language at or near Ngukurr, which would lead us to regard this form of the creole as the central form. However, in brief contacts with older people on Aboriginal reserves in north and central Queensland in the late 1960s and in central Australia up to this year, I have encountered speakers of 'pidgin' in a form which seemed indistinguishable from the Roper form. I also encountered one Kriol word (and with time to pursue the matter may have found many more) in use in the English of English-speaking Aboriginals in central Queensland in 1967. But certainly in the recent past if not still now, the language was referred to in the Top End (of the Northern Territory) as 'Roper Pidgin'. At Ngukurr, factors such as the variety of traditional languages, the establishment of the mission in 1908, the Overland Telegraph station in the area, the dormitory system of child education in the 1930s, and some insulation from too much white civilisation, all provided good ground for a new language to develop and flourish. And it has flourished and spread. When he arrived in the 1960s, the last white Anglican clergyman at Ngukurr was asked by the Aboriginal Church Council to learn Kriol and preach in it. His successor, an Aboriginal from Groote Eylandt, is probably now thought to be a native speaker of Kriol, but during my visits there in the 1960s he was still learning it, and his Kriol was heavily influenced by English, which was his second language after his own Aboriginal language from Groote Eylandt (Anindilyawgwa). The spread of, and growing pride in, Kriol as a language seems to be in line with the worldwide trend towards pride in and resurgence of local languages and dialects.

SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF KRIOL USE

It has been a custom for Aborigines of the Roper area to use their best 'English' when speaking to white officials and strangers, though for familiar people, even those who do not speak Kriol, there is some relaxation of this general rule. Thus for many years prior to the late 1960s, government officials were under the impression that various standards of English were spoken by Aboriginal people in the Roper area. I was told by a Darwin official that a certain Aboriginal woman spoke good English. He was surprised to hear that her everyday speech was in 'Pidgin English', as it was called at the time. She switched to good English in the presence of whites and for ritual purposes (such as public prayer in a Christian service), but used Kriol for everyday interaction and for general public announcements at a church meeting. My main Alawa teacher, who was fluent in Alawa, Kriol, English, and at least two other Aboriginal languages, also used standard English when speaking to whites. Such was his confidence in his English that he told me one day he had argued a point of English grammar with Dr Arthur Capell, during his work on the Alawa and other languages in the area. As I adjusted my 'English' in interacting with my Alawa teacher, to incorporate Kriol elements, so he gradually moved from standard English towards Kriol. Kriol, as I gained ability in it; proved a far better tool for learning about an Aboriginal language than was English.

At about this time (in 1967), I called on some young people from Roper River living at Bagot Reserve in Darwin, and in speaking to them I used as much Kriol as I could, only inserting English when I did not know how to say what I wanted in Kriol. Their response was 'Where did you learn our language?'. When the pressure to conform to standard English for the sake of white interlocutors is removed, then the forms of non-traditional language speech used by all Roper people, old and young, educated (in the white sense) or not, are much more closely aligned with each other, although there is some phonological shift and some changes in lexis with younger or more 'educated' speakers, or when discussing certain topics.

Two factors contribute to the speaking of the best English a speaker can muster when speaking to whites: firstly, politeness and consideration for the white hearer, and secondly, a sense of shame about Kriol, or about Aboriginal language in general. (I found this same attitude of shame and unwillingness to admit to use of *traditional* Aboriginal language among Aranda-speaking children in Alice Springs.) Some speakers of Kriol berated their language to whites, or claimed not to speak it. But attitudes have been slowly changing, due perhaps to a combination of factors: respectful interest in Kriol by whites; contact of Aboriginal leaders with the resurgence of pride of minority groups in their languages and cultures occurring throughout the world; and possibly also the influx of migrants speaking other languages. This last certainly is a factor in the Northern Rivers area of New South Wales, though it has less direct impact in a remote, mainly Aboriginal area of Australia. In any case, Kriol speakers became more assertive about their language. In 1974 I wrote (1974a:21):

it is clear... that Aboriginal pride in the Creole as their language has been increasing over the years, and that Aborigines are less ashamed of using the creole to whites (clear to me over the gap of 6-7 years since my last visit) - and city Aborigines will now use Creole when speaking to whites who know it...

There is also a feeling, as elsewhere in Australia with the Aboriginal dialects of English proper, that Kriol is the appropriate language to be used with other Aborigines, unless these are viewed as being too 'flash' and citified to really be regarded as in-group.

Within Kriol itself, as in many other languages, there is a range of styles. Within this language these are manifest by a shift of phonology towards the traditional Aboriginal language phonology or towards English phonology, by the choice of lexical items which come from traditional languages or are more heavily influenced by traditional phonology, as opposed to those which are more English, and by the choice of more Aboriginal or more English-type grammar. For example:

Phonology: binijimab binijimap finishimap
use up, finish

Lexis: ngugu wada/warra wota
water
garim got with
with, having

Grammar: bla gejim so yu kin gejim
to catch

Among other factors influencing style shift would be the familiarity of the interlocutor with Kriol. A Kriol speaker with little knowledge of English, as much as one who does know English well, is likely to alter their rhythm, and insert more 'English-like' constructions when talking to whites, even when not deliberately aiming to do so. Adjustment of language between speaker and hearer is a common phenomenon in any social interaction, among people of any ethnocultural group

KRIOL PHONOLOGY

Traditional Aboriginal languages distinguish a larger number of points of articulation than do Indo-European languages, but have only one series of stops, which are often described as devoiced. In some languages these more closely resemble the English voiceless series: in others the English voiced series. Stops tend to be voiced word medially between vowels or following nasals, and can be voiceless and aspirated when emphasised word initially or (in languages where they occur there) word finally. In the Roper area they tend towards being voiced. Syllable patterns are usually CV or CVC; some Roper languages allow CVCC syllables, and some allow initial V and VC(C) syllables if the V is /a/ or /e/. A three vowel system (/i/, /a/, /u/) is most common in Aboriginal languages, but some Roper area languages have four or five vowels. Table 1 shows the phonemes of the underlying pidgin of the Roper area, as reflected in older Kriol words, using the practical orthography. There is no contrast between alveolar and retroflexed consonants word initially, and the alveopalatal lateral is rare. Words in Kriol which came from the original pidgin stock conform closely to the typical Aboriginal phonological patterns though some of them are often modified in speech today. The first word-initial consonant cluster to appear was /bl/. The initial consonant of most English borrowings with initial CC(C) was dropped or a vowel inserted. A final vowel was often added to an English word ending in a consonant. Thus:

dumaji	(from too much) <i>because</i> (usually used at the end of the reason clause)
namu/nomo	<i>not, no</i>
giyaman/geman	(from gammon) <i>pretend, tell lie</i>
burrum	<i>from</i>
jineg	<i>snake</i>

Table 1: Phonemes of underlying pidgin

	bilabial	alveolar	retroflexed	alveopalatal	velar
stops	b	d	rd	j	g
nasals	m	n	rn	ny	ng(ŋ)
laterals		l	rl	ly	
rhotics & semivowels	w	rr	r	y	
vowels	i	u			
		a			

But as the language expanded to become a home language, and did so in contact with English, English sounds began to be incorporated, beginning at Roper with the fourth vowel /e/ which was present in some local languages, until today almost the full range of English consonants, vowels and vowel glides can be heard at times. Kriol speakers refer to the more traditional phonology as 'heavy', and the more English phonology as 'light', and most if not all speakers (except the very old and isolated from much white English contact) vary their phonology and lexis over a range of heaviness and lightness according to those they are interacting with and to the chance of the moment, speed of speech, etc. Table 2 shows the range of phoneme symbols used in Kriol at present, and Figure 1 illustrates graphically the range of shift available in Kriol.

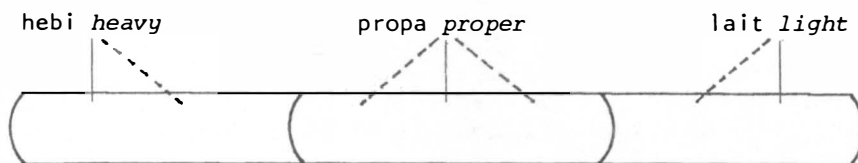


Figure 1

Table 2: Phoneme symbols used in Kriol

	bilab	lab-dent & inter- dental	alv	retr	alvpal	velar	glottal
stops, voiced	b		d	rd	j	g	
stops, voiceless	p		t	rt	tj	k	
fricatives		f th	s				h
nasals	m		n	rn	ny	ng(ŋ)	
laterals			l	rl	ly		
rhotics & semivowels	w		rr	r	y		
vowels	i		u				
		e e: ³ o					
		a					

The symbol ŋ is permissible in writing, but as it is rare on typewriters and not available for printing, the spelling ng is at times used ambiguously for the velar nasal, homorganic velar nasal-stop sequence, and alveolar nasal-velar stop sequence, although ngg is often written for the homorganic nasal-stop sequence.

Somewhere in the middle of the range illustrated in Figure 1 is an area referred to by speakers as propa Kriol/pijin. Propa Kriol covers a range of styles, but usually voiced and voiceless consonants are distinguished, as are fricatives, and about six vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/ and the central neutral vowel symbolised e:. The voiced sibilants /z/ and /ʒ/, and distinctions between voiced and voiceless interdental fricatives less commonly occur. (I am skating over a lot of detail here, but this outline covers the more important points. Readers interested in more detail should consult Sandefur 1979.)

Because of the range in phonology, deciding on an orthography was more complicated for Kriol than for traditional languages (with the occasional notorious exception, such as Aranda). However, over a period of years, Aboriginal speakers of the language, working together with linguists and teachers, decided to use an orthography which allowed for almost the full range of English sounds, although it would be a bit underdifferentiated for this, and which did not standardise the spelling of individual words, so that words could be spelt as they were said on a particular occasion. Thus 'fish' could be rendered fish, bish, or bij, etc. There is some standardisation incorporated forms, such as -taim time (in dinataim, japataim, deitaim, etc.) but such standardisation is not rigid. This also allows for the representation of different styles and registers within the Kriol continuum, and has proved satisfactory to literate speakers, those learning to read, and learners of the language. Young Aboriginal speakers of the language who are starting school often do not command the full range of light Kriol sounds, any more than many speakers of standard English (many English-speaking children do not command all standard English sounds at the same age). Heavier forms therefore tend to be used in initial literacy teaching of Kriol literacy in schools, making the association of sound and symbol easier to grasp.

While Kriol is spoken at a different rate and rhythm to English and initially can be hard for English speakers to tune in to, it requires a minimum of explanation of the sounds of the letters for readers of English to work through and sound out Kriol stories, and then understand much of them, or to begin to tune in to the meaning of Kriol spoken to them. There has recently been a school in Esperanto in Armidale (where I live), Esperantists claiming the language as easy to learn and regular in rules, and being unattached to any particular nation, politically neutral. For Australian English speakers, Kriol would be easier to learn than Esperanto, and within Australia would be common language to many more people than Esperanto. Kaberry (1937:92) refers to it as the 'Esperanto of the north'. It is far less localised than any other Aboriginal language, and within Aboriginal 'nations' is far more neutral than any other Australian language apart from English (which could be argued to be 'neutral against' the Aborigines). A number of Kriol speakers regard their language as being 'like a national Aboriginal language' (Sandefur 1980a:5b). I would suggest that for Eastern Australian and English-speaking Aborigines, it would be easier to learn than for standard English-speaking whites in principle, in that the rhythm and even some of the vocabulary would be less foreign than for standard English speakers. It is not difficult for English speakers either. I have exposed children at the local high school to Kriol, both spoken and written, and after the initial shock they understood quite a lot of it. Kriol can also provide, for those who do not speak a traditional Aboriginal language, an easy first step towards learning one, in that the Aboriginal-type structures and phonology are expressed in English-based roots. Kriol is very close in structure to the traditional languages of the Roper area (and elsewhere), so

that a literal translation from Kriol into one of them gives a fairly idiomatic translation, a feature which does not apply for translations to and from English and a traditional Aboriginal language. Later I will return to the subject of Kriol in education.

KRIOL GRAMMAR

As a very general rule, Kriol grammar is derived from that of English by a process of pidginisation and simplification, and word order is similar. Subject precedes verb, which precedes object, like English (and other pidgins), and unlike traditional Roper area languages. There is no case inflection of nouns, nor subject-object affixation of verbs, so that word order has to carry this case load. Noun and verb phrases have similar ordering rules to English: in the former this applies both to the order of any demonstratives/articles, numerals, adjectives, nouns and modifying phrases; in the latter this applies in that the negative precedes auxiliaries, which precede the main verb, which may be suffixed for continuous aspect. The ergative-nominative distinction of many Aboriginal languages is lost, though as noted above subject and object are indicated by word order; other case suffixes in the Aboriginal languages are replaced by prepositions in Kriol. But to one who knows one of the traditional Aboriginal languages, there are very few distinctions and categories which do not reflect distinctions and categories native to traditional languages, and the syntax reflects the traditional syntax. To illustrate this, I will choose a few examples from the grammar and syntax.

Pronouns

These, while derived from English in form, reflect the usage and distinctions of the traditional languages. Forms differ a little in different areas, and such forms as *wi*, *awa*, *dei*, *dem*, and the unmarked *yu* for plural are more recent introductions than the other forms given. Table 3 lists the forms.

	singular	dual	plural
1st & 2nd	<i>yunmi</i>		<i>yunmalabat/minalabat/wi</i>
1st (excl)	<i>ai/mi</i>	<i>mindubala</i>	<i>mela(bat)/mibala</i>
2nd	<i>yu</i>	<i>yundubala</i>	<i>yumob/yuwalabat/yubala</i>
3rd	<i>im</i>	<i>dubala</i>	<i>alabat/dei/dem</i>

The form *ai* is only used in subject position; *mi* sometimes occurs as subject also. As possessives, *mai* and *main* may also occur, both preceding the possessed item, or following it after the preposition *bla(nga)*. *Dei* is used for subject, *dem* for object and as a demonstrative/pluraliser (cf. *them* things in English, used by local teenagers, despite the fact that many of them would never hear it from parents and teachers). Of all the possessive forms (including those unmarked for possession), only *main* can stand alone.

Tharran bla yu.
That's yours.

Yunmalabat dadi la tap.
Our father in heaven.

Neil bla fish bin ardim main fut/mai fut/mi fut.
The fish's spine hurt my foot.

Tharran bla yu, dijan main.
That's yours, this is mine.

Most Aboriginal languages lack any gender distinctions in the third person singular pronoun, though one of the Roper area languages does have a masculine/feminine distinction, with pronouns and other inflections to indicate it.

Lack of copula

In common with most, if not all, Aboriginal languages, Kriol rarely uses a copula equivalent to 'to be' in equational clauses, except as necessary to indicate past (bin) or future (andi(bi)) tense.

Tharran munanga (im) burrum Dawin.
That white person is from Darwin.

When a copula is used, it follows typical Aboriginal usage in distinguishing items which 'sit', from those which 'stand' and yet others which 'lie down'. Hence:

Sambala pipul jidan jeya.
Some people are there.

Blandibala wadi jandap jeya.
There are plenty of trees there.

Waya leidan jeya.
Some wire is there.

Trees typically stand, people and animals typically sit down, and spears (not in use!), snakes, etc., typically lie down.

Transitive and intransitive verbs

Many transitive verbs are marked by the suffix -im (varying to -am, -um in phonological accord with a preceding vowel), though in casual speech this suffix is often abbreviated to -i ~-a. The ditransitive verb gibit *give*, and now occasionally some other transitive verbs (Sandefur quotes duit for the older form duwum *do*) end in -it rather than -im. Both gibit and duit have a typically inanimate direct object (as well as the animate dative object of gibit, which can be expressed by a naked pronoun, or la(nga) plus pronoun/noun phrase). If -it is ever introduced as a suffix to other transitive verbs, I would hazard a guess it will only be used where the (direct) object is inanimate.

Some transitive verbs (marked) can drop the -im suffix and be used intransitively/passively, e.g.:

lmin opinim dowa.
He opened the door.

Dowa bin opin.
The door opened/was opened.

Some transitive verbs are not marked for transitivity by the -im suffix, but no intransitive verb has the -im suffix.

Tense, mood and aspect of verbs

In common with traditional languages of the area, Kriol has three tenses, a continuous versus non-continuous aspect distinction, and ways of indicating reflexive action, habitual past action, attempted action, ability to do an action, and possible action. To anybody with reasonably trained linguistic sensitivity to English, most of the forms used to indicate these various tenses, moods, etc., are fairly easily deduced. However, there are some interesting forms. The continuous suffix is most commonly of the form -bat, though -ing alternating with -in in rapid speech also occurs. The form -bat and its origin might be a mystery to those not familiar with colloquial spoken Australian English, particularly of the northern part of Australia. A sentence may often be concluded with but:

I was just going but.
 It wasn't bad but. etc.

It can imply an unstated reason in English, at least in my own occasional use. Regular users of this clause final but should be asked (I have never yet done it) how they perceive its force. It seems to diminish the action, or leave unstated some remarks that the speaker thinks is not necessary to spell out in full. (It is interesting here to note also that dumaji because in Kriol can occur clause finally.) The continuous suffix -bat is added to the full verb, but -ing/-in, if it occurs, replaces any transitive -im suffix.

Past tense is neatly and regularly indicated in Kriol by the auxiliary bin, which can contract with im (3rd singular pronoun) to imin, and (in my experience) with neba to nebin. Reflexive action is similarly neatly handled with one reflexive pronoun mijelb/mijel (from myself), and reciprocal action by gija (from together).

Olabat bin kilibat mijelb.
They were all hitting themselves.

Olabat bin kilibat gija.
They were all hitting each other.

Unlike traditional Aboriginal languages, Kriol does have a passive which is occasionally used, mainly, it would seem, with verbs and situations where the undergoer of the action is more highly ranked than the agent. This is in line with colloquial English use, and with the first occurrences of the passive in children's language.

Olabat bin git shat.
They were/got shot.

Ai bin andi git kild jeya.
I nearly got killed there.

More in line with Aboriginal language forms is the use of some unmarked intransitive verbs in a passive sense, contrasting with the same verbs in marked transitive form for the active sense.

Imin opin.
It opened/was opened.

Sambodi bin opinim im.
Somebody opened it.

Olabat binij.
They are finished.

Imin binijim olabat.
He/she finished them.

or by the indefinite use of the 3rd person plural pronoun as subject.

Olabat kolum yalbun.
They call it yalbun (lilyseed). It's called yalbun.

Also in line with the Aboriginal language forms is the use of the continuous aspect to indicate action on a plurality of objects.

Imin kilim walabi.
He killed a wallaby.

Imin kilibat walabi.
He killed some wallabies.

Prepositions

Kriol has but four prepositions which function solely as prepositions, though there are certain other words which can function as prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions. The four parallel case suffixes in traditional languages, and as in traditional languages, they can be made more explicit by the addition of other words. The four are:

la(nga)	<i>to, at, in, into, on</i> (parallels the locative suffix with the same range of meanings in Aboriginal languages)
bla(nga)	<i>possessive, for the purpose of, for, for the benefit of</i> (parallels the purposive suffix in Aboriginal languages)
burrum	<i>from, out of</i> (and <i>in</i> when referring to a language) (parallels the relative suffix in a number of languages)
garrim	<i>with, having, and instrumental sense</i> (parallels the instrumental case suffix in Aboriginal languages)

These can be expanded and explicated, e.g.:

wansaid la	<i>beside</i>
an tap la/la tap la	<i>on top of</i>
najasaid la	<i>on the other side of, across</i>
bihain la	<i>behind</i>
nomo garrim	<i>without</i>

Lagajat

A useful Kriol verb which parallels traditional language usage is lagajat *do/say the same*. Imin lagajat is a common clause tacked on after reported speech, even when this speech is preceded by Imin tok/sek/dalim mi, etc. This is most exactly parallel to Aboriginal language usage in reporting speech, though it is not unknown in 'less educated' English speech.

Clause length and patterning

Also very much in line with traditional Aboriginal languages, at least of the Roper area, is the use of short clauses, with tacked on phrases to explicate items the speaker thinks the hearer may need spelt out. This is also not unlike features of informal speech, though the exposure most of us get to formal grammar and written English in schools may blind us to this feature. Pawley and Syder (1979a and b) have analysed spoken English, in which a number of rules contrast with those we have come to believe exist through our focus on the written forms. Although linguists claim to be shaking free from the primary analysis of written forms, they are still strongly influenced by them. Pawley and Syder produce evidence that the fluent speaker in English encodes his/her thoughts mostly in clause units, and suggest that the traditional grammatical sentence only exists as a unit in the written form. When a fluent stretch of speech between pauses contains more than one clause, the speaker is using 'lexicalised clause stems' which he/she adapts to encode his/her thoughts. For example, he doesn't know what he's talking about includes a lexicalised clause stem of

NP(1) do-TENSE not know what NP(1) be-TENSE talking about

As Pawley and Syder found in transcribing spoken English, so I found in transcribing spoken Alawa (one of the Roper languages), clauses and paragraphs were easy to define in tape-recorder speech. Where to make 'sentence breaks' was almost impossible to decide, and such breaks could often be made at a variety of points quite arbitrarily. Pawley and Syder claimed this as a linguistic universal.

In Kriol, as in Alawa, the breath group may be a clause, or a phrase in apposition to a clause. The clause often contains a minimal subject or object (a pronoun or a brief noun phrase), which can be expanded in an appended phrase. Alternatively, the subject (or object, or another case) may be stated in detail, then after a short pause a clause containing a brief reference back may occur.

*Imin kaman, thet olmen burrum Elsi.
He came, that old man from Elsey.*

*Wanbala olgamen, imin dalim mi,
The old woman, she told me, ...*

This type of construction is also comparatively common in working class and casual speech in English. Working class culture is far more an oral based culture than is middle class culture, and this is reflected in language styles as in other matters (Kochman 1974).

INTONATION

Intonation patterns are, to my knowledge, identical to those of the Aboriginal languages of the area. These patterns include all those common to Australian English, and in particular they occur somewhat in the proportions occurring in English spoken in the more northerly parts of Australia: Brisbane, Alice Springs, and further north. In this form of English, it is common for statements to end in a rising pitch. Research by Horvath and associates in Sydney (personal communication) recently showed that this pattern was increasing in frequency in English usage there, most commonly among younger people, women and migrants. The only difference in the Kriol and Aboriginal version of this statement

intonation is the frequent occurrence of a glottal stop at the end of the clause or phrase in Kriol or traditional Aboriginal language. Paragraphs most commonly end with the falling intonation. I recall, during the 1960s, discussing this rising statement pattern with the American linguist Eunice Pike. To her, such intonation on a statement was virtually unknown, and therefore had to have some specific meaning. It had never occurred to me, as a speaker of Australian English, that the rising intonation would have any 'meaning'. The likelihood of the pattern being learnt in Australia from Aboriginal languages is small; New Zealanders share it, and I suspect it occurs in England.

But there is one intonation pattern used in Kriol and traditional languages of the area which is unknown in English. This is the form named by Sandefur as the progressive. A verb is repeated, or a vowel is lengthened, and the voice pitch is raised. Most commonly such a clause/breath group ends in the internationally more normal falling statement pitch pattern.

~~Ai bin weit weit weit weit weit weit najing.~~
I waited and waited but nothing came.

~~Wi bin ra ----- an raitap la Elsi.~~
We were driving all the way to Elsey.

Tag questions

One other intonation pattern which contrasts with the common English use of northern Australia, and agrees with the more standard English pattern, is that for the tag question or agreement seeking question. (The agreement seeking question tag usually ends with falling intonation in the 'standard' form also, but the question tag does not.) Spreading south in Australia, and also occurring in New Zealand, is the use of *eh* with falling intonation, as a tag question. This is also extremely common in Aboriginal English and working class English in Australia, though it is by no means limited to these groups.

You saw/seen him, *eh*.

It was good/unreal, *eh*.

In Kriol, the particle *ngi* (widespread as a tag in Aboriginal languages) or *intit* can be used for tag questions and agreement seeking questions, but usually with rising intonation.

Yu bin luk la im, *ngi*?
You saw him, didn't you?

Im gudwan *intit*.
It's good, isn't it?

These particles do not change with person, number or negation.

USE OF KRIOL IN EDUCATION

Kriol can be said to have been used in informal education from early on in the contact area, in that many white staff at Ngukurr learnt the language from the Aborigines and used it in numerous work situations. However, until fairly recently, children were discouraged from speaking Kriol in school at Ngukurr; in fact punishments were often inflicted on children who used languages other than English in school, even as late as 1972 (Sandefur 1980a:5).

In 1975, when bilingual programs were being introduced in the Northern Territory, a bilingual program at Bamyili School got underway. One has since started at Ngukurr also. John Sandefur was heavily involved in these in the early stages, as were some Northern Territory Education staff. Writers' workshops were organised; the School of Australian Linguistics at Batchelor (not far from Darwin) took a large part in these. A Kriol literature and initial literacy materials were gradually developed.

In the 1960s Ted Millikan of the Northern Territory Welfare Branch (personal communication) claimed that Ngukurr children at the post-primary Kormilda College in Darwin spoke better English than children from other Aboriginal communities. At that time it was news to him that there was a distinct creole language, but after consideration he wondered whether the fact that it was English-based would have contributed to the superior performance of Ngukurr children in English. It seems plausible, given the methods and attitudes of the time, that Kriol was a help—or at least less handicap—than a traditional language. However, a few years later, and prior to the introduction of bilingual education, such superiority was not evident in later Kormilda intakes. As numbers going to Kormilda from different communities are small, it could well have been pure chance—a brighter than average group, or a little more familiarity with western ways. As far as I know, there has been no controlled study to substantiate any hypotheses here.

When a bilingual program in Kriol was begun at Bamyili, not all teachers saw this as good. Many Northern Territory teachers were not specially trained in areas to do with either Aboriginal education, bilingual education, or teaching English as a second language or dialect, either in the Kriol-speaking areas, or in other language areas. There is still a hard core of teachers opposed to any bilingual education—'teach them English', they say—and those involved in bilingual programs in any of the languages used often feel their work is constantly being undermined. One of them, from the Professional Services Branch of the Education Department in Darwin, said to me this year 'I don't know that we are getting any better results than before, but at least we understand a lot better what is going on'. However, those directly involved with the bilingual program at Bamyili are very enthusiastic, as are bilingual education staff elsewhere in other schools and language groups.

In the first school term in 1979, Edward Murtagh did a research project to compare the bilingual Kriol and English instruction at Bamyili with all-English instruction at another school in the Bamyili area. The school chosen for comparison was that at Beswick, some 20km east of Bamyili in the same Beswick Reserve. Murtagh tested two null hypotheses:

- (a) That a bilingual program which uses English and Creole as languages of instruction does not facilitate the learning of Standard English.
- (b) That a bilingual program which uses English and Creole as languages of instruction does not facilitate the learning of Creole.

He also tested a secondary hypothesis:

- (c) That learners' attitudes towards speakers of Standard English affect their learning of Standard English.

Murtagh used a series of pictures on a familiar topic (making a didjeridu) to elicit language, a series of passages in both Kriol and English to test listening comprehension, and a matched guise type test in which three adults

were recorded giving the same passages in Kriol and Standard Australian English to measure learners' attitudes to the two languages. Children in grades 1-3 were tested, 29 at each school, chosen from those who attended regularly and had stable home environments. Both sexes were almost equally represented. The attitude test was only administered to the grade 3 students.

Murtagh states (1979:98, 99):

The results of this study indicate very definite trends towards the superiority of bilingual schooling over monolingual schooling for Creole-speaking students with regard to oral language proficiency in both the mother tongue, Creole, and the second language, English. There are indications, too, of the linguistic interdependence notion proposed by Cummins from the discovery that students schooled bilingually show progressively greater success at separating the two languages than their counterparts schooled monolingually. This increased ability to separate the two languages (English and Creole), which bilingually schooled students have shown and which appears to be explainable only in terms of the two languages being taught as separate entities in the classroom, constitutes a powerful argument for the introduction of bilingual education to other schools where similar conditions obtain.

If we accept the 'Creole hypothesis' of Vernacular Black English in the United States, then the results of this study can be interpreted as being supportive of the use of Vernacular Black English as the initial language of instruction for American students whose mother tongue is Black English.

In the broader context of Bilingual Education particularly in Australia but also in other countries throughout the world, this study supplies some further evidence that initial learning in the vernacular in formal schooling facilitates learning of and through the standard language.

KRIOL — AN AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE RESOURCE

This brings me back to my title, Kriol, an Australian language resource. I have endeavoured to show in this paper that Kriol is an important resource for the following practical reasons:

1. It is the most widely spoken language in Australia recognised by Aborigines as one of their languages, with all the positive attitudes which this entails.
2. It provides a very good link between the languages of the white invaders and the traditional languages of Australia, and in many places is their successor, perpetuating Aboriginal modes of perceiving and classifying the world, and also incorporating structures which allow easier handling of the introduced concepts of Western society.

3. Its use in education appears to help those whose first language it is towards better comprehension and facility in Standard English, and a better separation of the two languages.

In the light of these points, it is foolish and tragic when such a creole is regarded as worthless and a hindrance by non-speakers, especially when they are in positions of influence in administration or education.

NOTES

¹Bamyili is now known as Barunga.

²Djembere is now known as Djilkmingan.

³The use of the digraph e: has now been discontinued. The neutral vowel it symbolised is not used by all and is only found in words of English derivation with the long neutral vowel of English, e.g. in 'church'. The symbol e is now used for this vowel.

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DYNAMICS OF AN AUSTRALIAN CREOLE SYSTEM

John R. Sandefur¹

Bickerton rightly complained in his by now classic volume (1975:1) that practically all published descriptions of pidgin and creole languages had at least one thing in common: they assumed that the objects of description were 'unitary, homogeneous languages that could be adequately described in terms of a single monolithic grammar'.

The basis of Bickerton's complaint, however, was of course not restricted to pidgin and creole languages. It is only since Labov first made the break away from the static model that linguists have applied themselves to the task of trying to develop an adequate formalism for the description of time-based gradient variation, Bickerton's own study of the speech of Guyana being one of the most significant contributions to this relatively new field of 'dynamic' or 'non-discrete' linguistics.

Bickerton argues that in spite of the 'labyrinth' of variation, Guyanese speech is a 'true continuum' that should receive 'unitary treatment' as one system rather than several co-existent systems. One of Bickerton's main axioms is that an analysis should have an 'exclusively linguistic' base. Social and cultural correlates of linguistic variation, he says, although interesting, should be discounted, for 'accurate linguistic analysis is methodologically prior to [a sociolinguistic analysis], in that one can hardly determine the sociocultural function of a given speech-variety unless that variety itself has been very precisely defined...' (p.6). Grammar, he says, is independent of context, and social or contextual constraints should therefore not be incorporated in the grammar. A speaker's knowledge of grammar, he argues, is first stored 'in terms of purely linguistic information' which is subsequently 'exploited' by the speaker for social purposes (p.185).²

Guyanese speech forms what is generally called a 'post-creole continuum', although Bickerton himself (1980:110) rejects the prefixed *post*, and refers to the process of change that has been taking place broadly as 'decreolization'. He argues that 'linguistic variation is the synchronic aspect of linguistic change, and linguistic change is the diachronic aspect of linguistic variation' (p.16). That being so, 'a synchronic cut across the Guyanese community is indistinguishable from a diachronic cut across a century and a half of linguistic development' (p.17). The extreme creole varieties in modern Guyana, therefore, represent survivals from a relatively early stage in the development of Guyanese speech.

Bickerton claims that 'one important truth about English-based pidgins and creoles generally [is] that they are, in some meaningful sense, all English ...

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and that one ought, therefore, to be able to describe them, together with English' in a 'unified analysis' (pp.21-22). He notes, however, that such an analysis is not quite possible because of the presence of elements from the substratum or non-English languages, particularly in the original creole. The analysis he proposes, therefore, is a 'recapitulatory' one: 'there is a constant succession of restructurings of the original system, across the continuum, yielding a very gradual transmission in terms of surface forms between the two extremes' (pp.22-23).

In the decreolisation process, the 'basilect' is the extreme of the continuum that is 'earlier' than other segments as well as 'furthest' from English. The 'acrolect' is the opposite extreme. All the intermediate varieties are 'mesolects'. Basilectal 'markers' are those features which are not used by any acrolectal speakers and are more common among basilectal speakers than among mesolectal speakers.

One of the unanswered questions about creoles is where exactly does the basilectal system come from? It is at this point that a creole can most strongly be linked with its substratum languages. Because, however, 'we simply lack sufficient knowledge both about the actual languages involved in the process and about the nature of, and constraints upon, linguistic change and inter-influence in general', Bickerton concentrates on 'tracing the changes which occur to the basilectal system... and which serve to link it to the system of standard English (p.59). In other words, because it is not known whence creoles really come, but it is known whither they decreolise, Bickerton claims English-based creoles are in some sense completely English.³

Bickerton views the basilect as a 'phase in a development process' through which some creole speakers pass after the language itself has passed through the phase. One of the 'most striking' features, he says, of the continuum as one moves up the continuum until the acrolect is reached is its 'linearity': 'one man's hypercorrection is another man's vernacular (p.113).

Bickerton makes a distinction between the processes involved in the basilect-to-mid-mesolect phase and the mid-mesolect-to-acrolect phase. In the basilect-to-mid-mesolect phase, change consists largely of 'introducing formatives modelled on English ones, using them (at least initially) in a quite un-English way, and only slowly and gradually shifting the underlying semantic system in the general direction of English (p.114). Change in the mid-mesolect-to-acrolect phase, on the other hand, consists of increasingly adding English forms to the grammar 'in pretty much their English functions', while dropping out altogether non-English forms, or at least 'crushing and distorting' them 'into patterns that become steadily closer to English ones' (p.114).

At the acrolectal level Guyanese speakers have all the English rules within their competence, although they do not always realise these rules because of conflicting upper-mesolectal rules which equally lie within their competence. At the acrolectal level, then, 'the only major differences between Guyanese and English outputs are distributional' (i.e. English forms are not always realised, or if they are, not necessarily in appropriate environments) (p.162). Guyanese speech, therefore, is, according to Bickerton,

an unbroken chain from a basilectal level to an acrolectal level whose underlying structure is virtually indistinguishable from that of English... [and therefore] may legitimately be described as a system by virtue of the fact that all of its superficial confusion can be shown

to represent the operation of consistent and interrelated factors which can be described in a principled and systematic way (p.163).

Bickerton argues that the range of structures of the Guyanese continuum were:

produced through prolonged contact between on the one hand a creole language, probably already containing considerable variation, and deriving in the first instance from inhibition of normal second-language learning processes, plus first-language loss, in a non-European population, and on the other the European language that formed the target of that creole's antecedent pidgin, in this case English. As social divisions separating speakers of the two languages weakened, social contacts constrained speakers of the language adjudged 'lower' to borrow surface forms from that adjudged 'higher' (p.198).

Bickerton claims that although 'the ranges of different individuals may differ, especially as regards production ... each will receive, and be at least potentially able to produce, every variety within the creole system' (p.199). In a seemingly contradictory statement, he also notes that 'it appears to remain true that control of widely dispersed lects is indeed never absolute' (p.188). He also found it 'quite impossible to forecast what effect an interviewer may have on different individuals' (p.187).

Recognising the 'impossibility of knowing what constitutes a speaker's total range' on the continuum, however, he impressionistically divides speakers into two classes: 'single-range' speakers and 'split-range' speakers. Single-range speakers may be located anywhere within the system and appear to control continuous lects. 'One unmistakable characteristic of such speakers is their tendency to shift lects without any apparent contextual or even topical motivation' (p.187). Split-range speakers, on the other hand, 'control lects which are quite widely separated within the continuum, without controlling intermediate ones' (p.188). The outputs of such speakers,

resemble those of a bilingual rather than those of a person varying within a single system, in that while his two discrete levels may interfere with one another, shifts from one to the other are always sharply and unambiguously marked [and] are readily explicable on social grounds (p.188).

Some of the split-range speakers are 'genuine bi-dialectals, capable of switching between basilect and acrolect (or at least between something approaching these extremes) without touching the mid-mesolectal level' (p.212).

Guyanese creole, Bickerton concludes, 'clearly does not constitute a language' since one of its 'ends' is indistinguishable from English, nor can it be a dialect 'since dialects are supposedly more homogeneous than the language that contains them' (and Guyanese creole is less homogeneous than English) (p.166). Instead, Guyanese creole is a 'dynamic system'. It is a system in that the relationships within it are systematic with 'no trace of anything that could be called random mixing of elements' (p.166); it is dynamic rather than static since, in part, diachronic changes can be observed synchronically in the continuum.

Bickerton claims that his dynamic system model is applicable, not only to other creoles, but to other speech situations as well. He begins by noting that 'in the course of decreolisation, speakers are strung out across the continuum

between 'native' creole and 'target' English in much the same way as second-language learners are strung out across the continuum' between first and second languages (p.176). The differences between these two types of continuum, he says, 'stem from extra-linguistic rather than linguistic factors', notably that creole continuum speakers form a closed community whereas language-learning continuum speakers typically do not (p.176). The conclusion, of course, is that if the creole continuum constitutes a system, then 'the language-learning continuum between two distinct languages must equally constitute a system' (p.178). Pushing this to its logical conclusion Bickerton says that all such systems in fact are 'only partially and arbitrary interpretations of the unique repository of System — the human *faculté de langage* itself' (p.178).

THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL CREOLE SITUATION

The constitution of the recently formed Aboriginal Language Association recognises three varieties of English-related speech as being 'modern' Aboriginal languages: Torres Strait Creole, Kriol and Aboriginal English. Torres Strait Creole is spoken by ten thousand or so Aborigines and Islanders in Cape York Peninsula and the Torres Strait of Queensland. Kriol is spoken by an estimated twenty thousand Aborigines throughout much of north Australia west of Cape York Peninsula. Aboriginal English, of one variety or another, is spoken by virtually all Aborigines and Islanders throughout Australia.

The first in-depth studies of the English-related speech of Aborigines were carried out in the 1960s in Queensland, the only state in which all three of these varieties of speech are present. The results of the studies indicated 'linguistic variation between the extremes' of a 'low' form and a 'high' form, the latter approximating General Australian English (Flint 1972:152), thus giving the appearance of a post-creole continuum. There were, however, two forms of 'low' extremes. One was in the Torres Strait Islands where 'the informal English is somewhat different from Queensland Aboriginal English' and on the tip of Cape York Peninsula where Aboriginal children 'are acquiring the speech habits of the Islands children living on the same reserve' (Dutton 1970: 153). This latter point implies that the Aboriginal children are moving away from a more English-like Aboriginal English variety of speech in favour of the 'lower' Islander creole variety of speech. The other 'low' extreme was in 'one far north-western community' where the low form differed in certain respects from the Aboriginal English elsewhere in the state (Fling 1972:157). These two linguistically different 'low' extremes are known today as Torres Strait Creole (or Cape York Creole) and Kriol respectively.

During the 1970s similar studies were carried out on the English-related speech of Aborigines in Western Australia. The conclusion of the studies was very similar to those in Queensland: there appears to be a post-creole continuum between Standard Australian English and creole composed of 'numerous varieties of Aboriginal English imperceptibly merging into each other' (Kaldor and Malcolm 1982:112). The label Aboriginal English as applied to this continuum sometimes includes and at other times does not include the creole. Eagleson (1982:20) points out that 'the creole must be seen as a distinct language' because it has its 'own specific grammatical/semantic properties' (Kaldor and Malcolm 1982:110), and in that sense should not be included under the label Aboriginal English. When it is included under the label Aboriginal English, it is generally done so as to distinguish the creole from traditional Aboriginal languages and to point to the fact that its vocabulary is mainly English-based. The creole in question in Western Australia goes by the name Kriol.

Studies of Kriol, initially limited to the Roper River area of the Northern Territory, were also begun in the early 1970s. Kriol was being considered quite independent of English-related varieties of speech elsewhere in Australia until 1979. The conclusion of studies until that time was basically that Kriol was 'technically a creole, or what DeCamp (1971) calls a "post-creole continuum"' (Sharpe and Sandefur 1977:51). I have since begun arguing, however, that Kriol is *not* a post-creole continuum (Sandefur 1982a, 1982b).

Bickerton, of course, would argue that all three of these varieties of speech should be treated as forming a single, linear continuum. To consider them to be dialects of one language, let alone three distinct 'languages', in his view, would be tantamount to arbitrarily and inaccurately parcelling up a unitary system. In such a framework as Bickerton's, no account is taken of social and cultural correlates or the historical origins of the varieties of speech.

The origins of varieties of English-related speech of Australian Aborigines, however, are so diversified that it would be impossible to identify a *single* creole as the basilect. Torres Strait Creole has its roots firmly entrenched in Beach-la-mar brought into the Torres Strait by South Sea Islanders in the middle of the 1800s (Crowley and Rigsby 1979). Kriol, on the other hand, has developed primarily from a number of pidgins that independently arose in the Northern Territory and the 'pastoral' pidgin brought into the Territory from Queensland from the 1870s onwards. Not only have these two creoles developed their own distinctive grammatical features, but there appears to be significant divergence in their underlying semantic structures as well. The only sure link between them is that they are both 'based' on English as their lexifier language and any decreolising influence they undergo is in the direction of English. At best they could be considered to be the basilect creoles of *two* related continuum systems, unless of course one accepts Bickerton's definition of system as System.

It is more difficult to justify considering Kriol to be a system distinct from Aboriginal English, at least some varieties of Aboriginal English. Kaldor and Malcolm (1982:78) have noted that:

it is not clear, at the present stage of knowledge about Aboriginal English, whether a full cycle of pidginisation — creolisation — decreolisation has occurred everywhere in Australia, including places where there is no trace of a creole today. In many areas there may have been a transition from pidgin to a non-standard form of English closer to Standard Australian English without an intervening stage of creolisation.

A study by Elwell (1979) clearly shows that some varieties of Aboriginal English have arisen without any pidginisation, creolisation or decreolisation having taken place, unless one defines second language acquisition [SLA] in terms of pidginisation/decreolisation as Schumann (1978) has suggested. Bickerton accepts the parallelism of the SLA continuum and the decreolisation continuum, claiming that the points of difference between them 'seem to stem from extra-linguistic rather than linguistic factors' (p.176). In other words, on a purely linguistic basis the SLA continuum and the decreolisation continuum are purported to be identical. In such a case, decreolisation is synonymous with SLA, and one of the terms becomes redundant. If, however, extra-linguistic factors are taken into account, as Stauble (1978) insists they should, then the two processes must be considered analogous rather than synonymous, for their end products are distinct, a fact recognised by Bickerton (p.175).

The label Aboriginal English is applied to the SLA continuum of mother-tongue speakers of traditional Aboriginal languages, both adults and school children, who are learning English as a second language without any reference to existing or previous pidgins or creoles. In other words, varieties of Aboriginal English in terms of the SLA continua of traditional language speakers have no direct relations with Kriol.

Historically, then, Kriol has no direct connection with many of the varieties of Aboriginal English spoken in Australia today. Similarly to its relation to Torres Strait Creole, the only relation between Kriol and many of the varieties of Aboriginal English is that they are 'based' on English and are spoken by Aborigines, this latter fact resulting in some semantic similarities. The linguistic variation of Kriol and all varieties of Aboriginal English could be considered as forming one synchronic, dynamic system, but the result would be the abstraction of a purely linguistic system that had little direct relation with actual 'flesh-and-blood speakers', to use Bickerton's own term, of the varieties in question. In addition, because of the different 'starting points' and processes involved, a synchronic cut across the entire Australian-wide English-related Aboriginal speech 'community' would *not* be indistinguishable from a diachronic cut across the last two centuries of linguistic development.

Kriol does, however, have direct connections with some varieties of Aboriginal English. If we restrict our consideration from the Australian-wide English-related Aboriginal speech community to the 'Kriol speech community', then we can — need to — legitimately ask: does the total variety of English-related speech of Aborigines within the Kriol speech community not form a single dynamic system that consists of a unified, linear continuum connecting Kriol at the basilectal end and Standard Australian English at the acrolectal end?

KRIOL, ABORIGINAL ENGLISH AND ENGLISH — ONE SYSTEM?

Bickerton, while rejecting the concept of co-existent systems, is nevertheless unable to completely get away from the idea of the continuum linking two systems, namely 'the basilectal system' and 'the system of standard English' (p.59). In Bickerton's terms, the basilectal system of a creole continuum is the 'original system' or the 'creole language' which 'probably' contained 'considerable variation' itself. This original creole system in the case of Kriol is basically the so-called 'hypostasised creole mesolect', to use Rumsey's (1983) terms, described by Sandefur (1979) and Hudson (1981), or what Kriol speakers themselves often refer to as 'proper' Kriol. Some of the variation within this original creole system will be discussed later.

Bickerton (pp.131-132) points out that the rate of decreolisation may vary from speech community to speech community as well as within a speech community from time to time depending on the social context. In both the Black American and Guyanese communities, creolisation, or the development of the creole which forms the basilectal system, had taken place by the early 1700s. Decreolisation began to take place by the mid-1700s in the Black American community, but not until the mid-1800s in the Guyanese community.

In the Kriol community, although pidginisation began to take place in some areas in the mid-1800s, creolisation has only taken place during the 1900s. In other words, it is a relatively 'young' creole. In the Roper River area, creolisation took place at the turn of the century; in most other areas within the Kriol community, it has only taken place since World War Two. Many mother-

tongue Kriol speakers are fluent second-language English speakers. If their English fluency is the result of decreolisation, then decreolisation from the basilect to the acrolect has taken place in the Kriol community within one generation. Such an interpretation depends, however, on the acceptance of the second-language learners' interlanguage continuum and the decreolisation continuum as being one and the same.

If one accepts the synonymy of second-language learning and decreolisation for speakers whose first-language is Kriol, one must also accept that synonymy for speakers whose first-language is a traditional Aboriginal language. In such a case, the interlanguage described by Elwell (1979), which links Yolngu Matha with Standard Australian English, results in a Yolngu Matha system that is parallel to a creole system as proposed by Bickerton. If the basilect in such a creole system is, as Bickerton claims, 'in some meaningful sense' *English*, then the basilect in the parallel Yolngu Matha system must also be some sort of English. Bickerton himself, however, rejects such a conclusion and, instead, jumps to the ultimate conclusion that all such 'systems' are only partial interpretations of the 'unique repository of system', *faculté de langage*. Theoretically, this may be significant, but for those of us who work in the applied field, it is socially and pedagogically useless.

As noted above, Bickerton divides creole speakers into single-range speakers and split-range speakers. Such a division is significant in the context of Kriol, particularly if Kriol is considered to be the basilect of a continuum that consists of Aboriginal English as the mesolect and Standard Australian English as the acrolect. Unlike Guyanese speakers, however, shifting between lects in both groups of Kriol speakers is usually explicable on social grounds, the most significant determinant being the ethnic identity and language background of the hearer.

The vast majority of split-range speakers are mother-tongue speakers of Kriol who also speak English or upper-mesolectal Aboriginal English, which they learnt as a second-language, usually through schooling. These people still speak their mother-tongue, although many Europeans are convinced otherwise. The most important speech-usage rule in operation among Kriol speakers is 'English with Europeans, not Kriol'. As a result, Kriol is seldom used by split-range speakers in the presence of Europeans. When it is used, however, the European often thinks the Aboriginal person is speaking a traditional language because of the unintelligibility to Europeans of fluently spoken Kriol.

In Bickerton's view, these split-level speakers would be genuine bi-dialectals, for they switch between the basilect and acrolect (or something approaching these extremes) without touching the mesolect. Note, however, that these speakers have 'passed through' the mesolectal phase by means of an interlanguage process rather than a decreolisation process. If these two processes are distinct, and if the interlanguage process operates on speakers of one language while learning a second language, albeit a related language, then these speakers are bilingual rather than simply bi-dialectal. Socially this distinction is supported by a large number of split-range Kriol speakers who generally consider Kriol to be an Aboriginal language in contrast to the European language, English.

With single-range speakers the situation is more complex. These speakers can be subdivided into two groups: mother-tongue Kriol speakers and second-language Kriol speakers. Most second-language speakers are older people who could technically be considered to speak 'the' pidgin from which Kriol developed,

since they were speaking it before creolisation (in terms of the acquisition of mother-tongue speakers) took place. Some of these people speak Kriol fluently and are indistinguishable from mother-tongue speakers, while others speak it very noticeably not so fluently. Older people typically consider Kriol to be English.

Second-language speakers of Kriol, however, are not restricted to older people. A number of mother-tongue speakers of traditional languages have learnt Kriol as a second language well after creolisation took place. For those who do not speak Kriol fluently, 'Kriol' is, in fact, a traditional-language-to-Kriol interlanguage. Those who speak Kriol fluently, on the other hand, are genuinely bilingual, switching between their traditional language and Kriol. Second-language Kriol speakers may or may not speak Aboriginal English or English as well.

The other subgroup of single-range Kriol speakers, those who speak Kriol as their mother-tongue, are for the most part younger than the mid-30s. The output of these single-range speakers varies, but all of their ranges include the basilect (i.e. Kriol). The degree to which their range extends along the mesolect towards the acrolect (i.e. English) depends primarily on the effectiveness of their schooling in teaching English. Younger school children generally have not learnt the distinction between Kriol and English, neither socially nor linguistically. During the first few years of their schooling, their Kriol tends to show some genuine properties of decreolisation. Around the third or fourth year, however, they generally appear to become aware of the distinction between Kriol and English and their Kriol 'reverts' to more 'proper' Kriol.

There are many older school children who have not yet reached the acrolect. Some of them never will, for there are many school leavers who have 'fossilised' their English somewhere along the mesolect. In other words, there are a number of speakers who have not gained the upper reaches of the continuum in their second-language learning to make a clear linguistic split between their 'English' and Kriol outputs. They generally clearly perceive themselves as switching codes when speaking to Europeans and speaking among themselves, although linguistically their 'English' may contain many Kriol or Kriol-like features.

Note that with none of the above Kriol speakers has the end product of their 'moving up the continuum' resulted in the loss of their Kriol fluency. In this respect the continuum cannot be considered a 'post-creole' or decreolisation continuum. Note also that, unlike the Guyanese continuum, the Kriol variety does not represent a 'survival' from a 'relatively early stage in the development' of the Kriol community speech. In other words, a graph of the 'basilect-to-acrolect' movement of speakers would not be time-based for the language itself as is the Guyanese continuum. It would only be time-based for individual Kriol speakers learning English as a second language.

It would not be true to say that no decreolisation has taken place or is taking place in regard to Kriol. There are two situations in particular in which decreolisation may be in operation: in a few 'perimeter communities' near the boundary of the 'Kriol country', and among 'townie'⁴ Aborigines. In several Aboriginal communities, particularly in Queensland, there tends to be an Aboriginal English that contains many Kriol features but is not Kriol itself. At Doomadgee, for example, Kriol prepositions are used by most of the population, at a rough estimate, about ten percent of the time, whereas English prepositions are used the rest of the time. Is this evidence that Kriol has

decreolised there? The situation has yet to be studied with any depth, but the historical evidence tends to indicate that Kriol never developed there. Instead, it appears that a variety of Aboriginal English developed from a pidgin (obviously related to those from which Kriol developed) without the intervening stages of creolisation and decreolisation.

It is more likely that decreolisation is taking place among Aborigines, in particular Aborigines of mixed racial descent, who are living in towns (as opposed to Aboriginal communities) in houses interspersed among Europeans. These Aborigines do not, by any means, form an homogeneous group. It is, therefore, very difficult to make any generalisations about them that are true. I will nevertheless attempt to do so. Some of these Aborigines in some of the towns, at least until relatively recently, took offense at being called an Aborigine. In general, these people were, and mostly still are, aspiring to gain acceptance from Europeans and move into the European community socially. Many of them would have nothing (at least openly) to do with traditional Aboriginal society. In company with Europeans, they typically looked down upon 'full-bloods', despising their so-called 'primitive' customs, which included language. Pidgin English (i.e. Kriol) was (and to many, still is) nothing but a deficient and 'bastardised' form of English that should be eradicated.

As a result of such attitudes, combined with the living situation, Kriol is not used by many 'townie' Aborigines in some towns. Many of them cannot speak, and never have spoken, Kriol. In some cases neither their parents or grandparents on both sides of the family have been Kriol speakers. On the other hand, in some towns, the majority of the 'townies' can speak Kriol. For some, it is their mother-tongue. For most 'townies' throughout the 'Kriol country', however, a variety of Aboriginal English appears to be their primary mode of communication, at least among themselves. If true decreolisation of Kriol is taking place, it is among these people, who are a relatively small portion of the total Kriol-speaking population.

Unlike the Guyanese situation where 'no range can touch both ends of the continuum' (p.188), the range of some of these speakers appears to extend across the entire continuum. It may be, however, that their ranges are, in fact, discontinuous. In other words, instead of controlling all variation along the continuum, they may be 'tri-lectal', speaking Kriol, a variety of mesolectal Aboriginal English, as well as fairly Standard Australian English. One such speaker, for example, is 11-year-old Tina from Halls Creek. She and her two younger sisters, while on a trip to the Northern Territory, made a recording in my presence to send to their friends back home.

The first extract is typical of the common everyday speech observed to be used by Tina (and her sisters) on most occasions in their home situation. It represents the speech she normally uses with her peers and family in their own home, and contains the 'classic' features of Aboriginal English as described by Kaldor and Malcolm (1982). Tina begins by telling her peers back home what she and her sisters (M. and D.) are doing at that moment. After the break in the text, she starts telling them about some disobedient teenage girls.

M. is layin' down here. She just relaxing. Me and D. is sit'n down working hard talking... You no all 'a big big girls. Dey be stupid. Dey don' listen to they mother and that...

In observations made of the speech of Tina (and her sisters), there appears to be two main features which trigger a switch to Kriol: a Kriol-speaker listener

who cannot switch to Aboriginal English, and a 'bush' setting or topic. In this second extract Tina has clearly switched to Kriol. She was telling her story to the same peers as in sample one, but the topic had switched to a trip out bush. In the extract, the double hyphen '--' represents the lengthened vowel of the durative aspect.

Yu no mibala wi bin go--at langa bush la Benjobo en wibin gidim bi--gismob shugabeg. Ai no bin go. Mai greni bin go en imin bringimbek ful la biliken. Ai bin dagat langa i--m, idimbat, en ai bin idimbat ...
*You know, we went out bush to Banjo Bore and we got a lot of wild honey. I didn't go. My grandmother went and she brought back a billycan full [of honey].*⁵ *I ate it, ate it, and I ate it ...*

The third extract represents Tina's switching to English. The initial trigger was an English storybook which she picked up to read. She followed this by starting to make up her own story. After an interruption she shifted the tape-recorder in an attempt to get a candid recording of her aunty, who can only speak English.

Oh, well, I'll read some of this... I'd like to tell you a story about C... She squealed a little bit, but you couldn't hear her... Well, I could just put this recorder over here at the door and listen. Aunty Glenys! [laugh] Ah, she didn't want to talk. She just laughed.

It should be mentioned that in addition to 'perimeter community' and 'townie' situations, there are a number of cases of mother-tongue Kriol speakers who have 'lost' their language. Some Kriol speakers who have moved out of 'Kriol country', especially at a young age, and have lived in a southern European environment for a lengthy period of time, no longer have any active recollection of Kriol. They could be considered to have decreolised only if such 'memory loss' is equated with decreolisation. Several such speakers who have recently moved back into a Kriol-speaking Aboriginal community have been observed to go through the process of re-learning their mother-tongue as a second language.

Overall, then, Kriol does not appear to be decreolising in any *Aboriginal* communities. Indeed, in some communities its strength as a mother-tongue is increasing. At Numbulwar, for example, where it has been in existence as a second-language for the majority of the population for two decades or so, it is now gaining mother-tongue speakers at the expense of the traditional language, Nunggubuyu (Harris 1982:50). If decreolisation were taking place, it would be expected that the children would be learning English (or at least a variety of speech closer to English than is Kriol) as their mother-tongue, not Kriol. English is taught to all children in the school, but its effect on Kriol is minimal, resulting not in decreolisation but in Kriol-English bilingualism.

As noted earlier, Bickerton points out that as social divisions separating speakers of creole and speakers of English weaken, 'speakers of the language adjudged "lower" borrow surface forms from that adjudged "higher"' and thereby decreolisation sets in. That certainly appears to be what has happened among the 'townies'. Among the majority of Kriol speakers, however, such a 'weakening of separation' has not taken place and is not likely to take place, at least in the near future.

From the late 1930s until the early 1970s the Australian Government policy towards Aborigines was one of assimilation. Part of the implementation of this policy was strong efforts at 'Anglicising' the speech of Aborigines, with particular vehemence in many cases being directed toward eradicating the

so-called deficient pidgin English. Such policies are now known to have had an effect opposite to that intended. One of the main effects of the policy in the linguistic field appears to have been to greatly *increase* creolisation, and therefore the spread of Kriol, at the expense of traditional languages. If the policy had been successful in achieving its aims and the policy continued, widespread decreolisation could indeed have set in. However, a change in the early 1970s to a self-determination policy and the consequent rise in Aboriginal identity and pride in one's Aboriginal cultural heritage, along with the 'assurance' of separate communities for Aborigines who desire them, have strengthened the social divisions separating Kriol and English and appears to be having an opposing effect upon decreolisation tendencies (Sandefur 1984). Although only time will tell, it appears that the tremendous social changes during the last decade, if they continue developing in the direction they are heading, will lend little encouragement to decreolisation.

It would appear, then, that Kriol and English, along with Aboriginal English, could conceivably be considered to form a single continuum Kriol system in the sense of a second-language learner's interlanguage continuum. There are, however, several problems with this interpretation. Should traditional-language-to-Kriol interlanguage continua be included as part of the Kriol system? Should the variation in the diachronic development of Kriol 'from' traditional languages through pidginisation be included in the Kriol system? Is movement along such continua only in the direction of the acrolect? Should the Kriol-to-traditional-language interlanguage continua of Kriol speakers learning a traditional language as a second language be included in the Kriol system? Should the English-to-Kriol interlanguage continua of Europeans be included in the Kriol system? While continua are linear within themselves, interlanguage continua from and to Kriol would not be unilinear as Bickerton's model implies. Such a Kriol system would have to consist, therefore, of multiple linear continua.

The whole question then opens up to the broader field of other languages: if Kriol and English form a single system, and Guyanese and English likewise form a single system, are not Kriol, Guyanese and English all just part of one system? We are, of course, now back to Bickerton's argument that in reality everything is only part of one grand System. The solution would seem to be system pluralism. Kriol and English form a Kriol-English interlanguage system, much like English and Chinese form an Anglo-Chinese interlanguage system. The two ends of an interlanguage system are two (in some sense) 'discrete' languages, related or otherwise. In other words, Kriol is an independent system that also functions as a subsystem in a number of other systems.

It could be argued, however, that Kriol really is part of a decreolisation continuum, even if only a relatively small number of 'townies' have decreolised. Part of the problem here, of course, is in determining how many speakers must begin to decreolise before the whole language is considered to have decreolised, a question impossible to answer with certainty. Admittedly creolisation is a process more available to observation than is decreolisation. Even so, the number of speakers who are decreolising is very small compared to the number for whom Kriol, in a sense, is 'creolising'. In other words, the Kriol-speaking population overall is on the increase. This is primarily due to better health care — the Aboriginal birth rate is high, infant mortality is going down, and Kriol speakers are living longer. In addition, the number of communities affected by decreolisation is very small. Out of some 250 Aboriginal communities in which Kriol is a significant language, only half a dozen or so appear to be

affected, and only a small portion of their population at that. Decreolised speakers, in essence, are bilingual split-range speakers who have forgotten (how) to switch back to Kriol in an Aboriginal context. In other words, although some decreolisation is taking place, it is relatively insignificant, at least at present, for it only affects limited speakers and not really the language as such.

It would appear, then, that Kriol is best considered *not* to be a post-creole continuum, for it shows no signs of disappearing through merger with English because of decreolisation. On the other hand, it does function as one end point of several interlanguage continua, by far the most common of which is a Kriol-English interlanguage continuum. As speakers move up this continuum, their Kriol is still there, basically just as it was before.

Even though it has been argued that Kriol is not a post-creole continuum, it would nevertheless appear best to consider Kriol to be a dynamic continuum system. It does not consist of 'a fixed number of parts which hold invariant relations with one another' (Bickerton p.166). Kriol is dynamic in that it is not a static, invariable language; it is a continuum in that there are a number of subsystems within it which are linked together by gradation rather than being discrete; it is a system in that it does not consist of a random mixing of elements.

THE CONTINUUM NATURE OF KRIOL

As noted earlier, 'considerable variation' exists within Kriol itself. This variation often appears to Europeans to be very ad hoc. Sharpe (1975:3) comments, for example, that a nursing sister at Ngukurr gave up trying to learn Kriol because it seemed so 'very variable, both with different speakers and with the same speaker on different occasions'. There is much variation in Kriol, but virtually all of it is systematic and explicable variation of a continuum nature. Indeed, continuum variation is the essence of Kriol itself.

There are two basic 'sets' of continua that form the Kriol system, which could be referred to as dialectal and sociolectal continua. Dialectal continua are those which have essentially arisen through association with separation caused by physical conditions. Sociolectal continua, which are the more fundamental of the two sets, have been determined by social conditions rather than geographical ones.

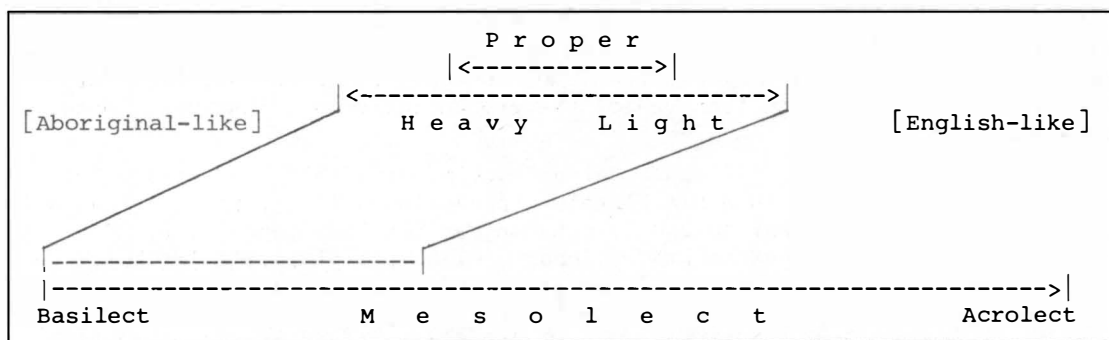
As with most of the words that Kriol has borrowed from English, its name is not synonymous with its English etymon. In other words, 'Kriol' is not simply 'creole' in a different orthographic system. The referent is not only creole, but also includes pidgin, at least in the perception of most Kriol speakers themselves and the way I use the term. Many linguists, however, maintain a distinction between (adult) pidgin and (youth) creole, in most cases primarily on the basis of second or first language learnt. Jernudd (1971:20) provides us with what is perhaps the most perceptive 'analysis' of the distinction:

The youth Creole is linguistically different from Pidgin. Creole is typologically closer to English than Pidgin since it has a similar phonology (although particularly the intonational characteristics are closer to Pidgin) and a more English vocabulary. Its syntax is basically a Pidgin syntax. Pidgin has preserved an Aboriginal-type

phonology... [school children] use Pidgin to adults, Creole among themselves. Their Pidgin is in effect a modified Creole.

Pidgin and Creole are not discrete varieties but rather overlapping and interacting sections of sociolectal continua. As far as Kriol speakers themselves are concerned, there is only one sociolectal continuum and all speech is adjudged in reference to it. According to their folk-linguistic system, Kriol speech and features in Kriol speech can be either 'heavy' or 'light' or, with a lot of overlap, 'proper'. [These terms are hereafter used in their folk-linguistic sense.] Their use of these terms is somewhat analogous to the general use of basilect, mesolect and acrolect. Heavy features are typically 'closer' in some respect to traditional Aboriginal languages in contrast to light features, which are typically closer to English.

There are, however, two basic differences that distinguish their use of terms from the technical terminology. First, light does not equate with English; it equates with 'English-like', which is often very far removed from Standard Australian English. Even when it is (almost) identical with English, light Kriol is still Kriol, not English, at least as far as most mother-tongue Kriol speakers are concerned. Second, while proper basically equates with mesolect, the distance spanned by the typical mesolect is much greater than that spanned by proper. Proper tends to overlap rather than link, as does mesolect. In other words, in the Kriol folk-linguistic system, heavy and light are almost contiguous ranges, with proper being a second-level overlapping range that selects features within both first-level ranges instead of being a middle range separating the heavy and light ranges.



The Kriol system relative to a decreolisation continuum

The clearest example and most common operation of this folk-linguistic system is in regards to the phonological continuum (Sandefur 1979). It is also this continuum that causes Europeans the most consternation when having to deal closely with Kriol, especially in the context of literacy. The extreme heavy phonological subsystem is virtually identical with that of traditional Aboriginal languages. Typically this means, for example, no affricates, no fricatives, no contrastive voicing with stops, no consonant clusters within a syllable, but five points of articulation for stops and nasals. The extreme light subsystem, in contrast, includes virtually all the contrasts which occur in English. Note, however, that unlike the heavy subsystem which 'eliminated'

all of the non-Aboriginal contrasts of English, the light subsystem has not eliminated the non-English contrasts of the traditional language. There are, of course, many sounds that are common to both subsystems.

Words composed of sounds that are common to both subsystems remain constant throughout the continuum (e.g. mani *money* is mani irregardless of position on the continuum; it's neither heavy nor light, just proper). Some sounds move from heavy to light in one step (e.g. heavy brog *frog* moves directly to light frog). Opinion is divided among Kriol speakers as to which is proper Kriol. In the Ngukurr dialect, which is the oldest and most 'conservative', brog is generally considered proper. A number of sounds, however, take several steps to move from heavy to light (e.g. heavy ding *thing* becomes ting before becoming light thing; or heavy mawuj *mouth* becomes mawus before becoming lighter mauth). The middle form, in both cases, is generally considered proper Kriol.

The last example hints at what would be expected, which is that in most cases sound changes do not operate individually. In other words, several sound changes typically operate implicationally within a given word as one moves up the continuum, resulting in the majority of Kriol words having several alternate pronunciations (e.g. jineg, jinek, sinek, sineik, sneik *snake*; buludang, bludang, blutang *blue-tongue lizard*). Typically, one of the middle forms is considered to be proper Kriol, with the others being heavy or light respectively.

Except for the extreme heavy and light variations of some words, most Kriol speakers control virtually all pronunciations in their active everyday speech. No Kriol speaker speaks with a consistently light pronunciation. There are, however, some Kriol speakers — mostly mother-tongue speakers of a traditional language who speak Kriol as a second language and who speak no (Aboriginal) English — who speak Kriol with a generally consistently heavy pronunciation. With virtually no exceptions every stream of Kriol speech will contain some words with heavy pronunciations and some with light pronunciations. Within the same conversation and even within the same sentence, it is not uncommon for Kriol speakers to use more than one of the pronunciation alternatives. Note, for example, Agnes:

Orait, wi bin silip. Ailibala dei andi gu na weya taid bin gaman. Dei andi go floting na. Ola bin blotblot raidap langa lil ailen. Darran na. Dei bin flot moa. Ani naidam imin kaman dat bot, dat jepani bot. O, bigwan. Im garra — garra bigmob jepani, mijamet biginini la jat bot. Dei bin baindim na. Dat jirribala bin baindim dat bot. 'Hei! Big bot jeya. Melabat go luk.' Dei bin — Aisik bin lagijat la im barnga dubala. 'Wi go luk. Gaman.' Dei bin gu na. Dei bin gu flotflot. Jeya gulijap na dei bin gu...

Alright, we slept. In the morning they were going to go when the tide came in. They were going to go paddling [the canoe] then. They paddled right to the little island. They reached it. They paddled more. But it was at night that the boat came, that Japanese boat. Oh, it was big. It had — had a lot of Japanese, just like [a swarm of] children on the boat. Then they found it. Those three men found that boat. 'Hey! There's a big boat here. Let's go and look.' They — Isaac said to his two cousins, 'Let's go and look. Come on.' Then they went. They paddled. Right up to it they went ...

Many of the words are invariant (e.g. *past tense bin, to langa, many bigmob*). With some words, however, Agnes was consistently heavy in pronunciation (*three jirribala, near gulijap, find baindim, there jeya*). With other words she

alternated between heavy and light pronunciations (*paddle blot and flot, go gu and go, come gaman and kaman, that jat and dat*). Note also that she not only alternated between heavy and light pronunciation, but between heavy and light forms of some pronouns (*they ola and dei, we melabat and wi*). In addition, she alternated between heavy and light grammatical forms (*paddling flotflot and floting*). These last two examples, of course, indicate that the heavy-light continuum is not restricted to phonology, but is also applicable to syntax, lexicon and semantics, although it is not applied as thoroughly by Kriol speakers to these areas.

The applicability of the folk-linguistic system to these other areas of Kriol is primarily related to what Mühlhäusler (1980:22) refers to as developmental continua. These continua are the results of processes of development and expansion through which the overall referential and non-referential power of a language increases and are characterised in part by such changes as the gradual introduction of redundancy, the development of a word-formation component, an increase in derivational depth, the development of grammatical devices for non-referential purposes, and the gradual increase in morphological naturalness.

As Kriol has developed, the means of expressing plurality have increased, thus introducing some redundancy. At the turn of the century in the Roper River area, plurality could be expressed by the use of a pre-positioned quantifier such as *bigmob* or by the use of the post-positioned 'pronoun' *olabat* (third person plural): *mi bin luk bigmob buligi* or *mi bin luk buligi olabat* *I saw lots of cattle*. The use of the post-positioned pronoun is beginning to fall into disuse, with most Kriol speakers rejecting it in written literature even though many still use it orally. The same 'pronoun', however, is commonly now used in a pre-position, often with a shortened form: *jeya olabat munanga* or *jeya ola munanga* *there's the white men*. Reduplication is also used in some cases to indicate plurality. In particular, several human nouns have developed reduplicated or partial reduplicated forms, which may be used with or without a quantifier: *jeya munanmunanga* or *jeya ola munamunanga* *there's the white men*.

Another example of the development of Kriol is in the expansion of its word-formation component. Again, at the turn of the century in the Roper River area, intensification could be indicated in two ways, either by reduplication or by the use of a pre-positioned qualifier: *imin bigwanbigwan* or *imin brabli bigwan* *it was very big*. Today, in addition to these two means, intensification can be indicated by the addition of two suffixes: *imin bigbalawan* or *imin bigiswan* *it was very big*.

Kriol has also developed a number of grammatical devices for non-referential purposes. For example, emphasis or focus can be indicated by use of the particle *na*, by front shifting, by tagging or by the use of appositional phrasing (Sandefur 1979:92, Hudson 1981:46-49). The introduction and spread of such devices is not instantaneous and uniform throughout any given community, much less the entire Kriol language area. As a result, the development of such changes through time and space takes on the forms of a continuum.

Social changes and government policy during the last few decades have added an acceleration factor to the development of Kriol, especially the Aboriginalisation movement of the 1970s (Sandefur 1984). Although the development of Kriol was not the intention of any government policy, the social changes deriving from policy changes are resulting, to a degree, in the 'modernisation' of Kriol. Some of this modernisation is planned, but most of it has been taking place spontaneously (Sandefur 1982c). In other words, many Kriol speakers

themselves, without the aid or encouragement of outsiders (i.e. linguists and teachers), have been attempting to extend the role and expand the lexicon of Kriol to enable them to discuss aspects of their new responsibilities in the realm of modern social institutions in their communities.

The significance of the spontaneous modernisation of Kriol to our discussion is the continuum of variation that it has resulted in. This continuum, in a sense, is the result of a 'deanglicisation' process. Bilingual Kriol speakers are learning new concepts in English. Because of the social situation and their relevance to the 'non-bilingual' Kriol speakers in their communities, they are attempting to communicate many of the concepts in Kriol. The move is not made through a clean switch from the one language to the other, but rather through a process more akin to code-mixing. There are definite indications, however, that over a period of time the speech of the 'educated elite' on a particular topic moves from being heavily laden with Anglicised forms to being more 'proper' Kriol.

In addition to developmental continua, and in a sense operating in opposition to them, are what Mühlhäusler (1980:22) refers to as restructuring continua. These are continua which result from 'changes due to contact with other languages which do not affect the overall power of a linguistic system' (Mühlhäusler 1980:22). Such continua are characterised in part by language mixing that leads to unnatural developments, hypercorrection, and an increase in variation resulting in a weakening of linguistic norms. Most of the variation in Kriol appears to be developmental in nature rather than restructuring, although there is some restructuring taking place. For example, particularly in the Kimberleys, the future/potential tense-mood auxiliary free form *garra* is being replaced in some contexts by the more English-like bound form *l*, as in *ai I'll* instead of *ai garra*.

By comparison with the sociolectal continua, the variation involved in the dialectal continua of Kriol are not nearly as complex. Dialects in Kriol, at least as far as our knowledge of them thus far indicates, are much the same as dialects in any non-creole language. Relatively little work has been carried out on dialect documentation. One fact appears to be certain: there are no discrete boundaries between the dialects of Kriol. The bundling of isoglosses, combined with differences in the distribution and frequency of grammatical rules and forms as well as social attitudes, provide us with an indication of dialect centres, but do not indicate discrete dialect 'boundaries'. Indeed, the boundaries tend to be continua linking major population/service centres.

One of the most significant factors contributing to dialect differences in Kriol is the traditional Aboriginal language environment. As noted earlier, Kriol is spoken in some 250 Aboriginal communities. There are over a hundred traditional languages and dialects that have an influence on Kriol and Kriol speakers. Although all of those traditional languages have many features in common, each is distinct.

The influence of individual traditional languages on Kriol is most readily observable in the Kriol lexicon. Many words have been borrowed from local traditional languages, but most of them are only used in the Kriol of that local area. For example, around *money* [from 'stone'] was borrowed from one of the languages around Ngukurr. It is commonly used at Ngukurr, and known by Kriol speakers in the communities immediately surrounding Ngukurr, but it is virtually unknown by Kriol speakers elsewhere. Some language borrowed words, however, have become regionalised. *Gajinga damn it* [originally a reference to

the genitals] is also from a local Ngukurr traditional language, but it is now used by Kriol speakers throughout the Roper River and Bamyili areas. It is used in the Ngukurr area as a fairly serious swear word, following its original usage, but in the Bamyili area it carries very little negative connotation. Marluga *old man*, on the other hand, which was also borrowed from a traditional language, is known throughout almost the entire 'Kriol country'.

A more subtle influence that traditional languages exert on Kriol is in phonology. Kriol does not have only one extreme subsystem. Where traditional languages differ, the subsystems differ. In the Ngukurr area three-vowel systems were prominent, so *go* was pronounced *gu*; in the Bamyili area, five-vowel systems predominated, so *go* was *go*. The influence of these extreme heavy subsystems, however, is not a thing of the past nor limited to older, heavy speakers. They continue to exert several types of influence upon virtually all Kriol speakers in their respective areas. In the case of the Ngukurr three-vowel system, all Ngukurr Kriol speakers today say *go* some of the time, but most of them also say *gu* and consider *gu* to be the 'proper' variant. It is, in fact, one of the features usually cited by Ngukurr speakers as well as Bamyili speakers to exemplify the distinctiveness of Ngukurr speech.

The operation of the phonological continuum discussed above is dependent, to a degree, on two 'external' factors: the influence of traditional-language phonological systems in determining heavy Kriol, and the form of the English etymon to which light Kriol is targeted. The route that a given word takes as it becomes lighter depends on the latter, and its starting point on the former. For example, the 'devoiced' stops in most traditional languages are predominantly realised with voicing. In heavy Kriol, therefore, *talk* is *dog*; in light Kriol it becomes *tok*. *Dog*, on the other hand, is *dog* in both heavy and light Kriol. In those cases, however, in which the devoiced stops are predominantly realised without voicing, *dog* is *tok* in heavy Kriol and becomes *dog* in light Kriol, whereas *talk* is *tok* in both.

It should be pointed out that the influence of traditional language phonology is not limited to the area of geographic dialectal variation. It also affects sociolectal variation. For example, most Kriol speakers in Halls Creek are either Gija people or Jaru people. The Gija language has lamino-palatals, whereas the Jaru language does not. Because of the influence of the two languages, it is possible to distinguish Kriol speakers from the two groups by the presence or absence of lamino-palatals in their Kriol speech.⁶

CONCLUSION

To attempt to describe Kriol as simply a part of a single, linear English continuum, especially without any reference to extralinguistic factors, is to do injustice to the complexities of the Kriol speaker's competence. A model which places Kriol at the basilectal level of a post-creole continuum with English at the acrolectal extreme is too simplistic to accurately account for all the variation associated with Kriol speakers, both within Kriol itself and between Kriol and the other languages in its environment.

Kriol is related to and interacts with English, but it is also related to and interacts with traditional Aboriginal languages. If Kriol is analysed on a purely linguistic basis, then it could be considered to be only a part of the English system. As Mühlhäusler (1980:31) points out, however:

the belief that no linguistic rule is ever influenced by extralinguistic factors seems quite unnecessarily restrictive. My own view is that there may well be a whole set of cultural prerequisites for grammatical analysis... The neglect of the non-referential dimensions of language may be one of the reasons why many questions in the area of linguistic variation remain unsettled.

The locus of Kriol is clearly in the Aboriginal community. To take a closer look at the extralinguistic cultural determinants of speech variation, both within the Kriol system and between the Kriol system and other language systems, should shed more light on our understanding of the nature of human language.

NOTES

- ¹I am indebted to Susan Kaldor and Margaret Sharpe for their helpful comments in the preparation of this paper.
- ²There are, of course, many linguists — or should I say sociolinguists? — who disagree with Bickerton on this point.
- ³Bickerton is so adamant in discounting substratum influence on creoles that he refers to those who insist on taking the substrate languages into account as 'substratomaniacs' (1981:48).
- ⁴This term is used by some Aborigines in north-west Kimberleys. Its referent is explained several paragraphs later.
- ⁵The construction *imin bringimbek ful la biliken* is more literally translated *she brought-back full in billycan*.
- ⁶I am indebted to Patrick McConvell for pointing this out.

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MAURITIAN BHOJPURI: AN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN A PREDOMINANTLY CREOLOPHONE SOCIETY

Philip Baker and P. Ramnah

INTRODUCTION

Varieties of a language called Bhojpuri are spoken in India by some 20 million people on both sides of the Uttar Pradesh - Bihar border in an area stretching from Nepal in the north to Madhya Pradesh and Orissa in the south (Tiwari 1960). In Mauritius, the name Bhojpuri is also applied to a language spoken, to a greater or lesser extent, by a third or more of its population, for the most part people whose ancestors came from north eastern India.¹

Mauritian Bhojpuri (MB) has thus far received scant attention from linguists, with the result that little is known of how this differs from Indian Bhojpuri (IB). While the authors of this paper are not specialists in the study of Indo-Aryan languages,² and do not therefore aspire to provide the definitive answer to that question, we do aim to make a contribution towards that end by setting out some of the more basic facts concerning MB.³ We also examine critically the popularly-held view that the relationship of MB to Hindi is similar to that which holds between two other languages of the island, Mauritian Creole (MC) and French (cf. Bhuckory 1965). We also describe the phonemic correspondences between MB and MC, and vice versa.

Our paper consists of five sections. In section 1, we discuss the phonemic inventory of MB. In sections 2 and 3, we examine aspects of MB nouns and verbs, respectively. In section 4, the basic vocabulary of MB, IB and Hindustani⁴ is compared. In section 5, we look at mutual lexical influence between MB and MC, and this is followed by some concluding remarks.

1. THE PHONEMIC INVENTORY OF MB

We have provisionally identified 41 phonemes of MB but have reservations concerning certain of them as detailed below. Compared with IB, this total is three more than those found in the Sadani dialect by Jordan-Horstmann (1969: 19)⁵ but several fewer than the number identified for Ballia district by Tiwari (1960:3-7).⁶

As we cite both MB and MC examples below, it is convenient to do so in the harmonised orthography proposed for these two languages by Baker and Hookoomsing 1983 (B/H). (Since the latter closely resembles established conventions for transcribing Indian languages in roman characters, this will also facilitate

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comparison with IB and Hindustani forms cited further below). The phonemes of MB and MC are set out in Table 1 together with the B/H orthography adopted for their representation in this paper.

Table 1 shows that MB has a 4 × 5 system of stops typical of Indo-Aryan languages. There is an abundance of minimal pairs in which these stops are contrasted initially. For example, the full range of labial stop contrasts is to be found in rather basic items of vocabulary:

contrast		examples			
p	vs. ph	peṭ	<i>belly</i>	vs. pheṭ	<i>mix</i>
p	vs. bh	pāp	<i>sin</i>	vs. bāp	<i>father</i>
p	vs. bh	par	<i>on</i>	vs. bhar	<i>fill</i>
ph	vs. b	phaḷ	<i>fruit</i> ⁷	vs. baḷ	<i>strength</i>
ph	vs. bh	phul	<i>flower</i>	vs. bhul	<i>forget</i>
b	vs. bh	bāt	<i>talk</i>	vs. bhāt	<i>rice</i>

Word finally, however, the distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated stops is not found in the speech of some of our informants. For example, the IB words *jibh tongue*, *dudh milk* and *nokh fingernail* have final aspirated stops in the speech of some MB-speakers, whereas others consistently substitute the corresponding non-aspirated stops, pronouncing these *jib*, *dud* and *nok*, respectively. In the following pages, we will transcribe with a following *h* all final stops which are aspirated in the speech of some of our informants. Further research would be needed to determine whether such loss of aspiration word finally is to be associated with younger rather than older speakers, or with certain geographical areas.⁸

In contrast to its rich system of stops, MB has few fricatives amongst its phonemes, and the status of two of these is doubtful. In Sadani IB, Jordan-Horstmann (1969:25, 28) identifies retroflex [ɽ] and [ɽ^h] as allophones of /ḍ/ and /ḍ^h/, respectively, in the environments /V__V/, /V__C/ and /V__#. In MB, however, the distribution of ḍ and ɽ, on the one hand, and ḍ^h and ɽ^h, on the other, is not entirely complementary. For example, MB *haḍi bone* has a retroflex stop in an environment where one would expect to find a retroflex fricative in Sadani IB. (We have not been able to determine the corresponding IB form.) This may perhaps be related to the fact that the corresponding Hindustani term, *haḍḍi*, has a geminate consonant. There are also some MB words which have retroflex ɽ where an alveolar *r* is found in the corresponding IB and Hindustani forms, as in MB *chokrā*, IB and Hindustani *chokrā boy*. For such reasons, we have tentatively identified both ɽ and ɽ^h as phonemes of MB.

Like Sadani IB, MB has just two nasal phonemes, /m/ and /n/. As noted at the foot of Table 1, phonetic [ŋ], [ŋ] and [ŋ] are heard immediately preceding retroflex, palatal and velar stops, respectively, but are considered allophones of /n/. Morpheme finally, [ŋ] (in unmarked forms) alternates with [ŋg] (in marked forms), as in *māng [maŋ] parting (in the hair)* and *mangwā [maŋgwa] the parting (in the hair)*. This leads us to assume that [ŋ] and [ŋg] are positionally conditioned variants of underlying /ŋg/.

For Jordan-Horstmann, *y* and *w* in Sadani IB are merely allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively. In MB, the position is somewhat different. /i/ is optionally realised as [i] or [y] in the environments /C(_v__V). (On the use of [y] for IPA

Table 1: The phonemes of Mauritian Bhojpuri and Mauritian Creole						
Consonants		Labial/ Labio-dental	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar/Glottal
STOPS -v -asp -v +asp +v -asp +v +asp	MB	p p ^h b b ^h	t t ^h d d ^h	ʈ ʈ ^h ɖ ɖ ^h	ç ç ^h j j ^h	k k ^h g g ^h
	MC	p b	t d		ç j	k g
	orthography	p ph b bh	t th d dh	ʈ ʈ ^h ɖ ɖ ^h	c ch j jh	k kh g gh
FRICATIVES -v +v -v +v	MB		s	ʂ ʂ ^h		h
	MC	f v	s z			ɣ
	orthography	f v	s z	ʂ ʂ ^h		h r
NASALS +v +v	MB	m	n	- ¹	- ¹	- ²
	MC	m	n		- ³	- ²
	orthography	m	n			
OTHERS +v +v	MB	w	l r			
	MC	w	l		y ⁴	
	orthography	w	l r		y	
VOWELS MB		i	ĩ			ũ u
			e eĩ		õ o	
				ʌ ɤ		
			a	ã		
MB orthography		i	iñ e eñ	ā a añ	āñ oñ	o uñ u
VOWELS MC		i				u
			e	(ə)		o
			ẽ		õ	
			a	ã		
MC orthography ⁵		i	e eñ/em	a (è)	añ/am õñ/om	o u

¹In our MB data, retroflex and palatal nasal consonants are found only immediately preceding retroflex and palatal stops, respectively. Both retroflex and palatal nasals are thus regarded as allophones of /n/.
²In both MB and MC, the sequence of phonemes /ng/ is realised phonetically as [ŋg] between vowels and as [ŋ] word-finally.
³In MC, the sequence of phonemes /ny/ is realised as [ny]⁴ between vowels, and as [ɲ] word-finally.
⁴Here and throughout this paper, y represents a palatal glide (IPA [j]), in part to avoid possible confusion resulting from IPA's use of a variant of the same character for a palatal stop.
⁵For details of the use of both ñ and ñ in the representation of nasalised vowels, see footnote 19.

[j], see note 4 at the foot of Table 1.) Thus *dhaniā coriander* and *māi mother*, for example, are liable to be pronounced [d^hʌnya] or [d^hʌnia] and [may] or [mai] in any position. In other environments, [y] or [i] appear to be in complementary distribution, and we are thus satisfied that [y] does not have phonemic status in MB. However, not all occurrences of [y] are to be derived from /i/: the /e/ of verbal inflections of which this is the initial element becomes a palatal glide wherever the final element of the verb stem is a vowel. For example *mar-die*, *mareke to die*, but *khā eat*, *khāeke [k^hayke] to eat*.

With regard to *w*, we are aware of only a handful of morphemes in which [w] alternates freely with [u], such as *dewtā ~ deutā god*. In the great majority of words containing either [w] or [u], no such variation is found. For example, *awrat woman* is consistently [ʌwrat] not *[ʌurat], *dhuān smoke* is consistently [d^huā] not *[d^hwā], and *mwāw kill* is consistently [mwaw] not *[muaw], *[mwau] or *[muau]. While we have not found any minimal pairs distinguished solely by a contrast between [w] and [u], we have also failed to find any pattern(s) of distribution of these two sounds which would suggest that they are allophones. We are thus tentatively inclined to consider /w/ and /u/ to be separate phonemes of MB. In further support of this, it may be said that the rules for deriving the marked forms of MB nouns from their unmarked forms, set out in section 2 below, would be considerably more complicated if surface *w* were to be derived from underlying *u*.

In romanised transcriptions of Indian languages, it is customary to mark long vowels with the macron, and this is often done even where short and long varieties of a particular vowel are allophones of a single phoneme rather than two distinct phonemes. In MB, as in Sadani IB (Jordan-Horstmann 1969), differences in vowel length are subphonemic in the case of each of the eight vowel phonemes written *i*, *īn*, *e*, *ēn*, *o*, *ōn*, *u* and *ūn* in the B/H orthography. Of the remaining four vowels, *ā* and *ā̄n* are perceptibly longer than *a* and *ān* but the more immediately striking difference between the two pairs is that *ā* and *ā̄n* are low peripheral vowels whereas *a* and *ān* are low central vowels (see Table 1). As there are minimal pairs such as *dhān young rice* and *dhan property*, *bhāng cannabis in milk* and *bhang disruption*, *dām price* and *dam courage*, *mān respect* and *man desire*, it is clear that *ā* and *a* are distinct phonemes in MB. Similar examples might be given to illustrate *ā̄n* and *ān* contrasts. However, MB, like IB (Tiwari 1960:104), has a rule whereby *ā̄(n)* in the unmarked forms of nouns is changed to *ā(n)* in marked forms ending *-wā* or *-wan* (see also below). A consequence of this is that *dhanwā* may mean either *the young rice* or *the property*. (No similar ambiguity arises in the case of the other three pairs of examples because one member of each — *bhang*, *dam* and *mān* — is a non-countable abstract noun which cannot occur with either *-wā* or *-wan*.)

2. THE NOUN IN MB

Count nouns in MB have three forms: an unmarked (zero) form which may have a singular or plural reading, according to context, and forms marked by the addition of *-wā* and *-wan* (and variants of these two forms, as discussed below). Both *-wā* and *-wan* are broadly equivalent, semantically, to the definite article of English or the postposed *-la* of MC, but *-wā* is exclusively singular while *-wan* is found only in plural contexts. The marked and unmarked forms of a number of MB nouns are set out in Table 2.

Table 2: Unmarked and marked forms of selected MB nouns

	A	B	C
Specificity	-	+	+
Plurality	∅	-	+
English gloss	_____ (s)	the _____	the _____s
1. <i>bird</i>	ciraiñ	ciraiñwā	ciraiñwan
2. <i>table</i>	latāb	latabwā	latabwan
3. <i>eye</i>	āñkh	añkhwā	añkwan
4. <i>hand</i>	hāñt	hañtwā	hañtwan
5. <i>musical instrument</i>	bajā	bajwā	bajwan
6. <i>fried snack</i>	bhajiā	bhajiawā	bhajiawan
7. <i>greens</i>	bhāji	bhajiā	bhajian
8. <i>tunic</i>	bāju	bajuwā	bajuan
9. <i>person</i>	admi	adamiā	adamian
10. <i>boy</i>	chokṛā	chokaṛwā	chokaṛwan
11. <i>girl</i>	chokṛi	chokaṛiā	chokaṛian
12. <i>water</i>	pāni	paniā	panian
13. <i>knee</i>	thewni	thewniā	thewnian
14. <i>ashtray</i>	sāndrie	sañdriewā	sañdriewan
15. <i>car</i>	loto	lotowā	lotowan
16. <i>egg</i>	aṇḍā	aṇḍwā	aṇḍwan
17. <i>dog</i>	kutā	kutwā	kutwan
18. <i>fire</i>	āg	agwā	agwan
19. <i>cloud</i>	badār	badarwā	badarwan
20. <i>woman</i>	awrat	awratiā	awratian

The unmarked form of MB nouns resembles the 'zero article for nonspecific NP' which Bickerton (1977:58, 1981:56) identifies as a typical feature of Creole languages. Thus Bickerton's translation of his 1977 Guyanese example illustrating its use — *mi go bai buk I shall buy a book or books* (even the speaker does not know which) — applies equally well to its approximate equivalents in both MC (word order: *I + FUT + go + buy + book*) and MB (word order: *I + book + buy + FUT-go*): MC *mo pu al aste liv*, MB *ham liv⁹ kine jāb*. It might thus seem that, in this respect at least, MB had acquired a Creole characteristic. Such

a conclusion would, however, be premature, for two reasons. First, there are many Hindustani nouns for which the distinction between singular and plural is not marked in the direct case. For example, Hindustani ghar may refer to *house* or *houses* (Barz, p.c. Barz adds that plurality is marked in the oblique case, *ghar meñ in the house* versus *gharõñ meñ in the houses*). Secondly, Hertig-Shalická remarks, with reference to the songs she collected in the Ballia district of India, that 'plural is often not marked at all' (1974:129). It may thus be that the potential for unmarked singular nouns to be employed in plural contexts had already been realised in IB before large numbers of IB-speakers reached Mauritius in the 19th century.

Tiwari notes up to three singular and four plural forms of each noun stem in IB. He labels the singular forms 'short', 'long' and 'redundant' (1960:104). The last-named appears to be entirely unknown in MB, while the 'short' and 'long' closely resemble, respectively, the unmarked and marked MB forms set out in columns A and B of Table 2. While Tiwari does not indicate that the 'long' form is associated with definiteness, this was earlier signalled by Grierson: '... the long form is used either in a non-honorific sense or to give definiteness. Thus ghoṛā (short form) a horse, but ghōr'wā the horse (1883:25). With regard to the nouns which in MB have the unmarked forms *ghar house* and *gāi cow*, Tiwari states that there is 'no difference of sense' (1960:107) between the four variant IB plural forms which are, respectively, *gharanh*, *gharanhi*, *gharan*, *gharani* and *gāinh*, *gāinhi*, *gāin*, *gāini*. In MB, these nouns have just one marked plural form, respectively *gharwan* and *gāiwan* (cf. the forms listed in column C of Table 2). While all of Tiwari's plural endings include the consonant *n*, as do the MB forms, the precise source of the latter has yet to be identified.

It will be apparent from Table 2 that the marked forms listed in columns B and C can largely be predicted from the unmarked forms in column A. In fact, with the exception of no.20, the marked forms of all the MB nouns in our data can be derived from three rules, provided that two assumptions are made. The first is that the underlying forms of the marked singular and plural terminations are, respectively, *-wā* and *-wan*. The second assumption is that the underlying forms of numbers 9, 10 and 11 are, respectively, **adami*, **chokaṛa* and **chokaṛi*. The three rules are:

$$1. \quad \bar{a} \rightarrow a / \dots_ \dots + \begin{pmatrix} w\bar{a} \\ wan \end{pmatrix}$$

All occurrences of \bar{a} in the underlying forms of unmarked nouns are obligatorily changed to *a* when the terminations *-wā* or *-wan* are added.

$$2. \quad w \rightarrow \phi / i _ \begin{pmatrix} \bar{a} \\ an \end{pmatrix}$$

The *w* of either of the terminations denoting specificity is deleted wherever it immediately follows *i*.

$$3. \quad a \rightarrow \phi / VC_ CV(N)$$

In nouns of three or more syllables (counting the final syllable of marked forms), *a* is deleted from the penultimate syllable provided this follows, and is followed by, a single consonant.

Apart from no.20,¹⁰ rules 1, 2 and 3 will generate all the forms in columns B and C of Table 2, while rule 3 alone will produce all the forms in column A. Some sample derivations are set out in Table 3.

The indefinite article is not distinguished from the number 'one':

ego ber a/one drinking glass
ego gilās a/one metal beaker¹¹

Strictly speaking, ego is not a single morpheme but the fusion of two: ek a/one and go a classifier for which there is no equivalent in English. Go behaves in some respects like a collective or quantitative noun and does not co-occur with the latter. For example:¹²

ego jālmeth a match
ek bwāt jālmeth a box of matches
dugo ālu two potatoes
du libar ālu two pounds of potatoes
tingo sigāret three cigarettes
tin pāki sigāret three packets of cigarettes
ego ber a glass
ek ber pāni a glass of water

The final example shows that ber functions as both a count noun and as a quantitative noun. The classifier go is a feature which MB has inherited from IB (cf. Tiwari 1960:120), and which sets both these off from Hindustani. For example, the equivalents in modern Hindi to the last pair of MB examples have nothing corresponding to go and are: tin sigreṭ and tin pāket sigreṭ. (Both Hindi pākeṭ and sigreṭ are from English, whereas the corresponding MB terms are from French through MC.)

Like IB, but in sharp contrast to most Indo-Aryan languages, MB does not have grammatical gender. It does, however, have separate masculine and feminine forms of nouns for certain categories of people and domestic animals. Most of these belong to one of two groups. In the first group, masculine forms have final ā while feminine forms have final i:

beṭā son beṭi daughter
cācā paternal uncle cāci paternal aunt
ghoṛā stallion ghoṛi mare
murgā cock murgi hen

In the second group, feminine forms add -in to the masculine or unspecified forms:

dulhā bridegroom dulhin bride
kiriol Creole person kiriolin Creole person (f)
musalmān or laskār Muslim musalmānin or laskārin Muslim (f)
cinwā Chinese person cinwāin Chinese person (f)
(cinwawā the Chinaman)

Table 3: Sample derivations of unmarked and marked forms of MB nouns

A unmarked forms									
underlying forms:	bajā	bhajiā	bhāji	bāju	*chokaṛā	*chokaṛi	*adami	hānt	aṇḍa
rule 3					chokṛā	chokṛi	admi		
surface forms	bajā	bhajiā	bhāji	bāju	chokṛā	chokṛi	admi	hānt	aṇḍā
B with -wā termination									
underlying forms:	bajā	bhajiā	bhāji	bāju	*chokaṛā	*chokaṛi	*adami	hānt	aṇḍā
add termination	*bajāwā	*bhajiāwā	*bhājiwā	*bājuwā	*chokaṛāwā	*chokaṛiwā	*adamiwā	*hāntwā	*aṇḍāwā
rule 1	*bajawā	bhajiawā	*bhajiwā	bajuwā	*chokaṛawā			hāntwā	*aṇḍawā
rule 2			bhajiā			chokaṛiā	adamiā		
rule 3	bajwā				chokaṛwā				aṇḍwā
surface forms	bajwā	bhajiawā	bhajiā	bajuwā	chokaṛwā	chokaṛiā	adamiā	hāntwā	aṇḍwa
C with -wan termination									
add termination	*bajāwan	*bhajiāwan	*bhājiwan	*bājuwan	*chokaṛāwan	*chokaṛiwan	*adamiwan	*hāntwan	*aṇḍāwan
rule 1	*bajawan	bhajiawan	*bhajiwan	bajuwan	*chokaṛawan			hāntwan	*aṇḍawan
rule 2			bhajian			chokaṛian	adamian		
rule 3	bajwan				chokaṛwan				aṇḍwan
surface forms	bajwan	bhajiawan	bhajian	bajuwan	chokaṛwan	chokaṛian	adamian	hāntwan	aṇḍwan

As this -in suffix recalls the French feminine suffix written '-ine', it would be as well to demonstrate that this is indeed of Indian origin rather than from French via MC. Tiwari notes this feminine suffix as -inĪ, e.g. *dulahinĪ bride* (1960:107), while Jordan-Horstmann gives the Sadani form as -in, e.g. *bāgh tiger*, *bāghin tigress* and *loharā blacksmith*, *loharāin blacksmith's wife* (1969:63).

3. THE VERB IN MB

As the verbal system of MB is fairly complex, we shall not attempt to do more than give a general outline of its nature in the following paragraphs.

Excluding causatives (see below) and imperatives (not discussed due to lack of sufficient data), there are basically 21 inflected forms (not counting variants of these) of every MB verb, as set out in Table 4.¹³ To the best of our knowledge, all MB verbs have the same set of inflected forms. That is to say, insofar as MB has any 'irregular' verbs, the latter have more than one stem form to which regular inflections are added.

Table 4: Verb forms in MB			
Illustrated with <i>cal-</i> go, walk			
PERSON/NUMBER/STATUS*	PRESENT	FUTURE	PAST
1S	calilā	calab	{calni calli}
1PL	calila sa	calab sa	{calni calli} sa
2S	calele	calbe	calle
2S HON	calela	calba	calla
2PL	calela sa	calba sa	calla sa
2PL HON	calela jā	calba jā	calla jā
3S	calelā	cali	callak
3S HON	calelan	calihan	callan
3PL	calelan sa	calihan sa	callan sa
3PL HON	calelan jā	calihan jā	callan jā
PARTICIPLES	caleke (infinitive)		
	calat (habitual)		
	calal (past)		
	calte (present continuous)		
	calke (past continuous)		
*1, 2, 3 = respectively, first, second and third person S = singular, PL = plural, HON = honorific form			

At first sight, it would appear that Table 4 contains 37 forms rather than the 21 mentioned above. However, it will be seen all the plural forms include the particles *sa* or *jā*. We have tentatively assumed that these particles ought not to be regarded as inflections. In addition, it will be seen that some of the inflected forms occur more than once in the table. When allowance is made for these matters, it will be found that the 21 inflected endings are as follows (in alphabetical order): -ab, -al, -at, -ba, -be, -eke, -ela, -elā, -elan, -ele, -i, -ihan, -ila, -ilā, -ke, -la, -lak, -lan, -le, -li, -ni.

MB also has a causative particle which may be infixed to any of the forms in Table 4 (including variants). The infix in question has, in fact, two forms and these appear to be free variants. This makes a total of 63 inflected forms of each MB verb (and, as stated above, this figure excludes imperatives).

The MB equivalent of certain common verbs of MC (and both English and French) is a combination of a noun and a verb. For example, *to work* is expressed in MB as *kām work* (noun) + *kar to do*. The paradigm of 'present' forms corresponding to 'work' is as follows (S = singular, PL = plural, HON = honorific):

	ham kām karilā	<i>I work</i>
	tu kām karele	<i>you work</i> (S)
	tu kām karela	<i>you work</i> (S, HON)
	u kām karelā	<i>he/she works</i>
	u kām karelan	<i>he/she works</i> (HON)
	hamni kām karila sa	<i>we work</i>
tolog	} kām karela sa	<i>you work</i> (PL)
toholog		
tolog	} kām karela jā	<i>you work</i> (PL, HON)
toholog		
ulog	} kām karelan sa	<i>they work</i>
olog		
ulog	} kām karelan jā	<i>they work</i> (HON)
olog		

The verb forms noted so far do not appear to correspond to any single dialect of IB but rather to a mixture of such dialects (Suchita Ramdin, p.c.; see Domingue 1981, Barz 1980:4). The system sketched here is a good deal less complex than that described by Tiwari 1960 in two respects. First, he notes separate masculine and feminine verbal forms in IB whereas there are no gender distinctions in the MB system. Secondly, he gives 'contemptuous' as well as 'ordinary' and 'honorific' forms for the second and third person, both singular and plural. MB does not have contemptuous forms as such.¹⁴

In addition to the forms noted so far, MB verbs are frequently conjugated with a following auxiliary verb. There are a dozen such auxiliaries in MB, all of which also function as full verbs in their own right, such as those meaning 'reach', 'stay', 'go', 'finish', etc. As they are essentially the same as those given by both Tiwari (1960:182-187) and Jordan-Horstmann (1969:98-102), we will not give examples here.

All MB verbs having the range of inflected forms described above appear to be of Indo-Aryan origin. MB does, however, have some verbs adopted from MC. The latter are all invariable in MB and are conjugated with *kar- do* or an auxiliary verb:

ham	telefone	karli	
<i>I + telephone + do-</i>			FIRST PERSON PAST
<i>I</i>			<i>telephoned</i>
ham	pedāle	karat	hāi
<i>I + pedal do-</i>			HABITUAL PARTICIPLE + <i>be-</i> FIRST PERSON PRESENT
<i>I am</i>			<i>pedalling (on a bicycle)</i>

The Hindustani equivalents of the above examples, in which words adopted from English replace the MC-derived terms in MB, are:

maiñ ne fon kiyā
 I + ERGATIVE MARKER + telephone + did

maiñ ne sāikil calāī
 I + ERGATIVE MARKER + cycle + caused to move

We are grateful to Barz (p.c.) for these examples.

While the MB verbal system is somewhat less complex than that of IB, as described by Tiwari (1960) or Jordan-Horstmann (1969), it has certainly not been radically restructured in any way. The suggestion that MB is 'un créole à base indienne' (Chaudenson 1979:34), a view also taken by Stein (1982:131), thus appears to be unfounded.

4. THE BASIC VOCABULARY OF MB

The basic vocabulary of MB is illustrated in the comparative word list (p.231) where the MB equivalents of the 100 items in the Swadesh list are set out. Of these words, five are of MC origin. Numbers 3 and 76 are both from MC *lapo bark*, *skin* (<Fr *peau*), number 56 is from MC *moñtany* (<Fr *montagne*), number 65 is from MC *sime* (<Fr *chemin*), and number 82 is from MC *ros* (<Fr *roche*).¹⁵ All others are of Indian origin. (A few of them are recognisably cognate with the corresponding French or English terms, a reminder that the latter are distantly related to Bhojpuri.)¹⁶

For the purposes of comparison, IB and Hindustani forms are set out in the word list alongside those of MB. The Hindustani forms are taken from Forbes 1859, a dictionary containing ca. 40,000 entries and compiled at the time when Indian immigration in Mauritius was at its height. For further details, see the notes. The IB forms are drawn from Tiwari 1960, Jordan-Horstmann 1969 and Hertig-Skalická 1974. As none of the latter is a dictionary and as the total number of IB words for which these publications provide an English gloss is probably ca. 3,000, our knowledge of IB items in the list is rather limited. We cannot be sure that the IB forms found are necessarily the most frequent terms for the words in the Swadesh list nor, more importantly, that in the cases where we have not found a cognate form in IB, one does not in fact exist.

In comparing MB with both IB and Hindustani, we will assume that variation between *i* and *iy* in the word list is without significance. As we have been unable to establish an IB form in the case of ten of the words in the Swadesh list and as there are also five MB words of MC rather than Indo-Aryan origin, the total number of forms which may usefully be compared is 85. Of these, MB appears to be significantly closer to IB than to Hindustani in 22 cases (numbers 6, 13, 20, 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 53, 55, 64, 66, 69, 77, 81, 87, 91, 92, 95, 97, 98 and 100), apparently closer to Hindustani than to IB in nine cases (numbers 18, 26, 27, 28, 35, 42, 61, 78 and 99), and equally close to both IB and Hindustani in the remaining 54 cases. While these figures suggest that MB is lexically closer to IB than to Hindustani, as expected, the list as a whole indicates that all three languages are very closely related, at least in their basic vocabulary. Of the nine cases where MB appears to be closer to Hindustani, it should be noted that the IB forms of numbers 26, 27, 42, 61 and 99 differ from MB and Hindustani only in having a final *-i*, and that Domingue (1981:153) remarks that lack of final *-i* is characteristic of western varieties of IB. It could be, therefore, that only in the case of numbers 18, 28, 35 and

78 is MB significantly closer to Hindustani than IB. That said, we must also acknowledge that the teaching of Hindi in Mauritius and, in particular, the great popularity enjoyed by Hindustani-speaking films in the island, have had some influence on the lexicon of MB in recent decades.

5. MC AND MB: MUTUAL LEXICAL INFLUENCE

Although only five of the MB words in the Swadesh list are of MC origin, there is no doubt that the total number of MC words which have been adopted in MB is very considerable indeed, and could well exceed 1,000.¹⁷ The number of MB words which have been adopted in MC is also considerable. Baker (1982b:314-383) lists some 300 MC words adopted from Indo-Aryan languages and most, but not all, of these are likely to have MB as their immediate source.¹⁸

The phonemic correspondences between MC and MB, and vice versa, can be described most economically by reference to Table 1. In general, MB stops are assimilated to the corresponding MC stops and vice versa, with aspirated MB stops assimilating to the corresponding non-aspirated MC stops and with retroflex MB stops assimilating to MC alveolar stops. There are, however, two partial exceptions. The dental stops in MC are regularly palatalised or lightly affricated before *i* and *y*. MC dental stops in this position are unpredictably assimilated to either palatal affricates or dental stops in MB. By unpredictable, we mean that we cannot immediately offer an explanation as to why MC *pudin pudding* has given MB *pujin* whereas MC *diber butter/margarine* has given MB *diber* (with of course no palatalisation or affrication of the *d* in MB). The other partial exception concerns MB /*ph*/. While there are many cases where MB /*ph*/ becomes MC /*p*/, such as MB *phukni blow-pipe (for making dying embers flare up)* : MC *pukni*, there are at least three cases where MB /*ph*/ instead becomes MC /*f*/, including MC *farata kind of unleavened bread* (MB *pharathā*, Hindustani *parāṭhā*) and MC *fenus milk from a cow which has recently calved* (MB and Hindustani *phenus*). While the normal reflex of MC /*f*/ is MB /*ph*/, it seems a little surprising to find sporadic examples of the reverse process.

MC has four fricatives which lack phonemic status in MB: *f*, *v*, *z* and *r*. The established correspondences concerning the first three of these are MC /*f*/ : MB /*ph*/, MC /*v*/ : MB /*b*/, and MC /*z*/ : MB /*j*/, as illustrated by MB *phātige tired* (MC *fatige*), MB *sabāt thongs (cheap footwear)* (MC *savat*), and MB *joli beautiful* (MC *zoli*). These examples, and many others, are firmly established in MB. In what appear to be more recent adoptions from MC, such consonants are pronounced variably as fricatives and stops. MC *liv book*, for example, is variably pronounced [liv] and [lib] in MB, even by the same speaker. Similar variation is found in words recently adopted by MB from Hindustani. For example, the Hindustani word *fāida profit, gain* heard in many Indian films shown in Mauritius, is now current in MB where it is variably pronounced with initial [ph] or [f].

MC /*r*/ is realised as [ɽ] in the environment /__V but elsewhere is the second element in centring diphthongs ([^ə]) or a vowel lengthener and modifier, for example MC /*ar*/ is pronounced [a:] word finally and when immediately followed by a consonant. Given this diversity of realisation, it is perhaps a little surprising that MC /*r*/ is everywhere assimilated to the alveolar *r* of MB. (There is thus no conflict in the B/H orthographic proposal of graphic *r* for both MB /*r*/ and the phonetically very different MC /*r*/.)

MB h has no regular reflex in MC, h from all sources being generally deleted in the latter except in a few prestige words such as *haji Muslim who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca* and *holi a Hindu festival*. (Both words may well have been adopted into MC from Indian languages other than MB.)

There is a regular, two way correspondence between each of the four remaining phonemes common to MB and MC: /m/, /n/, /w/, /l/.

In MC [i] and [y] are separate phonemes whereas in MB both are mere allophones, and apparently free variants, of /i/. As might be expected, the reflex of both MC /i/ and /y/ is MB /i/. In the opposite direction, the reflex of MB /i/ is generally MC /y/ in the environments /__V and /V__ and /i/ elsewhere. In a few cases the free variation between [i] and [y] in MB has led to both forms becoming established in MC, e.g. MB *dain witch* is current as both *dayn* and *dain* in MC.

The remaining MB phonemes are /r/, /r̥/ and /r̥h/. /r/ and /r̥/ are both assimilated to MC /r/ in the environment /__V (MB *jirā* : MC *jira cummin*, MB *peṛā* : MC *pera a cake*) while MB /r/ is generally assimilated to MC /l/ in other positions (MB *barphi* : MC *balfi*). Our data do not include any examples of MB words containing /r̥/ in the latter position which have been adopted in MC, nor any examples of MB words containing /r̥h/ in any position which have become established in MC.

With regard to vowels, there is a largely regular, two-way correspondence between each of the vowels written *i*, *e*, *eñ*, *oñ*, *o* and *u* in both MC and MC in the B/H orthography. We are not currently aware of any MB words containing the nasal vowels *iñ* and *uñ* which have been adopted into MC. The MB vowels *a* and *añ* are regularly assimilated in MC as *a* and *añ*, respectively, while the latter MC vowels are variably assimilated in MB as *ā* or *a* and *āñ* or *añ*, according to the following rules:

In MC words with a single *a* or *añ*, the corresponding MB term will have *ā* or *āñ*, respectively. For example:

MC	MB	
<i>bwat</i>	: <i>bwāt</i>	<i>box</i>
<i>lapo</i>	: <i>lāpo</i>	<i>skin, bark</i>
<i>pake</i>	: <i>pāki</i>	<i>packet</i>
<i>sigaret</i>	: <i>sigāret</i>	<i>cigarette</i>
<i>fatige</i>	: <i>phātige</i>	<i>tired</i>
<i>sāndrie</i>	: <i>sāndrie</i>	<i>ashtray</i>

In MC words with more than one *a* or *añ*, the rightmost of these is assimilated as, respectively, *ā* or *āñ* in MB and all others become *a* or *añ*. For example:

MC	MB	
<i>latab</i>	: <i>latāb</i>	<i>table</i>
<i>malad</i>	: <i>malād</i>	<i>ill</i>
<i>salad</i>	: <i>salād</i>	<i>salad</i>
<i>marsan</i>	: <i>marsāñ</i>	<i>merchant</i>
<i>kāmpman</i>	: <i>kāmpmāñ</i> ¹⁹	<i>seaside bungalow</i>

It must be emphasised that, where the above are nouns, these correspondences apply to their unmarked forms. As indicated earlier, *ā* and *āñ* in unmarked MB nouns are regularly changed to *a* and *añ* in marked forms of these nouns, cf. Table 2.

The above correspondences apply to the great majority of MC words adopted into MB, and vice versa. There remain, however, a few exceptions to which we now turn our attention.

The usual MC term for cat is *sat* but there is also a diminutive alternative, *mimi*. The latter may refer in isolation to a cat of either sex. Where sex is relevant, there is an exclusively male term, *matu*, and, in contexts where the latter is employed, *mimi* is understood to be female. All three terms are of French origin. The most frequent term for cat in MB is *mini* which may be employed without reference to the creature's sex. Where sex is relevant, MB has the choice between both Indian-derived *bilār* (male) and *bili* (female) on the one hand, and *maku* (male) and *mini* (female), on the other. That the latter pair derive from MC *matu* and *mini* seems certain, but we can find no obvious reason for the irregular correspondences t:k and m:n.

The usual MC term for the local variety of tomato is *pomdamur* (<regional Fr *pomme d'amour*) and its phonetically irregular MB reflex is *paldāmun*. We are unable to account for the form of the initial syllable – were the initial consonant aspirated, one might suspect the attraction of *phal fruit* – but the final *n* may perhaps be related to the /n/ ~ /r/ variation found in a number of MB terms such as *gagna* ~ *gagra water-pot*.

Three of the MB words adopted from MC which have been mentioned elsewhere in this paper do not have the vowels predicted by the correspondences set out earlier. *Pāki packet* differs in its final vowel (MC *pake*, <Fr *paquet*). This particular change may perhaps have been favoured by the fact that a substantial proportion of MB nouns have a final -i (the great majority of all those which, in former times, had feminine gender in IB, in fact). If that is so it must be noted that it does not apply to all words adopted from MC, cf. *sāndrie ashtray* (MC *saṅdrie*, <Fr *cendrier*). The second case is that of *motaiñ mountain* in which the first vowel is oral rather than nasal as in MC *moñtany* (<Fr *montagne*). As there is a tendency for nasalised vowels in MC to become denasalised in certain positions (see below) – though not yet attested in the MC word *moñtany* – and as our data includes a number of items having an initial nasal consonant in MB in which the following vowel or sequence of vowels is variably nasalised – e.g. *naiñ* ~ *nai not* and *muñ* ~ *mu mouth* – little significance can be attached to the loss of nasality displayed by the *o* of *motaiñ*. The third case is MB *simā path* (MC *sime*). At first sight it appears that *ā* is here derived from *e*, a correspondence not found in any other MB word of MC origin so far as we are aware. Throughout the 19th century, however, the MC word is attested in spellings indicating that the final vowel was nasalised (as it is in its French etymon, *chemin*). Thus, if the word were adopted in the 19th century, the correspondence would be between MC *eñ* and MB *ā*. Phonetically, MC *eñ* has a value, varying from speaker to speaker, in the range [ɛ̃] ~ [æ̃]. This leads us to speculate that (former) *eñ* may have been assimilated to MB *ā* because this was the MB front vowel closest to MC *eñ* in terms of vowel height. Support for this view is also to be found in the MB word for *sugar mill*, *mulā* (MC *muleñ*, <Fr *moulin*). As the majority of Indian immigrants who reached Mauritius in the 19th century were taken there for the specific purpose of working in sugar, there can be little doubt that this was amongst the first words acquired in their new environment. (The loss of nasality exhibited by MC *sime* but not by MC *muleñ* results from a modern trend to replace nasalised vowels with the corresponding oral vowels in the environment /Vm_#, cf. MC *pima chilli* (<Fr *piment*) and MC *legzame examination* (<Fr *l'examen*).

The usual modern MC term for axe is *lars*, phonetically [la:s] (<Fr *la hache*). As the corresponding MB term is *lahās* [lahas], it might seem that speakers of MB had adopted this directly from French rather than from MC. We reject this for two reasons. First, apart from one possible exception discussed below, all MB nouns of ultimate French origin which have an initial syllable corresponding to a French article also have this agglutinated article in MC. In other words, MB nouns with an initial syllable wholly derived, ultimately, from a French article, form a subset of the very considerable number of such nouns in MC. We thus assume that the immediate source of the MB form is MC rather than French. Secondly, an alternative, if now fairly rare pronunciation of the MC term for axe is disyllabic *laas*. Just such a pronunciation is consistently implied in the spellings *la hace*, *la-hace* found in 19th century MC texts (Descroizilles 1867, Anderson 1885, Baissac 1888). As graphic *h* is not pronounced in modern French, such spellings do not in themselves suggest that the MC word was formerly pronounced *lahas* rather than *laas*. However, in 1975, Stein recorded a man in Rodrigues who pronunciation of this word was [lahas] (Corne and Stein 1979:70). As the Mauritian dependency of Rodrigues was settled, from the end of the 18th century, almost exclusively by speakers of MC (Baker 1982a:207-208, 1982b:857-858), and as Rodrigues did not receive any Indian indentured labourers during the 19th century, the Creole spoken there must be essentially old MC. The clear implication is that the pronunciation [lahas] was probably formerly current in Mauritius too. If so, MB *lahās* would be the regular reflex of old MC *lahas* (cf. the correspondences between MC and MB described earlier), suggesting that this word was adopted by speakers of MB in the 19th century.

The possible exception concerning agglutinated French articles alluded to earlier is MB *butik shop*, modern MC *labutik* (<Fr *la boutique*). In 19th century MC texts, however, this word is attested both with (Baissac 1880) and without (Chrestien 1822) an agglutinated article. Speakers of MB may thus have adopted the non-agglutinated form at a time when this was current in MC (rather than adopting this from French). There is one other MB word in our data which at first looks to be direct from French rather than through MC — *libar pound* (*weight*) (<Fr *livre*) for which the corresponding modern MC word is *liv*. Clearly the final syllable of the MB form must derive from a French or MC pronunciation of the term in which a final *r* was audible. Although MC today lacks any word-final consonant clusters in which the last element is *r*, we cannot be entirely sure that this was always the case. For example, the French verb *suivre follow* is found in five different texts dating from between 1818 and 1888 as '*sivre*' or '*sivré*'. (The modern form of this verb is, among different groups of speakers, either /swiv/ or /sivre/). There are also a few attestations of words which in French have a final consonant cluster of which *l* is the final phoneme, being written in MC texts with *r* instead of *l*, for example *diabre* for French *diable* (Chrestien 1822:22). It seems most unlikely that such a change would have been made if MC *r* did not have some phonetic reality in this position. While the above in no way proves that MB *libar* has MC rather than French as its immediate source, the possibility that it might be from MC cannot be excluded.

Thus far, our examples have concerned apparently irregular sound correspondences between MC and MB but we will conclude with a semantic distinction, now obsolete in MC but attested in 19th century MC texts, which is very much current in MB. In MC texts from the first half of the 19th century there are two verbs which might be glossed *to be tired* but one, *las/e*, might be better defined as *to be*

fed up with, bored with while the other *fatig/e*, really means to be *physically tired*. This distinction is clear from the first attestation of each:

Moi lassé coudre ton cimize (Chrestien (1822) 1831:9)
I'm tired of darning your shirt

... porté-li dans Port comment çoçon, ... Pour li n'a pas trop fatigué,
 Et moi croire' li va bien vendé (Chrestien 1831:39)
Carry it [a donkey] to town like a pig... So it won't get tired, and I think it should sell well.

In modern MC, *las/e* has become entirely obsolete and *fatig/e* is now employed in both senses. In MB, however, both *lāse* and *phātige* are current and many speakers preserve the semantic distinction between them found in Chrestien's MC publications:²⁰

baïṭhal baïṭhal lāse hogāili
I'm tired of sitting (i.e. bored)

calte calte phātige hogāili
I'm tired of walking (i.e. physically tired)

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the preceding pages we have examined only a few aspects of MB but we believe that these are sufficient to demonstrate that MB is not a radically restructured form of IB and has certainly not undergone anything comparable to the process of creolisation. We strongly suspect that a more detailed study would show that, in morphology and syntax, MB was a continuation of a range of IB dialects and related speech forms of north-east India from which dialectal differences had gradually been eroded and from which some inflected forms relating to social conditions no longer observed in Mauritius had been eliminated. (Some examples which support this view are to be found in Domingue 1981). With regard to lexicon, however, MC has undoubtedly had a very major impact on MB providing the latter with a reservoir of terms to draw on for virtually all facets of life in Mauritius encountered by MB-speakers which were unknown in the Bihar their ancestors left in the 19th century.

If the view of MB expressed in the preceding paragraph is essentially correct, then the widespread (in Mauritius) notion that the relationship between MB and Hindi is broadly comparable to that between MC and French is erroneous. MC is very definitely *not* a continuation of a range of French dialects but an independent language which originated in Mauritius out of a multilingual situation in the 18th century (Baker 1982b:806-860).

A comparison of Mauritian Bhojpuri (MB), Indian Bhojpuri (IB)
and Hindustani using the 100 basic words of the Swadesh list

No.	ENGLISH	MB	IB ^{2 1}	HINDUSTANI ^{2 2}
1.	<i>all</i>	sab	<i>T</i> sab	sab
2.	<i>ash</i>	rākhi	<i>T</i> rākh	rākh
3.	<i>bark</i>	lāpo	?	post
4.	<i>belly</i>	peṭ	<i>T</i> peṭ	peṭ
5.	<i>big</i>	baṛā	<i>T</i> baṛā	baṛā
6.	<i>bird</i>	ciraiñ	<i>T</i> cirāī	ciṛiyā
7.	<i>bite (v)</i>	kāṭ-	<i>T</i> kāṭ- <i>cut</i> ^{2 3}	kāṭ-
8.	<i>black</i>	kariā	<i>T</i> kariā	(kariyā), kālā
9.	<i>blood</i>	khun	?	(khun), lohu
10.	<i>bone</i>	haḍi	?	haḍḍi
11.	<i>breasts</i>	dudh, ^{2 4} (chāti)	<i>J</i> chāti	chātī
12.	<i>burn (v)</i>	jarā-	<i>H</i> jar-	(jār-), jalā-
13.	<i>claw (n)</i>	nokh	<i>J</i> nokh [<i>finger</i>]nail	(nakh), nākhun
14.	<i>cloud</i>	badār	?	(bādal), abr
15.	<i>cold (a)</i>	ṭhandā	<i>J</i> ṭhandhā	ṭhandhā
16.	<i>come</i>	āw-	<i>T</i> āwē	ā-
17.	<i>die (v)</i>	mar-	<i>T</i> mar-	mar-
18.	<i>dog</i>	kutā	<i>T</i> kukur	kuttā, (kukur)
19.	<i>drink (v)</i>	pi-	<i>T</i> pī-	pī
20.	<i>dry (a)</i>	sukhal	<i>T</i> sukhal <i>became dry</i>	sūkhā
21.	<i>ear</i>	kān	<i>T</i> kān	kān
22.	<i>earth</i>	māṭi	<i>T</i> māṭi	(māṭī), miṭṭī
23.	<i>eat</i>	khā-	<i>T</i> khā-	khā-
24.	<i>egg</i>	aṇḍā	?	aṇḍā
25.	<i>eye</i>	āñkh	<i>T</i> āñkh	āñkh
26.	<i>feather</i>	pāñkh	<i>T</i> pāñkhi	(pankh), par
27.	<i>fire</i>	āg	<i>H</i> agār, <i>D</i> āgi	āg
28.	<i>fish</i>	machi	<i>J</i> machri	(machī), machī
29.	<i>flesh</i>	gos	?	goṣṭ
30.	<i>fly (v)</i>	ur-	<i>T</i> uṛ-	uṛ-
31.	<i>foot</i>	goṛ	<i>T</i> goṛ	(goṛ), pāñw
32.	<i>full</i>	bharal	<i>T</i> bhar <i>to fill</i>	bharā

No.	ENGLISH	MB	IB	HINDUSTANI
33.	<i>give</i>	de-	<i>T</i> de-	de-
34.	<i>good</i>	achā	<i>D</i> acchā	acchā
35.	<i>grease (n)</i>	carbi	<i>T</i> carabi	carbī
36.	<i>green</i>	hariar	<i>J</i> hariar	(hariyā), harā
37.	<i>hair</i>	bār	<i>T</i> bār	bāl
38.	<i>hand</i>	hānt	<i>J</i> hānth/hāth	hāth
39.	<i>head</i>	kapār	<i>J</i> kapār <i>forehead</i>	(kapār), sar
40.	<i>hear</i>	sun-	<i>T</i> sun-	sun-
41.	<i>heart</i>	dil	?	dil
42.	<i>horn</i>	sing	<i>T</i> siṅgi	sīng
43.	<i>hot</i>	garam	<i>T</i> garam	garam
44.	<i>I</i>	ham	<i>T</i> ham	(ham), maiñ
45.	<i>kill</i>	mwāw-	<i>T</i> muāw- ²⁵	mār-ḍālna ²⁶
46.	<i>knee</i>	thewni	<i>J</i> ṭhehuna	(theūnā), ghūṭnā
47.	<i>know</i>	jān-	<i>T</i> jān-	jān-
48.	<i>leaf</i>	patā	<i>T</i> pattā	pattā
49.	<i>lie (down)</i>	leth-	?	leṭ-
50.	<i>liver</i>	karijā	?	(kalījā), jigar
51.	<i>long</i>	lambā	<i>T</i> lambā	lambā
52.	<i>louse</i>	ḍhil	?	(ḍhil), jūñ
53.	<i>man</i>	marad, admi	<i>T</i> marad, <i>J</i> admi	(mard), ādmī
54.	<i>many</i>	bahut	<i>T</i> bahut	bahut
55.	<i>moon</i>	cān	<i>T</i> cān	cānd
56.	<i>mountain</i>	motaiñ (pahār)	<i>T</i> pahār	pahār
57.	<i>mouth</i>	muñ	<i>T</i> muñh	muñh
58.	<i>name</i>	nām	<i>T</i> nām	nām
59.	<i>neck</i>	galā (gardan)	<i>T</i> galā <i>throat</i>	(galā) gardan
60.	<i>new</i>	nañwa	?	nayā
61.	<i>night</i>	rāt	<i>T</i> rāti	rāt
62.	<i>nose</i>	nāk	<i>T</i> nāk	nāk
63.	<i>not</i>	naiñ	<i>T</i> nāhiñ	nahiñ
64.	<i>one</i>	ek, ego ²⁷	<i>T</i> ek, <i>T</i> ego ²⁷	ek
65.	<i>path</i>	simā	<i>J</i> baṭ	bāṭ
66.	<i>person</i>	admi	<i>T</i> admi	ādmī
67.	<i>rain</i>	pāni	<i>T</i> pāni	(pānī), meñh

No.	ENGLISH	MB	IB	HINDUSTANI
68.	<i>red</i>	lāl	<i>T</i> lāl	lāl
69.	<i>root</i>	jaṛi	<i>T</i> jari	jaṛ
70.	<i>round</i>	gol	<i>T</i> gol-gāl <i>round-making</i>	gol
71.	<i>sand</i>	bālu	<i>T</i> bālu	(bālū), ret
72.	<i>say</i>	bol-	<i>T</i> bol-	bol-
73.	<i>see</i>	dekh-	<i>T</i> dekh-	dekh-
74.	<i>seed</i>	biā	<i>T</i> bia-han <i>seed-corn</i>	(biyā), bīj
75.	<i>sit</i>	baiṭh-	<i>T</i> baiṭh-	baiṭh-
76.	<i>skin</i>	lāpo, (camri)	<i>T</i> camṛā	camr-ā or -ī
77.	<i>sleep (v)</i>	sut-	<i>T</i> sut	(sūt-), so-
78.	<i>small</i>	choṭa	<i>T</i> choṭ	choṭā
79.	<i>smoke (n)</i>	dhuwān	<i>T</i> dhuān	dhūnān
80.	<i>stand (v)</i>	kharāho- ²⁸		kharā-ho- ²⁸
81.	<i>star</i>	terengan	<i>J</i> tairgan	taraī, (tārā)
82.	<i>stone</i>	ros	<i>T</i> pathal	pathar
83.	<i>sun</i>	ghamān, (suruj)	<i>T</i> ghām <i>heat of the sun</i> , <i>T</i> suruj	- ²⁹ , sūraj
84.	<i>swim (v)</i>	nahā-	<i>T</i> nahā- <i>to bathe</i>	(nahā-), ³⁰ pair-
85.	<i>tail</i>	poñchi	<i>J</i> poiñch	(ponc), dum
86.	<i>that</i>	haw	<i>J</i> ohe	wuh
87.	<i>this</i>	hai	<i>T</i> haī	yīh
88.	<i>thou</i>	tu	<i>T</i> tu	tū
89.	<i>tongue</i>	jibh	<i>J</i> jibh	jībh
90.	<i>tooth</i>	dānt	<i>T</i> dānt	dānt
91.	<i>tree</i>	gāchi, gāñchi	<i>J</i> gāch, gāñch	(gāch), darak <u>ht</u>
92.	<i>two</i>	du, ³¹ dugo	<i>T</i> du, ³¹ dui	(du), do
93.	<i>walk (v)</i>	cal-	<i>T</i> cal-	cal-
94.	<i>water</i>	pāni	<i>T</i> pāni	pānī
95.	<i>we</i>	ham, hamni	<i>T</i> ham, hamāni	ham
96.	<i>what</i>	konchi	<i>T</i> kaun	kaun
97.	<i>white</i>	ujar	<i>T</i> ujar	(ujjal), safed
98.	<i>who</i>	ke, kon	<i>T</i> ke, kaun	kaun
99.	<i>woman</i>	awrat	<i>D</i> aurati	'aurat
100.	<i>yellow</i>	piar	<i>J</i> piar	(pilā), zard

NOTES

- ¹MB is also the usual home language of some people living in rural Mauritius whose ancestors originally came from western or southern India. In addition, Bhojpuri is spoken as a second or additional language by some people of Chinese or part African descent who live in predominantly MB-speaking areas.
- ²Baker has worked on Mauritian Creole (MC) since the late 1960s and this has led to an interest in the influence of MC on MB and vice versa. Ramnah is a native speaker of MB who has advised Baker on a number of matters relating to MB at various times since 1972. Ramnah has also spent three years as a student in India and is thus familiar with modern spoken Hindi.
- ³The authors wish to thank all those who commented on earlier drafts of this paper or who provided additional data for it, especially Richard Barz, Chris Corne, Theo Damsteegt and Anand Syea.
- ⁴Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu are names for different styles of speech but are grammatically substantially identical. We employ the word Hindustani throughout the remainder of this paper, for several reasons. First, because we use for the purposes of lexical comparison *A dictionary of the Hindustani language* compiled at the time when Indian immigration in Mauritius was at its height (Forbes 1859). Secondly, because Hindustani is free of the religious connotations of Hindi (Hinduism) and Urdu (Islam); MB being spoken natively by both Hindus and Muslims. Thirdly, because in Mauritius, as in India, Hindustani is associated with films and popular culture generally, and it is this style of speech, rather than that of Hindi or Urdu which are now taught formally in certain Mauritian schools, which has thus far had a greater influence on MB.
- ⁵Provided one overlooks the fact that she treats aspirated stops as 'monophonemic consonant clusters' (i.e. as sequences of plosive + /h/), the differences are that w is considered an allophone of /u/ and that ɾ and ɾh are classed as allophones of, respectively, ɖ and ɖh.
- ⁶Tiwari does not identify phonemes as such but does give examples of minimal pairs suggesting that some speakers may accord phonemic status to some of the following: h, mh, nh, ɾ, ɳ, ɳh, lh, rh.
- ⁷Also pronounced phar by some MB speakers.
- ⁸Our research has been conducted mainly with people living in Flacq district.
- ⁹Also pronounced lib. As will be discussed in section 5, the v of MC words adopted into MB is often variably pronounced as v or b, even in the speech of the same informant.
- ¹⁰The marked forms awratīā and awratian are those which would be expected if the unmarked MB form were *awratī. Note that auratī is attested in IB (see word list) and that the loss of final -i is reported to be a feature of western dialects of IB (see section 4 below).
- ¹¹The word gilās, though of ultimate English origin (glass) may well have been established in IB before the massive immigration of Indians in Mauritius in the 19th century began, cf. Bihari gilās 'It is modelled closely on the lines of a European peg-tumbler, but is of metal' (Grierson (1885) 1928:131).
- ¹²All the quantitative nouns in these MB examples are of ultimate French origin through MC.

- ¹³ The forms set out in this table are a revised and amended version of a list drawn up by Suchita Ramdin and her colleagues at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute (Mauritius) in consultation with Baker in April 1983.
- ¹⁴ However, as Domingue (1971:35) rightly notes, some of the MB 'ordinary' forms correspond to what, in IB, are 'contemptuous' forms.
- ¹⁵ MB also has IB-derived terms for each of these five items but the latter are less frequent than the corresponding MC-derived terms included in the comparative word list. With regard to no.56, it appears that *motaiñ* is generally applied only to the hills and mountains of Mauritius and that IB-derived *pahār* is applied to other mountains (seen in films and photographs in magazines, etc.).
- ¹⁶ Particularly striking are no.38 *hānt* (cf. Eng hand), no.58 *nām* (cf. Eng name, Fr nom), and no.90 *dānt* (cf. Fr dent).
- ¹⁷ A clear idea of the extent of MB borrowing from MC will emerge when the dictionary of MB currently being compiled at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, under the direction of Ms Suchita Ramdin, has been published.
- ¹⁸ The presence of Indian traders in Mauritius dates from the mid-18th century. Such people are thought to have come mainly from the west of India. MC terms for goods imported by these traders may well have their source in languages such as Gujerati, Konkani, etc.
- ¹⁹ The B/H orthography employs vowel + *ñ* or *ṁ*, according to etymological criteria, to represent nasalised vowels in MC. The basic aim is to preserve a constant sequence of roman letters for morphemes in which nasalised vowels alternate with the corresponding oral vowel + nasal consonant, as e.g. *noṁ* [nõ] *name* (noun) and *nom, nome* [nom], [nome] *name* (verb). This convention means that wherever a bilabial plosive immediately follows a nasalised vowel in MC (within the same word), the latter is represented by vowel symbol + *ṁ*. In MB, sequences of nasalised vowel + bilabial plosive occur almost exclusively in words adopted from MC. Indeed, we are currently aware of only one exception (though there may well be a few others), *sāmp* *snake* (cf. Hindustani *samp snake*).
- ²⁰ Virtually all of our informants were under the impression that *lāse* was a word of Indian origin, in contrast to *phātige* which they knew to be of MC origin. This is evidence of how firmly established *lāse* is in MB. However, one of our younger informants claims that it is mainly older people who employ this word and that he personally uses *phātige* in both the senses illustrated in these examples.
- ²¹ IB forms are taken from Tiwari 1960 (*T*), Jordan-Horstmann 1969 (*J*), Hertig-Skalická 1974 (*H*) or are those reported by Damsteegt (*D*; letter of 8 May 1985, citing publications not available to us), as indicated by these abbreviations. As vowel length is not phonemic with respect to *ī*, *ē*, *ō* and *ū*, the macron has been removed from these letters in citing forms from Tiwari in order to make them more readily comparable with those from other sources.
- ²² All forms are taken from Forbes 1859 and, unless enclosed between brackets, are the first Hindustani word he gives as equivalent to the English word in the Swadesh list. (Forbes gives several Hindustani words in translation of each English term in the English-Hindustani part of his dictionary. As these are not listed in alphabetical order, it has been assumed that they are in order of apparent frequency.) Forbes' *ch* and *chh* have been systematically

replaced with c and ch respectively in line with modern practice. His use of a comma to indicate that e.g. both e and u are to be pronounced separately in the, $\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ has been eliminated. The infinitival termination $-n\bar{a}$ has been deleted from all his verbs to facilitate comparison with MB and IB forms.

²³As $k\bar{a}\bar{t}$ - means *cut* and *bite* in both MB and Hindustani, it seems likely that it also has the meaning *bite* in IB.

²⁴dudh (IB dudh) is the usual word for *milk* but is also far more frequent than *chāti* in the sense of *breasts*.

²⁵ $\mu\bar{a}\bar{w}$ is the stem of the double causative form of *mar-* to die (cf. no.17).

²⁶The first element means *killing*. The second element is a verb to *throw down* which, in contrast to the usual policy, is cited here with its infinitival suffix $-n\bar{a}$.

²⁷As indicated in the text, *ego* is the fusion of two morphemes. There is no corresponding form or forms in Hindustani.

²⁸The Hindustani forms consists of an adjectival element $khar\bar{a}$ *erect* and the stem of the verb to *be*, *ho-*. MB informants felt $khar\bar{a}ho-$ to be a single word but, even if this is so, it is clear that it derives from the same two elements.

²⁹Hindustani has a related verb, $gham\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ to *bask in the sun*.

³⁰Glossed as to *bathe*, to *wash* by Forbes, it apparently does not have the sense of *swim*. In view of this, Tiwari's gloss of *bathe* may also mean *get washed* rather than *swim*. In MB, however, $nah\bar{a}$ means both *swim* and *get washed*.

³¹As in the case of 'one' (see note 27), *dugo* is really two morphemes but occurs with far greater frequency than *du* alone. For IB, Tiwari indicates *dui* as the usual form and *du* as a dialectal variant. He does not indicate what the combined form with the classifier $-go$ is (*duigo* or *dugo*). Barz (p.c.) confirms that *duigo* is current but adds that, while he has not personally heard **dugo*, this might well occur in some dialects.

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